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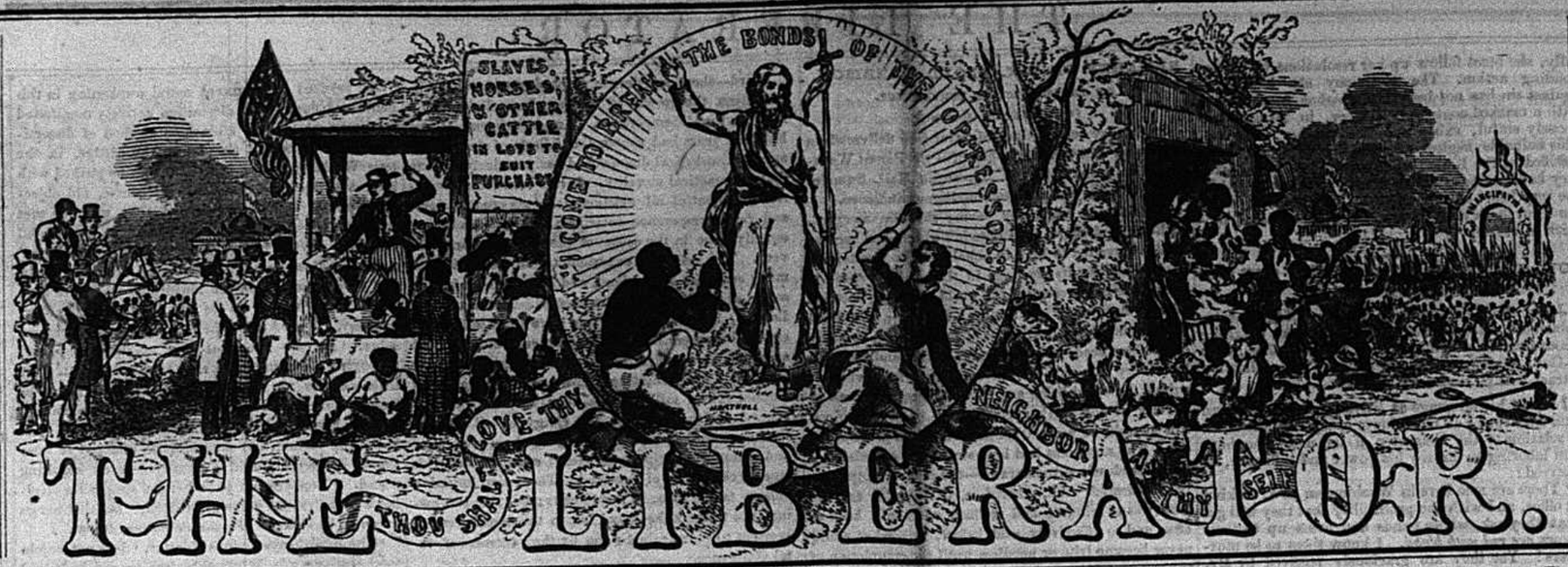

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

RESULTS OF AGITATION.

Rev. Dr. Ross, formerly of Tennessee, but now of Alabama, has been writing a series of letters to the *Christian Observer*. He is a thorough pro-slavery man, and being so, he avows the fact. He speaks in one of his letters to Rev. Albert Barnes of the results of the slavery agitation at the South:

FIRST RESULT OF AGITATION.

1. The most consistent abolitionists, affirming the sin of slavery, on the maxim of created equality and unalienable right, after torturing the Bible, for while, to make it give the same testimony, felt they could get nothing from the book. They felt that the God of the Bible disregarded the thumb-screw, the boot, and the wheel; that He would not speak for them, but against them. These consistent men have now turned away from the word, in despondency, and are seeking, somewhere, an abolition Bible, an abolition Constitution for the United States, and an abolition God.

This, sir, is the *first result* of your agitation. The very van of your attack repulsed, and driven into infidelity.

A SECOND RESULT OF AGITATION.

2. Many others, and you among them, are trying in exactly the same way, just mentioned, to make the Bible speak against slaveholding. You get nothing by torturing the English version. People understand English. Nay, you get little by applying the rack to the Hebrew and Greek; even before a tribunal of men, like you, who proclaim beforehand that Moses, in Hebrew, and Paul, in Greek, *must* condemn slavery, because — '*it is a violation of the first sentiments of the Declaration of Independence.*' You find it difficult to persuade men that Moses and Paul were moved by the Holy Ghost to sanction the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson! You find it hard to make men believe that Moses saw in the stars, and Paul had vision in heaven, that this future *apostle of Liberty* was inspired by Jesus Christ.

You torture very severely. But the muscles and bones of those old men are tough and strong. They won't yield under your terrible wrenchings. You get only groans and mutterings. You claim these voices, I know, as testimony against slavery. But you cannot torture in secret, as in olden times. When putting the question, you have to let men be present, who tell us that Moses and Paul won't speak for you — that they are silent, like Christ before Pilate's scourging men; or, in groans and mutterings — the voices of their sorrow, and the tones of their indignation — they rebuke your pre-judgment of the Almighty, when you say — if the Bible sanctions slavery, 'it neither ought to be, nor could be received by mankind as a divine revelation.'

This, sir, is the *second result* you have gained by your agitation. You have brought a thousand Northern ministers of the Gospel, with yourself, to the verge of the same denial of the work of God, which they have made who are only a little ahead of you, in the road you are travelling.

A THIRD RESULT OF AGITATION.

3. Meanwhile, many of your most pious men, soundest scholars, and sagacious observers of providence, have been led to study the Bible more faithfully in the light of the times. And they are reading it, more and more, in harmony with the views which have been reached by the highest Southern minds, to wit: That the relation of master and slave is sanctioned by the Bible; that it is a relation belonging to the same category as those of husband and wife, parent and child, master and apprentice, master and hireling; that the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, *were ordained in Eden for man, as man, and modified after the fall;* while the relation of slavery, as a system of labor, *is only one form of the government ordained of God over fallen and degraded man:* that the *evils* in the system are the *same evils* of OPPRESSION we see in the relation of husband and wife, and all other forms of government; that slavery, as a relation, suited to the more degraded, or the more ignorant and helpless types of a sunken humanity, is, like all government, intended *as the proof of the curse of such degradation, and at the same time to elevate and bless.*

ANOTHER RESULT OF AGITATION.

4. The Southern slaveholder is now satisfied, as never before, that the relation of master and slave is sanctioned by the Bible; and he feels, as never before, the obligations of the word of God. He, no longer, in his ignorance of the Scripture, and afraid of its teachings, will seek to defend his commonsense opinion of slavery by arguments drawn from 'Types of Mankind,' and other infidel theories; but he will look, in the light of the Bible, on all the good and evil in the system. And when the North, as it will, shall regard him as holding from God this high power for great good — when the North shall no more curse, but bid him God speed — then he will bless himself and his slave in nobler benevolence. With no false ideas of created equality and unalienable right, but with the Bible in his heart and hand, he will do justice and love mercy, in higher and higher rule. Every evil will be removed, and the negro will be elevated to the highest attainments he can make, and be prepared for whatever destiny God intends. This, sir, is the *fourth result* of your agitation — to make the Southern man *know*, from the Bible, his right to be a master, and his duty to his slave.

These *four results* are so fully before you, that I think you must see and feel them. You have brought out, besides, tremendous political consequences, giving astonishing growth and spread to the slave power — on these I cannot dwell. Sir, are you satisfied with these consequences of the agitation you have gotten up? I am. I thank God that the great deep of the American mind has been blown upon by the wind of abolitionism. I rejoice that the stagnant water of that American mind has been so greatly purified. I rejoice that the infidelity and the semi-infidelity, so long latent, have been set free. I rejoice that the sober sense, North and South, so strangely asleep and silent, has risen up to hear the word of God, and to speak it to the land. I rejoice that all the South now know that God gives right to hold slaves, and with that right obligations they must fulfill. I rejoice that the day has dawned, in which the North and South will think, and feel, and act together on the subject of slavery. I thank God for the agitation. May he forgive the folly and wickedness of many who have gotten it up. May he reveal more and more, that surely the wrath of man shall praise him, while the remainder of wrath he will restrain.

WHO ARE HOLDERS OF SLAVES.

Do you ask whether any of our members hold slaves? I answer you yes! Do you ask how many of our members hold slaves? I answer you, as many as have the means to buy them. Do you ask how many slaves each one holds? I answer you, as many as his money or credit will enable him to buy. Do you ask me why our members hold slaves? I answer you that also; they hold their slaves, as they hold any other property, for purposes of gain.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Evangelist.

DR. ROSS ON SLAVERY.

We are glad to see reprinted one of the letters of Dr. Ross on Slavery. Seeing it again, we have read it once with care, and we must confess, with increased surprise, astonishment and grief. Such sentiments indeed were not altogether new. We had head them before, but only from the most ultra Southern politicians. But Dr. Ross is no fire-eater, nor brawling demagogue, who seeks personal or party ends by stirring up popular passions. He is a minister of the gospel, and eminent in the region of country where he resides. He is understood to be a fervent preacher, and we doubt not is a most estimable man in the private relations of life. If we were to drive up to his door to-day, we should feel sure of a cordial welcome. Nor is he warped in his opinions by personal interests. He is said to have emancipated his own slaves many years ago, thereby reducing himself to poverty.

And yet this distinguished minister of the South, so honored and beloved by his brethren, publishes to the world sentiments on the subject of Slavery which seem to us absolutely diabolical. This strange phenomenon we cannot explain, except by that infatuation which comes from long dwelling upon one topic, and the effort by forced reasonings to sustain a system against which conscience, reason and nature revolt. The general excitement and agitation throughout the country have awakened such a spirit of opposition and such obstinate prejudice, that even his vigorous mind can no longer see clearly the simplest truths in regard to the rights of man, the blessing of liberty, the true welfare of society, or the spirit of the gospel.

In this letter, Dr. Ross takes ground against the fundamental doctrines of our government; he repudiates the first sentences of the Declaration of Independence; and thinks the introduction of the sounding generalities about the inalienable rights of man merely 'an excrescence' on the fair front of that immortal document. He believes that the Bible upholds and sanctions human bondage. Slavery, in his view, is not a work of man's device, but an institution ordained of God; as sacred from human touch as the relation of marriage, or the holy tie that binds a parent to his child. It is not even an inferior stage of civilization, but a part of the most complete structure of society, an element of strength and of the highest beauty. In short, as Mr. Calhoun thought slavery was the corner-stone of the Republic, so Dr. Ross would seem to think it the very ark of the covenant in the church, the sign and seal of God's special favor, alike to 'Afric's sable sons' and to the Southern States, which have so meekly accepted the Patriarchal institution, and are content to dwell amid their man-servants and their maid-servants, like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

'Can such things be,
And overcome us like a Summer cloud
And not excite our special wonder?'

What shall we say to such sentiments? To reason against them would be idle; for one who believes that man has no inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is beyond the reach of argument. But that such doctrines of despotism should be revived in our day, and in the freest country on earth, is a miracle that we cannot explain. That a man of intelligence and Christian character can thus talk of the blessings of slavery, is a marvel and a mystery.

We confess, when we read such doctrines, we are in despair. All progress seems hopeless. The world is actually going backward. That a man of common understanding, with his eyes open in the middle of the nineteenth century, should thus reason against all civilization, which, wherever it advances, leaves behind the chains of the slave as the relic of a barbarous age, to be placed in museums beside the rack of the inquisition, is one of the strange spectacles which seem to mock our hopes of the progress of human intelligence, and of the improvement of human society.

And that such sentiments should be avowed in the New School Presbyterian Church, whose very existence dates from a protest against ecclesiastical tyranny, and which has always held an advanced position in support of liberty, civil and religious, is indeed a wonder, a grief, and a lamentation.

Are these the sentiments of the Southern Church? We know that many hold very different views, and look upon the avowal of these ultra opinions with the deepest mortification. In Missouri, whose frontier has been disgraced with border-ruffianism, we have lately seen an uprising of the people against this Southern fanaticism, which they throw from them with horror and disgust. This is a healthful reaction — and if there be signs of its increase and strength, it would be a pity for Northern churches to withdraw from the Christian men and ministers of the South, the aid of their sympathy and encouragement. But when doctrines such as these are not only held in secret, but boldly avowed and proclaimed on the house-top, we wonder not that Christians who have borne and foreborne for years should begin to feel that they can submit no longer; and that, lament it as they may, a separation from the churches of the South is inevitable. If the whole church is to go over to the ground that Slavery is a blessed gospel institution, Divine and eternal, we can hold fellowship with it no longer. We can bear with Slavery for a time, as we bear with human infirmities and the imperfections of our mortal state. But if we are required, not only to tolerate it, but to love it, and to hug it to our bosoms, we must begin to cry out, Who shall deliver us from the body of this death? We love our Southern brethren, and feel sad to part from them. We love Dr. Ross, though we abhor his doctrines. We will stand by the South as long as we can. We will defend our brethren there from all oppression, civil or ecclesiastical. We will plead their cause, so long as we see any desire or effort on their part to get rid of the evil. But if they require us to worship Slavery, we must beg to decline, and cease from further effort. Much as we love our brethren of the South, we love the cause of truth and freedom more.

We perceive that we are honored by the *Presbyterian Witness*, of Tennessee, by being styled 'the great Northern abolition newspaper.' Certainly we have never disguised our love of liberty and our abhorrence of slavery. Months ago we wrote, and we repeat it now: 'If we ever become the apologists of slavery; if we seek our arguments to palliate or justify it, and thus strive to abate the force of that moral indignation of the whole civilized world, which is sweeping against this relic of barbarism; if we are found presenting rose-colored views of the patriarchal institution, and thus trying to soften the aversion to which honest and pious men regard it, and to check their prayers to God for its removal; if we try to weaken the sense of responsibility for its continuance which rests, and which ought to rest, upon the conscience of good men at the South; if we make light of the sorrows fo four millions of bondmen, or in any way uphold and prolong a system which has its foundation in injustice, and which yields its fruit in cruelty, inhumanity and gross licentiousness, may our tongue cleave to the roof of our mouth.'

From the Salem (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Bugle.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF ONE,

TO WHOM WERE REFERRED CERTAIN MEMORIALS PRAYING FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

Your committee, after having carefully considered the prayer of the memorialists, begs leave to submit the following

REPORT.

The subject is one of such transcendant importance, that it may well challenge more than a mere passing notice. Events are daily transpiring, calculated and intended to alienate the affections of a liberty-loving people from the National Government. Disguise the matter as we may, it is a fact to be deplored, not denied, that those who administer the Federal Government seek to make it the engine of the most remorseless despotism upon the face of the earth. Before this despotism, the barbarities of the Dark Ages appear as trifling enormities. France had her Reign of Terror, and we as a nation are now passing through one, which, if less bloody, is not less infamous and disgraceful to the actors. It is even doubtful whether the pages which shall record the atrocities of a Danton, a Marat, and a Robespierre, will be blacker than those which shall record the atrocities of a Pierce, a Douglas, and an Atchison. Jeffries' bloody laurels have been plucked from his brow by a Kane and a Taney. Under these circumstances, no one should be surprised if a people who love justice, right, and liberty, and hate injustice, wrong, and slavery, should attribute to the Government what alone attaches to the base, bad, wicked men who administer it.

Disunionists should, however, remember that, in the purer and better days of the Republic, and under our present Constitution, Washington signed a bill excluding slavery from every foot of territory then belonging to the United States. Jefferson then thought it constitutional; Douglas now does not. Washington thought it both right and constitutional; Franklin Pierce now thinks it neither. Madison, Franklin, and Patrick Henry gave the weight of their great names to the measure which now meets the condemnation of Buchanan, Cass, and Stringfellow. They forget that when these modern lights go out, and their mission for evil is ended, there may be virtue enough left in the people to return to the safe paths trod by the early fathers. They should remember that, for nearly fifty years, the highest judicial tribunals in the land uniformly decided that slavery was the creature of local laws. Then the bench was graced with such men as Marshall and Story. Now these decisions are overruled by such men as Taney and Grier. Time, which corrects all errors, will yet vindicate a Marshall, and characterize a Taney.

The iron rule of these little, base, bad men will be as short as it has been iniquitous. Through the darkling gloom of the present, the bright stars of the revolutionary struggle yet shine. Mingling with the pigmies who now rule the hour, are a few of the giant sons of liberty. They are just now in the back-ground, but are steadily advancing. The van is lead by a Chase, a Seward, a Sumner, and a Hale. There will be no pause in the onward march of these men. The whip is now in their hands, and the government soon will be. The ship of State will be lifted from the reefs, rocks, breakers and quicksands, upon which she is now stranded, and again safely moored in her ancient harbor. Then will arise from her decks the glad anthems of liberty. The Goddess of Slavery, with her throne of whips, chains and gyves, and her crown of manacles, forged for human limbs, will, amid the sighs and lamentations of the present dynasty, be swept into the sea, and sink, never to rise again. In her stead, the Goddess of Liberty will be installed upon her throne of universal Empire and Christianity; and as the crushed and bowed bondmen raise to her their manacled limbs, their fetters will fall off, never to be replaced. In full confidence that God is just, and that freedom, not slavery, is our inheritance, your committee would say to the memorialists, and all others,

'Wait a little longer — there's a good time coming.'

