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## Selections.

### SLAVERY AS AFFECTED BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

No expression is more common among pro-slavery men than this. "That agitation has fixed its bitter the fetters of the slave, and thrown back Emancipation half a century."

This most fatal and delusive doctrine has been repeated so often and in so many different forms, both by the public press and public speakers, that it has come to be received as an unquestionable truth, even by many well-meaning anti-slavery men.

This favorite doctrine of pro-slavery men is as false in philosophy as it is unfounded in fact.

When, we ask, has the Anti-Slavery agitation, has a moral evil like Slavery been strengthened by passing the searching ordeal of public discussion? When was tyranny, oppression or wrong of any kind ever made popular by being thoroughly shaken and examined?

It would seem to be impossible that the concentrated public opinion of the Union in opposition to human Slavery, could not but river closer the chain of the slave. Discussion and investigation, based upon an acknowledged evil, have never yet been known to strengthen that evil.

The laws authorizing imprisonment for debt, were repealed only by the general employment of those means. The same instrumentalities are now assisting very much in diminishing the evils of intemperance. The same weapons were wielded by the philanthropists and public men of England, France, Holland, and Sweden, in effecting the extirpation of Slavery from the best of their several jurisdictions; and the same means and instrumentalities will ultimately produce the same effects in our own land, in relation to the institution of Slavery. African Slavery can never be strengthened by the rapidly accumulating and increasing opposition now being arrayed against it, and every voice, of every man, woman and child whose heart Christianity, Christendom, has heard in its condemnation, accelerates its fall.

Slavery is a relic of barbarism and paganism, and has within it no elements of inherent strength to resist the advance of the Christian Civilization and humanity are constantly making on it.

There is a constant antagonism between humanity and chattelism. God made the man—his creatures have made the chattel, and it is in vain for man to contend against his nature.

But let us appeal to the facts in the case.

If the condition of the slave has been made worse, in consequence of the Anti Slavery agitation, it must be either physically, intellectually, or religiously worse.

Have slaves less to eat than formerly? Is their food of a less nourishing and wholesome kind? Are they clothed in a worse manner, or less securely sheltered from the inclemency of the weather? We take the ground that in all of these respects they are in as good and in very many instances a better condition than they were previous to the Anti-Slavery discussion. All the motives which ever operated on the mind of the master, inducing him to provide for the physical comfort of the slave are now powerful as ever, and if the slave is a close observer of seventeen years will enable us to judge, we are entirely of the opinion that the physical condition of the slave is improving rather than deteriorating.

Surely, it will not be contended that the intellectual condition of the slave is worse in 1849 than in 1833 or 1825. The slave shall be treated as a chattel, and the mind of the slave shall be used for purposes whatever," was the law of Slavery then, it is the same now. The mind of the slave is the mind of a human being, and always has been the condition precedent for the existence and security of slavery.

Chattelism drags downwards the minds of its victims with the lorin of a fatal gravitation. In this respect, it can never be better nor worse. Slavery is as one for the schoolmaster.

The religious condition of the slaves is no worse, but far better than in post years. A far greater number are brought under religious instruction than formerly. Slaveholders, as a class, are making greater efforts to secure their slaves taught religious truths. Synods, associations, conferences, and other religious bodies, are giving a prominence to this subject, hitherto unknown. An examination of the minutes of the deliberative bodies of the more prominent of be religious sects, shows that the "religious institution of slaves" is beginning to be considered as a Christian duty, claiming special effort and attention.

To descend from generals to particulars, we may mention that the 1st African Baptist Church in this city, possessed a large and commodious brick house of worship five years since. They agreed to pay $5000 for it, and they have paid it. They pay th-ill salary to a liberal salary; they conduct the various exercises of public worship in a very solemn and becoming manner, and the church is said to contain the largest number of communicants of any church in Kentucky. There in the Sixth brick church on Fourth street, purchased at a chancery sale a few years since, by the African Methodists, and held in trust for the church by *colored* persons, which is very large congregation, worship every Sabbath. There is also another commodious and neat church on Centre street, called the "Wesleyan Temple," built by the colored people, and paid for in cash; in addition to which there is a Second African Baptist Church, worshipping in the brick building formerly occupied by the Rev. W. C. Huie, the talented editor of the *Baptist Pioneer*, and in addition, in this city, are four commodious brick edifices, three of which were formerly owned and occupied by "white christians," but have been purchased and are now in the religious possession of colored people within the past few years. All of these (and some others which we have not named) have been built or purchased during the time that the Anti-Slavery agitation has been prosecuted, and maintaining with unprecedented rapidity. Now, it were the height of folly to suppose that the large expenditure of money required to build the above mentioned churches and meeting houses could have been made by slaves earning nothing, or by free negroes, who are debarred by custom and law from nearly all profitable employments—except upon the supposition that they were assisted and very largely assisted, too, by the more liberal and humane of white population, including of course the owners of the slaves. We affirm, then, that the facts in the case, instead of exhibiting a disposition on the part of the Southern people to curtail the religious privileges of the colored people in consequence of agitation, show conclusively exactly the reverse.

Never have the people of the South manifested so deep an interest in the religious instruction of the slaves, or a more cordial sympathy with all religious efforts for their improvement, than at the present time.

We rejoice that it is so, for we look upon this fact as perhaps with important results. To us, it is the harbinger of a brighter day, a most convincing proof of the ameliorating influence of christianity under adverse circumstances—and a living record of the great truth which the finger of Providence has written upon the world's history, namely: That humanity is stronger than chattelism.

The improved condition of the slaves is not confined to Kentucky, but is the direct fruit of the extreme South there is also a marked improvement.

Some fifteen years since, gangs of negro and mulattoes women might be seen at work every day in the white driver, brandishing a formidable whip. We have often seen bright and intelligent looking girls, almost white, in this degrading situation, with long iron irons fastened around their necks. At that period it was a common remark, "that many an unfortunate mulatto girl was condemned to this degrading punishment in consequence of the jealousy of her mistress." But these matters were too common to excite any surprise.

On a recent visit to this city, we were informed that this semi-barbarous practice of working *women* in street gangs, had been abandoned—and among the numerous gangs of females which are seen daily at work on the levee, we saw no women; nor did we see a *whip* in use but once.

On the Sabbath, we observed the colored people, generally well dressed in regular attendance at different churches, and were informed on inquiry, on the authority, that their religious condition was much better than formerly. We also made inquiry into the physical and religious condition of the slaves on the plantations and although the result of these inquiries was less satisfactory as in the cities, it left no ground for the supposition that the condition of the slave is growing worse.

Another fact should be mentioned as showing the influence of public sentiment in the slave States. We allude to the general feeling against the public exhibition of the *slave chain gang*.

It is seldom that the feelings of this community are shocked with the sight of this disgusting, but perhaps necessary spectacle of chained slaves.

Doubtless large numbers of slaves are annually forced away from their kindred and home, to endure the more severe forms of Slavery experienced on the sugar and cotton plantations—but this is done in a less public manner than formerly, indicating certainly, on this point, a quickening of the public conscience. The sight of these chain gangs hurried parading through the streets of Louisville, *passed very early in the morning*.

We examine the slave laws of the United States we shall find that those which appear most cruel and inhuman, when weighed in the scales of "equal and exact justice" were enacted long anterior to the present Anti-Slavery agitation. The penal laws, "the laws directing slaves to be whipped for all minor offences,—the laws giving full authority to the master to separate husband and wife, parent and child—the laws directing free negroes from other States to be sold into Slavery, are part and parcel of the slave system itself.

These facts are sufficient for our present purpose, and we conclude the argument on this point by remarking that the master, having a regard for his interest, will treat his slave or deprives him of comfortable clothing and wholesome food in consequence of the Anti Slavery agitation, manifests as much wisdom as the man who starves his horse for fear of losing him. And the christian who deprives his slave of his accustomed religious privileges in consequence of the Anti-Slavery sentiments of other christians, should be classed with the christianity or his Slavery—for they are entirely opposed to each other. If Slavery in self-defence obliges the master to treat the slave and his wife, and child—the laws directing free negroes from other States to be sold into Slavery, are part and parcel of the slave system itself.

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The slave authorities are fully aware of the fact that those which appear most cruel and inhuman, when weighed in the scales of "equal and exact justice" were enacted long anterior to the present Anti-Slavery agitation. The penal laws, "the laws directing slaves to be whipped for all minor offences,—the laws giving full authority to the master to separate husband and wife, parent and child—the laws directing free negroes from other States to be sold into Slavery, are part and parcel of the slave system itself.

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The other doctrine of pro-slavery men against which we enter our protest, is, that "the slave has been made worse, in consequence of the Anti Slavery agitation; it must be either physically, intellectually, or religiously worse."

Have slaves less to eat than formerly? Is their food of a less nourishing and wholesome kind? Are they clothed in a worse manner, or less securely sheltered from the inclemency of the weather? We take the ground that in all of these respects they are in as good and in very many instances a better condition than they were previous to the Anti-Slavery discussion. All the motives which ever operated on the mind of the master, inducing him to provide for the physical comfort of the slave are now powerful as ever, and if the slave is a close observer of seventeen years will enable us to judge, we are entirely of the opinion that the physical condition of the slave is improving rather than deteriorating.

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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1850.

EDMUND QUINCY,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

WHOLE NUMBER 500.

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We believe we have not fallen into the error of underrating the danger with which threatens the Union from the temper and temper of the people of the South. We do not believe the threats of dissolution which they indulge, to be unmeaning or insincere. In which they indulge, to be very little doubt that the On the contrary, we have very little doubt that the men who make them intend to carry them into effect. The politicians from Southern States at Washington, who proclaim so proudly and with such bad taste—to say nothing more—their determination to dissolve the Union if Congress legislates on the subject of Slavery in opposition to their wishes, will put forth every effort in their power to have no question, every effort in their power to carry their threats into effect. They are earnest in this, and confident in their ability to carry it out.

