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Selections.

MR. GIDDINGS SPEECH,

On his motion to reconsider the vote taken upon the final passage of the "bill for the relief of the owners of slaves lost from on board the Comet and Encomium," Delivered in the House of Representatives, Februory 13, 1843.

I have (said he) moved the reconsideration, more for the purpose of absolving myself from all participation in the guilt of aiding in the objects contemplated by its framers, than with the hope of saving the country, and this congress, from becoming participators in the odium justly attached to this "execrable commerce in human beings." I will remark, that the duty which now devolves upon me, has resulted from the action of other gentlemen. I have not sought it, but it has been forced upon me. I call the House and the country to witness, that neither now, nor on any former occasion, have I unnecessarily thrust this subject of slavery, or the slave trade, upon the House. On the contrary, the war on my part has, at all times, been one of *defense;* it is peculiarly so at this time. The House are fully aware that "a bill for the relief of the owners of slaves on board the Comet and Encomium," was reported at an early period of the late session. It directed certain officers of this government to institute an inquiry, and to ascertain who were the *owners of the persons* on board the slave ships Comet and Encomium; and having determined upon the title by which certain persons *owned* certain other persons, such officer was to pay over the sum of more than seven thousand dollars, obtained from the British government by Martin Van Buren, late President of the United States, and by the late Secretary of State, John Forsyth, paid to William Selden, Treasurer, and by him placed to the credit of the government.

Seeing a bill reported by one of the regular committees of the House, which thus plainly, upon its face, sought to encourage the *slave trade,* I examined the subject, so far as to satisfy myself that the whole proceedings of the President, and our minister at the court of St. James, had, from the commencement to their termination, been a most palpable violation of our Constitution, and of the constitutional rights of the free States, as well as a reproach upon our national character. I determined to oppose its passage to the extent of my humble ability. It came up on several days allotted to such private bills as were not objected to, and, as often as it was called, I objected to its passage; and, on being appealed to by the honorable chairman of the committee of ways and means who reported it, I assured him that my objections were substantial and sincere, and that, in no way, could I consent to the passage of any bill for the benefit of those who deal in human flesh.

The gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Stanley,) came to my seat, and requested me to withdraw my objections, and appeared to think it unkind in me to persist in obstructing its passage. Entertaining a high opinion of his liberality and courtesy, I felt anxious to satisfy him that I was governed by no frivolous objection. I stated to him that the money had been paid to the treasurer without authority of law, and could be safely withdrawn without any action of Congress, for it had never been the money of the nation; it was received without our sanction, and the sureties of the treasurer were not holden for it; and that we had no legitimate control over it. He said the treasurer would not take it from the treasury without a law for that purpose. I stated to him that I merely objected to staining our hands in the guilt of that transaction, and that no one desired to keep the money; that, as it was the price of blood, and a stain upon our national character, I was anxious to get rid of it; and suggested that the bill might be so amended as to avoid any objections on my part. He asked me to draw such an amendment, and I did so at my seat. The amendment simply authorized the treasurer to withdraw the money from the treasury, without committing ourselves or the nation in any manner to its further disposition. I thought this would save Congress and the people from participating in the guilt and disgrace of this slave trading transaction, and would save the discussion into which I am now most unexpectedly forced, without preparation, and under circumstances which render my efforts hopeless. The gentleman consulted with his colleagues, and agreed to the amendment, which he subsequently offered, and which was adopted on his motion; and without further objection the bill passed, and was sent to the Senate.

It will thus be seen that the form of the bill, as it then passed the House, was such as met the views of that gentleman and his friends, as well as of myself. I supposed him to act in good faith, and had not the least suspicion that he would have acted with less liberality and candor toward me than I had manifested toward him. But for his apparent satisfaction with the amendment, I should have persisted in my objections; and should have kept the bill in committee, where it would have been fully discussed, and its merits understood. I did not then expect the bill to come here in its present form; but had I known that it would have returned in its present shape, I could not have believed that the gentleman from North Carolina would have attempted to prevent the expression of my views by springing the previous question. This management has created in me some unpleasant emotions, for it comes from a source from which I had not expected it. However, the bill was sent to the Senate, where it was amended, by striking out the whole of it, and restoring the original as it was reported to this House. This amendment of the Senate came up this morning for concurrence, and the gentleman from North Carolina obtained the floor; and after briefly stating that the money was in the treasury, and that, from my *peculiar* views, I was opposed to its passage, but that no other member had objections to the bill, he called for the *previous question.* I appealed to him to withdraw his call, to enable me to state my objections. This he refused; and, in so doing, has forfeited that claim to courtesy which I supposed him to possess. I mean nothing disrespectful to that gentleman when I say, that I had not authorized him to state to the House that I was opposed to this bill. I had never constituted him the exponent of my views.

Again, sir: If that gentleman intended to say that I was the only member who entertained objections to this bill, he has stated that which he was not authorized to say. Such is not the fact. Other gentlemen were anxious to state their objections, but his adroitness in calling the previous question has denied them the privilege, which I have saved to myself by a sort of legislative stratagem,* which, under almost any other circumstances, I would not practice. Having done this, and now being in the legitimate possession of the floor, I beg leave to say to the House, that it is no part of my purpose, unnecessarily, to call up unpleasant feelings in the mind of any member; yet I intend to speak with perfect frankness, and I intend calling things by their right names, without circumlocution, or particular delicacy, in regard to this slave trade.

We are called upon to interpose the supreme power of the nation to aid the pecuniary views of certain individuals, resident in this district and vicinity, who, in 1831, entered into a commercial speculation for the purchase, exportation, and sale, of a certain other portion of the population resident here, and in the surrounding country. For this purpose they chartered the ship "Comet," to sail from Alexandria to New Orleans; they then made their purchases of men, women, and children. Here, sir, in sight of the hall in which we are now sitting, and in full view of the "star spangled banner" which floats over this edifice, consecrated to the maintenance of our national honor and human freedom, they examined the bodies, viewed the proportions, determined upon the age, and fixed the value of fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and children. Then came the separation. All the ties of domestic life were severed; the child torn from its parents; brothers were taken, while parents and sisters were left; the fond mother chained to the coffle, and forced from her home and hearth amid the heart-rending cries of her child; while deep agony and unutterable anguish sat upon every countenance, except those of the slave dealers, who, without a pulsation of human sympathy, whip in hand, forced their drove of "human chattels" on board the slave ship lying at yonder wharf, in plain view of the windows in front of our hall. I cannot say what was going on here when these unfortunate members of our common family were thrust on board that ship, and each took his last, long, lingering look at the towering dome of this capitol—the pride and ornament of our nation. Probably some democrat was at that moment expatiating upon the "*inalienable rights of man*"—upon that "*largest liberty*"—so constantly the theme of their party; or, peradventure, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Wise) was demonstrating to this House that Congress has no constitutional right to interfere with this slave trade, upheld by, and carried on under, an act of Congress; and which we are called on to day to encourage and sustain, by the passage of the bill before us, in this district. Whatever was the business here, the slaves were driven on board, the sails were unfurled, and this ship, crowded with "weeping humanity," under the guidance of her piratical master, and those speculators, was wafted down the Potomac on her voyage to New Orleans.

But, sir, these "women buyers" failed to accomplish their mercenary purposes; and we are now sitting here gravely legislating to enable them to carry out the objects of their undertaking. Yes, sir, place this subject in whatever attitude you please—throw around it whatever sophistry you can—the truth will be developed to the world, that, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-three, an American Congress sat gravely legislating for the benefit of "slave breeders" and "slave dealers." Sir, let it go upon record. Let the archives of the nation bear witness, in all coming time, that two hundred and forty-two American statesmen sat in this hall, deliberating upon granting pecuniary relief to persons engaged in that traffic, which Jefferson said had "*rendered us the scoff of infidel nations.*" But, sir, let not my name be found among the number of its advocates; let not my descendants in future years be called to blush on reading the record of this day's proceedings. Sooner, far sooner, would I have it stricken from the records of this house. Yes, sooner would I have it blotted from existence, than see it placed on record in favor of the bill before us. Yet, sir, the bill will pass, and become a law. My personal and political friends will vote for it; not that they would knowingly and considerately aid and abet those who live and become rich upon the anguish and sufferings of mankind, but because they have not examined this subject, and have not looked into the effects, and weighed the consequences resulting from the passage of this bill. The House is already committed, and are impatient at the delay occasioned by my remarks. When I shall close, the previous question, or a call to lay the motion to reconsider upon the table, will be made, and we shall be driven on to the consummation of a deed, in contemplation of which my soul shrinks back with horror. But I proceed with the statement of facts.

These hucksterers in human flesh voluntarily carried their cargo beyond the line of this district, and beyond the jurisdiction of any slave State. The slaves thereby became *free in law.* The moment they crossed the line of the slave States, and entered upon the high seas, that moment they were, to all intents and purposes, *free men.* That moment, in the eye of the law, their shackles fell, and they stood upon the deck of that ship clothed with all the attributes of Americans, and of freemen. I state this as a legal principle. It has been substantially so decided in the slave States, and in the free States, and in the courts of the United States, and it is no longer to be denied or doubted.