It is the part of wisdom to preserve all that is good in our laws, constitution and government. It is the mission of duty to eradicate therefrom, at once, all that is wrong. It is true that those who bow in idolatrous worship at the altar of slavery, have nearly annihilated the semblance of freedom in our form of government. All is not, however, lost. It is said that the darkest hour of the night is the hour that precedes the dawn of day. It must be that the decision in the Dred Scott case was made amid the deep, deep darkness of that mystic hour. Now light dawns — the people move — their voice is heard. Democrats reel and stagger beneath their burthen. The court are revamping their iniquity, in order to strip it of its more glaring monstrosities. Even now there is hope. The slave power, rampant in the embrace of democracy, feels now that it is in a death-grapple with freedom. It knows that, if the struggle is even protracted, the issue is not doubtful. Courage, then, men of the North. Do nothing rashly, but all things firmly.

Amid these accumulated and accumulating causes for disloyalty to the Federal Union, the great heart of the free North beats with but one pulsation, and that is for the Union now, and the Union forever. With us, Union and Liberty are one and inseparable. Without the latter, the former would be unbearable. It may be regretted, but cannot be disguised, that those who seek the overthrow of our Government are largely on the increase. It is the part of moral cowardice to shut our eyes to the fact, that the disunion sentiment is gaining strength every day. It may be well for us to know the danger, that we may in season avert the catastrophe. In the free States, there are something less than half a dozen papers opposed to the Union. These papers are conducted by able, earnest men. The Northern friends of dissolution are scattered over nearly if not all the free States. It may number in all thousands; it must be very few thousands. They are generally peace men, and would not fight even for the priceless boon of liberty. They will not vote, or in any manner participate in the political affairs of the government. Many of them have thus ostracised themselves from the movements of the day, from an unutterable loathing of slavery. This is the extent and power of the disunion feeling and sentiment at the North. These are the men engaged in the crusade. Surely, disunionism could not assume a more harmless type. If it does no good, it will do no harm.

In the South, however, the same sentiment assumes another aspect. With our Southern brethren, it is a sentiment for which they act and vote, and propose to fight. It has over fifty presses, more or less, bold in the promulgation of a fierce sentiment of opposition to the Federal Union. It has swept over counties, congressional districts, and entire States. Whole delegations in Congress are steeped to the lips in dissolution. The men engaged in this crusade have not the talents or moral courage of their brother disunionists of the North, but they outnumber them more than a hundred times. They make up the legislatures of many States; they fill the halls of Congress with their champions; they force themselves into presidential cabinets. They are made governors and foreign ministers, and have, since their origin, dictated in the once sacred name of democracy to the nation those measures of tyrants that have carned for us the scorn of the civilized world.

This is a gloomy feature, but not overcolored. This a few facts will demonstrate. Recently, the Charleston *Mercury*, the paper of South Carolina, said:—

'Gloriously and grand rises up the idea of a Southern Confederacy.'

It may be those, *par excellence*, Union-savers of the North, who work in the same political treadmill with the *Mercury*, can see something 'glorious and grand' in the 'idea,' but others outside of 'healthy political organizations' have fortunately no such vision. The *Squatter Sovereign*, another Southern organ, both of democracy and disunion, says:—

'We freely confess the hope that this Congress will be the last. We go for dissolution of the Union, speedily and final.'

The arrival of the traitor who wrote this, at the Cincinnati Convention, was joyfully heralded by the Cincinnati *Enquirer*.

A Richmond (Virginia) paper holds forth as follows:—

'The most efficacious legislation for the evils which afflict the South would be an act making it lawful to tar and feather any man who shall utter or publish words of eulogy upon the Union.'

If some liberty-loving republican does not stray off into Virginia, there will never be occasion for the threatened infliction. That sentiment comes from a State where was born, lived and died the 'Father of his country.' This is Southern chivalry, and Southern opinion boldly expressed.

Governor Wise, whose election was heralded as a most signal democratic triumph, by every paper in the interest of that party, both North and South, during the past campaign, said:—

'I tell you that Virginia has armories for more than one hundred thousand men in twenty-four hours by the watch; and I tell you that she has men enough to take up arms, rather than be subjugated to black republicanism.'

Further on he says:—

'We must have peace in earnest, or war in earnest.'

There is something horrid in the coolness with which this terrible threat is uttered. Did a democratic paper, North or South, condemn the utterance? Not one! By many, its author was put forward for a place in Mr. Buchanan's cabinet. If Fremont was elected, one hundred thousand Virginians would be in arms in twenty-four hours, said Mr. Wise. This is a fair type of Southern democracy.

Mr. Slidell, a United States democratic senator, in the same campaign, said:—

'I do not hesitate to declare, that if Fremont be elected, the Union cannot and ought not to be preserved.'

The Union ought not to be preserved if slavery does not triumph, says a distinguished democrat, and a warm friend of Mr. Buchanan. In the mouth of a republican, this sentiment would be *treason!*

August 28, 1856, the Charleston *Mercury* said, in speaking of South Carolina:—

'There is not a single public man in her limits, not one of her present representatives or senators in Congress, who is not pledged to the lips in favor of dissolution.'

Here we have a whole State composed of disunionists. This State cast its electoral vote for Mr. Buchanan. It has ever been democratic.

During the same campaign, the New Orleans *Delta*, a leading organ of the democracy, said:—

'It is already arranged, in the event of Fremont's election, or a failure to elect by the people, to call the legislature of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, to concert measures to withdraw from the Union, before Fremont can get possession of the army and navy, and the purse-strings of government. Governor Wise is actively at work already in the matter. The South can rely on the President in the emergency contemplated.'

Here we have the fact boldly and unblushingly announced, that the President, and a Governor and three legislatures, had gotten up, upon a magnificent scale, a project for a forcible, bloody dismemberment of the Union! Has Franklin Pierce, or any friend for him, ever denied his treason? No! What has become of the men implicated? They are now high in the confidence of the so-called democratic party. Garrison never went this length. The memorialists would never propose a measure so fraught with blood and carnage as this.

No man has been so generally lionized and idolized by his party friends, North and South, as the late Preston S. Brooks. By them he was venerated while living, and canonized when dead. His enmity to the Union was open, undisguised and intense, and his hatred thereof implacable. During the last campaign, he was a candidate for congressional honors. In a speech to his constituents, he said:—

'That the election of Fremont should be the signal for the South to march at once to Washington, seize the treasury and the archives, and force the North to attack them.'

Again in the same speech, he said:—

'It is to tear the Constitution of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern confederacy. I have been a disunionist from the time I could think.'

In the same speech, he said:

'I shall vote for Mr. Buchanan. I shall support him honestly, fairly and zealously.'

It is utterly impossible that disunion should assume a bolder front. A man uttering such sentiments could not receive a republican vote in any congressional district in the North. Yet he got the vote of every democrat in the district. He was elected, with this speech warm upon his lips, not only without opposition, but without the show of opposition. He died, and men vied with each other in attempts at canonizing his memory. If it had been the funeral of George Washington, no greater parade could have been made, and no greater honor paid to his fame and deathless achievements. These facts show that a deadly hostility to the Union is a different affair altogether in a democrat, who loves slavery, than it is in a Garrisonian, who loves liberty.

Your committee have thus endeavored to show the strength of the disunion sentiment, where that strength is located. To all, we say, with emphasis, you shall not tear down the mighty and glorious structure erected by our fathers, although it may now be filled with birds of evil omen. It shall stand as they left it, and be handed down to the latest generations of men, as an inheritance rich beyond all price.

O. P. BROWN, *Committee.*

Resolved by the Senate of Ohio, That we look with pain and regret upon every attempt to destroy the Union, by whomsoever made.

From the Free Presbyterian.

WORK FOR THE NEW SCHOOL GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Several of the Synods of the New School General Assembly, at their last fall meeting, passed resolutions, calling on the General Assembly to instruct the Presbytery of South Lexington, Mississippi, to commence process of discipline against Rev. D. W. Holley, who avowed himself, on the floor of the General Assembly, 'a slaveholder from principle.' Mr. Holley died recently, but his mantle has fallen upon others. The Rev. Dr. Newton, of Jackson, Mississippi, writing to the '*Christian Observer*,' says:—

'I deem it due to the memory of his good name, his unquestioned piety and eminent services to the church in the salvation of souls, both of the bond and the free, as well as for the respect and affection which we bear toward his bereaved family, that some of us should favorably avouch the character and conduct of our deceased brother, and say to the Synod or General Assembly: "If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee aught, put that on mine account."

'Accordingly, I hereby declare that there are to-day one, two, three — a half a dozen (and many more) ministers, members of the several Presbyteries constituting the Synod of Mississippi, who are slaveholders, as Mr. Holley was; and who will say, as Mr. Holley said, "*We are slaveholders from principle.*" That is, as Mr. Holley evidently meant, we are slaveholders conscientiously; we do not condemn ourselves for the deed; we do not deem slaveholding a sin.

'And I hereby notify the Synod of Genesee, and all whom it may concern, that whenever it is desired, I will give the names and the declarations of ministers, with their autograph signatures, occupying precisely the same ground as that professed by Mr. Holley.'

Thus is the gauntlet openly and boldly thrown down to the next General Assembly. If the professed anti-slavery men of that body are really in earnest in this matter, they cannot hesitate to take it up. They constitute the large majority of the Assembly. They are openly defied by the slaveholders. Will they have the moral courage to meet the issue? If they do, the division of their church is inevitable. The slaveholders will not submit, for one moment, to the process of discipline; much less will they submit to a decision which shall pronounce them guilty of sin, and call on them to repent and reform. They deny that they are living in sin, in holding slaves 'from principle.' They hold that it is perfectly innocent to buy, sell, own and work their fellow-men for gain. The large majority of the N. S. Presbyterian Church profess to believe this kind of slaveholding a heinous sin and scandal. Their General Assembly has repeatedly declared it to be such. They must, then, either meet the issue like men, and exercise discipline on the guilty, or they must ingloriously abandon all their anti-slavery professions, and come under the control of a mere handful of slaveholders. Which will they do? We have our opinion on that point, but reserve the expression of it for another time.

A VOICE FROM SWITZERLAND.

To the Evangelical Christians of the United States of America.

Dearly beloved Brethren in Christ, our all-sufficient Savior and common Head:

The Evangelical Christians of Geneva frequently return thanks to God for having, in the days of Calvin, lighted that torch in their city, whose salutary light has spread throughout Europe, and reached your far-distant shores. They also give thanks to the Lord, that in these latter days, when the word of truth is penetrating into all nations of the earth, He has placed a powerful focus in North America, and sent the children of God from your churches both to enlighten the ancient countries of the East, where the Apostles themselves preached the Gospel, and to bring many souls out of heathen darkness to the Lord and Savior. The work of propagating Christianity in all the world is, in our opinion, dear brethren, the principal vocation which has been allotted to you from on high. Thus every thing which can strengthen the hands of American Christians is, we think, an advantage to the whole world; whilst anything which would weaken them is a real loss, a matter of grief, not to you alone, but to us, and to all mankind.

Now, dear brethren, we desire to express to you a thought which often presses itself upon our hearts. We fear that the laws which establish and regulate slavery in several of your States are a source of weakness, not only in your own dear country, but to her legitimate influence over other nations. We know that there are Christians in the United States who possess slaves, and we would not offend them. 'Honor all men,' says the Scripture, (1 Peter, ii. 17,) and, above all, we wish to do so 'to them that have obtained a like precious faith with us,' (2 Peter, i. 1.) We would assure them we come not to speak to them as enemies, but as brethren. We do not claim the right of imposing our opinion with authority upon them — the Pope of Rome alone believes that he has that power — and we doubt not that those among you who differ from us on this subject are sincere and upright in their opinions. However, if we would speak in love, we must also do so in truth, and with that precious liberty which belongs to Christians. We know, moreover, that the city of Calvin is an object of deep and brotherly sympathy in America. Your citizens who visit us are continually giving us fresh proofs of this, and this circumstance excites a hope that our request will find some favor in your eyes. But, we repeat, we do not pretend to teach you, but to give you a cordial token of our brotherly love.

Beloved brethren, if it is true, not only that slavery is established in several of your States, but that in many places it is unlawful to instruct the children of slaves, or even for the parents to attend public worship; if it is true that the ties of husband and wife, parent and child, are often violently severed; if it is true that a master acquires the property and possession of a woman as if she were his own wife; if other facts, which we prefer not to describe here, are true; we ask ourselves, and we would also ask you, if such laws are compatible with the eternal principles of Christianity, which we are all bound to obey?

Meanwhile, multitudes of ministers and lay members in the Church are oppressed with this attitude of affairs, and are shrinking from the responsibility of continuing to be implicated in it. Every day the Church is losing the confidence of some of her best members; every day she is sacrificing her best working energy — cutting the sinews of her strength. The Christian sentiment of the country is arraying itself against her position, and demanding that she make advance. In such a crisis, whatever may have been done in the past is only a small fraction of the work required. The Church has yet to do in this, what she would do in every other great apostacy in doctrine and life.

We might doubtless bring forward other arguments. We might remind you that slavery is contrary to natural rights, and that all men, having freedom alike, cannot be deprived of that liberty, unless forfeited by some criminal act; that the rights of property in men and things are widely different, and that no man is allowed to sell a human being as he would a material object. We might say, with Montesquieu, that slavery is brutal alike to the slave and to the master; to the master especially, because he acquires all sorts of vices with his slaves. He becomes proud, hasty, passionate, hard, voluptuous, cruel. We might add, with that illustrious author, that in every country, however severe the toil which society exacts, the results may be obtained from freemen, by encouraging them with rewards and privileges, adapting the labor to their strength, by bringing to their aid machinery which art invents, and which, we may add, art has invented abundantly since the days of that great writer. But we prefer waiving such material considerations, and dwelling upon our argument in a Christian point of view. We acknowledge, dear brethren, that slavery is not explicitly abolished in the New Testament; we see that Christian masters are not prohibited from having slaves, (Col. iv. 1; Eph. vi. 9,) and that slaves are exhorted to submission and fidelity, (Eph. vi. 5, 8; Col. iii. 22, 25; Titus iii. 9, 10; 1 Peter, ii. 5, 18.) Yes, slaves ought to be obedient and faithful, and nothing should be said which could drive them to revolt; that is certain; and yet it is as certain that slavery is opposed to the true spirit of Christianity.

There are many texts in the New Testament which make this plain. Does not St. Paul say to the Christian slaves, that if he can *obtain his freedom*, he is to take advantage of it? (1 Cor. vii. 21.) 'The Apostle thus demonstrates that liberty is not only good, but also more advantageous than slavery,' says Calvin. Is it not also evident that slaves who have become Christians should be regarded by their masters *as brethren*, according to the Epistle of Philemon? Does not the same Apostle, in another place, say that, before the Lord in heaven, *the slave is as the free?* (Eph. vi. 9.) Do not the Scriptures elsewhere declare, that the slave and the free share in the same blessings of God, in Christ Jesus, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God blessed forever? Is *He* not the true and living God of the black as well as the white man? If the Eternal Son, who is God forever and ever, became man, was it not for the Greek as well as the Jew, for the slave as well as the free? Does not the righteousness which was acquired on the cross by the atoning blood of the Lamb, cover the sins of the one as well as of the other? Does the Holy Spirit, which changes the hearts of all in whom he dwells into the temples of the Holy Ghost, make any distinction of color? Ought we not to exclaim now with the primitive Christians, 'By one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be bond or free'? (1. Cor. xii. 13.) 'There is neither bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.' (Col. iii. 11.) Such being the teaching of the Scriptures, do you not think with us, beloved brethren, that these principles suppress the spirit of slavery, and only leave its name and appearance? Do you not believe that since God, our common Father, bestows the tender sympathies of his love equally upon the slave and the free, we their brethren cannot refuse the precious boon of liberty to those who are deprived of it? If Christ has made them free, shall not *we* free them also? Christianity in general did not lay violent or imprudent hands on civil institutions, but spread its principles everywhere, and gave precepts to all men, the application of which was gradually to bring about the suppression of all abuses.

These considerations are important; but, we repeat, what particularly induces us to make an appeal to your consciences is the system of laws, manifestly opposed to the spirit of Christianity, with which several of your States have been obliged to burden their legislation, in order to maintain slavery in the midst of you. It is not needful to enumerate these laws; we know them from official documents published in Europe, and which caused both astonishment and grief to the friends of religion, morality and liberty. We are aware these laws do not exist in a good many of your States; we know that, with the exception of one or two laws, legislation on slavery is local, instituted in their sovereign power by those States alone which practise slavery. But that in no way prevents us from freely expressing the sentiments which animate us, either to just and moderate men, who doubtless are to be found in abundance in the Southern States, or to all the Christians of the American Union.