Can they do so? Is there any reason to believe that the people whom they propose to carry along with their sentiments and designs?—Upon this point, we think we by no means free from serious apprehension. At the North, even, even in other sections of the country, though it is true in the main everywhere, the mass of the people follow the lead of the men who represent them. The ascendancy which Mr. CALHOUN has held for many years in South Carolina is well known,—and finds a parallel, on a smaller scale, in the influence exerted upon opinion and action by every representative of the Nullification Democrat. If the people are told by their leaders that the North is about to abolish Slavery,—that their domestic institutions are in danger, the whole mass of the Northern people are determined to strip them of their property, and that the Wilmot Proviso is only the commencement of the work proceeded, are but the initial steps to such consequences, they take it for granted that it is so. They have no means of forming more accurate judgment on the subject for themselves. The masses of them are cut off from all independent intercourse with the North, knowing nothing of the opinions, principles or purposes of its citizens, except from the representations of their political leaders—and these are too often colored by ambitious designs or personal jealousies of their own.

There can be no doubt, however, that those who are directly interested in slave property have been always in the agitation on that subject which has prevailed in the North for many years. What, we ask, ever may be the character of the direct propositions of the North in regard to it, they consider the whole discussion as calculated to injure their property; it is not so much their desire to take their slaves to California,—or any particular inconvenience they would suffer from the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia,—which embitters their opposition, but to the movements on these subjects,—as it is a belief that these are but the initial steps to a bolder and more deadly warfare against their property, and its local institution. Their extreme sensitiveness on the subject finds a ready explanation in the fact, that the general opinion and sentiments of all these people, and that anything which looks towards the abolition of Slavery, threatens to strip them of all they have. Except the hope of a future and better world, they cling with so much jealous and desperate energy as their property;—and when a whole community finds, or supposes, its entire estate to be menaced with destruction, sensitiveness and some degree of fanaticism may be excused. Something, certainly, must be pardoned to the spirit of property.

That slaveholders, therefore, should sympathize fully with the threats and purposes of their political leaders, is not surprising. Nor is the case essentially different with the whites of the South who are not slaveholders. Those among them who have any property, have it generally invested in mortgages on estates of which slaves constitute the chief value, and those who are themselves laborers, are dependent entirely on the wealthier slaveholding portions for employment and subsistence. The property of any large community—whatever may be its nature—is generally the ruling power in that community. Commerce, Manufactures, and Agriculture, each in its own locality, is a strong and powerful element of ruling interest, to which all others become subordinate and obedient. And the rule holds true of Slavery, small as it may appear, in the South. Public opinion and public action are shaped and governed by it, wherever it exists as the leading element in any State.

These considerations induce us to believe that the mass of the people of the South will follow the guidance of their political leaders, in any steps they may take towards dissolving the Union, if Congress legislates on the subject of Slavery in opposition to their wishes. If then the matter be pushed to extremities, we apprehend the most serious results. We have no sympathy with the spirit of Southern threats, may be wise to consult. Fortunately, the history of the country furnishes but a single precedent—but that is quite enough, if it be rightly interpreted.

In the days of Nullification, South Carolina stood alone. Her citizens were divided among themselves—as a very strong and active Union party existed within her borders. The grievance complained of was one which only touched her people indirectly. Yet the Nullification party, led by Mr. CALHOUN, succeeded in carrying the State into opposition to the "tyrannical and unconstitutional patriotism of General JACKSON" would undoubtedly have crushed the incipient rebellion in the end,—but who can tell at what expense of treasure, of blood, and of the Constitution of Harmony, this result would have been attained. Fortunately that matter was settled by a Compromise, so that we need not speculate on the consequences, which had it not been thus allayed, can only be matter of conjecture.

In the present case, it cannot be doubted, all the Southern States, except perhaps Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee, will be united. The great mass of the people in each State will be carried with the prevailing interest and feeling of the South, and severely all the Southern people. There will scarcely be any Union party in the South, nor can any sensible man believe that it can withstand the threats of the Southern States. Should the movement for disunion be started by the political leaders from that section, we believe it will be taken up and sustained and carried forward by the people whom they represent. And we consider them also pledged to do this, if Congress enacts the Wilmot Proviso, or legislates on the subject in the way and in which the South may take serious alarm or offence. We cannot interpret the movements already made, or the solemn declarations already put forth, otherwise, with any degree to those from whom they come.

The crisis, therefore, in which the country is placed at the present moment seems to be of a character of unusual interest and importance. The whole North, having a decided preponderance in Congress, seems determined to enact laws which the South has always regarded as fatal to her safety. The most extreme measure, even by a dissolution of the Union, if these laws shall be enacted, we think it is altogether likely that an appeal to the South will be made, and that the Union will be dissolved. The Union has come apart, which but have one of two issues—unresisted success, or civil war—the South will must be utterly abhorrent to the feelings of every lover of his country and every friend of his race.

This, in our judgment, is the condition in which Congress and the country are now placed at the present time. We have set it forth thus plainly, not for the purpose of influencing the action of Northern men in Congress, but to convince Southern men, false representations. We desire the Northern people, and their representatives in Congress, to understand fully the probable consequences of the measures they propose,—because, we know, they alone can they act with firmness and with courage. The man who walks in the dark always walks with uncertain and tottering steps;—but in the light, he walks a clear light, of trembling steps;—but in the light, he walks a clear light, the man who has the heart to do it, may walk with unshrinking courage even into a volcano's mouth.—If Duty calls him thither.

Even if we should be certain,—as we deem it probable,—that the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso, or the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, would impel the South to dissolve the Union, we think it would be a short Congress on that account not to enact them. It is not becoming or right that the representatives of free men should be driven from what they know to be their duty, by threats of any kind,—not even if they are certain to be put in execution. If Congress shall, after mature, calm and conscientious investigation, find the passage of these laws to be constitutional and absolutely necessary for the good of the country, we trust they will *pass them in their enactment*,—be the consequences what they may. But it is violence may menace them for so doing. But it is equally obvious that no such action should be taken from any but the highest and the purest motives, or from any but the clearest and most imperative upon any but the clearest and most imperative grounds of public justice and necessity. The North must not imitate the bravado of the South, and must not imitate the Wilmot Proviso, because the South threaten the Wilmot Proviso. This would be simply to adopt a line of conduct which we think we have condemned in the South, for Wm. J. Brown of Indiana, for Speaker!

The menaces of the South, though they should inspire no terror, should insulate no deadlock caution. They should make the NORTH all the more solicitous to place herself upon the highest ground of undeniable justice and national necessity. Should the North do any action which may involve issues of such vast importance. Her whole people, and their representatives, should carefully consider the question, the good does imperatively require the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso,—whether it is absolutely essential to the maintenance of Northern rights, that disaster and ruin would overtake the land. If this proves to be the case,—if under such influences and after such consideration the North does deem it just, right and necessary to enact that law, we trust it will be done. The consequences, whatever they may be, rest upon the heads of those by whose wrongs they shall be brought to pass. THAT DUTY IS THE highest rule we know of public as of private morals.—*N. Y. Courier and Enquirer.*

CONGRESS.—Up to the last advices, the House of Representatives had not succeeded in electing a Speaker, and a prospect of organization appears as distant as ever. What the final result will be, it is impossible to determine, but one thing we are certain of, and that is, the force which has been played so far by all parties, is a disgrace to the country, and to the constituency who sent them there. The people will demand an account of the time and money spent, and the results, which are profitable context, and we sincerely hope that not one of the members who have been guilty of aiding the movements of the Democrats will ever be allowed to be returned to Congress. It would have been far better and more satisfactory if the Northern Whigs had acted upon the ground that upon some person from one of the Free States end elected him Speaker than it is to yield everything to Southern dictation and Southern menace. Since the first organization of this Government, the Northern Whigs have yielded everything pretty much their own way, or if they could not, have threatened the North with disunion. It has been said by many northern Democrats, that almost any evil should be borne rather than have the Union dissolved. We have also been of the opinion, and we have acted on it, but from a close observation of the course pursued by the South towards the North has convinced us that the time is at hand when a disunion between the slave and free States must inevitably take place, and if the present state of things is to continue we care not how soon that period arrives. We are always opposed to any internal, dissentions in a Nation, but when one portion of a confederacy is dependent for its very existence upon any portion, and yet ever clamorous that portion is discriminated, and burdening course, as has always been the case with the South towards the North, we care not how soon the Union is dissolved. That the North never has no fears of this result, for however much the South may threaten, to withdraw from the confederacy, there is not a party that would not immediately succeed. Should they, however, persist in carrying out their threats, it would have the effect of freeing the country from the curse of Slavery; for the South could not exist at all as an independent Nation, and remain her "Peculiar Institution" without the cooperation of the free States. We therefore say to the northern men from the Free States, assert your rights and suffer the South to pursue such a course as she may think best, and our word for it there will be no disunion.—*Skaneateles (Me.) Clarion*

DISUNION.—We observe that most of the newspapers of the North affect to treat with ridicule and derision the idea of the secession of the Southern States from the Union, and pretend to be possessed of great depth of political discernment, or futurity-penetrating sagacity, we will require to discern from the generally received opinion, that there is no real danger of a Southern separation from the confederacy.

In speculations upon this subject our impression lacking, during upon the probable issue of the Wilmot Proviso, appears to have been overlooked by our contemporaries. We allude to the entire unanimity of the Southern representatives, in the Congress, upon the subject, but echo the sentiments of the overpowering majority of their constituents. In fact, there never was a subject more fraught, in the entire North or South, upon which such general unanimity could be concentrated as is witnessed among the people of the slave States, upon the question of National interference with the subject of Slavery. Northern Whigs at "Chivalry," "General Quitlebum," "South Carolina," "Old Dominion," well enough to relieve the monotony of editorial dullness, but it should ever be borne in mind by thinking, patriotic men, that the South is dealing with which to attempt to put down a deep rooted and dangerous sentiment of hostility to the Union of these States. There are many good and patriotic men in the South, who would sooner sacrifice their great "domestic Institution" than encounter the probable consequences of disunion.—Men who have lived in the enjoyment of wealth and education in favor of their communities, and these constant sneers and insults, so liberally dealt in by Northern Unionists, and stimulate to greater intensity the hatred of the ultra Slavery propagandists.

