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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Richmond South.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

At Southern men, we look with great equanimity upon the financial revolution. It will tend to elucidate the great problem, whether the North or the South is most dependent upon each other. We have had elaborate essays from Northern authors, and with statistics, prove the dependence of the South upon the North. It was intended to encourage the North to press the question of slavery universal emancipation, on the ground that the South could not exist without the protection of the North. We have learned from Philosopher Greeley that the hay of the North was worth more than the cotton of the South, and that the introduction of fax, under a patent of manufacture in which he was interested, would soon supersede the use of cotton. We now ask, where are the boasted resources of the North? Why does she not export her goods and shoes, and relieve herself? Why does she not send out a few cargoes of hay, and replenish her exhausted fields of specie?

From the Charleston Mercury.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

In our last article, the formation of a Southern Commercial Association was intimated. For years past, the dependency of the South upon the North, from a commercial point of view, has been a subject of the greatest interest to every true friend of Southern institutions. Commercial Conventions have been frequent, and numerously attended. Plans have been submitted and resolutions passed, favoring the establishment of lines of Ocean Steamers between Southern and European ports. All this interest and excitement shows plainly that there is a desire at the South not to patronize Northern Abolitionists.—What has been accomplished? Doubtless the Southern mind has been awakened to the importance of commercial independence. The Northern Abolitionist will ridicule the action of your Convention, while he pockets the profits of your patronage. The great obstacle in the way of establishing an immediate and extensive trade between Southern and European ports, is the immense capital required. To enterprise, however, is worthy of an effort, and a pecuniary sacrifice, and will, doubtless, ultimately succeed. And yet, for years to come, the South must be, to a very great extent, the property of the North. She is not driven to the necessity of being the patron of Abolitionists. It is not necessary that she should warm, feed and clothe the sergent that stings her. There are yet thousands and hundreds of thousands of men at the North who have never bowed the knee to the Baal of Abolitionism. These men are engaged in all vices, in all lawful pursuits. Let it be understood that these men, and these alone, are to receive the patronage of the South, and the term Abolitionist is soon become hateful to Northern ears.

CHARLESTON, SEPTEMBER 24.

M. B. WHITE.

THE DISSENTION FANATICS AT CLEVELAND.

It seems that the order postponing the promised grand Northern Abolition Disunion Convention at Cleveland, was issued too late to prevent a small gathering of the more zealous of the abolition fanatics at the appointed time and place. Accordingly, those intemperate creatures, of both sexes and of all colors, who had their convention, in spite of the financial disasters of the day; and if their efforts in this instance should fail to break up the Union, they will, without doubt, continue their traitorous assemblages, until the ring-leaders are brought within reach of some criminal court or some lunatic asylum. Their course is, inevitably, to the one or the other of these humane institutions.—New York Herald.

SELECTIONS.

From the Watchman and Reformer.

RECENT ACTION OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Of the existence of the supposed document, we were made aware some weeks ago. Learning that a desire existed to have it see the light, especially in view of the late action of the Executive of the Tract Society in New York, we have taken pains to open our eyes to a realization of that desire, so far, at least, as we have the ability of doing so, presuming that our contemporaries will be disposed widely to give the same to their readers. It will be seen by the following note from Dr. Wayland, that in giving this to the public, he but answers the request of leading pastors of another denomination.

PROVIDENCE, OCT. 19, 1857.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, requesting a copy of the paper which I sent to the Investigating Committee of the Tract Society, in February last. It has been out of my power, until the present moment, to comply with your request. I now enclose a copy of that document. So far as I am concerned, you are perfectly at liberty to use it in any manner which you and other members of the Committee may think proper.

I am, gentlemen, yours very truly,
F. WAYLAND.

REV. JOEL HAWES, D. D.
REV. RAY PALMER, D. D.

From the notices which have appeared in the public papers, and from the communications issued by the officers of the Tract Society, it would seem that the object for which this Committee was appointed is to inquire and report upon the principles which have governed the Publishing Committee in matters affecting the subject of slavery.

It is admitted that, in some instances, publications have been altered so as to exclude sentiments disapproving of slavery. It is also understood to be the belief of the officers of the Society, that they are, by the constitution, precluded from treating the subject of slavery in the same manner as they treat other subjects involving the interests of vital godliness and sound morality. If such be the facts, they certainly deserve an attentive and candid consideration.