If we mistake not, there are three classes of opinions and of persons in the United States, as to the present subject; one is decidedly against slavery, the other is decidedly in its favor; but there is a medium class which hesitates, and we think the moment has arrived when all those who belong to that class ought to decide before God and their conscience, wisely, but with courage and firmness. Between Christianity on one side, and utilitarianism on the other, we do not think that Christians should hesitate.

The two great features which characterize the United States, and which form the essence of your people — are they not, honored friends, the Gospel and Liberty? And are you not called upon both to enjoy these two blessings for yourselves, and to testify to others how happy are those nations who possess them, and thus to be the means of spreading them in the world? Now, it is precisely the Gospel and Liberty which are implicated in this question. The maintenance of slavery might hinder the growth of these two great principles. The most eminent writers have shown that if slavery may be excused in despotic States, it is in conflict with the essence of Democracy, and that if it is more or less natural amidst Mahommedans and Pagans, it is impossible to justify it amongst Christians, and above all amongst Protestants. Yes, it is now in your power, dear American friends, to render the most brilliant homage, the most signal service, to the cause of the Gospel, of Protestantism, and of true liberty. Will you hesitate?

How often we have mourned to see Roman Catholics and partisans of arbitrary governments triumph in pointing to the existence of slavery in the United States! How often have we been tempted to exclaim, 'Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice.' (2 Sam. 1: 20.)

Dear brethren, listen to these voices, which come from a far-distant land at the foot of the Alps, from the town of the Reformation, and are raised in concert with those in France and other countries. We would entreat you by the most precious interests; in the name of the prosperity of the Union, of the peace, of the glory of your country; in the name of the cause of true liberty; and, above all, of the holy and great cause of Christianity, to do all in your power, with an unflinching fidelity, to bring about the suppression of slavery and the establishment of social liberty in your country. Let it be done with wisdom, with kindness, with justice, without disturbing the public peace, but, notwithstanding, as promptly and as universally as possible.

Should this step offend you, dear brethren, we pray you to forgive us. We conjure you to bear with us. We say with St. Paul to the Corinthians, 'If we are foolish, it is for the love of you;' it is, we believe, for the glory of Jesus Christ; it was because we thought that God had called us to do so in a special manner.

We live in solemn times. A new era is dawning on this question, not only in your country, but in the whole civilized world. Universal attention is aroused. Every where public opinion pronounces with decision on this subject. The time is certainly come when America must give satisfaction to the claims of Christianity. We know that it is not easy to find the means of attaining that end. There will be many shoals and difficulties, but we know that your people have more courage than any others to surmount all these obstacles, and that the Lord will give the victory to those who are on his side. Let nothing stop your progress; combat slavery in the spirit of the Gospel, and not in a mere worldly spirit. Seek, above all, the means of attaining this excellent end in a spirit of prayer. Look to the word of God, to the spirit of Christianity, to the requirements of morality and liberty, and to Jesus the Redeemer, and thus go forward in the Lord's name. May God be your strength in this great, salutary, just and Christian work. Let us assure you that such shall be our constant prayer!

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen!

Merle D'Aubigne, D.D., President de l'Ecole de Theologie et Vice President de la Soc. Evan.
L. Gaussen, D.D., Professeur de l'Ecole de Theologie et Membre des Comites de la Soc. Evan.
H. Laharpe, Professeur de l'Ecole de Theologie et Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
C. Malan, D.D., Pasteur de l'Eglise du Temoignage.
H. Tronchin, Colonel federal, et President du Comite Italien.
Adrien Naville, President du Comite de l'Alliance evangelique et du Comite d'Evangelisation de la Soc. Evan.
LS. Brocher, President du Presbytere de l'Eglise Evan.
Dr. D'Espine, Vice President du Presbytere de l'Eglise Evan.
Dr. Lombard, Vice President du Presbytere de l'Eglise Evan.
Emile Demole, Pasteur, Membre du Presbytere.
S. Pilet, Professeur de l'Ecole de Theologie et Pasteur de l'Eglise Evan.
E. Binder, Professeur de l'Ecole de Theologie.
A. Le Fort, Tresorier de la Soc. Evan.
Dr. Panchuad, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
C. Chemieux, President du Comite de Colportage de la Soc. Evan. et Acien.
E. Cramer, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan. et Diacre.
Wm. Turrettini, Membre du Com. de la Soc. Evan.
Fx. De Morsier, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan. et du Comite des Missions.
G. Naville, Membre du Com. de la Soc. Evan.
H. Serment, Avocat, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
Ch. Hann, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
F. Cramer, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
E. Gautier, Major federal et Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
Charles Barde, Pasteur, President du Comite des Missions.
H. Lasserre, Secretaire de la Soc. des Missions et Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
Coulin, Pasteur, Membre du Comite des Missions.
Albert Freundler, Ministre, Membre du Comite des Missions.
P. F. Andersen, Pasteur de l'Eglise Lutherienne, et Membre du Comite des Missions.
D'Espine Pere, Secretaire de la Soc. Biblique de Geneve.
Le Comte Agenor De Gasparin.
Maximilien Perrot, President du Comite de l'Union Chretienne de Jeunes Gens.
Ch. Galopin, Membre du Comite de l'Union Chretienne.
F. Bertholet, Pasteur, Membre du Presbytere.
Emile Guers, Pasteur, Membre du Presbytere.
Th. Lhuillier, Pasteur, Membre du Presbytere.
Ch. Saladin, Ancien, de l'Eglise Evan.
E. Bieler, Ancien, de l'Eglise Evan.
A. Loup, Ancien, de l'Eglise Evan.
T. A. Glardon, Ancien, de l'Eglise Evan.
H. Dansse, Diacre, de l'Eglise Evan.
M. Briquet, Diacre, de l'Eglise Evan.
T. L. Villibouro, Diacre, de l'Eglise Evan.
L. Zimmerli, Diacre, de l'Eglise Evan.
E. Martine, Professeur.
Perceval De Loriol, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
Wm. Rey, Membre du Comite de la Soc. Evan.
Hi. Maret, V. D. M.

I declare the foregoing to be an accurate copy of the signatures of the Presidents, Vice Presidents and members of the Presbytery of the Evangelical Church, of the Church of the Temoignage, of the Theological College, of the Committee of the Evangelical Society, of the Italian Committee, of the Committee of Missions, of the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, of the Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, &c.

J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D.

Geneva, March 31, 1857.

I hereby certify, that the original of the foregoing document, with the autographs of the signers, is in my possession, and that the above is a correct translation of the same. The subscribers have requested me to give to their address 'the greatest possible publicity in the United States.' It will therefore be sent, as far as possible, to leading newspapers of all denominations, in all parts of the country. If any fail to receive it by mail, they will confer a favor by copying this admirable Christian appeal, of which the subscribers say, 'May our humble plea be like the voice of one crying to a whole nation! and may our God give to many to open their hearts to a serious word, and to make their paths straight for the glory of His name, and the good of the dear American people.'

JOSEPH P. THOMPSON.

New York, April 22, 1857.

From the Cincinnati Christian Press.

THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

The Church and Slavery. By Albert Barnes.

The spirit in which this book is written commends it to the careful attention of all, and fully justifies the respect so universally entertained for its author. We cannot refrain, however, from expressing entire dissatisfaction with its results;—we should deprecate their being made the basis of action at the next meeting of the Assembly at Cleveland.

1. Mr. Barnes represents the position of the N. S. Presbyterian Church as one of firm and unbroken hostility to the system of slavery as 'inconsistent with the law of God.' Now, in two very vital particulars, this representation is exaggerated, and calculated to mislead. *First.* The action of the General Assembly has always been greatly divided on this question. So far from bearing the character of united condemnation, in the last three or four years, whatever resolutions have been passed testifying against slavery, have been passed, as is well known, only against the largest and most determined opposition. Those who were present at Buffalo, at St. Louis and at New York, will remember that the action in those assemblies was the result of long and doubtful contest, and even then was secured only by a small majority. Nor should we forget, that the opposition in these cases was not by any means exclusively from the South, nor from the less prominent members of the body. On the contrary, it was from some of the leading pastors of the Church, whose names, notwithstanding the vote of a small majority, would exert a wide and powerful influence. *Secondly.* Mr. Barnes omits all mention of that powerful retrogression going on in the Church, respecting the moral character entertained of slavery. Such a fact should by no means be excluded from an estimate of the position of the Church, for a church organization without responsibility for the doctrinal defection of its parts is the greatest of absurdities. But in this omitted fact is found, more than in anything else, a mighty element of influence in behalf of slavery. What matters it if we can find, on the Assembly's minutes, resolutions ever so stringent against slavery, if it has become the settled doctrine of multitudes of its churches, that American slavery is justified by the Bible? Such a fact as this latter renders the strength of the Church's testimony in behalf of freedom worse than weakness.

2. The impression of Mr. Barnes's book is, that little is left for the Church to do. The considerations just adduced lead us to protest against such a position. We need something more than *divided* resolutions on our minutes. An open and continued discussion of this subject is demanded, until the truth shall completely prevail, and the Church, through its Assembly, shall give unbroken testimony against the sin in question. We have great confidence in truth, that it will extend like leaven; therefore, we hope and pray for its discussion. But there is another kind of action needed, and it is in respect to this that the Church has been specially and very greatly untrue to her responsibilities. Resolutions are good in their place; but before the Presbyterian Church can meet her responsibilities fully, she must follow up her resolutions by corresponding action. The testimony she has given against sin has not been heeded—has been treated with a marked contempt; slavery, in forms outrageously sinful, exists unnoticed in her churches. This culpable neglect of discipline is sought to be justified by the Bible; and a gigantic doctrinal apostacy has become established with vigorous growth in the very heart of the Church. As a consequence, the Church is now practically even a *moral* bulwark of slavery.

GOV. GEARY ON KANSAS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Joseph Ford, a Buchanan democrat of Minnesota, publishes a letter in the Chicago *Tribune*, detailing a conversation which he held, a few days since, with ex-Gov. Geary on Kansas affairs. The following extract will be read with interest:

I repeat his language as literally as possible, and I am sure that I do not color or exaggerate the facts. In relation to the character of the men who have been laboring to destroy his power and influence, he observed:

'There are men here in Washington now, seeking for office, and with the probability that they will get what they ask, whose hands and arms up to their elbows *are red with blood.* I know them to be murderers! Yet they are graciously received by Mr. Buchanan and the Cabinet; and their statements are taken as truths wherever they conflict with mine. They are treated with more cordiality and favor than I, who have tried to discharge my duty faithfully and honestly, can ever hope to be.'

In relation to the coming election, and the probable complexion of the Constitutional Convention, he said:

'I believe that at least two-thirds of the people of the territory are in favor of making Kansas free; but under the operation of the plans which their opponents have devised, there is no doubt that a pro-slavery Constitution will be framed.'

The difference between the two parties he stated as follows:

'Among the pro-slavery men there is no freedom of speech—hardly of opinion. The first inquiry made by them of every new-comer is, "Where are you from?" and if the answer is, "From the North," that man is marked, and neither his person or property is safe. They have established a reign of terror. Among the Free State men I found nothing of this; every man who has an opinion is at liberty to express it without molestation. I had no trouble with them after the first difficulties were over—none whatever.'

In this conversation, of which I have given but a brief outline, the Governor, though there were others in the room, a part of the time at least, spoke principally to me, as I had particularly requested a statement of facts as they had come under his observation. He did not speak under excitement, but discreetly, and with apparent care to tell me the exact truth. His secretary—the name I do not recollect—was present during the conference, and he, often in the most emphatic manner, confirmed the Governor's words. Indeed, so excited was he at times, when a topic of peculiar interest was touched—the murder of Buffum, for instance—that his indignation was manifested not only in words, but in an exceedingly demonstrative manner. When thoroughly aroused by the Governor's narration, I asked him:

'Governor, what am I, a northern democrat, to do? I am tempted to declare here that I am ready to work hereafter with the Republican party! He answered quickly and decisively:

'There seems to be no other course for an honest and intelligent man to pursue.'

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, MAY 8, 1857.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will commence in the CITY ASSEMBLY ROOMS, (446 Broadway, between Howard and Grand streets, in the City of New York, on TUESDAY, May 12, at 10 o'clock, A. M.—T. W. Higginson, Robert Purvis Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips are expected to speak at the first session. A collection in aid of the cause will be taken.

The Society will meet at the same place on TUESDAY EVENING, at 7½ o'clock, admittance 10 cts., and again on WEDNESDAY, at 10 A. M. and 3 P. M., admittance free. The arrangements for public speaking at these sessions are not yet completed, but among those who have been invited to speak are Rev. G. B. Cheever, Rev. I. R. W. Sloane, Rev. W. H. Furness, Rev. Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Robert Purvis, and C. L. Remond.

It is much to be desired that the friends of the Society should come together in large numbers, from all parts of the country, to confer upon the great interests of the cause at this eventful period.

We reiterate our former declaration, that the object of the Society is not *merely* to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate Slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to oppose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically!'

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

Wendell Phillips, S. H. Gay, } *Secretaries.*

☞ It will be seen that the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society takes place on Tuesday next. We need not say how desirable it is to have a full attendance of its members and friends on that occasion. Whatever may be the cost or difficulty of going to New York, it will prove a good investment for the cause. Let no one who has the means to attend, consider his absence of no consequence.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston on Wednesday and Thursday, May 27 and 28, at the MELODEON, commencing on Wednesday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

In a time like the present—with all the safeguards of liberty overthrown, and the rule of a slaveholding oligarchy absolute over the country—with the highest motives and the strongest inducements for personal self-sacrifice and individual action—the true friends of freedom can need no importunity to secure, on their part, a thronged attendance at this anniversary, which has uniformly been distinguished for the interest and spirit of its proceedings, and which, in view of the startling events that have transpired since its last celebration, cannot fail to be marked by an increasing earnestness and devotion.

Among the speakers at this Convention may be expected Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, (should his health be sufficiently restored,) Edmund Quincy, Parker Pillsbury, T. W. Higginson, Charles L. Remond, Charles C. Burleigh, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Susan B. Anthony, Andrew T. Foss, Aaron M. Powell, and many others.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of *the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,*

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

Robert F. Wallcut, *Rec. Sec.*

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
ON THE SUBJECT OF TEMPERANCE.

(Reported for the Liberator.)

On Sunday evening last, Mr. Garrison delivered an address on Temperance, in behalf of the Parent Washingtonian Society, in the Mercantile Hall, Summer street, before a crowded and intelligent audience.

Mr. Garrison began by saying that he accepted, with great pleasure, the invitation which had been so kindly extended to him, in behalf of the meritorious Society holding its meetings in that hall, to speak to the people in advocacy of the world-elevating doctrine of total abstinence. But, after a discussion protracted for so many years, in all parts of the country, by many of the best heads and best hearts in the land, he must be a very vain or a very presumptuous man who imagined he could bring any thing of special interest or novelty in the further elucidation of this subject. For himself, he was neither so vain nor so presumptuous. The argument had long since been exhausted—the facts clearly demonstrated—the cause triumphantly vindicated. All, therefore, that could now be done was to reiterate and reaffirm what had been so often and so effectively said before, and what could never become trite or needless until the completion of the reign of human perfectibility. He was there to raise his hand, and say, 'I am a teetotaller, as a matter of self-respect, personal safety, and duty to my fellow-men;' and the same moral obligation which rested upon him in this case, bore equally upon every other human being. If, in such a cause, there was needed at any time a man to stand in the gap, and he did not leap forward to fill it as opportunity presented, he should deem himself recreant to duty.

Thirty years ago, then a young man just entering his majority, he had taken the pledge, and consistently adhered to it to the present time. Soon afterward, he became the editor of the first temperance journal ever established in the world, entitled the 'National Philanthropist,' and bearing this motto:—'*Moderate drinking is the downhill road to intemperance and drunkenness*'—a journal established not by himself, but by his predecessor, the late venerable William Collier, a Baptist clergyman of this city, who deserved to be held in lasting remembrance for his zeal, perseverance, moral courage, and self-denying philanthropy. If he (Mr. G.) had since that time given less of direct effort to the temperance cause than formerly, it was not because he had lost any of his interest in its success, but because it had fought its way through to respectability, and because he had had his sympathies early awakened and his energies constantly tasked in behalf of the enslaved millions in our land, for whose deliverance there appeared so few to plead, in an uncompromising spirit, even at this late day.

Mr. G. proceeded to speak of the cheering contrast which was seen between the condition of this beneficent enterprise in 1827 and in 1857. Then, there was scarcely a pledged teetotaller to be found; now they are to be counted by millions. Then, the position of the pulpit (with very rare exceptions) was in direct hostility to the doctrine of total abstinence as a fanatical innovation, in conflict with the teachings of 'the inspired word,' and an impeachment of the character of Jesus, who wrought a miracle that he might turn water into wine; now, the pulpit had generally ceased its opposition, and to a wide extent gave the cause its countenance and support. Then, the churches were lax in discipline, and greatly infected by inebriety; now, they were characterized by a general acceptance of the temperance movement, and in many instances bore a decisive testimony in its favor. Then, there was but a single temperance journal in all the land; now, they were multitudinous, in addition to a friendly co-operation on the part of the religious and secular press. Then, the movement was universally ridiculed; now, its odiousness had ceased, and its most earnest advocacy excited no reproach or persecution. Then, it reached only the individual conscience; now, it had taken political mastery of several of the American States, and stamped itself on the Statute book.