Those who have closely scanned the proceedings in Congress, for the past two years, cannot fail to have observed, how, even in the most exciting political periods, both Whig and Democratic Representatives from the South, have been cowed down by the same banner whenever the question of Slavery has been even vaguely approached, in discussion or proposition. The fact that no proposition in its simplest caution, as indicative of what may be expected when the great question shall come up for final abitration. The late Congressional election in Kentucky throws still greater light upon this subject. Kentucky has for a big-ly popular, able and upright man is defeated in a district where the Democrats never before have been able to carry a Congressional election because he was *suspected* of his fidelity to Slavery. Another Whig member went overboard upon the same suspicion in a district of three thousand majority for his votes in a district of three thousand majority for his party! In the Convention to revise the Constitution of this State a majority of Democrats have been elected, who owe their success to the fact that they out Heroded even Whig *slaveholding* candidates, in their pledges to Slavery. And yet Kentucky is almost counted a Slave State, by the Northern estimation. Are not these facts significant? Is this a subject in the present state of feeling, for idle jests or sneering remarks?

In fact the danger of a severance of this Union is more imminent than is generally supposed. We have touched upon but one element that enters into this calculation, and that is the fact that a great mass of Northern Statesmen have long contemplated the building up of a great Southern Republic, first by disunion and it is by conspiring to effect this object, rather than an agent than a principle in the movement.—(*N. J.*) *Trentonian.*

NORTH AND SOUTH.—It is indeed to be much regretted, that the sectional feeling is becoming so much aroused between the North and South. Now, if at the very threshold of the 31st Congress, the Northern members, or a large portion of them, force upon the North, the question of Slavery—refusing to vote for a northern man to be speaker, on the ground, or promise is first made that the Ordinance of '87 shall not be attached to any of the territorial bills. Some five of the Southern Whigs refused to vote for Mr. Winthrop for Speaker, because he is in favor of the above Ordinance; and the Abolitionists refused to vote for him, because—because—we scarcely know why—unless it is because he is not in favor of the Ordinance!

But these same Abolitionists are in a short time, found voting with the Calhoun Democrats of the South, for Wm. J. Brown of Indiana, for Speaker! But to return. The South or some of the Southern States, have positively declare they will secede from the North, if the Wilmot Proviso be passed. And what then? Supposing they were permitted to peaceably secede? How would that aid the institution of Slavery? Would they go and take possession of New Mexico and California, and force Slavery upon the citizens there? Nonsense! They know they would not. How then would a secession aid the institution of Slavery?

In case of a separation Slavery would *certainly* be abolished in the Northern States—there would be no room for extension. Where, then, we ask again, would be the advantage to them, in a separation? Why, it would prove their ruin. Let such a state of things once exist in the South, and one half country would not pass away before he who is now the bondman would be the master and they would rule with a rod of iron.

So soon as the South would set up a separate Government, the non-slaveholding, white, free citizens would flee from the Government as Lot did from Sodom and would leave the few wretched masters to the mercy of their cruel and revengeful slaves. As in 1776, the white population is diminishing, and the colored population increasing in some of the slave States! Should a majority of the people of some of the slave States elect, to secede, yet there would be thousands in each of those States who would be opposed to it—these mostly, if they could, would leave these States at once; and where those all to leave the remainder would soon become an easy prey to the colored population.

Should such secession take place, it would certainly be that, if it is not now, it would be considered—whether the free States should not prohibit—by positive law—the emigration of the colored race to their borders. They can never enjoy the benefits of free government here. Then the Abolitionists, or many of them have abandoned their ground, of equal rights to the colored man, and declare the right of the negro should be the right of suffrage, and consequently of holding office—and at the same time, are opposed to their colonization, where they can enjoy the benefits of free government—and have the right of suffrage.

But why need we talk of the secession of the Southern States? We answer, we do not. There is no provision made for it in the Constitution. The South may again attempt a nullification of the United State laws. But they must, and will be enforced. We have not a doubt in the world. Before one year from this date some of the Southern States will refuse obedience to the laws of the United States. And we do not, we think, it will not cost bloodless as the nullification of '32—though Henry Clay, with all his wisdom, is again in the United Senate; but we fear he will introduce another compromise bill to calm the troubled waters.—*Wilmington (Ohio,) Clinton Republican.*

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TOO TANTE!—If the *New York Express* has given a faithful report of the doings of the Whig Congressional Caucus there was too much tameness of spirit, entirely, to our mind, exhibited by the Northern Whigs. The Northern Whigs in world look on Brooks about honest differences of opinion, toleration, sectional tests, &c. were sadly out of place in such a place. Such things should be fairly and distinctly told so. The pretensions of the South are monstrous, and should not be tolerated for a moment. The Northern Whigs in world look on with amazement at the deliberate, cold blooded pertinacity with which the privilege to extend the Heaven-defying evil of Slavery is urged. It must be resisted and resisted to the last. Let it be so, and it will be avoided. Much allowance should be made for the frenzy of the South; proceeding, as it does, from the consciousness of guilt. But, if the time has come when the rights of the Free States, the claims of humanity, must be proclaimed and vindicated. Let the Northern Whigs do it, in the spirit, dignity of every heart. And he will save it, we believe. But, better far, better, that it be convulsed to its centre than that the monstrous demands of the Slave Power be allowed to go forward, as they are with the North. Let that power be concentrated united, and fearlessly used; and the question in all its related forms, will be settled in the strength, once and forever settled.—*Summit (O.) Beacon.*

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MATTERS IN WASHINGTON.—We regret that we cannot lay before our readers the full proceedings of the House of Representatives. In these proceedings we think we see occasion for alarm. Not alarm on account of the danger of a dissolution of the Union of the *United States*, but danger that *the union of northern and southern politicians will sore be dissolved.* We know no doubt that Slavery would triumph just as long as party concessions are made by the North, for fear of splitting with the South. The Southern secession party have long threatened that whenever they could control the Northern sections; and the late proceedings show that the South still supposes that possessed of all the power. When a Northern member declares before the Representatives of the whole Nation that should the Wilmot Proviso be passed, so help him God, *the Union shall be dissolved*, he is the representative of that body, Whig and Democratic, springs to his feet and cheers the speaker; is it not then by hypocrisy in either party, as long as they are willing to compromise with the South and make concessions to their Slavery demands, to pretend to be acting in favor of the great principles of freedom?—The South now demands that the Northern Whigs be determined to have him either in the shape of a Southern slaveholder or a Northern doughface. No doubt they prefer a doughface. But we know perfectly he will do their work. They are not willing to take a man who will give Northern feelings a *fair* representation on the committees—they demand one who will give them the advantage; and if they cannot have such, they threaten to dissolve the Union. But is there anything very frightening in these threats? Let dissolution come, we say, rather than that the North should be made a party in extending Slavery another inch. Dissolve this Union and the destiny of Slavery will have sounded. Southern threats are intended for no such thing. But any man, with half an eye, can see that Southern politicians will dissolve any *party* in the North that will triumph just as long as party concessions are made by the North, for fear of splitting with the South. The Southern secession party have long threatened that whenever they could control the Northern sections; and the late proceedings show that the South still supposes possessed of all the power. When a Northern member declares before the Representatives of the whole Nation that should the Wilmot Proviso be passed, so help him God, *the Union shall be dissolved*, he is the representative of that body, Whig and Democratic, springs to his feet and cheers the speaker; is it not then by hypocrisy in either party, as long as they are willing to compromise with the South and make concessions to their Slavery demands, to pretend to be acting in favor of the great principles of freedom?—The South now demands that the Northern Whigs be determined to have him either in the shape of a Southern slaveholder or a Northern doughface. No doubt they prefer a doughface. We

Suppose, in the war of the Revolution, a "Northern party" had organized by adopting a Buffalo platform, so that no Southern State could act with them! We think not, nor do we believe any good will come of the late organization, based solely on *one* idea, and that directed in bitter hostility against one half of the States of the Union. If our Union is to be prosperous, if our people as a whole are to be happy, if they are to go on in prosper and peace, all branches of industry prospering, we must cultivate a brotherly spirit: must correct our own faults, and be generous to our neighbors: cultivate harmony to strengthen our Union, rather than engender a bitter opposition and exclusive party spirit that shall ever tend to evil, but never to good results.

Let us think of these things, and as Democrats ask ourselves whether our principles are broad enough to embrace *the Union*, or whether they are merely confined to a part of it, while they are in bitter enmity to the other part.—*Hartford Daily Times.*

DISSOLVING THE UNION.—The following paragraph we very unexpectedly find in the columns of the *Hartford Times*:

"California has unanimously prohibited Slavery within its proscribed limits. The Southern men say if Congress passes a resolution that there shall be no Slavery there, they will dissolve the Union. Well, we are not among those who go for dissolving the Union for such a reason, nor do we belong to the class that will beg South Carolina to remain in the Union, if she desires to go out. She cans in voluntarily, just her pay out as soon as she pleases. But pray don't be forever talking about it. Go if you want to. No State is wanted in this Union that desires to go out. Don't beg to the disconsented."

We agree with every word of the above. This Union is a voluntary aggregation of independent States. If any one of them, or either half of them, they are opposed by the remainder, they have the undoubted right to secede and set up for themselves. Like the *Times*, we are ready to say farewell to all who think they can do better out of the Union than in it.—*Syracuse Revelle.*

# The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1850.

## Mass Convention at Syracuse.

*It has been determined that a* CONVENTION *of the* ABOLITIONISTS *of the* STATE *of* NEW YORK *shall be held at*

Syracuse,

*on* TUESDAY *the 15th of* JANUARY, 1850.