After these people had thus become free by the voluntary action of their owners, and when they were possessed of the same legal and moral right to take their former owners to Africa and sell them there as slaves, as their owners had to carry them to New Orleans for that purpose, they were suddenly shipwrecked near the island of New Providence.—The wreckers carried them and their former masters to Nassau, where they all landed, and each, as he had a legal and moral right to do, sought his own happiness. Here, sir, was the misfortune from which we are called on to-day to relieve these speculators, these outlaws from human sympathy. They saw their fellow-men escape from their grasp; the *slaves* suddenly became transformed into FREEMEN. The owners had not the physical power to hold them in subjection, and the officers of the British government would neither furnish bloodhounds nor slave-catchers to aid them. There they stood in mute astonishment, contemplating the immense loss they had sustained in this *locomotive property;* like Milton's devil looking into Paradise, from which he had been thrust. The slaves heeded not their grief or entreaties, but went on their way rejoicing at being for once on *free soil.* Thus closed the voyage, and these dealers in the bones and sinews of their fellow-men made their way back to this city, and applied to the then President of the United States (Andrew Jackson) for the influence and the efforts of the nation to help them out in their contemplated speculation in the bodies of men, women, and children.—General Jackson meekly consented to become the agent of these slave dealers, and to act the part of an agent to transact the business between these traffickers in children and the British government. Unmindful of his high station, and of the honor of our nation, he condescended to become the solicitor of these Virginia pirates, to urge upon Great Britain the payment in dollars and cents for American freemen, who had taken up their residence in the island of New Providence. Sir, Great Britian might with the same propriety, demand of this nation a compensation for the thousands of freemen who have come from that island and taken up their residence among us. The claim, therefore, was without foundation, and the assertion of it was fraudulent from the beginning to the end of the transaction.—Sir, from the purchase of the first man of that cargo in this city, up to the presentation of the claims to this House, the proceedings have been no less than a series of violations of truth, of morality, of honor, and of the Constitution. Corruption has marked every stage of its progress, and baseness has characterized those who have aided in carrying it forward.—The whole was managed by slave breeders, and slave traders, aided by "northern men with southern principles."

The executive chair was then filled by a slaveholding President. He sympathized deeply with those dealers in mankind, having, in early life, followed that employment. He at once entered into their views, and espoused their cause. The claims of humanity, the rights of the free States, and the federal Constitution, presented but slight obstacles to his mind when the protection of slavery was concerned. Here, sir, is the point at which the obligations of our federal compact were departed from. The President had no constitutional power to prostitute our national influence to the support of this slave trade on the high seas. That power was never delegated to him nor to us. I deny the constitutional right of the President or of Congress to involve my constituents, or the people of my State, in the disgrace of this slave trade. I have, on a former occasion, expressed my own views on this point, but I insist that it is time for representatives on this floor to speak out, and to let the country understand what they think concerning this power exercised by General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren. I desire to hear from gentlemen of the North of both parties. What say you? Has the federal government the constitutional right to involve the nation in a war to support this slave trade? Have we the just right and constitutional power to compel your constituents, the independent electors of our free States, to go into battle, to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives, in order to protect these dealers in human flesh, while they pursue their accursed vocation? Was such the design of those framers of the Constitution who spoke of this traffic with horror and execration? Is there a member on this floor, or a man in this nation, who would cast such an imputation upon Franklin, or Madison, or King, or Wilson, or Ellsworth?

Yet all will agree that if General Jackson had the constitutional right to exert the influence of this nation to support the slave trade, it is the duty of the government to enforce the demands of the slave dealers on board the Enterprise, the Hermione, and the Creole, even at the expense of our blood and treasure. No schoolboy would admit that our duty would be limited to a mere *demand* for reparation; that when a demand is made, our duty to the slave dealers ceases, and the government is to be absolved from all further notice of their interests. No, sir, such doctrine would be too absurd to merit refutation by an argument. If we assume the right and the power to maintain this traffic to any extent, it follows irresistibly that we should do so to all extent. If we have the right to involve the nation in the disgrace of this traffic, we have the same right to involve them in the expense of a war to maintain it. If it be our duty to disgrace ourselves and the nation by passing this bill for the benefit of those slave breeders and slave dealers, it is equally our duty to demand reparation of the British government for the fifteen thousand fugitive slaves now in the Canadian provinces, and to enforce that demand at the point of the bayonet. If those slave breeders and slave dealers may demand the sacrifice of Northern honor and Northern principles to aid them in this speculation, they may, with equal propriety, demand the sacrifice of Northern lives for the same purpose.—And I would as soon see my constituents pierced by British bayonets as to see them despoiled of their honor by a servile submission to this slave breeding influence, and made the supporters of this disgraceful slave trade.

But, Mr. Speaker, the President in his official character entered upon his new duties as agent for these slave dealers. He was under the necessity of employing an assistant to carry on the negotiation which he was about to open with the government of Great Britain, in order "*to catch the negroes,*" or obtain pay for them. He appointed as an assistant, resident in this city, Martin Van Buren, who had honorably defended the rights of mankind in the councils of his own State, but who now condescended to become an assistant broker in this slave dealing concern. Although a northern man, it became the boast of his friends that he possessed "southern principles;" and he soon gave satisfactory evidence of his devotion to the interests of his employers. Indeed, had he been bred up in the business, he would scarcely have discovered more attachment to the interests of slave growers and slave traders than he manifested on that occasion. Anxiety for the success of that "execrable commerce" appears to have been uppermost in his mind, and to have superseded all other matters of mere State policy. The overshadowing importance to which he considered this matter entitled, was well expressed in his official communication to our minister at the court of St. James, dated in 1836, in which he says: "In the present state of our diplomatic relations with the government of his Britannic majesty, the most immediately pressing of the matters with which the United States legation at London is now charged, is the claim of certain citizens against Great Britain for a number of slaves, the CARGOES of the three vessels wrecked in the British islands in the Atlantic."

We then had a controversy with Great Britain in regard to our northeastern boundary. In order to protect our interests there, soon after the date of this letter, Congress provided and placed at the disposal of the President ten millions of dollars, and gave him power to raise fifty thousand troops. Yet the vast interests at stake in that quarter, and in the northwest, for the maintenance of which attempts are making to expend millions of money, were all matters of minor consideration when compared with these CARGOES. Mark the language of a northern *democrat:* "*Cargoes*" of women, "*cargoes*" of men, and "*mixed cargoes*" of humanity. This, sir, is the language of him, who is considered the very paragon of northern democracy; of him who is now regarded by one of our great political parties as the very embodiment of orthodox democracy; and who is destined, by the magic of his influence, to prostrate the political aspirations of the talented favorite of the slave democrats of the South. Sir, will our democratic friends at the North, those who, with the patriots of '76, hold "that men are created EQUAL," consider this language, this servile truckling to the slave breeding interests, as a sufficient passport to the favor of this nation? Sir, I wish I could ring the question in the ears of every member of that party north of Mason and Dixon's line. I would point to this language, and repeat the interrogatory. Sir, I may be led to confide in the *honor* of a slaveholder, but a "*servile doughface*" is too destitute of that article to obtain credit with me. Mr. Van Buren has placed the evidence of his servility conspicuously upon the records of our country; there it will remain, and will be regarded as an enduring memento of the degeneracy of the age, and of the men who then filled our public stations.

With permission of the House, I will now call their attention to another gentleman who figured somewhat conspicuously in carrying on this negotiation. He, sir, was bred in the "OLD DOMINION," where, to use the expression of one of her most talented sons, "MEN ARE REARED FOR THE MARKET LIKE OXEN FOR THE SHAMBLES." It was therefore expected that he would bring to the discharge of his duties as assistant agent, resident in London, all the zeal and devotion which subsequently characterized his efforts to subserve the interests of his employers. I refer to Andrew Stevenson, our late minister at the court of St. James. But, sir, I speak of him and the others as *agents for these slave merchants,* for the reason that they acted *as such.* When thus acting, without any constitutional authority, they were to be regarded in their individual characters, and not as public officers. Had they, or either of them, undertaken to act as the commission agent or broker for a band of pirates, we should not have considered them entitled to respect. Yet they possessed the same constitutional authority to do one, as they had to perform the other. They possessed as much constitutional right to involve the people of the free States in any other piratical transaction, as they had to involve us in a slave trading negotiation.

But, sir, I have not time to go into detail, lest that *hour rule,* which I regard as the most salutary rule ever adopted by this House, shall cut me off before I shall have fairly entered upon the subject before me. I crave the attention of the friends of Mr. Stevenson, if he has any upon this floor, and hope they will defend his reputation as far as truth and justice will permit. I call the attention of the House to the following extract of an official letter of Mr. Stevenson, addressed to Lord Palmerston, dated in December, 1836, and to be found in the Senate documents of 1837-'8, in which that gentleman says:

"The undersigned feels assured that it will only be necessary to refer Lord Palmerston to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of many of the States, to satisfy him of the *existence* of slavery, and that slaves are regarded and protected as property; that by these laws, there is in fact *no distinction in the principle between property in persons and property in things; and that the government have more than once, in the most solemn manner, determined, that slaves killed in the service of the United States, even in a state of war, were to be regarded as property, and not as persons, and the government held responsible for their value.*"

It is to the last clause of this extract that I more particularly desire to call the attention of the House and of the country. In that clause Mr. Stevenson asserts that "*the government has more than once, in the most solemn manner, determined that slaves killed in the service of the United States, even in a state of war, were to be regarded as property, and not as persons, and the government held responsible for their value.*" Now, sir, I have bestowed examination and thought upon this subject, and I know well what I am about to say. And, sir, with a full knowledge of the responsibility resting upon me, I say to the House and to the country, and to the British ministry, (should my remarks ever meet their eyes,) that this official declaration of Mr. Stevenson is UNTRUE AND UNFOUNDED. It was, and still is, a misrepresentation of the character of this government—unjust and offensive to the people of the free States.—That, so far from being correct, its reverse is literally true. This government, so far from being held responsible for the value of slaves killed in the public service in time of war, have, from its formation to this day, distinctly and uniformly refused such payment.