Notwithstanding this wonderful change, it was evident that the habitual use of intoxicating drink still prevailed to an alarming extent—that the fiery billows of intemperance were still rolling over the land; so that a re-action seemed to be going on, which, if not arrested by the most strenuous moral efforts, would ultimately leave the last state worse than the first. As for himself, he (Mr. G.) could not yet believe that, comprehensively speaking, the temperance cause was losing ground in the land, though it might be doing so in certain localities. What the reliable statistics were, on this point, he did not know; but it was enough to know that a mighty work yet remained to be done to bring the nation up to the practice of perfect sobriety.

The natural effect of the cessation of popular hostility to the cause, and its attainment to high respectability, was a state of complacency, of listlessness, of somnolence. Where everything looks fair and safe, there is a tendency to seek repose. Where effort has been severe and long protracted, a collapse is pretty sure to follow upon the heel of success. The exterior may be but a cloak for dissembling, and hypocrisy take the place of actual self-denial. So, eighteen centuries ago, the gospel of Christ was denounced as a pestilent heresy, fiercely persecuted, and in the person of its founder nailed ignominiously to the cross. But what amazing vitality it then exhibited, and how signal were its victories, until the time when Constantine condescended to be the patron and defender of Christianity! From that time, it held an ascendant power; persecution no longer crushed its adherents; the offence of the cross ceased; the form of godliness was retained, but its power speedily departed. Now, throughout Christendom, it is the patron and upholder of the worst forms of despotism, and of all popular iniquity. So, three hundred years ago, Protestantism was regarded and punished as a damnable heresy; and then, what an indomitable spirit, what a moral force pervaded it, and how irresistible was its march! Now, in this land, in Great Britain, and in other countries, it is the dominant faith, every where respected and honored, and every where (as a profession) cowardly, time-serving, corrupt.

What then? Did Jesus live and die in vain? Has the protest of Luther proved worthless? Is the temperance movement a failure? What would be our condition, what the present state of Christendom, if Jesus had not embraced the cross, and had not promulgated his gospel? If Luther had not blown his trumpet-blast? If the doctrine of total abstinence had not been inculcated as a moral and religious duty?

Mr. Garrison proceeded to speak of some of the dangers which threatened the integrity and the life of this movement.

First—it was in peril from its very respectability, paradoxical as this might appear. It needed to be pushed with such boldness and fidelity as to unmask all dissemblers, and to disturb the public quietude. There must be no compromise, no half-way measures, no reliance upon station or numbers. Each one must incarnate it in his own person, and defend it as a special trust, whatever may be his position in society, and as opportunity may offer.

Second—there was no small danger in committing its management to the hands of men in official station—to the clergy as a body. Their very position would tempt them to reduce its vigor, qualify its application, weaken its testimony, according to circumstances. Men who are dependent on the state of public sentiment are not qualified to take the lead or assume the direction of any reformatory movement. They will naturally seek to make it subservient to their partisan or sectarian purposes, or personal ends. The vitality and progress of the temperance cause depend upon its control being in the hands of the laity, 'the common people.' Let the platform be free, and speech be free, and the truth be fearlessly proclaimed, no matter who may take offence.

Third—there was danger of placing too much reliance upon the growth of the popular religion, as a remedy for intemperance. An experiment of two hundred years had shown the fallacy of such a reliance. Theological dogmas had comparatively little to do with practical morality. It had been found necessary to go out of all existing religious organizations, and form temperance societies; and this had been equally true in the cause of peace and of anti-slavery. The religious experiment had been tried for many centuries in England, and had proved a failure, so far as temperance was concerned. Dr. Burns, of London, had stated that there were three millions of church members in Great Britain, each of whom, on an average, expended not less than one pound sterling annually for intoxicating drink—making the yearly amount fifteen millions of dollars, in American currency! In that country, the clergy of all denominations were generally addicted to the use of wine and other intoxicating substances; especially was this true of the clergy of Scotland. There was indeed a change taking place in their habits; but this was owing, not to their theology, but to the moral pressure brought to bear against them by the advocates of total abstinence.

Fourth—There was great danger that the friends of temperance would place too much reliance on the State—on law—rolling their moral responsibilities upon the government; whereas, the government was only a machine, with no indwelling life, not self-moved, but acted upon, and, in a country like ours, as changeable as an April day, taking its hue and shape from the collective opinions and feelings of the people. Laws may exist, and yet be powerless, whether for good or evil, according to the prevailing public sentiment; hence, every man has a specific work to do towards the formation of that sentiment. Reliance on physical force had ever been the bane of moral activity. All evil is to be overcome by a quickened conscience and an enlightened mind, rather than by pains and penalties.

Mr. Garrison said he would here very briefly state his views in regard to the Maine Law. It was well known to many that he was a non-resistant; that, in consequence of conscientious scruples, he had withdrawn himself from the government, and declined to exercise the elective franchise; hence, he could take no part in a political struggle with reference to the enforcement of that law. Still, he would frankly say, that if he went for penal enactments against theft, burglary, arson, highway robbery, &c., he would assuredly go for them against rum-selling, which gives birth to all these crimes. He utterly despised the outcry that had been so loudly raised against the Maine Law, as injuring rather than promoting the cause of temperance, by those who evidently wished to see that cause put down. The cant about the superior efficacy of 'moral suasion,' from such lips, excited his indignation and disgust. He understood it perfectly. It was like the impudent cry raised against those clergymen who were testifying against the crime of extending and eternizing slavery, by profligate demagogues in the pay of the Slave Power, that they ought to let politics alone, and 'preach Christ and him crucified'! Whether the Maine Law legitimately tended to advance or retard the cause, let the wailing and gnashing of teeth on the part of the distillers, rum-sellers and rum-drinkers determine! Their furious opposition to it gave the lie to all their assertions respecting its injurious tendency.

Still, though that Law had doubtless its uses as the symbol of a renovated public sentiment, and as a restraining power, there must be little reliance placed upon it, compared with moral instrumentalities—with the intelligent, voluntary, well-principled adoption of the pledge. Abstinence from intoxicating drink must be a clearly apprehended duty, not a mere sentiment. He (Mr. G.) abstained, not in compliance with importunity, not as an ascetic, not in a pharisaical spirit, but just as he abstained from wrong-doing in all other particulars. It belonged to his moral code—it permeated his whole being.

He proceeded to give some reasons why this struggle with a depraved appetite and a vicious custom must necessarily be a long one—bequeathed from sire to son, and from age to age. It was not a Waterloo conflict, terminating with the setting sun; nor the overthrow of an oppressive government, after the manner of 1776; nor the abolition of a system like that of chattel slavery, which, in the British West India Islands, was at last, in the twinkling of an eye, consigned to its appropriate place, the bottomless pit.—But it was a struggle with an appetite always forming, a fire ever kindling, an enemy ever plotting the destruction of society. Besides, in this country it was not simply a Protestant American population to be reclaimed, but also a foreign one, counting its millions, with millions more yet to come, generally ignorant, debased, superstitious, priest-ridden, the materials for demagoguism, with crude views of liberty which they too often mistook for licentiousness. They were greatly to be commiserated, rather than blamed, for they had been the victims of a grinding despotism in the old world. He would not have any prohibitory law against this foreign immigration: it would be inhuman and unchristian. How would the world be the gainers by it? How much better off should we be by it in the end? It should be the delight, as it would be the glory of America to succor and save all the perishing ones who come to her from abroad. He (Mr. G.) rejoiced that we could reach them here, as we could not in Europe. They saved us millions of dollars in the missionary enterprise by thus coming to our shores at their own expense, and subjecting themselves to our influences. Tell him not of the dangers of Popery! Genuine Protestantism had no cause to fear it in any part of the globe,—much less here, where everything was in its own hands. He thought it was rather for the Pope to be troubled that so many of his subjects were flocking to a Protestant land, with its free institutions as pertaining to the North. Icebergs from the Arctic regions, melting in the Gulf Stream, do not absorb but augment the waters thereof. It was true that icebergs were somewhat perilous to navigation, and occasionally sent down a gallant bark 'full many a fathom deep' beneath the Atlantic waves; but who would have the law of gravitation annulled to keep them where they were formed?

Mr. Garrison referred to the value of alcohol for mechanical purposes, to its use in case of sickness, and also for sacramental purposes, as opening three sources of temptation to obtain it under false pretences, and thus perpetuating inebriety. Against this, no security could be found, except in the adoption of the total abstinence pledge.

With the statistics of intemperance before him, with the light blazing in noon-tide effulgence upon his accursed traffic, with his own personal experience and observation as to the horrors engendered by his avocation, who can measure the guilt and inhumanity of the conscience-hardened rum-seller?—His barrels filled with the most subtle, fascinating and maddening poison—every drop a separate horror—spectres grimly thronging around—agonies, shrieks, imprecations filling the air—all of crime, of suffering, of ruin, comprehensively effected through his instrumentality!

Mr. G. desired to put it to the understanding and the conscience of every one in that assembly, how much less guilty was the man who persisted in indulging his appetite for strong drink, no matter to what extent, and thus tempting others to sell for the sake of gain, besides setting a most vicious example? What claims had he to respect and confidence?

He referred to the deep interest which the women had in the movement, especially arising from their liability to outrages of every kind in the married state, owing to the drunken brutality of their husbands; and he would have every single woman make it imperative, that none but a teetotaller should lead her to the altar—in which case he thought there would be a mighty reformation in the land.

He rejoiced in the recent moral awakening in this beneficent cause—the disposition actively manifested to return to the old efficacious method of disseminating the light and circulating the pledge, in the true Washingtonian spirit. Let this be pushed with increasing zeal and devotion. Of course, old objections would still be urged, and they must be met with all long-suffering and patience. It would still be asked, 'What good is there in taking the pledge?' And our answer must be, the good of trying to be and to do good. Let the multitudes who have been saved by it testify as to its efficacy! Another may say, 'I need subscribe to no pledge to keep me sober.' Perhaps not; but your neighbor may, and through your example he may be saved or lost. 'A little can do no harm.' It does all the harm, as from it proceed all forms of excess and drunkenness. It takes but a single match to conflagrate a city. 'It is not the certain, but the uncertain quantity of wine that is dangerous,' said a physician to an inquiring friend. 'You are not to be hanged simply for stealing a horse,' said a judge to a culprit, 'but that horses may not be stolen.' *Facilis descensus Averni.*

'The Bible,' says a pious objector, 'does not enjoin total abstinence.' Whether it does or not, body and soul enjoin it by all the laws of being; for alcohol is a poison, and therefore the injunction becomes imperative, 'Do thyself no harm.' It is not a biblical question. 'I have forty reasons why my witness is not in court,' said a lawyer to the judge; 'the first is, he is dead.' 'You need not give the remainder,' was the reply. By chemical analysis, and by its effects upon the human system,—body, intellect and soul,—it is demonstrated to be a poison, more dangerous, more destructive, and more alluring, than any other yet discovered. This ends all debate, and answers every objection.

'O, I can use it prudently—I am in no danger of falling.' Who but one grossly self-deceived, utterly self-deluded, can say this, in view of the wreck of so many eminent, wise and mighty men? Of the myriads lost, who meant to die a drunkard? Not one. Figuratively speaking, the wisdom of Solomon, the faith of Abraham, the strength of Sampson, had all fallen before the demon.

No moderate drinker is a safe member of the community. He may yet reach any point of human degradation. His health is less firm, his standard of purity proportionably vitiated, his moral influence impaired. He may ask, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' But if there be not strength of will, self-denial, moral courage enough to break off before the appetite is formed, what reasonable ground is there for believing that at any time afterward there will be no difficulty in resisting its demands?

A man who is strictly temperate is not *therefore* exempt from the liability to commit crime, but that liability is only possible, not probable, and exceedingly small. One thing is certain—he is in no danger of reeling in the streets, falling into the gutter, or dying a drunkard. But what security has he who drinks habitually, however moderately?

It was the prayer of Agar, 'Give me neither poverty nor riches'—which is the law of proportion, of justice, of equality. The classes most cursed by intemperance are the rich and the poor. Nature testifies against such inequalities. Men should endeavor to shun poverty by industry, economy, thrift, sobriety. Men should be afraid to accumulate great wealth, and should render this impracticable by their benevolence and philanthropy.

The true doctrine is, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.' All possess not the same temperament—all are not as easily led astray. But we should know ourselves—watch our tendencies in regard to our appetite as we do in cases of consumption—and refuse the wine-cup as we would to commit a wrong. In health, repudiate it utterly. In sickness, use it as you would belladonna, arsenic, prussic acid, and less readily. If you have been a hard drinker, refuse it even as a medicine.

We have in our country (said Mr. G.) a vast, gigantic, consolidated system of violence, oppression and blood, requiring for its overthrow all possible sobriety, as well as faith and courage—namely, chattel slavery. Let moderate drinking prevail, and the waves of intemperance dash over the land, and our national destiny is sealed—a double damnation awaits us!

The responsibilities resting upon us, the descendants of Pilgrim Fathers and Revolutionary sires, in regard to the land of our birth—its purity, its liberty, its prosperity—are indeed great, but not greater than our means or our capabilities, if we will but put them forth. In a time like this, where opportunities to labor and to do good are so abundant, indolence, indifference, selfishness, are positive vices—in their tendencies and results as much to be deplored as actual transgressions.

When a fire is discovered in the humblest tenement in the village,—whether kindled by accident or design,—spreading from room to room, the alarm is instantly given, voices wildly commingling convey the warning on the wings of the wind to all the inhabitants, engines are hurried to the spot with almost superhuman energy, and a multitude of the old and young promptly assemble to prevent, by a timely application of water, a general conflagration. Such is the estimate placed upon the pecuniary welfare and general safety of the community, in such an emergency.

A more frightful conflagration is raging all over the country, in every city, town and hamlet, involving in peril or suffering almost every family—a conflagration destructive not merely of wealth, but of intellect, heart and soul, all human affections, aspirations, achievements, parental and filial ties, social felicities, and domestic enjoyments; destructive not merely of perishable dwellings, but of the temples of the Holy Ghost, those bodies and spirits formed expressly to glorify God, their beneficent Creator. Who can contemplate this awful spectacle, and be dumb, inactive, unconcerned, without incurring deep guilt and deserving severe condemnation? What is the element to be used for the extinction of this desolating fire? Literally, as in the other case, the free, constant, vigorous use and application of water! Total abstinence from all intoxicating substances! How sure and simple the remedy!

Hecatombs of our fellow-creatures have already been burnt to ashes, and multitudes continue to rush madly into the devouring fire. Let us, one and all, combine by precept, example and testimony, to snatch those brands from the burning, and put an end to this direful conflagration. Thank God, there is no occasion for despair. Hark!—

'————————a cry,
"Ho! to the rescue!" from the hills hath rung,
And men have heard, and to the combat sprung,
Strong for the right, to conquer or to die!
Up, Loiterer! for on the wings are flung
The banners of the Faithful!—and, erect
Beneath their folds, the hosts of God's elect
Stand in their strength. Be thou their ranks among!
Fear not, nor falter, though the strife endure;
Thy cause is sacred, and the victory sure!'

☞ The Boston *Liberator* of the 17th inst., came to hand just as we were going to press, and, as usual, filled with so many good things, we could cut nothing out on any one side without injuring something equally good on the other. We shall have to preserve it whole until we select and use the logical arguments on one side first.

The office of the *Liberator*, with its able host of writers, should be removed from Boston to Kentucky or some other slave State, where, in our judgment, its excellent motto, 'I come to break the bonds of the oppressor,' would be more appropriate than in Massachusetts.—*Kentucky News.*

☞ Thanking the *News* for its complimentary notice, we must dissent from its opinion as to a change of location for The Liberator—believing that if the North cannot first be brought over to the side of freedom—and it is yet fearfully pro-slavery—it is hopeless to expect to revolutionize the South.

PRO-SLAVERY ARGUMENT.

We spoke, in a former paper, of some assumptions contained in a Congressional speech of Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia. Since, in the same speech, he also undertook to present some *arguments* in favor of slavery, and since this speech has been thought worthy of extensive distribution, we will copy one department of his argument in full, and add such comments as it may suggest.

'Gradation, too, is stamped upon everything animate as well as inanimate—if, indeed, there be anything inanimate. A scale, from the lowest degree of inferiority to the highest degree of superiority, runs through all animal life. We see it in the insect tribes—we see it in the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the air, in the beasts of the earth, and we see it in the races of men. We see the same principle pervading the heavenly bodies above us. One star differs from another star in magnitude and lustre; some are larger, others are smaller; but the greater and superior uniformly influences and controls the lesser and inferior within its sphere. If there is any fixed principle or law of nature, it is this. In the races of men we find like differences in capacity and development. The negro is inferior to the white man; nature has made him so; observation and history, from the remotest times, establish the fact; and all attempts to make the inferior equal to the superior is but an effort to reverse the decrees of the Creator, who has made all things as we find them, according to the counsels of his own will. The Ethiopian can no more change his skin or his nature than the leopard his spots. Do what you will, a negro is a negro, and he will remain a negro still. In the social and political system of the South, the negro is assigned to that subordinate position for which he is fitted by the laws of nature. Our system of civilization is founded in strict conformity to those laws. Order and subordination, according to the natural fitness of things, is the principle upon which the whole fabric of our Southern institutions rests.' (pp. 14, 15.)