It is obvious that the constitution of a Society is simply a compact between individuals, for the purpose of accomplishing a certain object in a specified manner. So long as the object, for the accomplishment of which the compact is formed, is a good object, and is sought to be accomplished by good means, all good men may unite in promoting it. If the object is bad, or only imperfectly good, or is to be accomplished by bad or imperfect means, it is the duty of good men either to withdraw from it, or seek to correct it; and for such correction, provision is always made in the constitution itself. If then it be admitted that the course which, in any case, has been pursued by a Society, is the only course allowed by the constitution, the fact is by no means final; it only introduces the question, does or does not the constitution itself require emendation and amendment?

But is it the fact that the constitution of the Tract Society imposes the restrictions supposed? The words of the article referring to this subject are as follows: 'The object of which (i. e., the Society) shall be to diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of sinners, and to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality by the circulation of religious tracts calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.'

The object of the Society then is, 'to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality by the circulation of religious tracts.' The interests of vital godliness and sound morality are to be promoted by setting clearly before men the whole will of God, and the consequences which must follow from obeying or disobeying it. There is surely no restriction here. Whatever is at variance with 'vital godliness or sound morality,' whether at the North or the South, in the East or the West, in the city or in country, among the rich or the poor, may properly be discussed in the publications of the Society, and it is the duty of the Society, in the spirit of Christ, to exhort the wrong-doers to repentance. The only question then here to be considered, is the following: Is it consistent with the interests of vital godliness and sound morality to buy and sell our fellow-men, to forbid to marry, to place it out of their power to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to deny to them the privilege of reading the message of salvation? If it be consistent with the interests of vital godliness and sound morality to do all this, the Society is under no obligation to treat of it. If it be at variance with their interests, the Society seems called upon, in view of the object for which it was constituted, to bear a decided testimony on the subject. So far then as this portion of the article of the constitution is concerned, there is nothing to prevent the Society from publishing on these subjects, unless it considers such acts consistent with 'vital godliness and sound morality.'

If there is any restriction on the action of the Society, it must be in the latter clause of the article, which is in these words: 'tracts calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.'

When the terms 'evangelical Christians' are used here, it will not, of course, be supposed that the Society undertakes to determine the personal piety of its members, that is, of the individuals who are to approve of its tracts. This is the province of the churches to which these individuals belong, and the Society cannot go behind the decision of these churches. The words must mean, then, and they can mean nothing more, than members of evangelical churches.

What then is meant by receiving the approbation of all evangelical Christians? By this is meant that the words may be taken literally, that is, that every tract which the Society publishes must receive the approbation of every member of an evangelical church, that is, of 'all evangelical Christians.' If this be its true meaning, then any member of an evangelical church might, by his single veto, arrest the publication of any tract whatever, by simply declaring that it did not receive his approbation. But some members of evangelical churches may believe at attendance on public meetings, that they are not receiving the approbation of such members of evangelical churches; and if we interpreted this article in the manner suggested, they would have a right to prohibit them. These illustrations might easily be

extended, but it is unnecessary. It is apparent that such an interpretation would reduce the Society to a nullity.

The only other meaning of which these words seem susceptible is the following. These 'evangelical Christians' are known to the Society only as members of different denominations, each having its own formula of belief and practice. The character and opinions of each individual, so far as they are recognized by the Society, are defined by the formula, or articles of faith and practice, to which he affixes his name when he becomes a member of that particular communion. In matters essential to vital godliness and sound morality, these several confessions of faith agree. In matters of particular practice, they differ. It is intended that no tract shall be published on any of these subjects on which these sects are at variance, but only on the subjects on which they are agreed. A member of an evangelical church, or in the words of the article, an 'evangelical Christian,' cannot therefore object to a tract on the ground that it is opposed to his own private opinions; but only on the ground that it is opposed to the consensus of faith in which his character as known to the Society is defined. Thus, a Baptist might believe that the sale of ardent spirits was an innocent branch of business, but he would have no objection to forbid the issue of a tract on temperance. He can object to a tract on no other ground than that it is opposed to articles of faith and practice received by Baptist churches. Thus on the questions of infant baptism and ordination, Baptists and Episcopalians differ; on the general doctrines and duties of Christianity, they are in harmony. The article forbids the Baptist from introducing a tract in opposition to infant baptism, and the Episcopalian from introducing one on the apostolic succession. As, however, they both agree on the vital doctrines and duties of Christianity, they can unite in the circulation of tracts which treat of those doctrines and duties. The tracts of the Society must therefore meet the approbation of those who believe the articles of faith received by the denomination to which each belongs. Objection to a tract from any other reason than this is, therefore, of course, precluded.