And I say to the gentleman who made this assertion, and to his friends on this floor, that it can scarcely be supposed that he was ignorant that the contrary principle is fully sanctioned and sustained by documentary evidence, as I proved to this House a few days since. I then called the attention of the House to a report drawn up by my respected predecessor, the Honorable E. Whittlesey, chairman of the committee on claims, made to this House in 1831. The report was made upon the memorial of Francis Larche, who owned a slave, a horse, and a cart, all of which were pressed into the public service at New Orleans on the day of the great battle near that city. The horse and slave were killed, and the cart was destroyed by cannon shot, and Larche applied to Congress for compensation. The committee of claims, composed of both southern and northern members, reported *unanimously* against paying for the slave, and in favor of paying for the horse and cart. The committee, in their report, say that they had examined the records of the treasury, and found that slaves had never been paid for by this government, either in the revolutionary war or since that period. The report also refers to several instances in which attempts have been made to pass a law allowing indemnity for slaves killed in the public service, all which had failed. I then stated that the records of the committee of claims showed distinctly that since the year 1794, (the date of the earliest record,) all such applications, referred to that committee, had been rejected without exception. It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Stevenson, as I understand filled the office of speaker at the time when this report of Whittlesey was made. I am not informed of the time he served in this hall, but it was many years; and I hesitate not to say, that it is a most extraordinary fact that the report to which I have alluded, and this practice of government, should have escaped his notice; but it is still more wonderful that he should have asserted the existence of a practice diametrically opposed to the uniform action of this body at the very time when he officiated as its presiding officer.

I return to the prosecution of this negotiation. These misrepresentations were pressed upon the consideration of the British ministry. They were not familiar with the distinction between our national and State governments, as was well remarked the other day by the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams.) Mr. Stevenson was the representative of this government, and Lord Palmerston had a right to expect all matters of fact to be truly stated, particularly so far as the regulations and the action of our government were concerned. Relying upon these representations, and believing this to be a government dedicated to the support of slavery instead of liberty, and impressed with the full conviction that, by the laws of Congress, slavery upon the high seas on board American vessels was allowed and protected, and that these persons were in truth *slaves,* instead of *freemen,* when they entered the port of Nassau, the British ministry agreed to deal with us as they do with semi-barbarous nations, and to pay for these people a ransom of twenty thousand pounds sterling. [illegible] money was obtained, Mr. Van Buren was installed President of the United States; yet he continued to act as the *agent of these slave dealers,* for such he evidently considered himself. The money was not paid into the treasury, nor was Congress consulted as to the disposition of the funds; it was kept in the custody of the executive, who paid it out as his judgment dictated. But to whom it was paid, or how much was paid to each individual, I believe we have not the means of determining—no report having been made to either branch of Congress, except a report of the amount of moneys paid from the treasury as *expenses incurred in transacting the business for these slave dealers.* This amount was charged to the contingent fund of the State department, and in that shape came before the House of Representatives. This money came from the pockets of our constituents, and was paid directly for the benefit of these wholesale and retail venders of humanity. I attempted to make some remarks on that subject; but as it was then held to be a subject on which *Congress had no power to act,* I was cut short in the expression of my views according to the most approved practice under our congressional *gag rules.*

But to proceed with the facts: When Mr. Van Buren and his cabinet were about to retire from office, the secretary of *State* (not of the treasury) had in his possession some seven thousand dollars of the money thus extorted by fraud and misrepresentation from the British government. Mr. Van Buren, not having fully completed the business in which he had been so long engaged, as *representative of slave merchants,* bequeathed to William Selden, treasurer of the United States, the trust of closing the transaction. The money was paid to him, and a receipt taken. This was done without any authority of law whatever; and the treasurer might return it to the slave owners by virtue of the same authority as that by which he received it. The veriest tyro in law, will at once see that it is not in the power of any man who pleases to charge the government with moneys by making a deposite with the treasurer, unless it be *authorized by law;* so such law existed in this case, and the only legal effect was to make the treasurer liable in his individual capacity, as trustee of the persons who possess the real interest in the money. Now, I think it perfectly clear, that no action whatever of Congress was necessary to authorize the withdrawal of this money from the treasury. In contemplation of law, it had never been there, but was in the private custody of Mr. Selden. Yet we are called on now to close up this slave-dealing agency by a solemn act of Congress; thereby making ourselves and constituents participants in the fraud, the moral turpitude, and the crime that have characterized this transaction, from the purchase of these CARGOES up to the time of paying the money to Mr. Selden. They will not be satisfied with the money, but insist that we shall share the disgrace with them. They remind me of a drunkard who lay wallowing in the mud and filth of the gutter, when a friend, who was passing by, offered to pull him out; he rejected this offer, but insisted that his friend should come and *lie down with him.* If my friends show themselves willing to go and lie down with these slave breeders, and share in the moral filth and corruption of the slave trade, I may admire their kindness, but I cannot approve their taste.

I had like to have omitted all notice of the loss of slaves on board the Encomium. That, too, was a slave ship, regularly fitted out from the city of Charleston, South Carolina. A city which, at this time, is enjoying as profitable a commerce *in mankind* as any other on this side of the Atlantic. Indeed, I believe it already equals many of the refined cities of Africa in the extent of its slave trade. Should we pass this bill, and continue to pass bills hereafter, for the benefit of the slave merchants of that city, and at the same time hang all who engage in that business upon the African coast, Charleston may, at some future day, rival even TIMBUCTOO in the extent and splendor of its slave markets and *other embellishments.* This vessel, I believe, was fitted out in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-three; she, too, was lost, and the slaves escaped in the same manner as those on board the Comet. The owners applied to the president, who espoused their cause also. Their demand was pressed, and the money was obtained in the same way, and at the same time, as the indemnity for those on board the Comet.

For many years the people of the free States have endeavored to relieve the nation from the deep odium resting upon it by reason of this slave trade on the high seas. For that purpose they have sent to us their petitions, couched in the most respectful language, asking that it may be prohibited, under suitable penalties. And what treatment have these freemen—these supporters of our national character—met in this hall? Why, sir, they have been assailed by almost every opprobrious epithet which our language could supply. Their petitions have been scouted from our presence without being read, or heard, or even *received* at the hands of their representatives. I myself have presented the requests of thousands of our most worthy citizens—of our philanthropists, our divines, our jurists, and statesmen—invoking the action of this body in regard to this slave trade upon the high seas, and to save them and the nation from the disgrace which will be fastened upon them by such measures as that now before us. But, sir, if I happened to cast my eye upon the petition, or assumed the appearance of *reading* it, cries of *order,* ORDER, ORDER, would be shouted from the mouths of slave-breeders and overseers; while a stentorian voice on my right, rising at least an octave above all others, would call on the Speaker "*to enforce the 21st rule.*"

Sir, what magic wand has been waved over us, that we now sit so quietly deliberating upon this bill to *encourage* the slave trade; or rather, why do we now pass this bill *without* deliberation? Shall we turn round at the bidding of this slave-breeding influence, and quietly submit to the passage of a bill to aid and support the slave trade? Sir, I feel humbled, deeply humbled, when I cast my eyes around this hall and see representatives of the free States sitting in mute silence, and aiding, by their vote, the passage of a bill shamelessly bearing on its title the character of *a bill for the relief of slave traders.* What power has thus miraculously silenced the voice of northern freedom and northern honor?—What spell has now palsied the arms which should defend the rights and interests of the free States? It is the previous question, forced upon us by southern members and their northern *allies.* Shall we now submit to the bidding of this slaveholding influence, and meanly assist in carrying out this attempt to involve ourselves, and our constituents, in the disgrace of the slave trade? Wherewith shall we humble ourselves before those who claim this control over us? Where shall we find sackcloth with which to cover our bodies, or ashes to put upon our heads, when, with downcast eyes and trembling voices, we give a faint response in favor of these slave-growers, and to the disgrace of those whom we represent? Sir, the trembling slave, who dares not look up in the presence of his tyrant master, has some excuse for his degradation; but I can find no justification whatever for northern men—the representatives of freemen—who thus tamely surrender the rights and honor of their constituents, and become the willing instruments for carrying on and sustaining this detestable commerce in slaves.

Mr. Speaker, I have a curiosity to witness the response of members to questions which will soon be propounded, and see how many gentlemen on this floor will now vote in favor of this bill, who, for years, have regularly voted to gag their own constituents upon this identical subject, on which they are now called to act in favor of slave breeders and slave dealers. If I were to dictate a subject for the pencil, it should be the one on which I am now commenting. I would select a NORTHERN DEMOCRAT, holding a gag in the mouth of his constituent with one hand, while the other is employed to examine his pockets for money to pay the expenses of this slave agency; at the same time most solemnly saying to his constituent, "YOU HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE SLAVE TRADE," "*you have no right to interfere with the matter.*"

I regret being forced into these remarks. I have made every effort to escape from so doing, which duty and independence would *permit;* but, notwithstanding my exertions for that purpose, I have been driven to it, and I trust that gentlemen will excuse the slave [illegible] frankly. The subject of slavery, or of [illegible] ed in this hall. Accursed be the memory of him who first profaned this temple of freedom with the discussion of slavery and the slave trade. Let the execrations of our posterity rest upon those who involved the national government in these subjects, by trampling on the Constitution and constitutional rights of the free States. But we have become involved in these questions, and it shall be my object now, and at all times, to correct the error into which we have fallen. I will use my utmost exertions to banish it from our deliberations; to erase it from our records; to separate the people of the free States and this government from it; and to place an impassable gulf between our people of the free States and an institution which we detest. It was this desire which led me to consent to the arrangement by which these persons might have obtained this money, without involving us in their guilt and disgrace.

Yet, sir, this bill is thrust upon us; not, however with the intention of discussing it, but for the purpose of forcing us to pass it without discussion, and without investigating its merits. We are asked to sustain it without examination; and if we refuse to do that, it is to be forced upon us by means of the previous question. This want of examination, and consequent ignorance of the bill, is one reason why I cannot support it; but I have many other cogent reasons for opposing its passage.

1st. Its passage is entirely *unnecessary* to enable the claimants to obtain the money, *if* it belongs to them.

2d. Its passage would be a palpable violation of the Constitution.

3d. Respect for ourselves, and for the honor of the free States, forbid its passage.