Impudence is unquestionably a great and most effective power in the transaction of the business of this world. To utter such stale truisms in connection with such gross falsehoods as we see above, and to place them in an order intended to represent to the hearer that the latter were authentic and inevitable deductions from the former, would have required not only great command of countenance in Mr. Stephens, but no inconsiderable amount of courage, had he not been surrounded by a majority (in the House of Representatives) who, having thoroughly committed themselves, in private and public life, to the tyrannical policy advocated by Mr. Stephens, were thus committed to the support of any method of defending that policy, and might thus be relied on to make whatever effort was necessary to avoid laughing in his face when he uttered the preposterous language above quoted. Since, however, it has been uttered, and since some one has thought so poorly of the intelligence of the Northern people as to circulate it among them as a defence of slavery, we will spend a few moments in examining it.

We may fairly presume the captain of a pirate vessel to have made some proficiency in impudence, and to have discarded, as thoroughly as Mr. Stephens himself, the idea of obligation to speak the truth. We shall therefore do no injustice to such a person in supposing him, after boarding a merchant ship, killing those who resisted, and tying the hands of the survivors behind their backs, to address those survivors as follows:

'Gradation is stamped upon all the works of nature. We see it in the insect tribes, the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the air, the beasts of the earth, and the heavenly bodies above us. One star differs from another star in magnitude and lustre; some are larger, others are smaller; *but the greater and superior uniformly influences and controls the lesser and inferior within its sphere. If there is any fixed principle or law of nature, it is this.* In the races of men we find like differences of capacity and development. The merchant sailor is inferior to the pirate. Nature has made him so. Observation and history, from the remotest times, establish the fact; and all attempts to make the inferior equal to the superior is but an effort to reverse the decrees of the Creator, *who has made all things as we find them, according to the counsels of his own will.* If you had had capacity and development enough to keep this vessel, we should not have taken it. Your inferiority is thus proved by unquestionable facts, and in *our* social and political system the inferior is assigned to that subordinate position for which he is fitted by the laws of nature. Men, run out a plank, and show them over the side.'

Facts are stubborn things. In all ages, pirates have not merely asserted this superiority, but proved it. They, not less than the slaveholders, have in all ages illustrated the operation of that great law of nature quoted by Mr. Stephens—'the greater and superior uniformly *influences* and *controls* the lesser and inferior within its sphere.' And supposing one of the inferior and subordinate class, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of half his shipmates lying dead on the deck, and his own hands tied behind his back, had been so absurd as to mutter something about might not making right, and about his having been engaged in an honest occupation, would that have changed the laws of nature and reversed the obvious position of the parties? Would he have walked the plank any the less?

Mr. Stephens's argument may be stated in another form, thus: trees grow according to the laws of nature; man, in the use of the powers which the Creator bestowed upon him, modifies certain parts of the trees into clubs, and organizes the institution known as club-law; is it not plain, then, that whoever resists the application of club-law resists not only human law, but the laws of nature and the laws of God?

But, as all human works are marked by imperfection, even Mr. Stephens, when he strays beyond his strong hold of club-law, and the divine right of the strongest, makes one or two little slips, which, at the risk of seeming hypercritical, we will notice.

Although the gradations in stars, beasts, birds, fishes and insects, to which he refers us for illustration, are exceedingly numerous and varied, and the varieties of condition and degrees of development of the human family not less so, Mr. Stephens makes but two classes of the latter, white men and negroes: the former all A, No. 1, superfine specimens of the dignity of human nature; the latter all Z, No. 99, perfect specimens of the degradation of human nature. The simplicity and comprehensiveness of this classification would be admirable, if the classification itself were only true; but, unfortunately for Mr. Stephens, the testimony of all the most competent and reliable travellers and historians is diametrically opposed to his. We learn, from unquestionable evidence, that very great variety exists in the manners, customs, capacities and attainments of even those African tribes which are known; that some have made great improvement in agriculture, others in manufactures and mechanic arts, others in hunting and the domestication of such animals as can be made useful in that manner, and others in gentleness, courtesy, honesty among themselves, and hospitality to strangers—though it may be that Mr. Stephens, educated in conformity to the very different standard of morals and manners prevalent in Georgia, may not admit the qualities last named to be virtues at all, except those instances of hospitality which are exercised at the expense of others.

But, as successive discoveries acquaint us with the interior of Africa, and with those of its tribes which have been least, or not at all, acquainted with Mr. Stephens's saints, the agents of European and American commerce, we find more and more specimens of a higher character and a better culture. All these, however, and all which remain to be discovered, are unceremoniously lumped together by Mr. Stephens in his second class. They are negroes. 'Do what you will, [he says, p. 15,] a negro is a negro, and he will remain a negro still.' The fact is incontrovertible. But if you stop there, and do not jump to the further conclusions that no justice can aid him, no humanity benefit him, no culture refine him, and no efforts elevate him—you stop short of the purposes, and disappoint the expectations of Mr. Stephens.

But again: the testimony of history in all ages, and of the most reliable voyagers and travellers of the present century, contradicts Mr. Stephens's major premise not less absolutely than his minor. We find the varieties in character, condition and capacity among white men also to be very great; and we find, not only that all white men are not superior to all black men, but that some tribes of white men are as low as the lowest, and very many inferior to the highest of the negro tribes. To refer to only one of the recent testimonies—Dr. Kane has shown us that the northern tribes of Esquimaux, (reduction to whose mode of existence wore out the health and destroyed the lives of even such hardy and seasoned adventurers as himself and his brave companions,) must speedily die out and become extinct—because their dogs, on whom their very existence depends, are diminishing from year to year. Not one of the African tribes, not even those which have been deteriorated by the society of Mr. Stephens's agents on the Gold Coast, is lower in morals or manners, present condition or future prospects, than those Esquimaux; who, by Dr. Kane's unimpeached account, living not only without metals, and ignorant of letters, but amid the greatest discomforts and privations, were too stupid to imagine the existence of a better country than their own, and had too little energy to seek it of their own accord, or migrate to it when the news had been brought them; who alternately gorged and starved, as fortune helped or hindered them—slept in a promiscuous mass, all the inmates of the hut, more or fewer, lying clustered together, entirely naked, in the warmest place, 'like worms in a basket'—killed their children when they became too numerous or too troublesome—and had no better prospect than to die themselves whenever their dogs should die. Yet these, in Mr. Stephens's classification, are 'white men,' superior, in virtue of that fact, to any actual or possible negro.

As all general rules have their exceptions, we find one curious exception to the weak, torpid, lazy and inefficient character ascribed by Mr. Stephens to the negro blood. A single drop of it suffices to neutralize, and even immediately to annihilate, a bucket full, or any conceivable quantity, of the purest Virginian blood. For instance:—Since it is well known that planters do not suffer the reproductive powers of their slaves to lie idle, but bestow even more personal attention upon the increase of this than of any other variety of their cattle, it is very possible that there may be now in existence the fifth generation in regular (or rather irregular, but certainly natural,) descent from the daughter of Thomas Jefferson, formerly President of the United States. Now if we make the supposition, not at all improbable, that a daughter was born in each stage of this descent, and the further supposition, a highly probable one, that each of these successive daughters had issue by her master, or his son, or the class-mate or other young Northern friend to whom this son was showing 'hospitality,' we shall have, in the child last born, merely one sixty-fourth, or one hundred and twenty-eighth part of African blood; the former, if the ex-President's favorite were black, the latter, if she were yellow. But the singular fact is, that this minute proportion of black blood not only annihilates the sixty-three sixty-fourths, or the hundred and twenty-seven hundred and twenty-eighths of white blood, making its possessor fully and absolutely what Mr. Stephens calls a negro, and his overseer a nigger, but it annihilates also the ordinary rules of nativity, stamping as an African and an Ethiopian, (both of which terms Mr. Stephens uses interchangeably with 'negro,') a person who was not only born in the United States, but whose ancestors, for five generations back, have all been born at some point between Virginia and Georgia.

Still further: Not only does this minute interfusion of black blood reverse the technical designation of the white blood so profusely mingled with it, which would otherwise have remained Caucasian-Virginian, or Anglo-Saxon-Georgian, it annihilates the intellectual superiority which is in other cases transmitted from sire to son, and leaves the unfortunate possessor a 'nigger' in his possibilities not less than in his actual state. So that the last branch of the genealogical tree we have been describing is not merely one sixty-fourth or one hundred and twenty-eighth part less admirably organized than the thorough-bred, Simon pure Virginian or Georgian, it is not well organized at all; it cannot take care of itself, and so must have an overseer, though, strange to say, it enables the overseer to get *his* food and raiment out of a sort of industry not, in other cases, esteemed productive, the flourishing of a cowhide; it cannot earn its own living, and so needs a master, though, wonderful to tell, *with* that master, it can earn the living of both, and leave a large balance for billiards and race-horses, Newport and Saratoga; it cannot improve by instruction; this was thoroughly proved by a humane, though Quixotic experiment of Mrs. Margaret Douglass, of Virginia, who has candidly published an account* of the utter failure of her efforts, admitting that she succeeded in communicating, even the first rudiments of knowledge, to but very few, and that even these soon forgot what they had learned. The claim made, on very doubtful authority, of some few exceptional cases, in which beings of this description, after outrunning hounds and hunters, dodging rifle-balls, and evading kidnappers and commissioners, have, under the influence of a different diet and regimen, outgrown their incompetency, and made speeches, written auto-biographies, delivered lectures and edited newspapers, cannot for a moment be admitted to weaken the immense mass of evidence existing under the general rule, and thus Mr. Stephens's argument stands firm and impregnable as hypothesis itself.

C. K. W.

* The Personal Narrative of Mrs. Margaret Douglass, a Southern woman, who was imprisoned for one month in the common jail of Norfolk, under the laws of Virginia, for the crime of teaching free colored children to read. 12mo. pp. 65. John P. Jewett & Co., Boston.

The Ohio Senate and Disunionists. Our readers will find in another column the Report of the Committee in the Senate, and its final action on the subject of the Disunion Petitions which have been presented to that body this winter, and also the review of that report by Dr. Brooke. Mr. Brown found no difficulty in identifying the Northern Democrats with the Slaveholding Disunionists, and has chosen this easier task, rather than attempt the exposure of the moral wrongfulness or political inexpediency of the measure sought. Probably the success of the Committee of One in forgetting the question under discussion, and substituting one of a partisan character, on which it was so well posted, was what put the Senate in the amiable and melting mood indicated by the resolution finally adopted. It is very different from the blood and thunder demonstrations fashionable among patriots on such occasions. This lachrymal resolution is, after all the dodging in the Report, quite encouraging that the whole Ohio Senate may yet fraternally embrace the Garrisonian fanatics; for has not the poet said of men contemplating things abhorrent,

'They first endure, then pity, then embrace'?

Our Senators are evidently in the next stage to the last, to their way to Disunionism. We hope not to that of the Calhoun school, though their tears flow as freely for Southern as for Northern Disunionists.—Ohio A. S. Bugle.

☞ The evasive, adroit and partisan Report referred to by the *Bugle* may be found on our first page. Mr. Brown, 'the Committee of One,' had the sense to perceive that he could not meet the reasons set forth in the petitions for a dissolution of the Union, and so made no attempt in that direction. His political hits at the Democratic party may be smart and effective, but they do not touch the merits of the question.

A Voice from Switzerland. We call the attention of all the Evangelical Christians of the United States to the Appeal which is made to them, on the subject of American slavery, [see our first page,] by a large number of the officers and members of the Evangelical Colleges, Societies and Churches in Switzerland, attested by their signatures—at the head of the list appearing the honored name of D'Aubigné.

THE CASE OF JUDGE LORING.

The Minority Report, in favor of removing Judge Loring from the office which he disgraces,—drawn up by Mr. Albee of the Senate, and signed by himself and by Mr. Ward of the House,—is an elaborate and able paper, occupying 28 printed pages. We are so pressed for room, that we can only make the following extract from it, in answer to the objection that the law of 1855, prohibiting any person holding the office of Slave Commissioner from holding at the same time any office of honor, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth, is unconstitutional.

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But it is said that Massachusetts has no right to make such a law.

Let us examine the precedents. The constitution declares certain offices incompatible. Such offices cannot be made compatible by any act of the legislature; but it by no means follows that the legislature cannot add to the list of incompatible offices.

Has the legislature ever added to the number of incompatible offices?

On March 3, 1810, the legislature passed a law, rendering certain offices incompatible, as follows: 'No person who holds the office of attorney-general, district-attorney, justice of the court of common pleas, clerk of the same court, or sheriff, shall hold the office of county treasurer.'

Now, if the law of 1810 was constitutional, then most certainly the law of 1855 must be consitutional also, so far at least as it affects the incompatibility of offices.

Your Committee ask particular attention to the facts in regard to this law. This law remained unquestioned upon the statute book for about twenty-five years. But this is not all. When the statutes of Massachusetts were to be revised, the Hon. Charles Jackson, the Hon. Asahel Stearns and John H. Ashmun, Esq., were appointed to make this revision, and on the death of Mr. Ashmun, the Hon. John Pickering was appointed in his stead, men holding the very first rank in the legal profession. Now had this law been unconstitutional, is it probable it would have passed unscathed through the hands of these commissioners? Yet it did pass through, and is still retained in the body of the Revised Statutes.

Then there is another significant fact bearing upon the point now under consideration. In the convention of 1820, the resolution, which provides that judges of courts and United States officers shall not hold certain offices, being under consideration, the Hon. Elijah Alvord, of Greenfield, a man of the highest integrity and moral worth, and of great influence in the convention, moved, on December 25th, to amend, by adding after the provision that judges of courts of common pleas shall hold no other office, except of justice of the peace and military offices—'*provided, however*, that this amendment shall not operate to deprive any such judge of any office which he now lawfully holds.'

Mr. Webster scouted the idea of making a difference between those now holding office and those who might hereafter be appointed to office, and thought that if the amendment should operate immediately upon any officer included in it, it ought to operate on all. He was against the amendment.

Mr. Alvord said it was a different question, whether a person holding a certain office should be eligible to another, and whether such person shall be deprived of an office of which he is lawfully invested. He could not reconcile it with his notions of justice, that persons who had accepted offices under the constitution should be deprived of them by the creation of an incompatibility by an alteration of the constitution.

Messrs. Lawrence, of Groton, Lincoln, of Worcester, Willard, of Fitchburg, and Walker, of Templeton, spoke against the amendment. The amendment was negatived. [Massachusetts convention of 1820, page 403.]

Thus then, the policy of the State, as to the application of incompatibility of offices, was established beyond a doubt, to wit, that incompatibility may operate equally upon all,—upon the person in actual possession, as well as upon the person appointed to office subsequently to the passage of the Act rendering the offices incompatible.

This action, too, was taken in the very face of a protest put in, as an amendment, by a distinguished member of the convention, asking the convention to except those judges who already lawfully held offices, now about to be rendered incompatible. The convention, after debate and deliberate consideration, refused to make any exception in favor of the judges.

Thus the antiquated doctrine of vested rights in an office was repudiated in Massachusetts. In fact, it never got a footing in Massachusetts, inasmuch as the constitution itself, part 1, article 4, expressly says, 'the idea of a man being born a magistrate, lawgiver, or judge, is absurd and unnatural.'

Again, (article 5,) all officers of government, whether legislative, executive or *judicial*, 'are *at all times* accountable to them,' viz., to the people.

On March 12, 1784, the legislature enacted a law prohibiting any sheriff from appearing as counsel or attorney in any court of this Commonwealth.

In 1855, every court established by the laws of this Commonwealth was prohibited from any jurisdiction whatever in respect to naturalization of aliens under the laws of the United States. That is, the function of naturalizing foreigners was deemed incompatible with the office of Massachusetts judge.

In 1856, the compatibility of these two functions was restored to the higher courts.

Then again, the Act of 1843, commonly called the Latimer law, forbid Massachusetts magistrates to act under the law of 1793, in respect to 'fugitives from service and labor.' Yet by this Act, jurisdiction in all cases of the extradition of fugitives from service or labor was vested 'in any magistrate of a county, city or town corporate,' and, therefore, as Judge Loring justly says, in his Protest of February 9, 1855, in any person holding a commission of justice of the peace.

Now all these magistrates became United States officers the moment they acted under the Act of 1793. Because the Supreme Court has decided that exercising powers conferred by Congress, is holding office under the United States. [*Jackson* v. *Row*, National Intelligencer, Dec. 23, 1815.]

Then, on the ground assumed by Mr. Loring, in his Protest of March 9, 1857, could these magistrates be forbidden constitutionally to act under the law of 1793? They *were forbidden* so to act by the law of 1848, and that law has never been declared unconstitutional.