*The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery; the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, hold to those parties; and the relation which Abolitionists now sustain to each other and the cause, demand that such a Convention be held, in this State; that it be held during the evening session of Congress; and that it shall present the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, not only to the extension of Slavery into new Territories, but to its existence anywhere: who are determined, and only to be satisfied with its extinction in the States of the South, or in the valleys of New Mexico, but are equally determined on its extermination on the Atlantic Coast and in the valley of the Mississippi.*

*The events of the past year; the events of the passing week; the events, probably, which will signalize the present winter, appeal to all who assume to themselves the name of Abolitionist to arouse themselves, as one man, to the work of making this the largest and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in this State. The morning cry of*

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

*and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and has never been so heeded as it will be in the present crisis.*

*Particulars of time, place, and probable continuance of the Convention, and names of the distinguished friends of the cause who will be present, will be given in future notices.*

### The Haunted House.

THERE are matter-of-fact days and many of the Spectres with which our ancestors loved to frighten themselves have been laid in the Red Sea of Incredulity, or exercised by the spells of Natural Philosophy. It is now a century and a quarter since Chief Justice Sewall of Massachusetts-Bay, humbled himself before the Old South Church in Boston, for his part in the judicial murder of the Witches. How long is it since any a Ghost, of tolerable credit and ordinary self-respect, has ventured to show his face to any of this unbelieving generation? There are not wanting those who would rob us of our belief in a personal Devil, and would degrade into a mere empty Abstraction the active Personage who, we have been taught to believe, with horns, hoofs and brimstone breath, whisking his tail under his arm,

"As a gentleman carries his cane,"

ever goes about seeking whom he may devour. In fact, the Marsh of Mind has been so rapid that it has left all these worn out Beliefs far in the rear. The *Babbledoggish* generation has shot up so fast that it has outgrown the old habits of thought with which our fathers were content to clothe their minds, and has not so much as a rag of a good old superstition left to its back. To be sure, there is Mesmerism and Pantheism and Jackson-Davisism, not to mention the Gentleman ghost that is all knuckles, and divers other modern substitutions for the original article. But we shall pretermit all these contemporary matters, like a discreet minister, in a prudent silence, lest, peradventure, we might hit some of our Congregation.

Still, although, as the Edinburgh Reviewer (Macaulay, we believe,) once said, ghosts have been driven from the library to the drawing-room, and from the drawing-room to the nursery, till dislodged even thence they are fain to take up with the "fat foetish scullion" scouring out kettles on her knees in the kitchen—still, we are not without our Thing of Fear, our Horrible Vision, our ghostly Terror. The Awfulness Faculty is no exception to the general law which places a skeleton in every household. We are a haunted People. We can no longer escape the avenging Presence that pursues us than could the rake of Guy's Fable the Universal Aspiration. We have experimented in vain to help in the Massacre of the Innocents. Tens and hundreds of thousands of unoffending men, women and children have been slain in the house which our Fathers builded, and we have stood by consenting to their death and keeping the clothes of the murderers. Their blood has cried from the earth against us for Sixty years. The "Conscience that makes cowards of us all" is beginning to be aroused and to do its work, lower imperfectly. And Conscience is the Nemesis "that calls the Furies from the Abyss" and urges them on until they have encircled the obedient Soul in their office to enforce Remorse is the Shadow of Crime. But Shadows presuppose the Day, and the Twilight of the perfect Day is but beginning to dawn upon the eyes of the Nation. The Spectral Presence that we dread seeks the light. It does not vanish, it appears at any time being brought to the Cross. Therefore it is that we love Darkness rather than Light and seek to quench the Orb of Day when it strives to pour its rays upon our eyeballs.

We have our haunted house, too. Not a grim solitary mansion on the edge of the village or in a deserted street that the school-boy makes a circuit to avoid, but the palace which we have built, in the Metropolis of the Nation, for ourselves to dwell in, by proxy, in the person of our ministers. There, in an especial manner, does our Universal Aspiration make its presence felt and seen. Whether we ascend to the Senate Chamber or make our bed in the House of Representatives or dwell in the uttermost parts of the Supreme Court Room, everywhere does Slavery pursue us and make us feel its Omnipresence and political Omnipotence. There is nothing so high that it can abash the Evil Spirit or so low as to escape its jealous scrutiny. Foreign relations and domestic policy, the conquest of empires and the opinions of a two-penny postman, Cabinet Offices and tide-waiterships, Foreign Embassies and country postmasterships, all come within the sphere of his observation and its influence. It has learned that if "Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty," still more is it the price of Slavery. Nothing is too insignificant for its notice, or nothing is too large for its ambition. It rages because its time is short, and it knows that its time is short because the stillness which is its element is every day more and more violently disturbed. It cries "Peace, Peace," when there is no Peace, for it is the Peace of the world. It knows, instinctively, that it must have all, or soon be nothing. And in this it is wise in its generation. It will be well if they that call themselves the Children of Light take a lesson from its Philosophy.

The opening of the Haunted House this winter has proved that the new inhabitants are to be no more safe from the infusion of the tormentor than those of former days. It appeared at the very threshold and refused to permit one of its lawful possessors to draw the breath of organic life, until its demands were satisfied. It would not consent that there should be no Legislature. A simple priest, professing its exoteric faith, and content to let its due service be performed without interruption, was not enough. A hierophant, who had been initiated into the heart of its Mysteries and was therefore to be trusted with its esoteric doctrines, could alone be trusted with their application to the life of the Nation. An attempt was made to resist its domination, but in vain. The Northern exorcists have not yet learned the formula which alone can strip it of its power. Like the Babylonish Magi they are baffled and confounded in the light of the interpreting it describes on their walls, and there has not as yet appeared a Daniel, *there*, that can expound the interpretation thereof. Their efforts were all as vain as those of Cornelius Agrippa's servant in lay the dream he had raised by tampering with his master's books, and at last they gave it up in sheer despair and let it have its will as of old time. Slavery has once more triumphed gloriously and bound its brows with victorious wreaths;—though it has by no means

"Its bruised arms hung up for monuments,"

being too knowing even to lay them aside or to regard any Peace or Compromise as any thing but a Truce.

And while the dwellers in the other Chamber were sitting patient as the Senators of Old Rome awaiting the advent of the Gauls, biding the time when the breath of organic life should be breathed into the nostrils of its Slumber brother and their joint career of mischief might begin, the ribald spirit was not wanting in gambols for their amusement or an occasion for the display of their devotion to it. A priest is usually esteemed a sovereign remedy for an Evil Spirit. Sir Roger de Coverley sent the ghosts packing from all the haunted rooms of his Manor-house by simply making his Chaplain sleep in them. Nevertheless, the ribald spirit was not of that ordinary kind. On the contrary it was the appearance of a priest that evoked it to the presence. Poor Father Mathew, who has certainly been as inoffensive a Saint as Slavery could desire since his arrival in this country, was the cause of the apparition. He had been proof of the sacred presence of Slavery which, if it [illegible] anything, at least never forgets anything. This Very Reverend, but very unfortunate gentleman had signed, some years ago, an Address to his countrymen in America, touching their duties to the American Slaves, which contained some strictures on our Sovereign Power which were the more distasteful from the circumstance of their being unhappily true. Had his visit preceded his action we think his knowledge of the state of affairs, here, would have prevented his signature. But as it is, he can only say of it as Lady Mary Wortley Montague said of her Marriage, when that institution grew unfashionable in the days of George I. and II., "that it was a great while ago when he committed it and that he was very young at the time and was heartily [illegible] for it." But this did not avert from him the wind-up of the Spectral Drama, which he was well acquainted before he was admitted within the sacred precincts of the Bar. And who believes he would have received over this mangled compliment had it not been for "Worcester's laurelate wreaths?"

There is but one way of laying this troublesome friend and that is by breaking the Magic Circle by virtue of which it possesses and exerts its power. In Der Freischutz, we remember, a circle of skulls haunted the excursions of Zamiel. The wider circle of Thirty States (or whatever the number may chance to be for the moment) affords a sufficient range as well as a sure protection for our Spectral Visitor. But, indeed, the similitude fails in the particular that the charmed ring gives no safety to the victims it encompasses, whatever it may do to the Destroyer. The removal of one of these elements of the incantation would be fatal to the spell.—The wider spirit would be away as did Samuel when he smelled the smoke of the heart and liver of the fish which Tobit put upon the ashes of the perfumes.—To be sure, he sometimes vapours and threatens to withdraw from us the protection of his fostering wings, whenever he is disturbed or disposed to interfere with the affairs of all such juggling fiends to reign by the terror they excite. When affronted by calm and collected courage they shrink appalled into Pygmean dimensions, and

"They who now but seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
Seem less than smallest dwarfs."

The conjurer who will take him at his word is the one he dreads the most. A resolute purpose, an earnest word, on the part of the people of the North, would rid our House and our Conscience of his haunting presence, and would astonish everybody, if they did not cease, his final annihilation.—R. Q.

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ARTICLE TENTH.

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Sec. 1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying them, their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State. They shall have no power to prevent immigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall have power to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and to prevent them from remaining in this State after they have emancipated. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this state as merchandise. They shall have full power to prevent any slaves being brought into this state, who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be brought into any of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity; to provide for them necessary clothing and provision; to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb; and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

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Sec. 3. In the prosecution of slaves for felony on request by a grand jury shall be necessary; but the proceedings in such prosecutions shall be regulated by law, except that the General Assembly shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

☞ There are not many men, common and respectable as that purely American animal the doughface is, who would consent to write themselves down as such so plainly as Mr. Gorley, the proprietor of the Magazine, has done, in the following letter to the *Pittsburgh Telegraph*. We hardly know which most to admire, the sensitiveness of the Southerner who imputes Abolitionism to a writer who is known as a correspondent of the *National Era*—for such that paper was on the ground of the charge against Grace Greenwood—or the Northerner who could so hold himself up as a specimen of the world.

"LETTER FROM MR. GOREY.—The following letter from Mr. Gorley needs but a few words of comment. Our readers all remember that we did not scan the Book with containing Abolition, but merely cited the affinities of its conductors, as an argument against lin the Northern Magazine, Rev. Mr. Gorley.

We have no special objection to Mr. Gorley's Book, further than to the whole class of which it is a sample, and therefore give him the full benefit of his own disclaimer:

PHILADELPHIA, December 1, 1849.