4th. Its passage is entirely opposed to the principle so strongly urged and maintained in this hall for the last six years, "that this House has no right to act on this subject.

Aside from these, I have some objections to the passage of this bill which apply to me *personally.* It is now no less than eleven months since I introduced to the consideration of gentlemen *here* certain resolutions, setting forth my views of the constitutional right of the people of the free States to be *exempt from the expense, the disgrace, and the guilt of this slave trade.* They expressed my solemn belief in regard to that subject; and I am not aware that any member here has, to this day, been found willing to deny their correctness. But, sir, this assertion of the rights of the people of Ohio, and of the free States, did not suit the views of certain "*natural allies,*" of the slave-breeding democracy of the South. They appear to have sounded peculiarly harsh in the ear of my colleague from the Butler district. His democratic principles appeared to be severely shocked at the thought of our people being exempt from this business of slave breeding and slave trading. Yes, sir, such was the horror at the bare proposition of such a separation, that he felt it his duty, immediately to introduce a resolution of censure upon me for so unpatriotic an act. Nor was that all; he went further, and demanded the previous question, in order to prevent me from being heard in my defense; fearing, I presume, that I might be guilty of uttering irreverent expressions concerning this "*delicate subject,*" and thereby call down upon myself further punishment. I would not be understood as imputing any unkind motives to my colleague; no, sir, I am bound to say, that I think he was guided by *his best judgment.* Well, sir, you, with an impartiality, which I feel bound to say has characterized the discharge of the arduous duties of speaker during the present Congress, decided that the previous question would not deprive me of making a defense, nor others the right of making a defense for me, as it was a question of *privilege.*

To this decision my friend, the honorable chairman of the committee of ways and means, took exception, and appealed to the House, who sustained his appeal. I impute to that gentleman no personal unkindness, but presume he did it to prevent the waste of time, and consequent delay of the public business. (Mr. Fillmore stated, that at the time he took the appeal he did not anticipate the passage of the resolution of censure; that he did it merely to prevent the delay of public business, and not from any feeling of unkindness, or to favor the resolution. Mr. Giddings resumed.) I had no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that such was the fact; and I have now alluded to the appeal, more for the purpose of enabling that gentleman to set himself right before the country, than from any considerations personal to myself. But, Mr. Speaker, these resolutions, drawing the line of demarcation between this slave trade and the people of the free States, appear to have met with but little favor in the mind of my experienced political friend over the way, from Vermont, (Mr. Everett.) He, sir, is a leading member of that party with whom I have been proud to act; but the mere introduction of these resolutions was characterized by him as a "firebrand course," which he informed the country he looked upon "*with abhorrence.*" The subject is now introduced by those who act in favor of the slave trade; but I have heard nothing of that gentleman's "*abhorrence.*" It is pressed through the House with as much indecent haste as was the resolution of censure; but I have heard nothing from that gentleman in regard to this "*firebrand course.*" There is an old and common saying, that "*circumstances alter cases.*"

Another gentleman, representing in part that old Bay State, which has ever been forward in the cause of liberty and patriotism—the gentleman at my right, (Mr. Cushing,) who was bred almost in sight of "Faneuil Hall," designated as the "cradle of liberty." The resolutions proved unacceptable to him; and I must do him the justice to say that he has, so far as I know, been a consistent advocate of this slave trade. Indeed, I am not aware of a single instance, since I have been a member here, when that gentleman has spoken on the subject, in which he has failed to advocate the interests of that commerce. His sense of propriety was so greatly shocked at the doctrine contained in my resolutions, that he unhesitatingly pronounced them "*an approximation to treason;*" and from his acknowledged consistency on this subject, I entertain no doubt that he will now lend his aid and influence to sustain the interests to which he has exhibited so much attachment. I should have been pleased to pass over this portion of the political history of our legislative action concerning the slave trade; but having been pressed into the consideration of it, I could not, in duty to myself, omit some slight allusion to matters that transpired at the time when I last had the honor of calling public attention to it; and I apprehend that no gentleman will think them calculated to make a very favorable impression upon my own mind, in regard to the bill under consideration.

It will be recollected that, on a recent occasion, the member from Georgia, in front of the speaker, alluded to this vote of censure in terms not very courteous.

(Mr. Black interrupted Mr. Giddings, and said, "I wish to know if the gentleman from Ohio intends to allude to my remarks on a former occasion? If he does, I shall surely call him to order."

Mr. Giddings: When that question shall come up in parliamentary form, I will answer it.

The speaker said he should endeavor to call the gentleman from Ohio to order, if he wandered from the question before the House. Mr. Black sat down, and Mr. Giddings resumed.)

That gentleman remarked that this House, by its vote of censure, had "stripped me of the influence which I had once possessed."

When I returned to this hall, and resumed my official duties in May last, I determined never to allude, in a public manner, to the transaction to which the gentleman from Georgia referred. The matter had gone to the people. With them I was willing it should rest. I could not add to its importance, and I was unwilling to detract from the salutary consequences which I believed would result from such an outrage upon the representative character. The record of that transaction is fully made up, and I shall attempt to make no alteration or interlineations; nor did I expect that any member who had voted for the censure would desire to drag the subject again before the country. I was willing to leave it where the votes of my constituents had placed it. I will also take this occasion to say, that I felt no heart-burnings toward those who sustained the resolution of my colleague. The people of my district have so fully and so triumphantly repelled the injury offered to themselves and to me, that it [illegible] the transaction. To many of those who voted to censure me, I shall bear with me to private life recollections of friendship and respect, and to them I would not say a word which should call up an unpleasant thought of what is past. But to the gentleman from Georgia I will say, "*Sir, I hold my seat here by virtue of the sovereign will and pleasure of ninety thousand free people of the gallant State of Ohio; my commission comes from them, and not from the member from Georgia, nor from the members of this House. Those freemen have conferred on me whatever political influence I possess; and no slaveholder, or overseer, nor the representative of slaves, has the moral power to disrobe me of it.*" To those electors of the "*banner district*" I shall soon resign my influence, untainted and unaffected by the foul breath of slaveholding or slave-dealing democracy. Whether this House has stripped me of my influence, or my constituents have *stripped this House* of its influence on this subject, is not for me or the member from Georgia to say; the country will determine that point, and I am willing to await their verdict.—These are circumstances, however, which conduce to my *personal* opposition to this bill; they are matters that cannot apply with equal force to other members.

A due regard to consistency in legislation forbids the passage of this bill. In our sovereign capacity, as a national legislature, we have declared the crime of slave trading PIRACY, and have affixed to it the highest penalty known to human laws. We have declared such as commit this most execrable of all crimes unfit to associate with human beings, and we hang them without mercy. The operation of this law is confined, however, to the eastern portion of the Atlantic, while the offenses of these applicants were committed upon the western part of that ocean. To-day we are called on to pass a law for the *relief* of these persons, while we hang without discrimination all who pursue the same business a few degrees of longitude further east. I am in favor of dealing out justice with an *even hand.* I would give these applicants the "*same relief*" that we grant to those who follow the same business in a different longitude. I would exhibit no more regard for the honor of Africa, than I would for that of our own nation. It is, however, a fact, that if a man goes from this city to Africa, and engages in the slave trade, the whole world considers him worthy of immediate death. But if he remain here, and buy and export our own people, who have been born and bred with us, whose attachments are formed here, and whose minds are enlightened and Christianized, in whose veins "*flows the best blood of Virginia,*" why, sir, for this outrage upon humanity we are called to pass laws for his pecuniary relief. Our people of the free States are taxed to pay us and our officers while we are engaged here in legislating for their benefit. To-morrow, perhaps, we shall be called to tax them to sustain a fleet on the coast of Africa, in order to *suppress* the slave trade. Will gentlemen who vote to encourage this trade to-day, face to the right about to-morrow, and vote millions of the people's money to suppress it? Are gentlemen prepared to vote one way to-day and directly the contrary to-morrow? We are now using the money of the people of the free States to *encourage* the slave trade, and will gentlemen appropriate the money of our people to-morrow to suppress it? Are we under such perfect drill, that we face to the right, to the left, or to the right about, at the bidding of the slaveholding influence? How long shall northern men continue to march and countermarch at the bidding of this slave breeding power? Sir, we send our fleets to Africa at vast expense to prevent the importation of slaves. We are to expend at least a million of dollars annually to give a monopoly of this "execrable commerce" to the slave breeding States, while their representatives here violently oppose the protection of *all other manufactures.* This high Virginia tariff is not only to be protected at our expense, from all foreign competition, but we are to go still further, and make the nation insurers to those who engage in the exportation of this "*chattelized* population." I am unwilling to involve myself in these inconsistencies, absurdities, and contradictions.