If the undersigned had any doubt that Massachusetts had the constitutional right to render the holding of the office of Judge of Probate, or any other State office, incompatible with the holding of an office under the United States, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Prigg case would dissipate that doubt.

It does not help the matter for Mr. Loring to say the United States Slave Commissioner is one officer, and the Judge of Probate is another officer, and that when I act as Judge of Probate, I am no longer Slave Commissioner; and when I act as Slave Commissioner, I do not do it by virtue of the commission that I hold as Judge of Probate; whereas the magistrates who acted under the law of 1793, acted in virtue of the commission they held as State magistrates.

This, at first blush, seems plausible, yet, on examination, it will be found to be a distinction without a difference.

Besides, this is not the material point. Commissioner Loring and Judge of Probate Loring are, after all, one and the same man, and it matters not with Massachusetts whether Mr. Loring makes a man a slave by virtue of his commission as United States Commissioner, or by some additional function conferred upon him by the United States in consequence of his holding a commission as Judge of Probate in Massachusetts, as was the case under the law of 1793. Therefore, so long as Mr. Loring holds the office of Slave Commissioner under the United States, Massachusetts says to him, 'Be no officer of mine.'

State magistrates acting under the Act of Feb. 12, 1793, became, in consequence of that acting, office-holders under the United States, according to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Jackson* vs. *Row*, above referred to. Now, then, could the State Legislatures make these two functions, to wit, the function of State magistrate and the function of United States slave-catcher, incompatible? If they could, then it follows as a necessary consequence, that they can, constitutionally, make other State offices incompatible with a similar function or office conferred by the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Prigg case, distinctly decided this point in respect to the law of Feb. 12, 1793. The Court say: 'As to the authority so conferred upon State magistrates, while a difference of opinion has existed, and may still exist, on this point, in different States, whether State magistrates are bound to act under it, none is entertained by this Court that State magistrates may, if they choose, exercise the authority, *unless prohibited by State legislation*.' That is, State Legislatures could prohibit State magistrates from acting as slave-catchers under the law of 1793; or, in other words, they could make the office of Judge of Probate incompatible with the slave-catching function.

Then, does it not follow, as a just deduction from this decision, that the State Legislatures may make the office of Judge of Probate incompatible with the office of Slave Commissioner under the Bill of Sept. 18, 1850, especially as the Bill of 1850 is entitled, and is, 'An Act to amend, and supplementary to the Act' of 1793?

Views similar to those held in Massachusetts, in respect to the unconstitutionality of making offices incompatible, are entertained by other States in this Union. Take Virginia, for instance.

Under the head—Disabilities to hold Office—Virginia Code, 1849, chap. 12, p. 84, occurs the following: 'A person holding office under the United States.' Sec. 2. 'No person shall be capable of holding any such post, to wit: State office, who holds any post of profit, trust or emolument, civil or military, legislative, executive or judicial, under the government of the United States, or who receives in any way, from the United States, any emolument whatever.'

This, the undersigned think, may be called incompatibility in full.

From the legislative precedents, and the decisions of the Supreme Court above quoted, the undersigned come to the conclusion—

1st. That sect. 13, of chap. 489, of the Act of 1855, is constitutional.

2d. That as Judge Loring has violated, and continues to violate, the provisions of said section, thus placing himself in manifest defiance of law, therefore, the said Judge Loring has given reason for the loss of public confidence, and furnished sufficient ground for removal by address.

On Tuesday forenoon, the Senate took up the case of Judge Loring, in connection with the Majority and Minority Reports on the subject. Mr. Merrick and Mr. Clarke advocated the adoption of the former. Mr. Albee advocated with ability the removal of Judge Loring, on various grounds. Mr. Bonney made a strong and sensible speech on the same side—followed by Mr. Shaw and Mr. White, in earnest and forcible language. The question being on substituting the Minority for the Majority Report, the yeas and nays were called, and the substitute was adopted by a vote of 20 yeas to 15 nays, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Albee, Atwood, Bliss, Bonney, Brakenridge, Churchill, Green, Haynes, Hitchcock, Hoar, Poor, Sabin, Shaw, Swift, Taft, Warner, Whitney and White—20.

Nays—Messrs. Batchelder, Burbank, Clark, Cowdin, Esty, Field, Hunking, Messinger, Merrick, Mixter, Rogers, Turner, Usher, Wheeler, Young—15.

Absent—Messrs. Harris, Mitchell, Stone, Taylor.

The address was read, and, after an amendment striking out certain sections that set forth reasons, the address was adopted and sent to the other branch by a vote of 25 to 12, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Albee, Ames, Atwood, Bliss, Bonney, Brakenridge, Churchill, Field, Greene, Haynes, Hitchcock, Hoar, Mitchell, Poor, Sabin, Sawin, Shaw, Swift, Taft, Usher, Warner, Wheeler, Whitney, White, Young—25.

Nays—Messrs. Batchelder, Burbank, Clark, Cowdin, Esty, Hunking, Messinger, Merrick, Mixter, Rogers, Taylor, Turner—12.

Absent—Messrs. Harris and Stone.

The following is the form in which the address was agreed to:—

'Address to His Excellency, Henry J. Gardner, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The two branches of the legislature, in general court assembled, respectfully request that your excellency would be pleased, by and with the advice and consent of the council, to remove Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk, for any one, or for all the following reasons, to wit:—

1st. Because he consented to sit as United States slave commissioner, in defiance of the moral sentiment of Massachusetts, as expressed in the legislative resolutions of 1850.

2d. Because, now in defiance of the provisions contained in section 13, of chapter 489, of the acts of 1855, Edward Greeley Loring continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate, under a Massachusetts commission, and at the same time, to hold, in defiance of law, a commission under the United Ssates, which qualifies him to issue warrants and grant certificates, under the acts of Congress, named in the ninth section of chapter 489, of the acts of 1855.'

The Senate has done better than was anticipated,—and for this it shall have due credit,—though it ought to have been unanimous for the removal of Judge Loring. We shall look for an overwhelming vote in the House of Representatives.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION AT CHICAGO.

Several fugitive negroes were recently arrested at Chicago, for stealing poultry. Their counsel on the 18th inst., moved for their dismissal from custody, on the ground that, under the recent decision of the Supreme Court, negroes are *things*, and not persons, as alleged in the indictment. The plea in abatement was filed, and was followed by a demurrer from the State's Attorney. The latter admitted that the defendants were *bona fide* slaves, and liable to rendition to their masters, but claimed that they were subject to the local State laws. The counsel for the defence gave the following reasons why his plea should be sustained:—

'1st. That however repugnant to the ideas of the people, the opinion of the Supreme Court is the law of the land.

'2d. That the demurrer admits the fact in this plea, that the defendants are chattels and property.

'3d. That the defendants being chattels, not *persons*, are consequently incapable of committing crime, and incapable of being incarcerated therefor. "A chattel cannot commit a *crime*—an article of merchandise cannot, by and within the meaning of the law, be *punished*; and Africans, the descendants of slaves, bought and sold, are held to be chattels and merchandise."

'4th. That the opinion announced in the Dred Scott case decides that no distinction exists between slaves and descendants of slaves, *and other property*.

'5th. That the Constitution of Illinois being a limit of power, not a grant, if the United States Constitution has declared the African race brought to this country as slaves, (for none others are brought,) to be property, and merchantable chattels, then the Constitution or law of Illinois cannot change that character, such State Constitution being a limit of power, and the State laws being dependent thereon for their validity, and that the Constitution of the United States so declares them.

'6th. That the defendants being slaves, or their descendants, they cannot be held as citizens of Illinois, nor of any of the States, because by the supreme law they are chattels, not persons.

'7th. That the State laws authorize the conviction of persons only, not property, nor can the warden of any prison hold such property in custody. "If a chattel commits a wrong act, he should be punished as a chattel, not as a *man*. The fox that steals property cannot be indicted and punished as a *man*, but must be punished as a fox."'

His Honor, Judge Nelson, sustained the demurrer, stating that 'If Chief Justice Taney ever intended by that decision to make "Africans, or the descendants of Africans," so far chattels as they may appropriate other people's chattels, by larceny, without being answerable to the laws of this State or the local police regulations, then this Court does not recognize the validity of such decision.' Exception was taken to the ruling of the Court, and the 'merchantable chattels' were placed upon trial. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

PERSONAL LIBERTY IN MAINE.

The following important enactments in regard to the Dred Scott decision, have been adopted by the Legislature of Maine:—

An Act in addition to 'An act further to protect personal liberty.'

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Legislature assembled, as follows:

Section 1. When it shall come to the knowledge of any County Attorney that any person has been arrested at any place within this County, and is claimed as a fugitive slave under the provisions of an act of Congress, the said County Attorney shall immediately repair to the place where such person is held in custody, and render him all necessary and legal assistance in making his defence against said claim.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the said County Attorney to summon such witnesses as he shall deem necessary to substantiate such defence, whose fees and all other necessary and legal expense incurred in making such defence shall be paid by the State.

Sec. 3. This act shall take effect from and after its approval by the Governor. [Approved April 14, 1857.]

—

An Act declaring all slaves brought by their masters into this State free, and to punish any attempt to exercise any authority over them.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Legislature assembled, as follows:

Section 1. Any slave voluntarily brought into this State by his master, or with his knowledge or consent, shall thereby become free; and if restrained of his liberty, he may, on the writ of habeas corpus, be discharged from such restraint; and any attempt by any person to restrain such slave of his liberty, or to exercise the authority of master over him, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect on and after its approval by the Governor. [Approved April 15, 1857.]

The Pennsylvania Legislature—Case of Dred Scott.—The majority of the Select Committee of the Senate, on the resolutions in the Dred Scott case, have made a lengthy report, accompanied with resolutions, declaring that the opinion of the Supreme Court announces principles in palpable opposition to the judicial and legislative history of the Union, and in violation of the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States; that the opinion, except on the question of jurisdiction, being delivered on a case over which the court admitted it had not jurisdiction, may be justly regarded as *obiter dicta coram non judicie*, and inoperative as law; that the five judges who concurred in the same opinion made a wanton attack on the sovereignty of the free States, and an impotent attempt to nullify the established laws of this country, and by extra judicial action caused an unnecessary excitement to the public in regard to the subject of slavery, and thereby forfeited the confidence and respect due to their exalted station.

CAPTURE OF AN AMERICAN SLAVER.

The Kingston (Jamaica) Journal of April 23d, received by the Illinois, contains the following:

On Thursday last, the 16th instant, the inhabitants of St. Ann's Bay were thrown into a state of considerable excitement by the arrival of a schooner—evidently American—towed into port by H. M. brig 'Arab.' It was soon ascertained that the schooner was a slaver, and that she had on board a large number of captives. It appears that the captain of the 'Arab' had received information, that a bark and schooner were expected in Cuba from the Coast of Africa, each with a cargo of slaves; a strict watch was therefore kept, and on Monday the 13th instant, a suspicious-looking craft was seen with a full press of sail, making the best of her way to her destined port. She was closely pursued, and the captain finding that there was no possibility of escaping from the 'Arab,' deserted her, taking with him in a shallop, his crew, money, chronometer, and other useful articles. The Commander of the 'Arab' despatched his gunboat with 15 men, under the command of his first lieutenant, with orders for the capture of the shallop,—the chase continued for nearly three hours—and a shot having destroyed the rudder of the shallop, the captain, who was owner of the slaver, surrendered. Two of his principal slaves, and an interpreter, were taken from the shallop, and the crew left in it, to make the best of their way to Cuba. The first lieutenant then boarded the schooner, and found her filled with young Africans, males and females, to the number of 373, no less than 127 having fallen victims to the horrors of the middle passage, during a voyage of 29 days. The poor captives were in a wretched condition—all of them were naked—and the greater part seemed to have been half starved. They were packed closely together, and covered with dirt and vermin. The captain of the schooner refused to give his name or the name of the vessel, but stated that he would be a loser of $30,000—a loss which did not cause him much concern, as he had made other and successful trips. A great deal of information, however, has been obtained from the interpreter, who mentioned that several vessels were left on the African coast—that they were to have sailed soon, with full cargoes—that upon an average, two vessels departed weekly, each with 500 to 700 slaves on board—that the trade was rapidly increasing—and that the slaves, on being landed in Cuba, were worth from $500 to $700 each. The 373 liberated slaves will, of course, be apportioned in lots to the proprietors whose applications are in the office of the Lieutenant Governor.

Resistance to Law in Mississippi.—The Holly Springs *Democrat* contains the proceedings of a public meeting held at Byhalia, Miss., for the purpose of resisting the enforcement of certain acts passed at the last Legislature, prohibiting the circulation of bank bills under the denomination of five dollars, and the punishment of slaves with more than thirty-nine lashes for any one offence. They denounced the first as 'inconvenient, unnecessary and intolerable,' and the second as 'abusive of power, insulting and injurious to the South.' They also resolved to disregard both of the laws, and to resist by force any attempt to punish their violation, 'throwing the responsibility of what may follow resistance upon the Legislature, who are the aggressors.'

☞ More than one hundred of the prominent members of the "Young Men's Christian Association" in New York have withdrawn from that organization, because a majority of its members voted to discuss the subject of slavery. Among the seceders are Rev. Drs. Spring, DeWitt, Potts, Alexander, &c., who accuse the association of departing from the object originally contemplated, which was the consideration of purely evangelical subjects, and not the discussion of political and reformatory questions. Young America, under the lead of such men as Henry Ward Beecher and George B. Cheever, in the *Independent*, has carried the day; while old-fashioned conservative Orthodoxy, in the New York *Observer*, has been compelled to secede. Rumor says that the seceders will form another association. Meanwhile, the "Young Men's Christian Union," in New York, composed of members in sympathy with the liberal churches in that city, is open for the discussion of both sides of all great moral and reformatory subjects, and lately listened to a long and elaborate defence of slavery.—*Boston Courier.*

Frozen to Death.—Four persons were lately found frozen on the summit of Williamstown mountain, N. York. The Albany *Atlas* and *Argus* says—

The Williamstown authorities were notified of the circumstances of the case, and some of them appeared to take a view of the bodies. They, however, declined to have anything to do with them, on account of the expense!

The Troy *Whig* mentions an incident as creditable to canine nature as the other is disgraceful to humanity:

Attached to the company of basket-makers was a faithful dog, that was found lying between the dead bodies. He fought with desperation the persons who came to take the bodies away, and when he could do no more, he followed the corpses to Petersburgh, and insisted upon being near them. With the basket-makers was found a quantity of cold victuals, of which the dog refused to partake a morsel; but other food being offered him, he devoured the same with the avidity of a starveling.'

Death of Hon. Joshua A. Spencer.—The Hon. Joshua A. Spencer, a very eminent lawyer of Utica, died in that city on the 25th ult., after a very brief illness.

Convicted for Rape.—In the Municipal Court of Boston, on the 29th ult., the jury brought in Robert Sullivan guilty of committing a rape on Ellen Desmond, in the *Herald* building, last January. It was one of the greatest outrages ever committed.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society—Donation, $50 00
Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society—for the Tract Fund, 25 00

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer.*

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed for that purpose, hereby give notice, that the Fifth Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania will convene in the Longwood meeting-house, Chester County, on the FIRST DAY, the 17th of Fifth month, 1857, at 10 o'clock, a. m., and continue its sessions, probably, for three successive days.

The distinguishing peculiarity of this Religious Society is, that, not being founded upon a creed, it invites the co-operation of every friend of Truth, Humanity, and Progress, without regard to sectarian or theological distinctions. The rights of those who come into our assemblies are graduated by no difference of sex, nationality, or complexion. We have no order of priests or ministers, lifted above their brethren, to address us in a voice of authority, to define the boundaries of thought, and interpret for us the will of God. Free discussion has for us no terrors. We say with Milton, 'Though all the winds of doctrine be let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to doubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worse by a free and open encounter?'

We assemble ourselves together, from time to time, not to wrangle about the abstruse dogmas of a dry and sapless theology, but for the renewal of our spiritual strength, and to worship the Supreme in the search for living and vital truth; to inspire and promote the spirit of love and good will among mankind; to confront in a manly spirit the great moral issue of the time; to testify against every form of oppression and popular wickedness; to invigorate every noble and generous impulse, and every aspiration for purity and virtue; to speak words of encouragement, sympathy, and hope to the poor, the unfortunate, and the degraded, and to devise and execute plans for their relief. We accept, as expressing the spirit and purpose of our Association, these memorable words of Humboldt: 'The one idea which history exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness, is the idea of humanity—the noble endeavor to throw down all barriers erected between man by prejudice and one-sided views; and, by setting aside the distinctions of religion, country, and color, to treat the whole human race as one brotherhood, having one great object, the free development of our spiritual nature.'

To all whose hearts incline them to co-operate with us, in this spirit and for these objects, we extend a cordial and earnest invitation to meet with us at the time and place above named.