This is the right interpretation of the article in question is manifest from the sixth article of the constitution. It is by this article provided that the officers and Directors shall be elected from different denominations of Christians. The Publishing Committee shall contain no more members from the same communion, and no tract shall be published to which any member of that committee shall object.

The principle to which I have referred is here distinctly recognized, and it teaches us clearly what is meant by the approbation of evangelical Christians. The sixth article shows the manner in which the object of the first article is to be accomplished, and therefore shows what was intended by the words then used.

That the above is the true interpretation of the first article of the constitution, is proved by the whole history of the Society. Every year, on every platform, and in every pulpit of the land, this restriction, precisely as here explained, has been held forth as the crowning excellence of this catholic and specially unsectarian institution. The Baptist has been told that the Society can publish nothing at variance with the confession of faith of Baptists, the Episcopalian, that nothing can be published at variance with the Westminster confession, and the Methodist, that nothing can be published at variance with the Book of Discipline. No other principle of restriction has ever been suggested until very lately; and any other view of the duties and obligations of the Society must certainly awaken in its best friends the emotion of surprise.

This question at issue seems then narrowed down to the simple inquiry, Is the Christian lawfulness of slavery as it exists in the United States, affirmed in the formularies or confessions of faith of any evangelical denomination? Is this affirmation found in the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal church, or in the Westminster confession of the Presbyterian church, or in the Heidelberg catechism, or canons of the Synod of Dort, or the Dutch Reformed Church, or in the Book of Discipline of the Methodist church, or in any of the confessions of faith of the Congregational or Baptist churches? Every one knows that in none of these denominational creeds is such an affirmation to be found. Nay, more, it is the fact, that, at various times, portions of all these denominations have borne testimony against the evils of slavery. They do it now even in the Southern States, but so far as I know, it has never been urged that this was at variance with the confession of faith of any sect of Evangelical Christians. It would seem then evident that this is not one of those subjects of denominational differences on which the publications of the Society are forbidden to treat. It is, therefore, one of those questions concerning vital religion and sound morality, the treatment of which comes fairly within the objects for which the Society was constituted.

But it may be asked, are we under a moral obligation to publish on this subject? The answer to this question must be determined by the answer to another. Has the existence of domestic slavery anything to do with 'the interests of vital godliness and sound morality?' Have vital godliness and sound morality any connection with the question of slavery? Has a right to buy and sell our fellow-men like an ox or a mule? Many of our young men, professors of the religion of Christ, annually emigrate to the Southern States. Is it not important that they should understand the teachings of the New Testament on this subject? Many of our brethren in the Southern States are sorely tried as to their duty in this matter, and earnestly desire to know what is the will of God concerning it. Should we not make known to them all the truth respecting it which has been revealed to us?

But more than this, this is one of the most practical questions known to either man or woman. Can a rightfully free citizen in any other country be taken literally, that is, that every tract which the Society publishes must receive the approbation of every member of an evangelical church, that is, of 'all evangelical Christians.' If this be its true meaning, then any member of an evangelical church might, by his single veto, arrest the publication of any tract whatever, by simply declaring that it did not receive his approbation. But some members of evangelical churches may believe at attendance on public meetings, that they are not receiving the approbation of such members of evangelical churches; and if we interpreted this article in the manner suggested, they would have a right to prohibit them. These illustrations might easily be

thus enjoined in the New Testament; who, if females, are obliged to submit their persons, without resistance, to the will of another; and who are forbidden to read the word of God, and learn from the Bible the way of salvation. These are all, like ourselves, human beings, for whom Christ died, and hundreds of thousands of them are our own Christian brethren, members of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches. They may be weak, ignorant, degraded, but so much the more are they Christ's little ones; and it is our duty, as better than a millstone be hanged about our neck, and we be cast into the sea, than that we should offend one of them. They are our Christian brethren, and are we to utter no word on their behalf? Shall we make no effort to rectify their wrongs and alleviate their sufferings? Can we be disciples of Christ if we look upon all this, and, like the Priest and Levite, pass over to the other side?