The bill directs the treasurer to pay this money to the *owners* of these persons. What is to be the evidence of title by which one man *owns* another? The proposition is an absurdity too palpable to be placed in our statute-book. The title, and the only title, which one man ever held to another, is that of *brute force.* It is the title by which the robber claims

* Mr. Giddings voted in the affirmative, on the passage of the bill, for the purpose of moving a reconsideration, which could not be done by any one voting in the minority.

your purse. The same title by which the pirate claims his captured ship and cargo. It is, however, a title which we as a nation do not recognize in the person *claimed*. How will you estimate the value of a *man?* Does it depend upon his complexion? Or, sir, there are all grades of color in this market. Or which is deemed the most valuable—black or white, or a mixture of both? Or shall our officer be governed by the genealogy of the slave in estimating his value? If he have descended in the paternal line from one of the best families in the "Old Dominion," shall he be deemed of greater value than though he were of pure African blood? Does such mixture *improve* or *deteriorate* the value of a man? These, sir, are, all of them, "*delicate questions*," which I should like to hear answered by some of the friends of this bill before I can vote for it. Again: some may desire to know whether intelligence is to fix the value. Is a man who reads and writes, and possesses better information than his master, or than masters generally possess, of more value than one who is ignorant, and incapable of instructing his owner? And, sir, other men may wish to know what the political faith of a man is, before they fix his value. They will inquire whether he is a *Whig* or a *Democrat;* or, particularly, whether "*he goes the Liberty party.*" And my friend over here in "*the State*" (Mr Snyder, of Pa.) would inquire whether he be of pure *Dutch* descent, or whether he has a "sprinkling" of the Yankee in his veins. These are all difficulties which present themselves to my mind in making our valuation of a man's value as *property*. They may, to be sure, appear of small importance to a grower of slaves—one who is familiar with matters of the kind—but I am unwilling, by legislation, to throw them upon an officer of government, or to bring the subject of such an inquiry upon our nation. And I cannot, therefore, vote for the bill under consideration.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is said that we hold this money as trustee for the owners of these slaves, and we therefore bound to execute the trust. I deny the position. We are not the *trustee* of these slave breeders; no individual can be made a trustee without his consent; neither can Congress, or any other legislative or corporate body, be made a trustee without its consent. Congress has never given its consent to act as trustee for these slave trading speculators; nor are we under any obligation whatever to pay over this money, or to do any other act for the benefit of these speculators. We, sir, are supreme; we acknowledge no law, in the discharge of our official duties, except that of the Constitution and of justice. The Constitution has not imposed upon us the duty of acting as trustee for other traders. If there be any obligation resting upon us, it must be found in the abstract justice of the claims presented by these slave mongers. The whole question rests here. Neither the President nor his Secretary of State, nor Mr Stevenson, nor all other officers together, could lay us under the least conceivable obligation to pass this law for the benefit of outlaws, of pirates, and robbers. Nor could they render it our duty to grant any facility or encouragement to a commerce so base and execrable as that of Cuba. What, sir! is it to be urged at this period of the world, that the President has power to lay Congress under obligations to sit here and legislate to encourage the breeding and exportation of human chattels? Shall the President be addressed to a Congress of American statesmen? Can the President and his cabinet release me from my obligations to the Constitution? Can they absolve me from the official oath which I have taken? Then shall my allegiance to my God, and equal with me of the obligations which my Creator has imposed upon me? No, sir. There is no principle of justice or of propriety that requires us to legislate in favor of this commerce of manstealing. On the contrary, our love of consistency, our self-respect, our attachment to liberty, our regard for the natural rights of mankind; our patriotism, our desire for the honor of our country, our attachment to the cause of truth, justice, and humanity, our respect for the opinions of mankind, and obedience to the commands of Heaven, *forbid* that we should become *knaves*, or *make* our instruments for consummating this fraud committed upon a friendly nation; or that we should become partakers in crime with men who make merchandise of the image of God.

From the Boston Atlas.

REPEAL AND ABOLITION.

The striking inconsistency of southern locofocos is proverbial, especially when any of their ultra-liberal professions are in any manner brought to bear upon the "inalienable rights" of their *colored* population. The subjects of abolition and political rights, they out-Herod Herod in their zeal for the "largest liberty." Apply, however, the same "fundamental principles" to the poor, injured sons of Africa! Was there ever such a right-about face? Listen to the Charleston (South Carolina) Mercury, in their sage discussions of Dorrism—their flaming zeal in the cause of the "natural and inalienable right of a majority to establish their own government by any means in their power!" Show to these men that this right, once admitted, the states of Alabama and South Carolina—the majority of those States—have a full and admitted right to overturn existing institutions, and to form their own government; and, presto! another change! This "natural," this "inalienable" right assumes an entirely new aspect. If admitted at all, it is only in certain cases; while, upon the dark face of the black man, the hand of his Creator had omitted to trace, they would persuade us, the same rights that are legible upon the pale face of the oppressor.

The agitation of the subject of the repeal of the legislative union between England and Ireland, in the South, has recently exhibited a new feature, more than usually striking instance of the southern application of *principles!* But a few weeks since, who were more noisy in their demonstrations of zeal in the cause of repeal, than the South Carolinians, and especially the chivalrous Calhoun with John C. Calhoun at their head? The repealers of Charleston even went so far as to recommend a national repeal convention. They seemed, all at once, to have lost sight of the "impudence and impropriety of interference in the domestic, political questions of another nation." This had been the constant theme of their writers, orators, and newspapers, whenever "the domestic institution," slavery, was discussed in another country, or by any one other part of their own. How much have we heard, from these men, of "northern interference," "northern incendiarism," "northern impudence!" And yet, ready as they ever are to exhibit their zeal for their *institutions*, we find these identical men the foremost in "*interfering*" with the "institutions of another country." This is southern consistency! Such is southern precept and southern practice! The recent speech of O'Connell, who, whatever may be his errors, is at least *consistent* in his professions of *principles*, has proved a woful damper to the ardor of these lip-patriots, these so-distant cosmopolites. It has exposed alike their inconsistency and their hypocrisy. It has shown that their pretended zeal in behalf of Irish freedom, is all empty and selfish desire for party capital. It has shown that with white men they have one set of principles professed—with the slave they have none whatever.

In connection with this subject, it is perhaps unnecessary for us to repeat our own views upon the subject, either of repeal or of abolition. We have never disguised either our sympathy with those who are desirous of seeing Ireland once more restored among the nations of the earth, or our abhorrence of slavery, and our earnest desire to see the injured sons of Africa also restored to their rightful rank among the children of men. But indulging these our honest feelings and convictions, we have never lost sight of the barriers that check and control us, as good citizens, owing allegiance to laws and institutions, promoting, as a whole, the common good of man. The laws of nations forbid our direct interference with the political divisions and exciting party controversies of nations with which we are at peace, and to which we are bound by mutual treaties of amity and friendship. Therefore, we deem it wrong for American citizens to engage in party meddling or aggravating the political divisions in Great Britain. We have full right to entertain and to express our sympathy with those whom we regard as suffering at the hands of tyrannical and unjust political rights. But beyond this we may not go, without a direct violation of the laws of nations. So, too, the citizens of the slaveholding States have political and constitutional rights, which, however wrong we may regard them in principle, we have no right actively to interfere with; still more do we deny the right of other nations to interpose between the American freemen and slave. Thus far, abolition and repeal, with us, occupy the same ground.

But there is a ground which is not common to both. There is no ground for any active interference by the Americans in the cause of Irish repeal. We have no *right* whatever to take part in this controversy. Not so with slavery. Our southern brethren may protest against it as much as they please; but as citizens of one country with the South, *our own rights* are affected, to a certain extent, by the existence of slavery. The District of Columbia belongs to the North as well as to the South; and over its institutions the North, equally with the South, have entire control. So, too, the coastwise transportation of slaves is a legitimate subject for us of the North actively to attend to.—The case of the Creole most clearly establishes that, to a very dangerous degree, it involves the interests, the safety and peace of the *whole country*. There are even other points connected with slavery, which, as they involve the rights and the interests of the North, and also involve the moral rights of self-defence, extend an equal right to regulate and control it. But this right stops there. Beyond self-protection it cannot go, without the consent of the South. Then, is there, a higher ground for the indulgence of our slavery views, to which repeal can not ascend, rightfully. This makes it, therefore, the more remarkable that they at the South, who have made such ado, and who have been so violent, even when we of the North were only engaged upon topics connected with slavery, whereas we had *full right* to engage, should have been so active in an interference where *they* had *no right whatever.*

Our readers are already advised of the effect the speech of O'Connell has had in the South, of the indignation and contempt it has excited. Special mention should be made of the Charleston repeal association, the fierce division in Philadelphia, and the denunciatory resolutions adopted in Washington, Baltimore, and other southern cities. We extract the following from which we have extended much beyond our original design, to give in contrast a very different reception of this speech, by the repealers of Burlington, Vermont, who can at least claim the merit of consistency in principle. On the 4th of July, the citizens of Burlington, favorable to the repeal of the legislative union between Ireland and England, held a meeting in the court-house square. One N. B. Haswell, made himself very busy on the occasion, and tempted the assembly to the passage of a resolution condemning the course of Daniel O'Connell and his sixty thousand Irish friends on the subject of slavery in this country. This manœuvre was met and counteracted with much spirit and success by Father O'Callaghan, and E. A. Stansbury, esq. Mr. Stansbury, in particular, made a spirited defense of O'Connell. His remarks were received with great applause by the Irishmen who were present, proving them to be stanch friends of *Africans* as well as *Irish* liberty. The Free Press states that "Haswell came off second best, decidedly."

From that paper we abridge the following account of the affair:

The substance of the resolution offered by Haswell was, that the Irish emigrants here, having abjured their allegiance to foreign dominion, and sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, were bound not to express their disapprobation of the interference of Mr. O'Connell with a very *delicate subject*, connected with the "*peculiar institutions*" of this country.

To the passage of this resolution, Rev. Jeremiah O'Callaghan made a powerful and effective opposition. He opposed the resolution, for various reasons. In the first place, it was totally foreign to the purpose of the meeting, and diametrically opposed to its spirit. It was said it was *too long, too involved, too obscure*, and *too incomprehensible!* And he put it to the good sense of the assembly whether it ought not to be rejected. (Cheers.)

Mr. Haswell replied to Father O'Callaghan with much warmth. He said he thought the gentleman had come here to be Americans, and were bound to support the Constitution of this nation; that this address of O'Connell on abolition was a blow at the Constitution, and that though he was against abolition repeal sentiments, they ought to frown down this dangerous interference of foreigners with our internal affairs.