Joseph A. Dugdale,	*Ruhaney Way,*
Oliver Johnson,	*Thomas Garrett,*
H. M. Darlington,	*Isaac Mendenhall,*
William Bernard,	*Philena Heald,*
John G. Jackson,	*Ruth Dugdale,*
Lizzie McFarlan,	*Franklin Darlington,*
Hannah P. Hanway,	*Josiah Wilson,*
Dinah Mendenhall,	*Susanna Chambers,*
Sarah M. Bernard,	*Sarah A. Entriken,*
Rachel Wilson,	*Agnes Sanders.*

Communications for the Meeting may be addressed to Joseph A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa., or to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

Longwood meeting-house is one mile west of Hamorton, on the road leading to Kennett Square. Strangers are informed that a daily mail coach runs to the latter place from Wilmington, Del., passing directly by the meeting-house. The distance from Wilmington to Longwood is 13 miles. Between Philadelphia and Wilmington there is daily communication, both by railroad and steamboat.

If any person wishes for conveyance from Longwood to Wilmington, on the day previous to the Yearly Meeting, Thomas Garrett, of the latter place, will make provision for them, on reasonable terms, if written to in season.

☞ THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE 'FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS' will be held at the Junius Meeting-House, Waterloo, Seneca Co., N. Y., commencing on the 7th day of June next.

On behalf of the Yearly Meeting, we invite all, who feel that true and acceptable worship consists in something better than empty creeds and stereotyped forms, to mingle with us on this occasion.

Our object in thus assembling ourselves together is not to create a wordy form of Religion, but, in the sacred communion of soul with soul, endeavor to eliminate Truth, and bring it to bear upon the evils that so crush humanity in this age.

Our meetings, heretofore, have been replete with interest, and we doubt not that all, who fully believe that a true love of God and a Christian life are alone exhibited in fruits of *practical* goodness, will find they have been amply repaid for the time spent.

For those coming on the cars, conveyances will be in readiness, to take them to homes near the meeting-house, (about three miles from the village of Waterloo;) and we can assure our friends, that heart and house-room await all who will be with us. Strangers inquiring at the depot for James Truman will receive all necessary directions. Communications for the meeting should also be addressed to him.

On behalf of the Yearly Meeting,
C. D. B. MILLS,
JAS. TRUMAN,
MARY A. TRUMAN,
JOSEPHINE SHOTWELL,
PHEBE DEAN,
REUBEN P. MOSHER.

☞ AN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, for Dutchess County, N. Y., under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Washington Hollow, in the County Fair Building, on Saturday and Sunday, May 16 and 17.

Parker Pillsbury, Charles Lenox Remond, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others, will address the Convention.

There will be two sessions each day, commencing at half-past 10, A. M., and at half-past 2, P. M.

☞ Let there be a grand rally of the freedom-loving men and women of 'Old Dutchess,' under the banner of 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically.'

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at PUTNAM, (Ct.) on Sunday next, May 10.

☞ MR. AND MRS. CHARLES SPEAR will deliver Addresses in Quincy, on Sunday, 10th inst., in the Universalist Church, at the usual hours of service, and in the evening at half-past 7 o'clock. Subject: Prisons and their Tenants; or, Revelations of Prison Life.

☞ WANTED.—The subscriber wishes to employ one hundred young and middle aged men to travel as agents through the New England and Western States, to sell some new and valuable books, for which a ready sale is found. A capital of from five to ten dollars only will be required, and an agent can make from $5 to $15 per day; for some now engaged in the business are making twice that sum. All information can be had concerning the business by addressing B. F. G., of Worcester, Mass., and enclosing a postage stamp.

☞ PLACES FOR COLORED BOYS.—Situation wanted in the country for a promising Boy, where he can learn a trade, or have the opportunity of good family training.

A colored Boy of character and aptness wanted in a lawyer's office.

Please address W. C. NELL,
May 8. 21 Cornhill.

☞ GIVE HIM A CHANCE.—A colored young man of good family and character desires to learn the art of shoemaking. Any one who can afford such an opportunity will please address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

MARRIED—In this city, April 7th, by Rev. L. A. Grimes, Mr. P. H. B. Saunders, of Hartford, (Ct.) and Miss Lucinda W. Mitchell, of Baltimore.

At Chicago, on the 1st inst., George Sunter, of Bradford, Canada West, to Mercy Lawrence, of Plainfield, Vermont.

DIED—In Brooklyn, N. Y., on Friday morning, May 1, Sophia Gedney, aged about 73 years, after a lingering illness of more than eighteen months, which she bore with Christian resignation and cheerfulness. Born and reared a slave in New York, she was made free in 1828 by the act of emancipation. Uneducated, robbed of her most vigorous years, with indomitable courage she labored to support herself and family creditably, and made herself widely esteemed as a kind mother, a faithful, sympathizing friend, and a true, practical Christian. She was formerly connected in church membership, but her spiritual requirements had long since burst the bounds of sect, and, casting aside all forms, she rejoiced in the full fruition of that liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free.—*Com.*

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

MR. EDITOR:—I would have sent a laurel-wreath, but the leaves grew high above my reach. All I could get from a whole heart full was this little flower—but, is it a flower, after all? M. A. STARR.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

He spoke of Freedom;—and we breathed the air
Of lofty mountains, stood on giddy heights,
Basked in full blaze of all created lights,
And spurned at chains and bonds, however fair!
He spoke of Slavery;—and, lo! the taint
Showed foul before our eyes:—with backward start,
We shrunk from the vile contact, sick at heart.
He spoke to us of self-devotion:—straight
Upon the altar lay each listener's life!
He spoke of courage:—every soul grew strong
To march into the deadliest of the strife,
And battle for the right against the wrong.
He ceased: with thrilling tears remembered we,
We had been imaged from the Deity!

Ellsworth, Me. M. A. S.

☞ The following effusion was received immediately after Mr. Sumner's return to the Senate, but its publication has been unintentionally delayed till now.] —*Ed. Lib.*

For the Liberator.

TO HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

ON HIS RETURN TO THE SENATE.

A holy mission now is thine! a deathless name thou'st won;
In Freedom's ranks thou art enrolled, her noble, valiant son;
Proudly for thee the 'Old Bay State' twines laurel wreaths to-day,
Glad that her son should raise his voice Oppression's wave to stay.

And from her homes amid the hills, and on the mountain side,
Within the poor man's lowly cot, or in the halls of pride—
The grateful prayer to heaven ascends, that, safe from murderous hand,
Our Sumner live to plead for Right, and rouse our guilty land.

Armed with the panoply of Truth, our cause can never fail,
More potent is this shield of thine than iron glaire of mail;
Then gird thine armor for the strife, like knight of olden time—
A nobler prize is thine to win, than conquer Palestine!

The fettered slave lifts up his hands imploringly to thee—
True to the wronged and suffering ones, their champion thou wilt be!
And while thy dark-browed brother wears the bondman's galling chain,
Thine earnest voice in Senate halls will still his wrongs proclaim.

Nor Southern scorn, with hatred leagued, shall move thy purpose high—
As lives the true man, thou wilt live—as dies the brave man, die!
The foeman's steel thy life may seek—the martyr's fate be thine—
Still for Humanity thou'lt plead, and worship at her shrine.

When last thy manly form was seen within our halls of state—
When last thine earnest voice was heard in grave and calm debate—
A ruffian hand was on thee laid, our council rooms profaned,
And in our country's Congress halls thy blood the marble stained.

Shall not New England feel that blow, aimed not alone at thee?
And in thy stricken form her fate can she still fail to see?
If tamely she such insult bear, what shall her future be?
And will she unto Southern rule in homage bend the knee?

But never more from that pale hand shall fall the angry blow—
And never more that once proud form as foeman shalt thou know:—
Death's palsying touch was on him laid, and in the silent grave
He rests, who vengeful sought thy life while pleading for the slave.

We may not dare the veil to lift the spirit land that hides,
For in that realm beyond the tomb no human counsel guides;
No bondman there shall trembling bow beneath his master's thrall—
For in our Father's home we know we shall be freemen all!

Again we say to thee, 'God speed!'—and, when far o'er the sea,
May balmy gales and sunny skies bring healing unto thee;
And when again thy feet shall press the soil that gave thee birth,
May Health's bright angel give thee strength to do thy life's great work!

The world hath need of men like thee, who dare to think and speak,
And raise a strong and manly arm, to aid the oppress'd and weak;
Who dare to write on History's page that slavery is a sin,
Nor barter manhood's honor pure, a party's spoils to win.

But higher guerdon will be thine than pride of place and power,
And richer thy reward will be than e'er was kingly dower;
Then hopeful, trustful, earnest still, press to the conflict on—
Nor pause, till on life's battle-field thou conquerest giant Wrong.

Barre, 1857. CARRIE.

From the People's Journal.

SPRING.

Gentle Spring has come again,
With her buds and flowers;
Everywhere we meet her view,
Wet with vernal showers.

Birds are singing on each tree
Songs of joy and gladness;
Why, when all around are free,
Why, my heart, this sadness?

Springtime comes, and faded flowers
Brighter bloom than ever;
But the hopes of by-gone hours
Bud and blossom never.

This is why my heart is sad;
And the tear that's started
Tells of sunny hopes, once mine,
Now for aye departed.

Yet I hail with joy the Spring,
Though with thoughts of sadness,
For to others she may bring
Sunny days of gladness. LAURA.

The Liberator.

OUR PROSCRIBED COLORED CITIZENS.

Though Judge Taney, at Slavery's bidding, has decided that colored Americans are not citizens, the fiat of no judge has yet been potent enough to veto their equality with white Americans in certain other respects. For instance, the present unparalleled religious excitement in our midst is not monopolised by the white citizens, but numerous colored proselytes have been made, and the colored churches have nightly been scenes of such extravagant exhibitions that a detailed account of them would hardly be believed. Whether the convicted and converted will reveal, in their future lives, evidence of a change of character, or whether, in their case, it will prove zeal's labor lost, of course it is not for us now to predict, only to be hopeful for the best.

But of the *modus operandi* by which this state of things has been realised, those who, having eyes have seen, and having ears heard, many suns will rise and set before the impression can be obliterated from the tablets of memory.

We have somewhere read of a young woman who, on being asked how much Christianity she enjoyed, replied, 'None to *speak of*,'—thereby inculcating the instructive precept, that

'True Christianity depends on fact,
Religion is not theory, but act.'

There are those who, from their stand-point of experience and observation, contend that the colored people excel the whites in these religious manifestations; and in support of the position that they are thus more emotional, they quote largely from books of science and philosophy. Others, again, deduce from these same premises a conclusion not so favorable; but as it is not our present purpose to exercise the function of a polemic, we are content to claim for the colored brethren and sisters equality with the whites in this respect.

A few days since, a brilliant wedding attracted a refined and intelligent party, which in manners, conversation, costume, music, and attention to the rules of bridal etiquette, was not a whit behind those of the dominant class in our land. This was not the first of the kind, nor will it be the last.

On the evening of the same day, a parlor dramatic representation was the nucleus around which was gathered a select and highly gratified company. The histrionic exercises gave promise of much future excellence, as did also the music, both vocal and instrumental. In addition to this exhibition, Faith, Hope and Justice were admirably personated in tableaux by three young ladies, and a group of brigands at rest by the same number of gentlemen.

Had there been any of the satellites of Judge Taney present, with their prejudices that should be conquered, they could have gleaned evidences abundant of the equality of colored with white; for among the *dramatis personæ* and their guests were to be seen representatives of the arts and professions in rather more than ordinary proportion. One lawyer, who has been admitted to practice in the United States Circuit Court, Judge Sprague on the bench, who must of course have had good evidence of his color; (who shall decide when judges disagree as to the citizenship of colored Americans?) one physician, a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, whose collegiate acquirements in America were improved by transatlantic discipline, and whose perseverance and patience under discouraging obstacles deserve a long list of patients to be relieved by his gifts of healing; one portrait painter, whose productions in oil and crayon have already been rewarded with general approbation; (the walls of this temporary Thespian temple were adorned with several landscape compositions by another young artist;) a daguerrian operator, an ornamental gilder—both very successful—together with clerks, printers, &c. &c., were conspicuous personages in this company.

There are also clubs and circles for the special cultivation of music, reading, and other branches. A letter from a member of one of their book clubs states that they have for their object 'the improvement of the mind, and therefore only solid and instructive reading will be allowed.'

It was our good fortune to be present on a recent occasion with a drawing-room company, where, among the amusements of the hour, a recital of impromptu verses evinced a good degree of familiarity with the poets and authors, and also excellent powers of mind in criticising the faults and commending the graces of past and present themes of conversation. Prominent in this encounter of wits was a young lady, a teacher in a public school, where most of her pupils are white. Her literary essays at exhibitions and in the social circle have won for her the appellation of Poet Laureate. She was ably seconded by a young gentleman who has also been a public school teacher, and who, while recently in London, desiring to travel on the continent, received a passport from the American minister to the Court of St. James, and thus, endorsed by the sign-manual of Hon. George M. Dallas, his sojourn in Paris was as an acknowledged citizen of the United States. Little did he then dream that on returning to 'his own, his native land,' he should find himself, by a worse than Draconian edict, pronounced an outlaw, having 'no rights that a white man is bound to respect.'

The colored people of Boston and vicinity have access on equal terms to the public lecture rooms and libraries, and, indeed, to several of the churches; but while the majority do not refuse to fellowship those churches of their own denomination where their equality is denied, they (strange indeed as it seems) are influenced to refrain from attending those where their brotherhood is freely admitted. They present this singular spectacle to the world for motives (not reasons) *peculiarly* their own, and not compatible with correct ideas of elevation or self-respect; but despite the machinations of white slaveholding apologists and colonizationists, strengthened by the suicidal submission of too many colored pastors and laymen, a progressive development is daily apparent in those whose mission it has become to take advantage of the opportunities offered and suggested by these go-ahead times; and as a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, we confidently believe that the day is not far distant when the aspect will be more encouraging to their friends and more hopeful for themselves. We know that the rain descends and the sun shines alike on white and black. We remember our claims as among the earliest, most self-sacrificing and patriotic of those who fell in defending American liberty. We have faith in the 'sober second thought' of the people at large; and though Taneyites may menace us with threats of political disfranchisement, we yet

'——Can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world.'

Boston, April, 1857. W. C. N.

THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

'Law is beneficence acting by rule,' says Burke; to which we would add, Law is justice acting by rule. Taking these definitions, and applying them to Judge Taney's decision in the Dred Scott case, how much is there to be found in that decision which will bear the name of LAW?

Had our revolutionary fathers been told that before the close of the first century, five judges on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States would go out of the subject under their consideration to volunteer the assertion, that 'colored men had no rights that white men are bound to respect,' would they not have felt that they had fought and bled in vain?

If, at the time of the formation of our Union, Africans were considered *simply* as property, as Judge Taney would have us believe, how did it happen that they were represented, in a certain ratio, by their masters, while the farms, the mills, the merchandise of the States were not represented, thus giving an unjust preponderance of power to those whose property was invested in human chattels? Forgive the expression; for, according to Judge Taney's opinion, Africans are deprived of every attribute of humanity, and are only a race of animals, to be bred, and worked, and whipped, for the white man's pleasure or profit.

Judge Taney and his four associates have secured an immortality truly unenviable; for while Justice has a worshipper on earth, they will be remembered as the five most infamous judges that ever soiled the judicial ermine. Other judges have given false judgments, and perverted truth; but when and where has any judge, at one fell swoop, destroyed the rights and liberties of a whole race, and reduced them below the beasts that perish?—for *they* have rights that white men are bound to respect, and are punished for not respecting!

After having obliterated the last vestige of rights for the colored race, Judge Taney very naturally goes on to annihilate the rights of the whites who happen to hold different views from himself on the subject of slavery, and to reduce every inch of our country to slave territory; for when slaves can be brought and kept, during the pleasure of the master, in all the free States, they can and will be raised and worked here too.

Are the freemen of Massachusetts ready for this doctrine? Have they been indifferent to the freedom of the colored race, till they are ready to see the curse of slavery extended over our fair land, and to hear the clanking of the chains of their colored brethren without a pang? If so, and they bow down in abject submission to the dicta of the ruling slaveocracy, then the next decision of the Supreme Court will be that Free State men have no rights that slaveholders are bound to respect. This doctrine has already been acted upon in Kansas, and only waits the expression of public sentiment in the Free States to see whether there is any danger of formidable resistance to its behests before it is promulgated. This would be but a short step backward from the last, and will surely be taken, if the last is not resisted, even unto blood, if need be.

What a mockery to talk of State sovereignty, and yet permit that sovereignty to be invaded by the judges of the Supreme Court, and to have slavery thrust into their inmost sanctuary, without the power to resist it!

What a spectacle does our country present to the world! Nominally having achieved self-government, and rejoicing in a prosperity and enlightenment never before realized, powerful enough to repel the combined assaults of all the nations of the earth, and claiming to recognize the principle, that 'all just government is founded on the consent of the governed,' and that man is possessed of certain inalienable rights, 'among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and then setting the iron heel of despotism on the neck of an unoffending race, and claiming as an apology that that race is inferior in mental endowments to ourselves! A parallel inconsistency cannot be found in the history of any nation, and unless our legislation returns to its primitive purity and justice, the days of our Republic are numbered, and we shall relapse into a despotism, only more oppressive and odious, as we are more enlightened, than the nations of past ages.