These wrongs, inflicted on our fellow-men and our Christian brethren, either are essentially connected with the system of domestic slavery, or they are not. If they are essentially connected with it, then slavery itself must be wrong; and there can be no reason why its wrong should not be exposed, and the wrong-doers called to repentance. If these wrongs are not essentially connected with the system of domestic slavery, then they stand alone, like any other wrong-doing, and may be treated of without offence even to the slaveholders themselves; just as we speak of the oppression endured by Protestants in Italy, and the persecutions of Christians in Madagascar.

But, to this, it is replied, if we publish tracts on slavery, or the evils of slavery, we shall be obliged to abandon the whole Southern field, our tracts will not be received, and our colporteurs will be driven away. To this objection several replies may be made.

1. Suppose it to be so, does this in any respect affect the question of Christian duty? Have we any right to withhold any portion of Divine truth, because men are unwilling to receive it? To do this would be to adopt one of the most pernicious errors of Romanism. Our blessed Lord seems to have made a provision for precisely this case. He might, by suppressing a part of the truth, have made his doctrine acceptable to his countrymen. He never did it, nor did he give his disciples authority to do it. He committed to them his message, and commanded them to deliver it, saying, 'What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in the light, and what ye hear in the ear, that speak ye upon the housetop. If men would not receive it, he did not command them to leave out what was offensive, nor to wipe off the dust from their feet, and retire from the city. Does not this example determine for us our rule of duty?

2. Are not we as much responsible for the salvation of one class of men as of another? By presenting a mutilated view of Christian duty, and apparently concealing that the Gospel allows of wrongs at which humanity shudders, we place in the hands of unbelievers an argument against the Divine origin of revelation difficult to be answered. God created the conscience of man, and endowed it with its moral impulses. To believe that to be a secret man's conscience in the sight of God. We shall thus accomplish the object of the Society, by the circulation of tracts designed to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality. It is not easy to discover how we shall accomplish it in any other manner.

F. WAYLAND.

From the same.

TRACT SOCIETY INACTION.

The executive officers of the American Tract Society have been pleased to excuse their open breach of trust—their deliberate and avowed refusal to do what the Society unanimously instructed them to do—by presuming that such consequences as they might follow would be met by the Society, and that the Society with its executives to meet such great hazards, they should explicitly say so.

The paper from the pen of Dr. Wayland, (immediately preceding this,) meets that sophism completely. Had it been written since, instead of before, the resolved inaction of the Executive Committee, it could not have been more clearly to the point. It shows that the Investigating Committee soberly and distinctly considered the alleged risk of exclusion from the South, and framed their recommendations with reference to it, but not in dread of it. It explodes, by anticipation, the doctrine put forth from the Tract House, that 'all evangelical Christians,' individually, or sectionally, as well as denominationally considered, must concur in approving every proposed publication. It significantly rebukes the disposition to treat the constitution of the Society as a facility, when it is made alterable by its terms. It strips the question, considered as a matter of morals, of the robes which the sophistry of timidity has thrown around it. We are not surprised at the favor which, as we are assured, this document found with the members of the Committee generally, when the whole subject last winter was undergoing their most careful consideration. It was good then, and events have made it still better now. There is a significance in the call which brings the document before the public. We are entitled to infer that men on the Investigating Committee feel their ground impassable, and mean to stand fast, come what may. Such, we have no doubt, will be the attitude of the great mass of 'evangelical Christians,' to whose contributions and moral support the Society must look for its greatest human efficiency.

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

WESLEY ON SLAVERY.

From the New York Christian Advocate and Journal.

Mr. Editor.—At the late session of the New York East Conference, it was remarked by some speaker, while discussing the subject of slavery, that slavery had been justly called 'the sum of all villainies.' This was understood to be Mr. Wesley's language. The speaker was interrupted by inquiries, which, in themselves, and in the manner in which they were made, may have led those not informed on the subject to suppose Mr. Wesley never used such language. Perhaps I shall render a service to such by furnishing the following extracts from his works:—

'But waiting, for the present, all other considerations, I strike at the root of this complicated villany. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice.'—Vol. vi., p. 286.