*To the Editors of the Telegraph.*"

"GENTLEMEN: I have just been made aware, by an article in the *South Carolinian*, that you have made an attack on the 'Lady's Book,' for entertaining and publishing opinions against the institutions of the South. I have been publishing the *Lady's Book* for twenty years, and if in that time one line can be found assegning in my way Southern institutions, or in any way to be a Disunion sentiment, I am responsible for publishing articles from writers who write for Abolition papers, how much more responsible are I than the proprietors of Sartain's Magazine? he, whose contributors are mostly of that class, and who have published articles in his Magazine, two of which I enclose. Who then, should I be blamed? I call upon you, as gentlemen and publishers, to do me but simple justice in this matter. Where the fault belongs, there let the censure fall. I send you a January number. You will see that Grace Greenwood's name is withdrawn from the cover. Of late, she has occupied nominally, as editor, she never having had the least control over its columns. I have not seen the article in your paper which has so much offended you, but, I presume, it is. Surely, living in a different part of the country should not make me liable for an offence I never committed.

"I trust, gentlemen, you will do me justice in this case, or show me that I am guilty.

"Very respectfully, yours, "L. A. GOREY."

MR. WINTHROP.—The *Evening Post*, in commenting upon the recent debate in Congress, between Messrs. Giddings and Winthrop—for which see in another column—and Mr. Winthrop's defeat in the contest for the Speakership, justly remarks that one single fact should put at rest all controversy in regard to that gentleman's position, namely: that in the attempt to prevent his re-election the Southern members joined with the Whigs in the charge of composing the Committees in the last Congress in such a manner as not to favor the slaveholders. "With this part of his conduct," says the *Post*, "they appear to have been perfectly content. He made up the Committees in such a manner that they could find no occasion for his displacement."

The same paper quotes from the *Worcester Spy* a statement which puts the matter in a very clear light. The *Spy* in replying to the defence of Mr. Winthrop by the Whig papers says:

"These papers seem not to remember that we made no charge of partiality in the sectional distribution of the committees, or not to comprehend that a committee, unfavorable to the slave interest, may be still be constituted from the north as from the south. Indeed, your thorough paced doughface, if he whistles on the slave power the greatest possible service, would do it, precisely as Winthrop did, by the appearance of great security to the slave interest, while he himself looks as hard always he true to their master. And it was a notorious fact, that through the course of the last Congress, no one believed that any proposition injurious to the interests of slevedom, stood any better chance before either of the committees referred to, than it would before the Divan of the Sultan. We say of it as Lady Mary Wortley Montague said of her Marriage, when that institution grew unfashionable in the days of George I. and II., "that it was a great while ago when he committed it and that he was very young at the time and was heartily [illegible] for it." But this did not avert from him the wind up of the Spectral Drama, which he was well acquainted before he was admitted within the sacred precincts of the Bar. And who believes he would have received over this mangled compliment had it not been for "Worcester's laurelate wreaths?"

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## Notes on New Publications.

THE GREAT METROPOLIS; OR NEW YORK ALMANAC FOR 1850. *H. Wilson, Rd. Pilsbury, Jas. Cochran, New York.*

This Almanac is not an almanac only, but a Dictatory to all sorts of places, all sorts of institutions, all sorts of business, both public and private, to every thing, in short, that a New Yorker needs to know and his own, and the city of Brooklyn's affairs, and the rest of the world. As the writer in now a clergyman in good and regular standing he felt it, perhaps, professionally incumbent upon him to give the reader the benefit of such religious reflections as occurred to him during his voyage, and those of his own parsonage certainly will not complain of this; those who forget to seek such spiritual counsel elsewhere, need not feel that they are much imposed upon in this respect. We give him, on the whole, credit for putting his' go-ashore clothes on so seldom.

The book is embellished with a number of plates illustrative of the various adventures related by the author, and are of more than ordinary excellence.

GABRIEL OR NICHNOR WOOD. By MRS HAWTHORNE. *Cole & Reader, 102 Nassau st. New York.* Mrs. Hawthorne is acknowledged as one of the best, if not the best, living writers of books for children, that any new thing from her pen needs advertisement only, and not commendation. The *fact*, however, might be thought by the nervous and scrupulous of reviewers upon Gabriel of Nichnor Wood. It is a most captivating little story, and could hardly fail to be read with lively interest by an inventive and satisfied mind, even if it *did* not. It is just the thing to take the hands of a boy of twelve at all inclined to *spinning*, if only for the lesson conveyed in the noble character of the peasant lad, the hero of the tale.

The volume, we observe, is dedicated to an American boy, a son of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Spring, of Brooklyn.

THE GREAT QUARTERLIES. We solicit the attention of our readers to the advertisement, in another column, of Messrs. Leonard Scott & Co.'s Reprint of the British Quarterlies and Blackwood's Magazine. Did we wish to do a raise and furnish *Free Produce*, who, while they owned no nominal slaves, yet, from their circumstances, belonged to a religious sect which allowed its members to hold slaves, or accepted office or voted for others to hold office, under the present government of a *slave State*, or of the United States, I should consider their Free Produce a *sham!*" To this "Alpha" responds: "When our friend shall convince us of his new opinion in this matter, we promise him we shall 'altogether retract' our charge against the American Anti-Slavery Society, as it would be highly absurd in us to hold it, or its members, to a preference of what it would be nearly or entirely out of their power to obtain." Here is a *revelation indeed!* A revelation of the *fact*, that most of this immaculate Free Produce, which some of us are so guilty for not exclusively preferring to slave-grown produce is utterly tainted with Free Produce

## Communications.

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"Reviewing is only half the business of these reviews—at least the Blackwoods are original, complete, and elegant dissertations upon the most stirring and practically important themes of the day; and we know not how any professional man, clergyman, or lawyer, can afford to be without them. We should as soon be without Webster's Dictionary, the Encyclopedia Americana, or Adam Concordance, a pair of India-rubbers, or an umbrella. Besides, we must judge our own to be more important than the reading than the more imposing folios, while they have the great merit of treating of objects and questions of immediate interest, and so help on the reader in his practical duties and business. If the Blackwoods should grow barren of themes or thoughts, sluggish, and with a horror of his pen, we commend him to a year's careful reading of the republished reviews. If he is not another man, intellectually, at the end of that time, with more comprehensive views, a more lively interest in the affairs of his race, a more eager sympathy and expectation, with a greater facundity of thought, and an improved style of writing—then, we will give up our own prejudice, which we shall do at any rate. We do not believe it to be possible to invest ten dollars in books, in as profitable a way, as in subscribing for these reviews. After ten years' experience of their value, we say this, we believe, without fear that our opinion may have some weight, and induce some of our readers to take these works for a year, on trial. If it be objected, that he who reads the reviews can find time to read anything else, we reply, that he who does not read the reviews will, most likely, lack taste or attention to read anything else; and that, as a matter of fact, probably, those who read them most thoroughly, are those who read everything else of most value. Reading is an art. Men want mental discipline and taste for it, much more than they lack time; and he who has a wide-awake mind, will find no lack of opportunity to read enough to make him a learned, a wise, a thoughtful man. Without the reviews we will wake up, and keep him awake, if anything can. Therefore, we say, take and read the English and Scotch Reviews. They are very far beyond our own in knowledge, vigor, taste, style, energy. The *Edinburgh* and *London Quarterly* are of uniform, perhaps equal excellence; the first, energetically but calmly reformatory in its principles; the last, intelligently and elegantly conservative; both, models of information, and of the best style of thought. The *North British* is more charged with the spirit of the time. It is young, fresh, vigorous, and has the merit of looking at every subject from a directly Christian point of view. It lacks, worst, the elegance and the correctness of the other journals, and is often disfigured by local errors of style, and provincial phrases; but its tone is earnest, pure, noble; it contains, often, scientific articles of great value, broad and just and elevated views of public affairs, relative to current affairs; and what is still more valuable, theological discussions of great and immediate interest.

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Letter from Henry Bibb.

MR. EDITOR:—A copy of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, was handed to me last week by a friend who called my attention to a pro-slavery article in it respecting myself. The article purports to have been written by H. B. Brewster, from Haverhill, Massachusetts, bearing the date of December 6th, in which I am charged with deception and lying about the cruel treatment of slaves. To this one-sided, doubled and twisted false statement, made by the writer, I was amused to see your very striking remarks by way of reply in my behalf. The substance of which was that you knew not whether I was worthy of public confidence or not, never having heard yourself lecture; and that all the writer said might be true, &c. For this defence please accept my thanks. Up to this period, I had flattered myself into the belief that I was known to the Anti-Slavery Editors of the country generally as a credited laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause.

The Rev. H. B. Brewster, the pro-slavery correspondent, is also known to be a slaveholder from Mobile, Alabama, whose business it is to defend slaveholders wherever he goes, and to misrepresent and abuse the Anti-Slavery cause through its advocates. But if you will allow such attacks made through your columns, from such quarters, and from such men, I hope, sir, that you will allow me a small space in the same organ to reply to it.

"NOTHING CAN BE GAINED," says the writer, "BY LYING AND DECEPTION."

Of that remark, I have only to say to the Rev. Mr. B. you have spoken the truth, and I will give you credit for it. But would it not have been well for your ministerial character, had you thought to have observed the rule of sticking to the truth in that large sermon at Haverhill? On that occasion, I affirmed that the American slaves had nothing which they could legally call their own, and which I now re-affirm. They have no husbands, no wives, no children and no parents; and legally speaking, is no more respected among the slave population of the United States, than I said. Was also a common occurrence to see persons separated who had taken up with each other as husbands and wives, hand-cuffed and chained when driven to market, and sold apart to the highest bidder. But you came forward on the occasion and unqualifiedly denied every word of it saying, "you went forward from Massachusetts to Mobile, where you became an owner of slaves, had seen more than fifty thousand sold, but never saw one with a chain or hand-cuff on; their oath was allowed in courts of justice, against white persons, at the South; their marriages were legally, and could not be separated," &c., &c. Such were the statements made by you in that meeting, amid hisses of disapprobation. Surely nothing short of a slaveholding clergyman could harmonize such statements with honesty and truth. But what have you quoted in your spicy article to prove that I am guilty of deception or lying? I'll give your own words as presented by you:—"The exhibition of hand-cuffs, fetters, chains, and whips—the singing of nigger baby songs,—the telling of obscene and disgusting stories,—the sending of slaveholders, *en masse*, to the devil! may answer the ends of some people; but to my mind, such a course is well calculated to defeat the object of any good man he intended—by those who and such fellows about."