Mr. Stansbury replied to Mr. Haswell. He said he could not vote for such a resolution to pass without protesting most loudly against its passage.—(Cheers.) He said the resolution was not only the teeth of the object and spirit of the meeting, as any that could well have been devised. It was no less than an attempt at an Irish repeal meeting to censure Daniel O'Connell for proclaiming his abhorrence of negro slavery! (Cheers.) He said that if Daniel O'Connell was worthy of condemnation, *we* had better go home, for if his was interference, what were we about? What was the right of repeal doing, but interfering in England's domestic affairs? Was the spirit of Irish liberty so narrow that it could stretch no further than the shores of the Emerald Isle? Was it not the duty of every man who wore the green to cast his philanthropy the oppressed of every name, and nation, and clime under the sun? Was he not bound to see no man groaning under a yoke? (Cheers.) Shame on the man who could ask a meeting of the sons of Ireland with one breath to ask for and extend sympathy to their brethren at home, and with the next to scout the idea of yielding the same boon to men groaning under a far worse bondage. (Cheers.) For one, he was unwilling to be accessory to the proclamation of such sentiments at a repeal meeting, and therefore should end as he began, by imploring the sons of Ireland not to repel with indignation such an insidious attempt to make them appear selfish, and to put into their mouths words which he knew their hearts would refuse to acknowledge. (Cheers.)

Mr. Haswell joined by reading the proceedings of a meeting of Irishmen at Baltimore, condemning the abolition address of Mr. O'Connell.

Rev. J. O'Callaghan replied. He said the proceedings of that meeting were entitled to no weight, because it was a meeting of *slaveholders*, in a *slave holding State;* and he knew Irishmen were like other people, liable to be influenced by the opinions around them. He was opposed to having this subject brought into the meeting, and hoped they would pass without expressing his entire concurrence with Mr O'Connell in his compassion for the slave, and his detestation of slavery.

Mr. Stansbury then proposed to amend Mr. Haswell's resolutions, by striking out and inserting as follows:

"Resolved, That we revere the Constitution of the United States, yet we deem it no violation of that sacred bond of Constitution to express our high admiration of the noble sentiments of Daniel O'Connell, in his pointed condemnation of the atrocious system of slavery; and we ask the sympathy of all friends of liberty in behalf of the wrongs of Ireland, and are ready on our part to extend the same boon to the downtrodden African, amid his chains and bondage."

On motion of Mr. Kasson, both the resolution and amendment were dismissed. Mr. Stansbury then, at the request of a large number of the persons present, introduced his amendment as a resolution, and the same was *passed by acclamation.*

From the Liberator.

PUBLIC MEETING.

Pursuant to notice, a large assemblage convened at the Belknap-street church, on Thursday evening, July 20th, 1840, and by adjournment, on Tuesday evening, 25th.

John T. Hilton called the meeting to order, at whose suggestion the call for the meeting was read. The following officers were then appointed to conduct the meeting, viz: John T. Hilton, President; S. R. Alexander, E. B. Lawton, Vice Presidents; J. B. Sanderson, Wm. C. Nell, Secretaries; Wm. C. Nell, Thomas Cole, Lunsford Lane, business committee.

During the absence of the committee, one of the secretaries read from the United States Clarion the call for the national convention.

The following resolutions were submitted by the business committee:

Resolved, That we view the holding of a national convention for the purpose of devising some means for a successful resistance to the injustice and wrongs the colored population of the United States are compelled to suffer by the spirit of slavery and prejudice, as an important movement; but we consider that such a convention should be composed of persons who are fully sensible of the peculiarly of our particular class, as we deem the time to have fully arrived, when all distinction, except that of a common humanity, should be abolished, especially among those who are laboring for their energies in a warfare against oppression and injustice.

Resolved, That for the above reason, as well as on account of the distance at which it is held, it is inexpedient to appoint delegates to the convention of colored men to be held in Buffalo, in August next; but authorize Messrs. Frederic Douglass and Charles L. Remond to act as our representatives, if they think proper.

Whereas, information has been communicated to the meeting that William Lloyd Garrison, our early and devoted advocate, is at present laboring under severe indisposition; and whereas, we believe that if there is one portion of God's humanity more than another whose hearts should throb with gratitude in recollection of his services in the cause of oppressed humanity, we claim to be that people; therefore, Resolved, That a committee be appointed to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of assisting in securing for him such medical aid as may, we trust, be instrumental in restoring him to health, and enabling him to resume with renewed vigor his labor of love.

Resolved, That we rejoice in view of the fact that the *Lanes* have increased among us; for they will prove a medium through which public sentiment may flow in favor of the liberty of the southern bondman; demonstrating in themselves the fact that man is worthy of the boon of freedom.

Resolved, That we congratulate our brother, Mr. Harris, with his companion, who have made so timely an escape from the peculiar institution, and trust that their sojourn in the "Gold Bay State," where they can inhale the pure air of freedom, will nerve them to a sturdy conflict with slavery.

Andrew J. Gordon, of Ohio, on rising to advocate the necessity of a national convention, said he was not prepared for the resolution submitted by the committee, as he had supposed the feeling to be strongly in favor of such a convention, from the fact that so large an audience had assembled in view of its consideration. In the course of his remarks, he alluded, in most elegant terms, to the example of the Chartists of England, and the Repealers of Ireland, as arguments in favor of organized action on the part of an oppressed people.

John Levy, of SOUTHERN BONDMAN, Mass. spoke in opposition to the exclusive character of the convention, and thought that much had been effected towards the improvement of the colored man through the facilities afforded by intercourse with our friends among the whites.

Wm. P. Powell, of New-York, was in favor of the convention, and astonished at the resolution, and dwelt at length upon the importance of holding a national convention: concluding his remarks by offering an amendment to the resolution.

Thomas Cole followed in support of the convention, and dissented from the resolution. But as one of the business committee had submitted the same to elicit discussion,

Wm. C. Nell thought the convention, if held, might result in much good; but could not concur with those who urged distinct exclusive action on the part of the colored Americans, or with those who argued in favor of conventions as the only medium through which means might be devised for the elevation of an oppressed people; and contended that it was but necessary for the colored man to imitate the example of the successful among the whites, to emulate their industry, intelligence, and perseverance.

Remarks were offered by Lundsford Lane, J. B. Sanderson, J. B. Smith, Mr. Dubois, S. R. Alexander, Benjamin Weeden, Mr. Crawford, of Providence, R. I. and others.

The following amendment was proposed by Wm. P. Powell, and after discussion was adopted:

Resolved, That we respond to the call for a national convention of our people, to meet at Buffalo, as a medium through which we may deliberately devise ways and means to operate and cooperate with our friends, against *two* of the greatest evils ever inflicted upon an innocent and inoffensive people—slavery and prejudice.

On motion, the following list of delegates were appointed, viz.: John T. Hilton, Thos. Cole, Wm. C. Nell, C. L. Remond, J. B. Sanderson, and Frederic Douglass.

Adjourned to Tuesday evening, July 25th.

Tuesday evening.—Met pursuant to adjournment. C. H. Roberts moved a reconsideration of the resolution in pointing delegates, which was opposed by Lunsford Lane and others, and was not reconsidered.

On motion, the following persons were appointed a committee to carry into effect the resolution in regard to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, viz: John T. Hilton, Geo. Washington, S. R. Alexander, Eunice R. Davis, Elizabeth Ripley. Adjourned, sine die.

Wm. C. Nell, JOHN T. HILTON, President.

S. R. ALEXANDER, } Vice Pres'ts.
E. B. LAWTON, }
J. B. Sanderson, }
Wm. C. Nell, } Secretaries.
Boston, July, 1843.

Communications.

LETTERS ON SLAVERY, ADDRESSED TO AMERICAN WIVES AND MOTHERS.

BY H. M. TRACY.

Blest ones! whom no hand on earth
Dares to wrench from home and hearth,
By affection's holy spells—
Oh, *for love* then *for whom*
Life is sought but changeless gloom,
O'er those eyes of cheerless sorrow,
Hope may paint no brighter morrow.—*E. H. Chandler.*

LETTER I.

Beloved sisters, should any inquire my reasons for addressing the wives and mothers of America, upon a subject that has called forth the talents of the most gifted, and the energies of the most devoted philanthropists, I would answer in the language of our Great Lawgiver: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Were I a slave, I should wish every free voice in the land to plead my cause. How, then, can I fulfill the royal law and remain silent? This conviction was strengthened by a circumstance, which I will here briefly narrate.

A short time since, I attended the funeral of a young mother and her infant. They were laid in one coffin, and thus prepared to be consigned to the silent home of all the children of dust.

The funeral scene was indeed touching. At the head of the bier stood the bereaved husband, pale as marble, and crushed with recent sickness, clasping almost wildly to his breast a little daughter, the only remaining pledge of his early love.

At his side, stood the fond mother of the deceased, and near her the companion of her sorrows, who mingled his tears and sighs with hers, as they gazed upon the faded form of their only daughter. There, too, arose other sounds of grief as the manly forms of her brothers approached the coffin.

In the contemplation of such a scene, the heart was naturally led to inquire why such afflictions should come. But these meditations were soon interrupted by the deep, solemn tones of the preacher, uttering the sublime language of Isaiah:—"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are my ways your ways, saith the Lord."

The soul was subdued; it seemed a rebuke for the hasty interrogatory, and led the murmurer to "kiss the rod," in silent submission. As I gazed upon the mourning group, I reflected upon the woes which we inherit as our birthright, and that they were not unmingled with hope; some consolation was mixed even with the bitterest cup. Even the bereaved could rejoice in hope; for the loved one had, as they trusted, gone to that Saviour whom she had espoused; and the little one reposed in the bosom of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Here was consolation that had power to sustain. Surely, nothing less could have supported the mourners under so sore a bereavement. My heart involuntarily offered a tribute of praise, that Jesus had thus robbed death of its sting, and the grave of its victory.

But with the glance of thought, I beheld a group of bending mourners, who shared all the woes, but none of the consolations of the afflicted before me. There was experienced the sundering of every tender tie, not by the chastening hand of Him who "wounds to heal," but by the unfeeling grasp of avarice and oppression.