'What wonder if they should cut your throat? And if they did, whom could you thank for it but yourself? You first acted the villain in making them slaves, whether you stole them or bought them.'—Vol. vi., p. 250.

'You have carried the survivors into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life; such slavery as is not found among the Turks at Algiers—no, nor among the heathen in America.'—Vol. vi., p. 291.

'This equally concerns every merchant who is engaged in the slave trade. It is you that induce the African villain to sell his countryman; and, in order thereto, to steal, rob, murder men, women, and children, without number, by enlisting the English villain to pay him for so doing; who you pay him for his execrable labor. It is your money that is the spring of all; that empowers him to go on; so that whatever he or the African does in this matter, is all your act and deed.'—Vol. vi., p. 271.

'And this equally concerns every gentleman who has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slaveholders, of whatever rank or degree; seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers. Indeed, you say, 'I pay honestly for my goods, and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.' Nay, you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise, you are a partner with a thief, and are not a jot honestest than him. Do you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as the picking of pockets, housebreaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villany—of fraud, robbery and murder—than was ever practised even by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders of all kinds; by the blood of the innocents poured upon the ground like water.'—Vol. vi., p. 292.

To Mr. Thomas Funnell, under date of November 24, 1787, he writes:—

'Whatever assistance I can give those generous men, who unite to oppose that execrable trade, I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the 'Thoughts on Slavery,' and dispersed them to every part of England.'—Vol. vii., p. 134.

In his Journal, under date of Feb. 12, 1772, he says:—

'In returning, I read a very different book, published by an honest Quaker, on that execrable trade, which I read nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohammedan countries.'—Vol. iv., p. 399.

Once more. Under date of Feb. 27, 1791, only four days before his death, he writes to a friend, supposed to be Mr. Wilberforce, as follows:—

'Unless the divine power has raised you up to be, as Athanasius, against the world, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But 'If God be for you, who can be against you?' Are all of them together stronger than God? Oh, 'be not weary in well-doing.' Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery—the vilest that ever saw the sun—shall vanish away before it.'—Vol. vi., p. 237.

On the above extracts I remark:—

1. It is difficult to imagine what language Mr. Wesley could use to define more clearly his view of slavery, or more forcibly to express his utter abhorrence and detestation of all slaveholding.

2. He puts 'men-stealers,' 'men-buyers,' and 'slaveholders,' of 'whatever rank and degree,' exactly on a level.

3. American slavery he regards as 'the vilest that ever saw the sun.'

4. He connects the 'slaveholder,' the 'slave-buyer,' the 'English villain,' and the 'African villain,' together, as involved in the same 'execrable villany,' and declares the trade to be 'the execrable sum of all villainies.'—W. C. HORT.

From the Boston Transcript.

MASSACHUSETTS AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

On the ninth of January, 1788, a convention of delegates, chosen by the people of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston to consider whether this State should give its vote in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Most of the sessions of this convention were held in the meeting-house on the site where the Rev. Dr. Gannett's church now stands, and the street has its name (Federal) from this circumstance. John Hancock was President of the Convention—which consisted of three hundred and fifty-five members. Owing to Shay's rebellion, which had just been suppressed in the western part of the State, the interest in the Constitutional question was somewhat feebly felt throughout the Commonwealth. There can be no doubt that when the convention first met, a large majority of the delegates were opposed to the Constitution.

The popular arguments against the ratification were, that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights; no guarantee for the freedom of the press, or trial by jury; there was no provision to prevent the establishment of a religious test; nothing to guard the minority from the tyranny of the majority; and, above all, that it tolerated slavery. It also created a central power over the independent States, and did not render the President forever ineligible for a second term. Samuel Adams and Elbridge Gerry, two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from Massachusetts, were very decided in opposition to the Constitution. The ablest men in the State were enlisted in the question, and the zeal of both parties was active and ardent.