It is only when nations, as well as individuals, do unto others as they would that they should do to them, that they can truly prosper. The government of God is righteous and unchangeable, and so administered that judgment invariably follows crime: and we must therefore look with sad forebodings to the retributions that will surely come for our national sins.

May God, in his great mercy, bring the heart of this nation to repentance before it is too late to avert the impending doom! M. B. J.

Plymouth, Mass.

INDIAN TROUBLES AT THE WEST.

BARRON HOUSE, FARIBAULT, Rice Co., Minnesota Ter., April 16, 1857.

MR. EDITOR:

There is much excitement here, and a great deal more thirty-five miles west of this place, in consequence of some trouble with the Indians at Spirit Lake, and also at Springfield, a short distance from Mankato, which is situated on the Minnesota river. Most of the excitement, however, has been caused by false and exaggerated reports, to the effect that some seventy white settlers had been murdered; whereas, no reliable information has been obtained here as yet, that more than four or five have been killed. Last Tuesday night, the citizens of this place were called together to see what should be done. Exciting speeches were made by Gen-Shields and others, a company of sixty men was formed for the protection of this place, and also to march to the source of trouble, if need be, and six armed men were kept on duty all night for the protection of the town. On Wednesday morning, men were gathered from every direction, some with guns and some without, to wait further orders from Gen. Shields. Muskets, powder and balls were in the greatest demand. This excitement was kept up in a good degree through the day by the more impulsive portion of the men, and the women passed sleepless nights; while the more cool and considerate amused themselves by ridiculing the whole affair.

This (Thursday) noon, an Indian boy, sixteen years old, who was despatched from this place to St. Peters last Monday, for correct information, &c., returned, and I repaired to the Faribault Hotel to hear the news. The bar and sitting-rooms were filled at once, when Gen. Shields mounted a chair, and read a long letter from a Mr. Hezlep, editor of a St. Peters journal. It appears that a party of forty armed men left Mankato on Saturday last, in pursuit of the Indians, and on Sunday or Monday had a skirmish with some few Indians, killing six, only one of their own company being wounded. On Sunday, a company of fifty armed men left St. Peters for the seat of trouble, on Monday fifty more, and on Tuesday fifty more. The first company had been heard from, and they expected to have a fight the next day. The settlers all through that region of country had become very much alarmed, and men, women and children were leaving their homes, and flocking into St. Peters by hundreds. The Indian boy that went to St. Peters was taken prisoner by the whites seven times during his tedious journey. Efforts are being made here to keep the quiet and peaceable Indians in their own localities as much as possible, lest in this time of undue excitement among the whites, some of the various parties may be shot, and a general outbreak of the Indians follow. Since I have been writing, I learn (and I think it is reliable) that three companies of infantry have left Fort Snelling for Mankato, and will probably arrive there to-morrow.

PRESCOTT HOUSE, Prescott, Wis., April 19.

MR. EDITOR:

It is pretty well established now, that some fifty of the white settlers have been murdered or taken prisoners by the Indians, and that, too, before the first company of soldiers left St. Peters; and according to last accounts, some thirty Indians had been shot, and I presume many more have been shot before this time. The speculators in back lands here are cursing the journals for publishing the facts in regard to these troubles, and are crying peace and quiet, for fear that settlers will be kept out of the Territory, and their own pecuniary prospects darkened. *It is a fact*, that the back settlers have become alarmed quite generally, and are leaving their claims, and fleeing to the towns and villages for protection, and many of them are leaving the Territory. My opinion is, however, that many of them are leaving without sufficient reason. I find that some of the best read and best informed people here are cursing the administration and its officials, because it has failed to comply with the conditions of the treaty with some of the Indians, believing that the consequent suffering has, to a great extent, been the cause of this outbreak. It is not denied, however, that the sum stipulated has been paid out of the treasury, but that it failed to find its way (in part, if not wholly) to the party for whom it was designed; and if the party make known their grievances, the government simply winks at it, choosing rather to fatten their democratic officials, than to do justice to the Indians. Yours, truly,

LEWIS FORD.

HASTINGS, April 20, 1857.

Since writing the above, further information has been received, and I am satisfied that some twelve or fourteen whites may have been killed, several wounded, and four women taken prisoners by the Indians. The first trouble was at Spirit Lake, some eighteen or twenty days since, and the last at Springfield, some days later. Reports have reached this place that the first company that left St. Peters have had a skirmish with the Indians, but it is not satisfactorily substantiated. According to the best information I can obtain, the disaffected party of Indians number from one hundred and fifty to two hundred in all, and are a portion of the Sioux tribe, called the Wacauta band, who never signed the United States Treaty. This whole affair is a very unpleasant one for the people of this Territory, and especially so to the entire Indian population, who are to be found in every part of the territory; for with the present excitement, we could scarcely expect those who have gone out to hunt the Indians to be any too cautious, even without the fires of alcohol, and with them, we have reason to fear the commission of rash and violent acts upon the harmless and innocent. Otherwise, the white population would have nothing to fear, as most of the Indians are friendly, and many of them would be willing, if necessary, to join the people against this tribe of so-called invaders. It is generally believed, however, that the trouble will soon be over; but like begets like, otherwise they would be right.

Yours, truly, LEWIS FORD.

From the Worcester Spy.

A STATEMENT OF FACTS.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—The public attention has recently been attracted by the alleged powers, as a 'medium,' of Mr. F. L. H. Willis of Cambridge, and by the singular proceedings connected with his 'suspension' from the Divinity School of Harvard University. In justice to Mr. Willis, and to an extraordinary class of yet unexplained scientific facts, I wish to state some phenomena, observed by me, during two evenings spent with him, at a private residence in this city.

There were from nine to twelve persons present, all, except Mr. Willis, being respectable citizens of this place, including one of our most experienced physicians. We sat around a long dining table. The room was not brilliantly, but sufficiently lighted, so that every movement of every person could be distinctly watched—and I, at least, watched them very closely.

I shall omit the details of the phenomena, and give only the general heads.

1. The musical instruments which had been previously placed, by the company, beneath the table—a guitar, a small drum, an accordeon, and two bells—were moved about from place to place, lifted and knocked against the under side of the table, and repeatedly and loudly played upon. Two were several times played in unison, at opposite ends of the table, and entirely beyond the reach of the medium. During this proceeding, the whole table was several times raised, and one slab of it (being an extension-table,) was lifted altogether from its support, and vibrated in the air, without contact of hands.

2. The accordeon was raised into Mr. Willis's lap, and being held by him, *with one hand*, between his knees, was played very skilfully, and executed a variety of tunes, selected by us—and even in answer to the alleged *mental* requests of some of the company, though not mine. Excellent imitations of the oboe, violincello, and double bass were also given. It is well known that the accordeon requires, in playing, the use of two hands.

3. Upon our extinguishing the lamps, for the sake of experiment, faint lights appeared upon the table near Mr. Willis, two or three at a time, moving about like glow worms, which they resembled. Other lights flickered in the air with a more rapid motion, like fire-flies. Upon my obtaining and opening a phial of phosphorus, the lights increased in intensity, gradually diminishing, when I re-corked it, to their original amount. Everybody in the room perceived them distinctly.

4. The room being still dark, the accordeon was held on the table, by Mr. Willis, and as it played in the manner before described, faint lights flickered around the keys of the instrument. During the darkness, all the phenomena were more intense; but it seemed very disagreeable to the nerves of Mr. Willis, and he begged to have the lamps restored.

5. The room being again lighted, I proceeded to try some closer experiments. Taking the accordeon in my own hand, between my knees, and guarding with my feet against the possibility of contact, I found, to my surprise, that the other end was seized by an invisible force, and the different keys audibly handled, producing at last musical sounds, but quite imperfectly. Before long, however, it was pulled away from me with very great force, and dropped on the floor. Others afterward took the instrument, but it was played in no other hands. I may add that I simply held it by the end, with one hand, and that I have no knowledge of the instrument; also, that the hands of all the company were upon the table, and that I was beyond the reach of Mr. Willis's person.

6. Looking under the table while the guitar was playing, *I saw, with perfect distinctness, the instrument, thing on its back, untouched by any hand, but with faint fluckerings of light playing over the strings.* I could also see the feet of the persons nearest it, and that they were not in contact with it—while Mr. Willis was out of its reach. No other person looked under the table, I believe, nor did I mention these observations till the phenomena had ceased, for I did not wish, at the time, to share my investigations with any one.

7. The guitar was moved slowly along, by some force, to me inscrutable, and lifted between my knees, the neck resting on my left thigh. At the suggestion of some of the company, I began to sing, first placing myself in such a position as to guard the instrument from possibility of contact. *Every song I sung was accompanied accurately and gracefully on the guitar;* with a constantly increasing facility of adaptation. The best accompaniment of all was finally played, to a peculiar and rather difficult Portuguese song, probably not known to a dozen persons in America besides myself. I cannot myself play the guitar, but I have heard it played a good deal, and I *know* that the accompaniment was an extraordinary thing, apart from the mystery of its origin. I *know* that I was beyond the reach of any part of Mr. Willis's person, and that it was physically impossible for any one to touch the instrument without my detecting it.

8. During all these various phenomena, I felt repeatedly a delicate grasp upon my feet, precisely resembling that of a hand, with distinct fingers. Upon my slipping off my shoe, it was still more distinct, and was in all cases accompanied by a very peculiar electrical sensation, as when two persons complete the circuit of an electro-magnetic battery. Keeping my own counsel, I heard precisely the same phenomena simultaneously described by persons at the other end of the table. Afterwards, placing my hand beneath the table, I felt the same contact still more distinctly upon that. All the rest of the company held their hands upon the table, and I was beyond the reach of Mr. Willis.

I might make these statements still more wonderful, by going more into detail, but have probably gone so far already beyond the credulity of my readers, that I had better stop. If any refuse to believe these facts, on my testimony, I can only say that I should have found it hard to believe them on theirs. Like them, I prefer to verify novel facts by my own observation. I can only say for myself, farther, that I have been all my life a student of the natural sciences, and have earned, by this time, some confidence in the carefulness of my own observations, and the accuracy of my own senses.

The question of the 'spiritual' origin is not now raised; it is a simple question of fraud or genuineness. If I have not satisfactory evidence of the genuineness of these phenomena, which I have just described, then there is no such thing as evidence, and all the fabric of natural science may be a mass of imposture. And, when I find, on examination, that facts similar to these have been observed by hundreds of intelligent persons, in various places, for several years back, I am disposed humbly to remember the maxim attributed to Arago, 'He is a rash man, who, outside of pure mathematics, pronounces the word *impossible*.'

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Worcester, ss. April 15, 1857. Subscribed and sworn to before me, HENRY CHAPIN, Justice of the Peace.

THE CASE OF DRED SCOTT IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

(Correspondence of the New York Evening Post.)

ALBANY, April 17, 1857.

The Assembly took up yesterday afternoon the Dred Scott resolutions, and the accompanying 'act to secure freedom to all persons within the State.' The debate was of a highly interesting character, and conducted with feeling and ability by Messrs. Jones, Kivlin and Woods, for the democrats, and Wooster, Foote, Hogeboom, Harpending, Cox and Littlejohn, in favor of the bill. On motion of Mr. Harpending, it was proposed to amend the second resolution, as published in the *Evening Post*, so that it might not express so general a want of confidence in the Supreme Court of the United States. To this Judge Hogeboom said, if he detected his neighbor in his hen-roost, he should be very apt to consider him a thief, not to be trusted at all, and should not confine his strictures to the weakness for chickens. The court which had prostituted itself to base uses once, was capable of it again, and for himself he had lost confidence in the court, and desired to express the fact in the resolution. The amendment failed, as did several coming from Republicans without backbone, who seemed to walk with the constant fear of law and constables before their eyes.

The resolutions, as originally offered, were finally reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole. The bill was then taken, and a very remarkable discussion followed—remarkable for the efforts of some gentlemen to dodge its responsibility to their constituents, and the bold and manly tone of others. A substitute was offered by Mr. Wooster, of Herkimer, containing only two sections, to the effect that any person being in this State shall be free, and any person holding or attempting to hold a man as a slave in this State shall be guilty of felony, punishable, on conviction, by imprisonment for a term of not more than ten, nor less than two years. Another was offered by Mr. Harpending, intended to evade collision with the fugitive slave law, and an amendment to the original bill of Judge Hogeboom for the same purpose. Since both were rejected by the House, it is scarcely worth while to discuss the consistency of these amendments. It must be seen by every one, however, that a law which says first that every person within the State is free, and after, declares that certain persons may be taken from it as slaves, consents to the *enslavement* of a man once *free* by force of the law itself.

Near the close of the discussion, Mr. Littlejohn took the floor, in a speech of unequalled power and earnestness. The transition from whiffling apologies for doing the right thing, to an open, manly avowal of eternal hostility to all oppression, came like a thunderbolt to the mere politicians. Mr. L. said, that for one, he held that no power under Heaven could make a man a slave, and he would never consent to speak of that abominable institution except as a *fact*, hateful to God and humanity, and that no law nor judgment should compel him to recognize it as a right. He said some gentlemen paraded the bugbear 'Revolution' before the people. 'Revolution!' continued he, 'I love the word. Interpenetrating it, and wrapped up in it, is the word "Liberty;" out of its fruitful soil has sprung all the freedom that the world enjoys. We ought not to fear it; it gave us all we now possess of liberty. But he was not to be understood as contemplating any revolution by arms—he spoke of a revolution in public opinion which has already begun—a bloodless revolution, going on only in the hearts and consciences of the people.' This speech sent a thrill through the House; and here, as the session is closing, I must depart from my usual custom to bear evidence to the high qualities of the accomplished Speaker of the House. By his unvarying courtesy and dignified manner, he has earned the respect of all, while his decided ability has enabled him to discharge the onerous duties of his place wisely and justly. All persons, politically opposed to him or not, respect the honest man and the accomplished gentleman.

'TURNED UP' AGAIN. Every time the Shamocratic party has some especially mean job to perform, it calls on *The N. Y. Observer*. If the Christian ministry is to be attacked—if the Northern churches are to be arraigned—if man-catching and man-stealing are to be defended on strictly 'religious' grounds—if the Border-Ruffian argument is to be presented with the ministerial twang superadded—*The Observer* is called into the field. It 'turns up' on every occasion when a triumph of slavery is to be achieved or has been accomplished. It 'turned up' in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law; it 'turned up' in defence of the Nebraska scheme; it 'turns up' in behalf of the Dred Scott decision. Every time slavery has made a new demand, *The Observer* has made haste to back it up. Every time a new rascality has been hatched up in the National Capitol, *The Observer* has shrieked Amen. It is just now devoting its pious energies to abusing those clergymen who have animadverted upon the recent decision of the Supreme Court. It is righteously indignant that the pulpit should be polluted by the leprosy of Republicanism. There is no measure to its rage against what it seems the Abolition tendency of the Northern Church. The Democratic journals, of course, publish its articles with great glee, under the caption of 'Opinions of the *Religious* Press.'—*Utica Herald.*

AN INTERPOLATION OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher yesterday morning prefaced his sermon by reading the 12th chapter of First Corinthians, the 13th verse of which is as follows: 'For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit.' Pausing at the words 'bond or free,' the reverend gentleman said: 'How is this? Paul surely could not have said this; it must be an interpolation. It certainly cannot mean that a man with African blood in his veins, and held as an American slave, oppressed by his master, despoiled of his rights, and outlawed by our courts, is baptized into the same spirit with the white man. It cannot mean that a slave is equal to a freeman in the sight of God—a black man to a white one. Yet it certainly seems so; it certainly reads so; and it would appear from this, unless we call it an interpolation, that we are all the children of one common Father, entitled to the same rights, governed by the same principles, alike immortal and precious in his sight. It must be an interpolation!'—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

AN UP-HILL BUSINESS. The *Colonization Herald* for April publishes a table showing 'the number of emigrants sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries in all the states, from 1820 to 1856 inclusive.' It appears that the total number sent out during this period of thirty-six years, is nine thousand five hundred and two. Of these, 3,676 were born free; 326 purchased their own liberty; and the remaining 5,500 were emancipated for emigration. 'Virginia sent out a larger number than any other state, no less than 3,315 having gone from within her borders.'

These statistics can give but small encouragement to those who look to this society for the final extinction of American slavery, especially when compared with the increase of slave population during the same period. In 1820, although slavery then existed in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Illinois and Indiana, the slave population of the country, as shown by the census, was 1,538,038; and in 1850, long after slavery was abolished in all the states mentioned, it was 3,204,313, showing an increase in thirty years of 1,666,275; while the American Colonization Society, for thirty-six years, has liberated less than six thousand. That is, while the slave population has increased over fifty-five thousand a year, the Colonization Society has liberated two hundred and fifty slaves a year. How long it will take the Society, at this ratio, to abolish slavery, we leave those interested to figure up.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*