As we passed to the grove, I fell in company with a woman of color, who was bearing an hopeless bereaved child of the Redeemer. We naturally remarked upon the sorrows incident to mortals; but we forgot not the hand of Him who so freely ministers "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." The heart of my companion seemed to overflow with sympathy for the afflicted, as well as with Christian submission. She remarked, "That such chastisements should be patiently endured, as coming from the hand of Him who did not willingly afflict the children of men; and that consolation was ever mingled with the cup of sorrow, which He ministered to His creatures. But if they were from man, there would be nothing to mitigate the anguish, or soothe the breaking heart."

I took occasion to remark, in return, that we need only visit that portion of our country where *slavery* is tolerated, to find as great woes inflicted upon our fellow-beings by their oppressors, from no higher motive than avarice. I spoke of the rudely severed ties of love—of the family of the slave scattered to the four winds 'of heaven; of the nameless woes of the oppressed. I expected a hearty response, but my friend was silent. This unexpected indifference turned my thoughts within, and I silently pursued my way, reflecting upon the want of sympathy for the toil-worn slave, which seemed to pervade all ranks of society.

As we paused at the grave to pay the last tribute to the departed, many a heart was moved. While they lowered the coffin into the ground, the husband gazed in silent sorrow. But when his little one looked up, and called her "mother," his whole frame seemed convulsed with unutterable anguish. "You have no mother! No mother!" he wildly exclaimed, while his sobs and groans seemed enough to touch a heart of stone. And then that mourning mother—O, what agonizing grief was depicted upon her countenance!—No wonder that Jesus wept in compassion for the bereaved. I turned in sadness from the scene, and again called to mind the despised and oppressed.

Among them were husbands whose love was as tender, mourning mothers whose bosoms leaved with the same deep anguish when bereft of their offspring. *Their* sources of bereavement were not limited to the decrees of mortality; but avarice, and every evil passion, might rob them of the objects of their love. Yet where for them flowed the ready sympathy, the pitying tear, the tender, consoling words of friendship? Who was near to pour the balm of Gilead into their wounded hearts? Alas, none! It would be accounted crime, to tell them that their sorrows are known and pitied. They may not be taught God's impartial goodness to all his creatures; none may tell them, that all His sympathies are on the side of the oppressed; neither may they read in His Holy Word, that he commands to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. And yet, where are the hearts of thousands of American mothers? Do any of us come up fully to the injunction, "Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them?" Were our little ones violently torn from us, should we remain silent? No! A cry would ascend like the wail that was heard in Ramah, when the mothers of Israel refused to be comforted, because their children were not. The land would be clad in mourning; and the throne of Heaven perpetually importuned for speedy deliverance from the hand of the oppressor. Even were a few of our neighbors robbed of their children, what feelings would be aroused in the breast of every mother who heard the story of their wrongs? Would not the sympathy be deep and lasting? What were the feelings exhibited in the scene described, but those of deep, holy sympathy? And they were right. I never mourn that the fountains of human sympathy are so deep. I only sorrow that they are not directed by hallowed principles, and made to rise superior to all bigotry and prejudice. I mourn that partiality, which dictates a tear for the sorrows of those who have still many sources of consolation, while it passes coldly by those whose necks are under the feet of the oppressor. Surely if any beings on earth deserve our aid and sympathy, they are such as are denied the common rights of humanity.

Why, then, are there so many mothers that seem not to hear the wail which ascends from the rice swamp and cotton field, the sugar plantation, and the stately palace of the affluent planter, who lives by the unpaid toil of his trembling bondmen? Can it be that woman has no sympathy for the sorrows of the helpless? Surely she has. Her apparent indifference must be the result of inattention, and a want of knowledge.

There are some, however, who are worthy of all praise; women, who with the spirit of martyrs, have labored in the midst of reproach, regardless that their names were cast out as evil, and rising superior to the praise or censure of men, and seeking only the approval of their Master in Heaven. Such will by no means feel that my remarks are designed as a reproof to them; I seek only to be a co-worker with them in the glorious cause.

Yet with all their efforts, many still slumber; and I fear if not [illegible] the judgment summons. And yet this is not surprising while so great a portion of our time is consumed *in caring* for the body, in seeking "what we shall eat and what we shall drink, and wherewithal we shall be clothed." If we even neglect our own most important interests for the mere gratification of the body, is it matter of wonder that the rights of others should be disregarded? But beloved sisters, is this right? Does not Christianity require us to sacrifice ease and comfort and worldly pleasures, for that higher good of which Jesus invites us to partake with him? And unless we bear the Cross with him, how shall we be made partakers of his glory?

But do you inquire what slavery has to do with the Cross of Christ? In succeeding letters, I hope to make it appear that Christianity and slavery are antagonistic in the one exists only by the partial or total extinction of the other. Meanwhile, let me call your attention to the oracles of truth. "Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me." Matthew xxv. 45. Again; "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" John iv. 20.

HUMAN PROGRESSION.

The world has yet to adopt in practice what has been admitted in theory, that man is a creature of infinite progression. Had educators of the infant, juvenile, and adult mind, acted with this always in view, the present state of intellectual development might have been matter of remote and even doubtful history. But so it has not been; and strange it is. It is impossible there should have been a time when men did not believe, unhesitatingly, that what they held as physical or mental truth was intrinsic; and yet scarcely has any age elapsed in which accidental discovery, or well-ordered investigation, has not demonstrated to the tenacious adherents of opinion, that they were not infallible; that they had espoused error, and been ignorant of some truth. Not a human being, probably, has remained in this scene of fluctuations until he attained to adult life, without having had experience of this kind. Those of most extended observation, and deepest reflection have had the most.—Why is it, then, that men have not, ere now, corrected their phraseology, and instead of saying, "This is truth, and all that man can ascertain on the subject," learned to say, "This is the *present* state of knowledge; or by the simplest inferences which we have been able to draw from facts, is the truth. We adopt it, and propose to act upon it; until we perceive that we have assumed as facts such as do not exist; have been ignorant of other existing facts, or have reasoned illogically from true or false premises." Did not the bearer of a burden on his shoulder verily believe his was the best mode, if not the only method of transportation? It was deemed an improvement when sliding was substituted for carrying; rolling or wheeling is now supposed to be the perfection of conveyance. Oars were an improvement upon setting poles. The primitive oarsmen, proud, no doubt, of the art by which they could propel heavy bodies through and over the liquid element, little dreamed that future mariners would avoid all that labor with well-adjusted canvass.—The gallant tar, unfurling the maintopsail, did not foresee that the day would come when a sailor's duties would all be performed upon, or below deck; nor they who were worn down, and under serious alarm lest no kind breeze should ever waft them from becalmed seas, anticipate the application of a Fulton which would render speedy traveling on the mighty deep, entirely independent of the winds. Hieroglyphics, engraven on stone, were once thought a perfect mode of recording events. Papyrus being portable, was, in process of time, preferred to marble. Some one conceived the idea of an alphabet, by which words and thoughts could be transmitted, and paper took the place of papyrus. Finally, the printing-press did the work of a million pens. Who, in our day, believes that wheel carriages, steam navigation, and stereotype printing, will be superseded by better inventions? Who doubted, in all the stages of advancement of these arts, that perfection was attained? These are not peculiar. Progress is in man's nature, and it will be manifested in all works in which he takes spirited interest. Is it not puerile to prescribe the range of intellect in such a creature? Can the yoke which fitted the neck of the tender calf, expand its dimensions to accommodate him in his growth, until he becomes the mammoth ox? Surely not. It is in the nature of the animal to wax larger, and the yoke must be altered, again and again, to suit him. None but idiots would think of arresting his growth, because the yoke is unelastic.

The growth of mind is as natural in the individual as that of the body; and the attempt to stunt it is a greater wrong, in the exact ratio that the pleasures of mind are superior to those of sense, in sensitiveness, utility, grandeur, and refinement. What is true of the individual is applicable to the race of man; it must progress, if placed in what we may call natural circumstances—in circumstances where there are the indocements, and the stimuli, to put it in search of its proper aliment. Persons remote from, and personally unknown to each other, appear to have discovered the progressive character of intellect simultaneously; at least to have spoken their thoughts at the same time. These are the days of free inquiry, of comparatively untrammeled thought. The rejected views of the radical reformers of other days have been "as bread cast upon the waters." The errors which they pointed out, and the truths which they revealed, through the former were not, and are not yet abandoned, nor the latter admitted and adopted, have not been lost to the world. Honest men and women heard of them; and distorted and perverted though they were, they discerned that they were not common-place thoughts, and they permitted their minds to contemplate them when communing with themselves. Perchance they could not have driven them off forever, even if they had willed it. Startling they may have been, on their first presentation; but one of the early lessons of an upright mind is, that *truth is not dangerous;* a second, that error is not advantageous.—These suggestions might have been reluctantly entertained, had the entertainer seen with clearness all they involved. None but minds of peculiar cast, whose leading traits are independence and fearlessness, who prize truth for its inherent excellence, and from the good to result from its discovery—none but these can give willing assent to propositions whose examination must be followed by their adoption, and whose adoption may disturb all their preconceived notions. It is no trifling matter to have the labor of years to do over again; to find that the highly-valued intellectual superstructure, contains materials, which are but an encumbrance; that those are lacking which are requisite to give strength, and permanence; and worse still, that the foundation is the most faulty part. Great as is the sacrifice, a few minds have the magnanimity to make it; and the world can never discharge the debt it owes them. Such minds follow truth for truth's sake; and though they foresee that it will require a process of unlearning, and a subsequent process of relearning, they seldom, if ever, see all its collateral bearings. They set some principle in the line of their mental vision, and keeping its focal point constantly in view, are not aware of the extent of medium which is enlightened by its converging rays. This is remarkably applicable to reformers, who enter the field of their labors with disinterested motives. They perceive that something is so wrong, they can hold no parley with it—entertain no compromise with it. Their work, as they suppose, is to combat some one great evil, and all their energies are in requisition to insure success. Early in the campaign, they find that the enemy has *allies* which serve as outposts; and though they may not be actively engaged in the present conflict, the territory never can be possessed in peace, till they are subjugated. At times they are in the direct line of march, and must be disposed of, ere any progress can be made; or more commonly, they are an afterwork, when the first great battle has been fought, and the victory won. Sooner or later they must be encountered by the heroic reformer.