Five of the States had adopted the Constitution, and it was thought that the influence of Massachusetts would have great weight in States where convention were yet to be held. While the numbers in the convention were opposed to the ratification of the Constitution, the talents, ability and power in debate were with the advocates of the new Constitution. By their eloquence, logic and learning in the assembly, and we must in truth add, their adroit management out of its sessions, they finally triumphed, and the vote of Massachusetts was given in favor of the Constitution by a majority of nineteen.

But for the outside influence on the members of the Convention, the defeat of the Constitution would probably have occurred. The mechanics of Boston held several meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern in its favor. On one occasion, a procession was formed, and under the lead of Paul Revere, the working men of the town presented certain resolutions to the Convention, in favor of the ratification of the Constitution.

The Hon. James T. Austin, in his life of Elbridge Gerry, relates the following incident to show the measures resorted to by the advocates of ratification to secure votes: One of the delegates, an old clergyman from one of the most rural of the rural districts, had taken an active part in the debates against the Constitution. One of the legal delegates undertook his conversion, and after some considerable effort obtained a promise from the clerical delegate that he would vote for the ratification. This was one point gained; but as the case seemed desperate, it was determined that the old farmer should make at least one speech in opposition to all his previous addresses. The new convert fell into the snare, and it was arranged that his legal adviser should obtain the floor on the morning when the final vote was to be taken, and surrender it to the minister. The lawyer rose on one side of the meeting-house at the proper time, and the venerable clergyman on the other; the former obtained the floor. 'Sir,' said he, addressing the President, 'I have a proposition to submit to the Convention; and I see an aged clerical gentleman opposite to me desirous of speaking, whom, though differing from me in some opinions, I am always accustomed to listen to with profound respect. I beg leave to waive my right in his favor.'

The speech of the reverend proselyte produced in the ranks of his former associates of the opposition an unaffected alarm, and one of their number was so much surprised, that, disregarding the place and occasion, he rose upon his seat in the pew, and with uplifted hands and prayerful tone, adopted the language of the Psalmist, and exclaimed, 'Help, Lord! for the goodly man falleth!'

THE RECENT ELECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston correspondence of the New York Christian Inquirer.

We may not hope too much from political parties. They are too apt to be directed by mere politicians, seeking only personal ends. Let us trust that the party which the people of Massachusetts have now placed in power may remember for what purpose that power has been given them. The contest with slavery is by no means finished; it is, in fact, only just begun. The Republicans of Massachusetts should remember that they are to take the lead in organizing a united, wise, righteous, and prudent resistance to the extension of the Slave Power. The people of Massachusetts have repudiated the Whig party, to which formerly they gave their confidence, because they disapproved of its timid and ineffectual policy in relation to the question of slavery. Yet Massachusetts is not an abolition State. It does not believe in assaults upon the slave States or the slaveholders. Its policy is simple and distinct, viz.: that 'Slavery is sectional, and liberty national.' Mr. Buchanan and his supporters are willing to allow slavery to go, under the shelter of the United States Constitution, who still are the Tories, and to be made under the flag of the United States. Therefore Massachusetts repudiates the Democratic party. The Abolitionists denounce the slaveholders in a sweeping way, and demand immediate and universal emancipation. Massachusetts declares that, politically, she has nothing to say on this question; and that, if the slave States choose to cling to this abomination, Massachusetts, as a State, has no right to say anything about it. But some things Massachusetts can and will do in support of freedom, and in opposition to slavery. These are as follows:—

1. Massachusetts can and will resist the admission into the Union of any new slave States or slave Territories.

2. She will resist, to the utmost extent of her legal rights, the abominations of slave-catching on her own soil. She will not allow any of her own officials to become negro-hunters. If a man likes this business, and is determined to pursue it, she will tell him never more to be officer of hers. And she will resist slave-catching on her soil by every expedient which the statutes of Yankee lawyers can invent, and the determination of a Yankee Executive can apply. In doing this, she breaks no faith with the South, either expressed or implied. For if the South points to the provision in the Constitution which requires fugitives from labor to be surrendered; she points to those other provisions of the same Constitution which declare that the right of trial by jury shall be preserved 'in all suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars'; and that, no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law. Massachusetts has a right to say, 'If a provision of the Constitution which favors your slavery can only be carried out by the violation of other provisions which secure our own freedom, we are not bound to maintain it. Until you can find a way of enforcing it, without trampling on other parts of the Constitution, you must leave it unenforced.'