—"The telling of disgusting stories," I suppose you would apply to the sending of slaveholders to hell by cart-loads or "*en masse*," for their hypocrisy and inhuman treatment to their slaves, being one of that company you refer to. I don't wonder at your being disgusted at hearing a faithful exposition of American Slavery. The system is enough to disgust the devil himself. The hand-cuffs, fetters, whips and chains are well known to be your implements of torture, and no honest man would pretend to deny it. Your trying to deny a fact, that almost every school-boy knows, only betrays your base hypocrisy to readers. I don't wonder at you still trying to hide itself from an enemy by thrusting its head under a leaf, while the whole body is exposed. You may, by the art of trickery and deception, turn black into white, and white into black; but you cannot make an honest, intelligent person believe that American Slavery is less than I have stated it to be. Is it not fair to measure you by your own standard? You profess to be a father, a husband, and a Christian. Should one of the members of your church at Mobile, steal away your wife and children, and sell them into Slavery, would you consider him a Christian? Would you consider him an honest man? Your answer to the above questions may be applied to the Slaveholder in the sight of a just God. Go home! and set your slaves free before you proceed farther in trying to teach men morality! Slaveholding is man-stealing, oppression, robbery and death. When you have put it away, and been an advocate of immediate and unconditional emancipation, or, in other words, an honest man, then, and not until then, can you say without condemning yourself, that "nothing can be gained by lying and deception."

HENRY BIBB.

## Disunion in Georgia.

THE Joint Committee on the State of the Republic to which was referred those portions of the Governor's Message, and the several Bills and Resolutions relating to the subject of Disunion introduced into either branch of the Legislature, beg leave to

REPORT:

They have given the most deliberate and solemn attention to the various suggestions embraced in those portions of the Governor's Message, relating to the subject of Slavery, and have, with minds fully impressed with the great significance that must be given to any action whatever on this subject at the present hour, arrived at the conclusion that we should, as far as the State of Georgia is concerned, recommend such action as shall oppose the public mind against any further agitation of a controversy in which for more than twenty years the South has been constantly wronged, shall pose some distinct and practical measures that shall prove the sincerity of our complaints, and at the same time redress our wrongs. It is vain to hope that the injured South can, for a period of years, by a vacillating and temporizing policy only assured the contrage of our assailants, and invited to a continuance of tibility on the part of the ultimate consequence of decisive action, further and still more iniquitous exploitments upon our forbearance and patience. The defence of our rights is the best blow stricken in its defence and for the right vindicated. With all the accumulated injury of fifteen years that we have had to suffer from the Anti-Slavery Party, and that we so resolutely feel to-day, we yet do not feel more keenly, nor are we more prone forcibly our sense of our outrages than we felt in the opening twenty-two years ago, upon the bare proposition of the Friends of Colonization to vote an appropriation for the return of free negroes to Africa. Yet the Joint Committee on the State of the Republic, in the year 1827, declared in reference to this subject, so harmless in comparison with the measures of recent legislation, "that they could not help reprobating the cold-blooded selfishness of embarking and which actuates some of our citizens in other States as interferes with our local concerns and domestic relations, totally unwarranted either by humanity or constitutional right, and which interference is becoming more determined and alarming. It commenced with a few unthinking zealots, who formed societies to abolish society, and directed upon us by more sober and designing men for political purposes, and is supported by more than one of the States in Northern from the amendments to the Constitution proposed by some active bodies, and so frequently and insidiously insinuated by presentations of our rights, and of such interference if persisted in, is awful and inevitable. The people of Georgia know and strongly feel the advantages of the Federal Union; as much as any of the Union, they are proud of its glories, as should have been under that Union, they will ever defend it from foes internal as well as external; but they cannot and will not even for the preservation of the Union, permit their rights to be assailed; they will not permit their property to be rendered worthless; they will not permit their wives and children to be driven as wanderers into strange lands; they will not permit their country to be made waste and desolate by those who come among us under the guise of peace-serving and hypocritical benevolence. How then is the evil to be remedied? Only by a firm and determined union of the people and the States of the South declaring through their legislatures that such a state of things should be, that they are ready and willing to make any sacrifice rather than submit longer to such aggression and insolence, and warning our enemies that they are unwittingly preparing a time when once exploded, will lay our long beloved country in one common ruin."

With the lights of 1849 before him, and the enormities of Northern aggression since the days of this remonstrance, but feels that either the grievance of twenty years ago were vastly exaggerated, or we have suffered little decay, and our minds to become patient and calm under infliction which would have been intolerable before the long-suffering of the South, the heart, the kindness. That from our forbearance, the spirit of profit or lucre-loving have we clung to it with such tenacity and or patience with our capability of endurance has been enough to induce us to count the value of the South in this Union has been regarded as dear to us from a higher, a nobler and more appreciation has been it "promoted the general welfare." It has been dear to us, purchased with the blood of our fathers, because transmitted to us with their honorable name, and because we had hoped under its ever-shining banner, and human progress advance to that point that should give the name of American free government. Though often charged with a reckless and restless spirit, which was not submissive to constitutional restraints, the South boldly meets the charge by asking, where did we cause collision between members of this Union by any aggressive legislation—by unchaste, and self-seeking or a dominecering political ambition, by stretching the powers of the Government, excite alarm and jealousy? Where did we disturb the peace of the Confederacy? Where Confederacy by contemptuous comparison, or by a pragmatical and patronizing interference with the internal policy and institutions of any State?

Or when did her pulpit lend aid to fan the flame of civil discord; or when in our borders was the tempest of the liberty, and make the theatre of display for reasonous hate of brother against brother. Let those reproaches fall where they are deserved, the South has no part of them. The South, in the earliest date of the Slavery controversy, the South has evinced a yielding and conciliatory spirit. For it will be hard indeed, for any one to deny the patriotic humanity in the concession made on the part of the South, of all representation of two fifths of her slave population. Can any fair reason be urged why the South should have been entirely this Confederacy claiming a full representation of her population? If taxation implies a correlative right of representation, why should the Southern slaveholder unjustly treated, when it was demanded of him that he should enter this Union as a citizen, he must first surrender the right to count two-fifths of his slaves represented, when that two-fifths were as certainly taxed on all articles of their consumption as were their masters. But yet the South yielded this point. She consented also to abolish the foreign slave trade, by which she was cheaply supplied herself with the slaves she required, and the Massachusetts delegate thought fit to abolish the institution in their borders, though it might have been clearly foreseen that the result would have been fruitful of trouble to those that remained in the Northern cities or their conventions demanding a continuation of the system. In every interference with the question of domestic Slavery by the North, the South has bled legally to justify her course by any reasons of a purely political character, and made her by such political reasons as are to be found in or tolerated by our Constitution. There could be no other complaint reasonably urged by the North against the exclusion of the extension of the slave property of the South, but that the Federal representation claimed for it was unequal, and therefore unjust towards the North.

But as we have seen the only inequality in this thing is against the South, and not in her favor; it then resolves itself into this, that this government, so restricted in the exercise of all power, is to be made a tool of propagandist and devote its best energies to the driving through, against all resistance of rights of faith of constitutional law, against all claims of right, justice or fraternity, a moral reform, that has first and last for its object, a forcible separation from our midst of what is denounced as a gross immorality, and a determination to give practical effect to the idea that this Government, constituted by the sin of Slavery.

It is the first and last instance furnished by our history, in which this government has thought it rightful or expedient to subsidize religious agencies by the strong arm of political power. It would require but one short step further in this attempt to regulate a matter of religious, to see our duty clearly dissolve the union of church and state. We feel it to be unnecessary to trace this controversy step by step to its present critical, if not perilous position.

If we should do so with the minutest fidelity, its history would at every turn only show, how reluctant the South has been to bring the grave matters in issue to that extremity which would leave the true friends of harmony and union nothing to hope. It has been our lot to have in our instance invited Disunion threatened by a yielding disposition, which only required to be had pressed, to grant the most extravagant requisitions. So it was in the controversy with the Anti-Slavery States which gave birth to the Missouri compromise. In this minute consideration of the subject, it is not fair to measure you by your own standard? You profess to be a father, a husband, and a Christian. Should one of the members of your church at Mobile, steal away your wife and children, and sell them into Slavery, would you consider him a Christian? Would you consider him an honest man? Your answer to the above questions may be applied to the Slaveholder in the sight of a just God. Go home! and set your slaves free before you proceed farther in trying to teach men morality! Slaveholding is man-stealing, oppression, robbery and death. When you have put it away, and been an advocate of immediate and unconditional emancipation, or, in other words, an honest man, then, and not until then, can you say without condemning yourself, that "nothing can be gained by lying and deception."

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## Congressional.

We copy the *Post's* report of a debate in the House on the 17th Dec. between Messrs. Giddings and Winthrop, which has excited a great deal of comment in the public prints.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The speaker stated, that as they were acting under the rule, yesterday, the question pending when the House adjourned on Monday, are lost, and would have to be renewed. The resolution of Mr. Boyd, of Kentucky, having been the question at the time.

Mr. Boyd asked what would be the effect of the previous question.

The speaker said it would bring the House to a direct vote.

Mr. Boyd then moved the previous question.

The resolution was then read, that the rule of the House of Representatives, with the exception of the eleventh rule, be adopted until otherwise ordered; and that the Committee on Ways and Means be authorized to report a bill, &c.

The eleventh rule provides that the election of officers shall be by a majority.

Mr. Giddings of Ohio asked leave to offer an amendment—namely, that the ordering of the previous question and a committee appointed, all these propositions can be sent to it, and, after due consideration, properly disposed of.

Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, thought that the effect of the previous question would be to place the House in a disagreeable vote for officers, and, for that reason, he was opposed to the previous question.

Mr. Boyd was of the opinion that the mode of election had been so fully tried, and so completely discussed, that he thought the minority would be fully satisfied with the rule.