3. Massachusetts is also bound to take the lead in renouncing the Free States in resisting the destructive assaults on the Union by the Slave Power. She perceives that the blessings which we enjoy cannot be preserved and transmitted by a merely negative policy. There are eminent persons in this State who think that the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts is a temporary excitement which will soon pass by. There are others who believe that the Union is not endangered by slavery itself, but only by the discussion of the subject. And there are still others who think that the Union can be preserved if we will only conciliate the slaveholders by

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, AWARED FROM THE AUGHT. 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 ELKEY CHANNING.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

PRO-SLAVERY MALIGNITY.

New York, Ashabula Co., (Ohio), November 10, 1857.

Dear Mr. Garrison: Something more than two months have passed by since I left my home, to work in this western field...

The colored citizens of Cleveland took decidedly more interest in the late Convention than the whites; and the respectability and high tone of morals that characterize them have opened the doors of the public schools to their children.

Yours, till the slave is redeemed, LUCY N. COLMAN.

W.M. WELLS BROWN. Green, (Ohio), Nov. 12, 1857.

LETTER FROM HON. J. R. GIDDINGS. It is a lamentable fact, that a large proportion of our foreign population, who have fled from European despotism to find a home and liberty on these shores...

Very respectfully, J. R. GIDDINGS.

From Africa.—Capt. Taft, of barque Ida, at Terra Paula Cove, from Sierra Leone, bound to Boston, has favored us with a copy of the New Era, published at Providence, Sept. 24, 1857.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR. The undersigned again call on all interested in their cause, the cause of Freedom, so deeply important...

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. At Providence, R. I., Malden, Mass., Boston, Mass., Feltown, N. H., Marlboro', N. H., Of Benj. Cheever, Portsmouth, N. H., 4 00

THE WESTERN CONVENTIONS. I spent four or five days in Cleveland after the adjournment of the Convention, and discovered the almost only redeeming feature about that priest-ridden city.

THE LIBERTY BELL will be published as usual; and we entreat all our friends who have heretofore aided us by literary or pecuniary contributions...

TREES AND PLANTS. B. M. WATSON, OLD COLONY NURSERIES, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

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POETRY.

FROM THE EAST BOSTON LECTURER. AN ODE FOR THE TIMES. BY L. G. BLANCHARD. New times—new needs! New men—new needs!

The Liberator.

LYCEUMS, THE LECTURING SEASON, AND LIBERTY.

BRANTWOOD, Canada West, Nov. 5, 1857. TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: DEAR FRIEND,—It is a standing rule of Lyceums in the United States, as of Mechanics' Institutes in England and here in Canada, to interdict the discussion of political and theological questions.

Do reformers realize, as they ought, the true character of these restrictions on free speech? What sort of people are they who must thus needs stipulate, as the condition of their co-operation for a given object, that their respective creeds shall neither be examined nor exposed, who get angry, or threaten to get angry, when it is proposed, not to examine their creeds, but to leave them to the chances of examination?

ANTI-SLAVERY IN MICHIGAN. DEAR GARRISON: In THE LIBERATOR of Oct. 23d, we find a letter from that noble advocate of the slave, PARKER PILLSBURY, and as we think he has given a decidedly wrong impression, in some respects, we would like to give a few words by way of explanation.

TO RIGHTLY estimate the true character of these restrictions on free thought and free speech, we need but to advert to our indebtedness thereto for all that we have, and are that is good. Every ray of new light that has blessed the world, every amelioration of our spiritual or material condition, every discovery of science, every step of progress,—these have all involved the discussion of some more or less anger-exciting political or theological question.

Who are entitled to partake of this ample feast but the lovers of freedom? Who would presume to do it who could sit easy in the most luxurious seats, or pass to and fro with comfort on the richest carpets, or exchange smiles and congratulations as the guests assembled, when it was understood that Liberty, the owner and provider of all, was ejected, disowned, denied admission as a guest even,—who but impudent and heartless ingrates?

SCYPTRE, CROWN AND THRONE. BY CHARLES MACKAY. What is a sceptre but a staff, Though not so long as mine by half! And I've a staff, a friend to me; I cut it from the blackthorn tree; No gold nor jewels round it flaunt, 'Tis all the sceptre that I want.