Mr. Duer, of New York, asked if the resolution be adopted, why then the House can alter the rules?

The speaker said it could.

Several other gentlemen spoke on the subject.

Mr. Stanton, of Ky., said, if the House adopted the rule we adopt them for the whole session; and if the previous question was not sustained, the consequence would be that the gentlemen would be arrayed against sustaining it.

The vote was then taken, and the previous question was sustained.

HALF PAST 2 O'CLOCK.

Mr. Wentworth, of Illinois, said he rose to a point of order, that a quorum of members, the Clerk, Messrs. Boyd would have nine members, he wanted the old rules to exist only until the third Monday in February.

Mr. Boyd said he hoped they operate until the 15th of January.

Mr. Boyd modified his resolution to nine members, and that the old rules continue until the 15th of January.

The previous question was sustained.

The question was passed.

Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, sent up a resolution to the table, and asked the general chairman calling upon the President to communicate to the House whether, since the adjournment of Congress, any officer has deposited civil or military Government of California or New Mexico; if so, his name and compensation, and whether any such officer has left California or New Mexico. Also, whether any Governor has been appointed in California or New Mexico, and if so, whether he had endeavored to advise or control the deliberations of the people, or to influence their proceedings, &c.; and that the President communicate all the correspondence in relation to the business attending the election of California.

Mr. Venable said he had offered the resolution at the last session. On motion of this gentleman, 10,000 copies of the President's Message and accompanying documents were laid over. On motion of this gentleman, 10,000 copies of the President's Message and accompanying documents were laid over.

Mr Hunt offered a resolution that the Speaker now appoint the standing committees.

Mr. Beckett moved an amendment, to appoint the committees by ballot.

Mr. Root said it was too late to do this. The Speaker was not there by his choice, but by the act of his own friends. The House was composed of his political enemies, and by a larger majority than any of his predecessors. He was entirely unpartisan in his feelings. Stately, declaring him Speaker, was the best title—A Speaker this country needed, a Speaker with the impartiality to appoint committees. If gentlemen had scruples they ought to have thought of them before.

Mr. Gidding, of Ohio, said he had no scruples of any kind. "When the plurality plan was agreed to, by which the Speaker was to be appointed, I was in favor of the plan, which the Speaker proposed for the rule voted for Mr. Cobb's election, and I voted for it.

Mr. White asked Mr Giddings whether he had suggested any other mode?

Mr. Giddings said he had. He had asked gentlemen to agree on a fourth white, or any white, who was right on the Wilmot proviso. Such a man would be the Speaker. He had no good feeling.

Mr. Winthrop said that Mr. Giddings had represented the North, and Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, the South, and he had hoped that the appointment would be accepted him of having so acted in the appointment of committees, or to have had a word in the matter. He was willing to intervene, and to suggest an arrangement.

Mr. Giddings asked the gentleman which of the two arguments was correct?

Mr. Winthrop without intending anything disrespectful, he was not a member of any political organizations. He had been a member under Mr. Giddings, and he knew that these statements under Mr. Giddings, and fact. Mr. Giddings without a shadow of foundation and fact. Mr. Giddings acted against the two years ago, for a reason which he stated as a fact, and which was utterly false. He accused the South of being into a wild chaos, and making a speech in favor of war. I have reason to believe, that this is an entirely gentleman will be obliged to trust, that this is an entirely erroneous statement. The member having failed to withdraw the gentleman has read to a member entitled to an answer.

Mr. Giddings—The gentleman has read the Clerk's report.

Mr. Winthrop—Is it true or false?

Mr. Giddings—I deny the whole statement; it is false.

The gentleman stated that he had refused to vote for a Speaker, and that I had deliberately constructed the Committee for the purpose of making the South a slaveholding Republic, and to make the slave trade in this district.

Mr. Giddings—I said, arrange a committee which proved the latter of the Constitution, and an intolerable outrage upon Southern rights.

8th. Resolved, That in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso by Congress, the abolition of Slavery in a State, in its present proscribed organization, or the continued refusal of the non-slaveholding States to deliver up fugitives as provided in the Constitution, it will become the immediate and imperative duty of the people of this State to meet in Convention to take into consideration the question of redress.

9th. Resolved, That the people of Georgia entertain the strongest feeling of devotion to the Union of these States, and that nothing short of the grievance in the present system of aggrandisement upon our rights by the non-slaveholding States, can induce us to contemplate the possibility of a disunion.

10th. Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the Legislatures of the several states, and to the President of the United States.

A BILL, To be entitled an Act to authorize and require the Governor of the State of Georgia to call a Convention of the people of this State.

The Bill, in a number of years there has been displayed a manifest determination on the part of the non-slaveholding states of the Union to interfere with the institution of Slavery at the South, by such aggressive measures of intolerance as to render it no longer a question of doubt that the Federal Legislature will soon be called upon to enact such measures as will prohibit the Institution of Slavery, as to transmel, fetter, and confine it within certain Territorial limits never contemplated by the original parties to the Constitutional compact. And whereas, Georgia in her sovereign capacity as a State, has delegated no other power to the Federal Government than those found in the Constitution of the United States. And believing that her best interest and her honor as a sovereign and independent Government requires that she should meet all encroachments in a calm and manly spirit of resistance.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, &c.

Sec. 2. That a Convention be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in the Legislative Assembly met, That should the Congress of the United States pass any law prohibiting Slavery or involuntary servitude in any Territory of the United States, or in any place, or abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia, or any law prohibiting the slave trade between the States where Slavery may exist, or admit into the Union as a State or Territory, any Territory, the extensive and unpeopled territory of California or New Mexico, with a constitution prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude, or any other Territory, or any other state receive, at any time, satisfactory evidence, that any slave or slaves having escaped from this state to a non-slaveholding state, and has or have been in such state or are refused to be given up to the proper owner, by the authorities of the state, in which such fugitive or fugitives may be found, then, in either of the foregoing events, it shall be and it is hereby made the duty of the Governor of this state, within twenty days thereafter, to issue his Proclamation ordering an election to be held in each and every county, to a convention of the people of this state, to consider and take such steps of government within twenty days after said election.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That the counties now entitled to two representatives in the general assembly of this state, shall be entitled and shall elect four delegates to said convention, and the counties which are entitled to one representative, shall elect two delegates to said convention.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That before entering upon the duties of their office as delegates, the delegates shall take the following oath which shall be administered by some judicial officer of this state:—, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will to the best of my ability demean myself as a delegate to the convention of this state, with a view to the honor and interest of the people of Georgia.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That said election for delegates shall be conducted and held in the same manner as elections for members of the legislature in this state. And the returns of said elections shall be forwarded to the Governor of this state, who shall upon application furnish each delegate elected with a proper certificate.

Sec. 6th. And be it further enacted, That said convention shall elect all officers necessary to their organization.

## General Intelligence.

THE Rev. DR. PEABODY, of Portsmouth, N. H., has been invited to succeed the Rev. Dr. Frothingham, as pastor of Chauncey Place Church, Boston.

The *Nantucket Inquirer* of the 24th ult. contains an Alphabetical list of all the persons who have left that place for California during the past year, amounting to 1,000.

SOUTH CAROLINA AGAIN.—The following Resolutions were offered by Mr. Sealcock and adopted in the S. C. House of Representatives on the 19th instant and sent to Washington by Telegraph.

*Resolved*, That we heartily approve of the bold, decided and truly Southern sentiments uttered by our Governor in his Message, by the emphatic expression of the determination of our sovereign State, through the Hon. Mr. Colcock, and endorsed by his colleagues:—"That if Slavery is to be abolished in the District of Columbia by the action of the Wilmot Proviso adopted, the Union would be dissolved."

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Legislature be returned to them, in behalf of our people, for so truly representing their wishes, rights, and honor.

ANNEXATION SCHEME.—A late number of the *Kingston Conservative* speaks in these terms of the annexation of the Island to the United States:

"No man in this island yet thinks of aiding foreign arms to dispossess Great Britain of Jamaica. We have not yet lost even a single one of our old friends, who have long any inhabitant to lift a finger against the ancient Crown of England. But we must, we must, we must, and we do, in our common country. Impressed with these views, there are many who are now, on account of the course we have done events, that an amicable accession of this island to the United States of America, without quarrelling or bloodshed, may spring up in our midst. We believe, this time we should regret to see Jamaica leave the ancient fold; but we would not regret it if it occurred by peaceful means, that it would be done without rebellion, alas! too many would be only glad of it."

*Important from Honduras and Yucatan—Blockade of "Truxillo and Omoa—Marine News, &c.*

BELIZE, HONDURAS, Nov. 27, 1849.

Last August, I informed you of the proceedings at the island of Ruatan. I also stated that it seemed to be the policy of England to lay claim to that island.—There is now no doubt that the commander of the British forces at Belize have informed the inhabitants of Ruatan that it is the determination of Great Britain to take possession of the island, claiming that it was by its authority that the inhabitants formerly declared themselves free. Colonel McDonald, took possession of it several years since.

It is true that Col. McDonald went down there, and hoisted the British flag, and declared it free, but it is also true that ever since that period many Englishmen have visited, and some have settled there; but does that make the island, or any part of it, the property of England? If England has further desires and designs upon the owners of that island, the Republic of Honduras, it is to be hoped she will respect to see Jamaica leave the ancient fold; but we would not regret it if it occurred by peaceful means, that it would be done without rebellion, alas! too many would be only glad of it."

## Advertisements.

### BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE AND THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEWS.

Owing to the late revolutions and counter-revolutions among the nations of Europe, which have followed each other in such quick succession, and of which "the end is not yet," the leading journals of Great Britain have become invested with a degree of interest hitherto unknown. They contain the newest intelligence, the most reliable, and necessarily impertinent records of the newspapers, and the choicest and most profound treatises to be furnished by the historian as a future day. Whoever reads these periodicals, will obtain a correct and accurate idea of the important political events of the Old World, as they occur, and learn the various conclusions drawn from them by the leading minds of the age. The American Publishers therefore deem it proper to call renewed attention to the fact, that they have made arrangements for the publication of their works, and to subscribers. The following is their list, viz.:

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*TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE LIBERATOR.*

The undersigned, as the Committee having in charge the financial concerns of the Liberator, and desirous of rendering no unnecessary to its subscribers, that it has become imperative upon them to restore the price of the paper to the terms upon which it was afforded previous to their relation to the editorial chair, viz. $2 50 per annum as any of the friends of the Liberator can do, this necessity; but the state of the subscription list, and a deficiency of several hundred dollars at the close of the present year, leave no other alternative.

At the former price, $2 50, for two of three years previous to the reduction, the receipts of the paper had quite, of very nearly, covered its expenses, including the Editor's salary. We were induced to make the change at the urgent solicitation of several of the most friends of the Liberator, who believed that its circulation might be greatly increased, if the price were reduced. We are compelled to say, after the experience of two years, that the experiment has failed. We are sure, therefore, of the cordial agreement of all who appreciate its value in the propriety of returns to the former price, of their warm co-operation with us in our endeavors to place its pecuniary affairs upon a permanent foundation.

We believe that it is in vain to hope that a very numerous body of subscribers can be procured at any price, to a paper of the radical character of the Liberator It is too much to expect that men will be willing to pay for the accurge that chastises them, whatever deserved or whole some the correction may be. But we do not believe that those that can estimate its value as an Agent of Reform, will be deterred from taking it by any terms of subscription necessary to its due support; still, less that any who now enjoy its influences will abandon it for this trifling advance. They will remembert that this addition to the price, modesty as it is, is the individual contribution of the difference of near A THOUSAND dollars in the receipts of the paper, as it now stand.

The terms of the Liberator, then, from the beginning of the next volume, will be reduced to the sum of FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS, *per annum*, which, we hope, in time, will enable us to meet its expenses. But for the present, we must continue to depend on the friends of the paper who, last year consented to pay FIVE dollars for their copy, to continue, or increase, their liberality. Such assistance will be indispensible for a longer or shorter season. As soon as it can be dispensed with, we shall gratefully cease them from giving this direction to their Anti-Slavery funds.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
EDMUND QUINCY,
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Boston, December 24, 1849.

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WM. H. DIETZ
PRINTER

Oct 11. 4 mo*

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## Poetry.

From the Literary World.

### THE FORGING OF THE ANCHOR.

"Come, see the Dolphin's Anchor forged; 'tis at a white heat now:
The bellows ceased, the flames decreased; though on the forge's brow,
The little flames still fitfully play through the sable mound.
And fitfully you still may see the grim smiths ranking round,
All clad in leathern panoply, their broad hands only bare;
Some rent upon their sleeves, some work the windlass here.
The windlass strains the tackle chains, the black mound heaves below;
And red and deep in purple and yellow rushes burst out at every throe:
It rises, roars, rends all outright,—O, Vulcan, what a glow!
'Tis blinding white, 'tis blasting bright; the high sun shines not so!
The high sun sees not, on the earth, such fiery fearful show;
The roof-ribs swarth, the timber-hearth, the ruddy lurid row
Of smiths, that stand, an ardent band, like men before the foe;
As quivering through his fierce of flame, the sailing monster, slow
Sinks on the anvil—all about the faces fiery grow—
"Heave!" they shout, 'leap out—leap out;' 'leap out;' bang, bang, the sledges go:
Hurrah! the jetted lightnings are hissing high and low;
A hailing fount of fire is struck at every squashing blow:
The leathern mall rebounds the ball; the rattling cinders strew
The ground around; at every bound the swelling fountains flow;
And thick and loud the swinking crowd at every stroke pant "ho!"
Leap out, lean out, my masters; lean out and lay on load!
Let's forge a goodly anchor; a Bower, thick and broad;
For a heart of oak is hanging on every blow I bode;
And I see the good ship riding all in a perilous road,
The low reef roaring on her lee; the roll of ocean pour'd.
From stem to stern, sea after sea; the mainmast by the board;
The bulwarks down; the rudder gone; the boats stove at the chains;
But courage still, brave mariners—the Bower yet remains,
And not an inch to flinch he deigns save when ye pitch sky high,
Then moves his head, as though he said, 'Fear nothing—here am I!'
Swing in your strokes in order; let foot and hand keep time,
Your blows make music sweeter far than any steeple's chime,
But while ye swing your sledges, sing; and let the burden be,
The anchor is the anvil king, and royal craftsmen we!
Strike in, strike in—the sparks begin to dull their rustling red;
Our hammers ring with sharper din, our work will soon be shed;
Our anchor soon must change his bed of fiery rich array
For a hammock at the roaring bows, or on cozy couch of clay;
Our anchor soon must change the lay of merry crafts-man here,
For the yeo-heave-o', and the heave-away, and the sighing seaman's cheer;
When, weighing slow, at eve they go, far, far from love and home;
And sobbing sweethearts, in a row, wail o'er the ocean foam.
In livid and obdurate gloom he darkens down at last.
A shapely one he is, and strong, as e'er from cat was cast.—
O trusted and trustworthy guard, if thou hadst life like me,
What pleasures would thy toils reward beneath the deep green sea!
O deep-sea diver, who might then behold such sights as thou?
The hoary monsters' palaces! methinks what joy 'twere now
To plump plunging down amid the assembly of the whales,
And feel the churned sea round me boil beneath their scourging tails!
Then deep in tangle-woods to light the fierce sea unicorn,
And send him foiled and bellowing back, for all his tyrant horn;
To leave the subtle sworder-fish of bony blade forlorn;
And for the ghostly-grinning shark to laugh his jaws to scorn;
To leap down on the kraken's back, where 'mid Norway's isles miles;
Till snorting, like an under-sea volcano, off he rolls;
Meanwhile to swing, a-buffeting the far-setonished shoals
Of his back-browsing ocean calves; or, haply in a cove,
Shell-strown, and consecrate of old to some Undine's love,
To find the long-haired mermaidens; or, hard by icy lands,
To wrack with the sea-serpent, upon cerulean sands.
O broad-armed fisher of the deep, whose sports can equal thine?
The Dolphin weighs a thousand tons that tugs thy cable line;
And night by night 'tis thy delight, thy glory day by day,
Through subtle sea and breaker white, the giant game to play;
But, shamer of our little sports! forgive the name I gave,
A fisher's joy is to destroy—this office is to save.
O lodger in the sea-king's halls, couldst thou but undergand
Whose be the white bones by thy side, or who that dripping band,
Slow swaying in the heaving waves that round about thee bend,
With sounds like breakers in a dream blessing their ancient friend—
Oh, couldst thou know what heroes glide with larger steps round thee,
Thine iron side would swell with pride; thou'dst leap within the sea!
Give honor to their memories who left the pleasant strand,
To shed their blood so freely for the love of fatherland,
Who left their chance of quiet age and grassy church-yard grave,
So freely, for a restless bed amid the tossing wave:
Oh, though our anchor may not be all I have fondly sung,
Honor him for their memory, whose bones be goes among!"

S. Ferguson.

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God fixed it certain, that, whatever day
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away.
—*Homer's Odyssey.*

## Miscellany.

From Sharpe's London Magazine.

### THE MAIDEN AND MARRIED LIFE OF MARY POWELL.

(Continued.)

*Tuesday.*—Life flows sawy here in such unmarked tranquillity, that one hath nothing whereof to write, or to remember what distinguished one day from another. I am sad, yet not dulle; methinks I have grown some years older since I came here. One knew elder women feeling much as I do, and I have nothing to desire, nothing to hope, that is likelie to come to pass—nothing to regret, except I begin soe far back, that my whole life hath neede, as't were, to be lived again.

Mr. Agnew translates to us portions of Thuanus his historie, and ye letters of Theodore Beza, concerning ye French reformed church; oft times, in interpreting, he stops short Mr. Agnew's comments and allusions to our own time. On ye other hand, Rose reads Duvila, ye sworne apologiste of Catherine de Medicis, whose charming manners, I can one prehende; but ale is false and plausible. How sadd, thnk ye wrong parte should be victorious! Soe I may befall in this world, if I grow too learned. I have hearde soe much bitter reyling on bothe sides, that I know not which is right. The line of demarcation is not soe distinctly drawn, methinks, as 't was in France. Yet it cannot be right to take up arms againyst constituted authorities!—Yat, and if those same authorities abuse their trust! Nay, wonder I cannot understand these matters, and I think Heaven meyt ye need not. Onlie, they cannot help siding with those they love; and sometimes those they love are on opposite sides.

Mr. Agnew saith, the secular arm shoulde never be employed in spiritual matters, and that ye Hugenots committed a grave mistake in choosinge princes and admirals for their leaders, instead of simple preachers with Bible in their hands; and he sayd, 'Did Luther or Peter the Hermit most manifestlie labor with God?' Methinks, not.

—I have noted ye heads of Mr. Agnew's readings, after a fashion of Rose's, in order to have a short, comprehensive account of ye whole, and that I hath abridged my journalling. It is the more profitable to me of ye two, changes the sad current of thought, and though an unaccustomed task, I like it well.

*Saturday.*—On Monday I return to Forest Hill. I am well pleased to have yet another Sheepscote Sabbath. To-day we had ye rare event of a dinner-guest; soe full of what ye rebels are doing, and all ye horrors of strife, that he seemed to us quite folks like ye denizen of another world.

*Forest Hill, August 3.*—Home agayn, and mother hath gone on her long intended visitt to uncle John, taking with her ye two youngest. Father much preoccupide, by reason of ye supplies needed for his M'ry's service; so, this sweet Robin Rochester, then, I myself lonely. Harry rides with me in ye evening, but ye mornings I have alle to myselfe; and when I have fulfilled mothe's behests in ye kitchen and still-room, I have brought but to read in our somewhat scant collection of books, the moste part wherof are religious. And (not on that account, but by reason I have read ye most of them before) methinke I will write to borrow some of Rose; for change of reading hath now become a want. I am minded also, to seek out and peruse some poet (not ale of ye poets) for fashion. Now that I am queen of the larder, there is manie a wholesome scrap at my disposal, and methinke