THE DEPARTED. Of may the spirit of the dead descend To watch the silent slumbers of a friend; To hover round his evening walk unseen, And hold sweet converse on the dusky green;

er away from home. They seemed as some up-country man might, who should attempt to drive his one-horse wagon on a railroad track,—the wheels now this side of the iron, now that; or if on the rails a moment, making the sortiest kind of speed, because adapted to no such purpose, and because a horse is not an engine either.

But this hardly answers your question. I cannot lecture like Emerson, and Phillips, and Parker, and many others; but I should be ashamed to bring before our fine New-England audiences such dry husks as I have sometimes seen foddered out to them,—and at the highest prices, too.

THE INTEREST I take in works of art, and the still greater interest I feel in the free and full development of woman's faculties, have always drawn me powerfully towards Harriet Hosmer, and the productions of her chisel.

THE CHRISTIAN A SLAVE TO TOBACCO. Religion bids you to be entirely devoted to God. The use of this pernicious drug forbids it. You are not to be a slave to the king of kings, or to the king of beasts, or to the king of birds, or to the king of flowers, or to the king of fruits.

WINE BATHS OF PARIS. It is a penitentiary offence in Ohio to use "strychnine" in the manufacture of whiskey. A large manufacturing house in that State sent 200 barrels to Cincinnati, and sufficient poison was found in one barrel to kill thirty men.

TAKING HIM AT HIS WORD. The "unemployed," relying upon the sympathy lately expressed for them by Mayor Wood in his character of candidate for re-election, come to him to ask for bread, or at least for some of that corn meal, flour and potatoes, shadowed forth in his famous message.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN NEW JERSEY. According to a letter in the National Intelligencer, women formerly possessed, and at various times exercised, the elective franchise in the State of New Jersey.

IRISHMEN. THE VOICE OF HUMANITY, liberty and justice calls on Irishmen to join your ranks. Have they? No. For the office-seekers of a sham Democracy hold forth that no office, place, or pension for the Natural Citizen is within your gift.

THE PAY OF LYCEUM LECTURERS. In reply to a Lyceum Committee, on the subject of "Terms" for a lecture, our friend PARKER PILLSBURY writes as follows:— "You ask what my 'terms will be for a lecture.' I do not like to set a price on my work of this kind; but with your permission, will offer a word of remark.

DEATH OF A CENTENARIAN. A colored woman, named Patsy Castelow, died in New Bedford, on the 4th inst., at the age of one hundred and one years. She was for about 70 years the slave of Mr. Alexander Child, of Hampton county, Va., and was by him sold to her present owner, she being then in the Virginia until about four years since, when she removed to New Bedford to reside with her daughter.

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HAIR DRESSING. MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam C. TRACY) would inform her kind and liberal patrons and the public, that she has removed to 221 Washington St., and 20 West St. will be found her Residence. She has celebrated in the world, as it prevails hair from turning gray, and induces new in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second to none in Hair-Dressing and Champoning.

Representative Women. THIS magnificent group includes the Portraits of LUGRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD, HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUOY STONE, ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

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Ayer's Pills. Are particularly adapted to the treatment of the digestive organs, and cleanse the blood. A large part of the kind originates in the East, and consequently those who are familiar with the quality of the medicine, will be able to judge of its value.

As a Family Physician. From Dr. E. W. Corbridge, of New Orleans. "Your Pills are the prince of purges. Their excellent quality is manifestly apparent in their effects on the bowels, but they are equally successful in their action on the bladder, which makes them invaluable to us in the daily treatment of our children."

INTERNAL OBSTRUCTION—WOMEN—SUPPRESSION. From Dr. J. G. Owen, of Chicago. "Your Pills have had a long trial in my practice, and I hold them in esteem as one of your Pills for the cure of women."

CONSTIPATION—CONSTIVENESS. From Dr. J. P. Foy, of Philadelphia. "You were not to be said of your Pills for the cure of constipation. I have used them for many years, and as often as I have, they have done me good."

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every one of it under his own eye, with invaluable care. It is a powerful expectorant, and is equally useful in all cases of cough, croup, and asthma.

THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; and by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every where.

ELOCUTION. IS rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, Teacher of the Mercantile Academy, No. 11 Mercantile Building, Summer Street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish to acquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

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