When those benevolent spirits met in Philadelphia, in 1833, to arrange the principles of their association against slavery, and agree upon a plan of action; they loved each other with intensity, and so ardent were they in the pursuit of their great leading object, and so engrossed with their sympathies for the innocent outlawed, that they had neither time nor inclination to ask whether "person" should be understood in its civil or social sense; whether "political action" meant petitioning, voting with the most favorable belligerent party, or forming a new one; neither did they pause to inquire whether the passivity which they recommended to the slave, must be observed by themselves, under the pressure of lesser wrongs, nor whether women might manifest their sympathies with suffering, in the same way, and at the same time as men. It was not, in that exciting, monopolizing hour, a question, whether the duties of the sexes were identical, and their ability to perform them equal. At that time "the powers that be are ordained of God" were words of course, but their meaning was vague. Since that time these have become questions, from the investigation of which, some highly-gifted, well-disciplined minds have neither been able nor willing to shrink. To absorption in one idea may be traced, in part, the dissensions between old and new organized abolition. So long as they were united together, the victims of a wicked persecutions, they were unconscious of what to either would have appeared minor differences; when persecution abated, and society began the let-alone policy, and even retracted some of its offensive positions, the timid, and those who coveted its praise, were opposed to any appendages or amplifications of the implied purposes of abolitioists. They, with integrity of purpose, construed the "declaration of sentiments, and the constitution," with strictness; hoping, perhaps, thereby to conciliate those whose aid, if not involved, they tacitly encouraged. Others, with equal integrity of purpose, and more consistency of principle, saw that the words they uttered, without any forced meaning, comprised more than they conceived when they first uttered them; and in the progress of human mind, which, in the interim, they had experienced, that they *ought* to have meant all that the words convey, in their most liberal and extended signification; hence, they contend that not as abolitionists but consistent reformers, they must avoid no theories which are the legitimate growth of their own first principles. They are all human, and it may be that ambition operates upon them according to their characters and circumstances. Who is exempt from some portion of it?

A. G.

Oakland, Ohio, July 1st.

LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, August 4, 1843.

I have the mortification to tell you that in our intention of holding a meeting on the evening of the 1st of August, we were most shamefully defeated. We had engaged for the purpose, as you know, the assembly building, and had made arrangements for a large meeting; but just before the time for assembling, we received information that orders had been given by the proprietors that no colored persons should be admitted! The reason assigned for this was, that there had been threats of a mob, if a promiscuous assembly of whites and blacks should be permitted; and that in such a case, the property of the building would undoubtedly be destroyed. The only condition, therefore, on which the meeting could be allowed was, that colored people should be excluded. But to such a condition of course we could not accede; to have done so, would have been assenting to a violation of our own rights, and abetting a gross outrage upon the rights of the colored people. Before we had more than time to notify the owners of our intention not to enter the building on such terms, a large and respectable number of people had assembled around the door, and were waiting to know why they were not admitted. The reason was announced to them by C. C. Burleigh, in a brief address. When he came to state that orders had been given by the owners to exclude all colored persons, a set of rowdies, who were standing by, rife for mischief, expressed their approbation by three hearty cheers. Our friends soon separated quietly, grieving not so much at their disappointment, as at the state of feeling in the community which had led to such a result. It is, *Philadelphia is another mob law*; and has been, ever since the burning of Pennsylvania Hall; and will be, until that atrocious deed shall be repented of in dust and ashes. Things are getting worse every day. The riots in Philadelphia in the last year have cost the country upwards of $54,000. We have had anti-abolition riots, weavers' riots, bricklayers' riots, railroad riots, firemen's riots, and riots without number. The city is under the rule of the mob, and so are the authorities. The only reliance of the latter, to prevent an outbreak when one is threatened, is for themselves to do the work of the mob. As for instance, our daily papers state that the course pursued by the owners of the assembly building, in reference to our meeting, was the result of advice from the mayor. That is, the work of proscription and oppression was accomplished quietly, and by *official* influence, *for fear* it should be done openly, and by the violence of the rabble. For my part, I don't see much difference between being deprived of my rights by municipal advice, and being robbed of them by a mob. The immediate results in the former case may not be so bad; but in the end they will be far more deplorable. Sad, however, is the state of things in Philadelphia.—Our city of *brotherly love*—our *Quaker city*—is given up to the dominion of a pro-slavery mob! A peaceable assembly of men and women may not meet within its limits, to hear discourses upon *liberty*, or to celebrate the emancipation of eight hundred thousand human beings from chattel slavery! Are we not a *free*, a *liberty-loving* people!

Yours, in sorrow,

J. M. McKIM.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN OHIO.

In conjunction with the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society will commence a series of conventions at Jefferson, Ashtabula county, Ohio, at 1 o'clock, P. M. on Friday, the 11th of August, to continue through the next day.

At Salem, Columbiana county, on Tuesday, the 15th of August—probably three days.

At Utica, Licking county, on Monday, the 28th—two days. Each of these, except the first, to commence at 9 o'clock, and to be attended by James Monroe, of Connecticut; Charles L. Remond, of Massachusetts; Jacob Ferris, of New-York; and John O. Wattles, of Ohio.

A second series will commence at Cleveland, Ohio, Friday, August 11th, at 1 o'clock, P. M. and continue through the next day.

At Oberlin, Lorain county, on Tuesday, the 15th—probably continue three days.

At Mansfield, Richland county, on Tuesday, the 22d—two days.

At Woodbury, Delaware county, on Friday, the 25th—two days.

At Green Plain, Clark county, on Wednesday, the 30th—two days. All of these, except the first, to commence at 9 o'clock, A. M. and to be attended by John A. Collins and George Bradburn, of Massachusetts; and Frederic Douglas, late of ———, in the land of human chattels, where he is still claimed as "property."

Let all who love liberty—who sympathize with the bondman in his degradation—be aroused to attend these conventions; and let every abolitionist resolve to take two of his pro-slavery neighbors with him to hear the gospel of liberty proclaimed.

On Monday, the 4th of September, the first anniversary of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society will commence at 9 o'clock, A. M. in Lane Seminary, in Oakland, Clinton county. On this occasion, we shall probably have present all the speakers who attend both of these series of conventions, besides our own Morris, and Chase, and Lewis, and Thomas, with Dr. Bailey, and our friends generally who are active in the Ohio society.

We want to see our friends come up by the thousand, to consult upon what next is to be done in our moral warfare.

From Oakland, our eastern *friends will* probably pass into Indiana, and hold conventions there—returning again through the southern part of this State, and holding meetings on their way to Pennsylvania.

It is to be hoped these toil-worn and slavery-searred champions of freedom will receive a cordial welcome, and such assistance in conveying them from one meeting to the next, as is befitting western hospitality.

By order of the Executive Committee of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society.

A. BROOKE, *Sec'y.*

PRO-SLAVERY QUAKERISM—COLORPHOBIA.

The Society of Friends has always been an anti-slavery society—so say its members—and this they deem a sufficient and quite a reasonable excuse not only for shutting themselves up in their ceiled houses, and refusing to "lift one of their fingers" for the abolition of slavery, and the amelioration of the people of color, but in many instances for throwing all their influence, in their own peculiar *quiet way*, against the struggling cause of universal freedom; and it is by means of a character for anti-slavery inherited from their more worthy ancestors, that they are enabled more effectually to oppose the progress of emancipation, and throw stumbling blocks in the way of honest inquirers. But it is "by their fruits ye shall know them;" and fidelity to truth, as well as to the slave, demands that they should be stripped of their false colors, and compelled to appear in their true light; that without reference to what the Society has been, it may be clearly seen what it is now. Incidents are of frequent occurrence amongst Friends in different parts of the country, growing out of the doctrine that it is wrong to associate with persons not in membership with them—fit only to fill up

mendable; but what are we to say of it, when it is thus perverted to crime? Besides, there is little or no sincerity in it. The very people who talk so much about it, act under its influence just so long as they themselves are nothing the loser. But assail any of *their* rights, disturb them the least in the enjoyment of any of their privileges, and you touch the apple of their eyes. They can be as clamorous, and belligerent as anybody.

Justice requires that credit should be given to the Orthodox Friends, who immediately granted their house, after the other had been denied, in which a school of forty scholars is now taught.

I am aware I have expressed myself somewhat strongly; but does not the occasion demand it? Abolitionists are wont to speak plainly of slaveholders, and how much better are these, their saintly abettors?

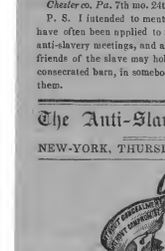
SIMON BERNARD.

Chester co. Pa. 7th mo. 24th, 1843.

P. S. I intended to mention that these same Friends have often been applied to for their meeting-house, for anti-slavery meetings, and as often have refused. The friends of the slave may hold their meetings in an unconsecrated barn, in somebody's woods, or nowhere, for them. S. B.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1843.



IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE.

There is one consequence of the anti-slavery movement, which all good men and true patriots must contemplate with unmingled satisfaction, whatever they may think of the bearing of our proceedings upon slavery. We mean the great amelioration in the treatment, education, spirit, and prospects of the colored race, within the free States of this Union. This is a palpable and acknowledged result of abolition efforts. The evidences of it meet us every day, in public and in private. Colored persons of correct deportment are beginning to be treated with a kindness and respect, indicative not only of liberal and just feelings, as respects the present, but also of a degree of tenderness and remorse on account of the past. Such sentiments become us; for who, save the Omniscient, knows what pure and warm hearts, and high thoughts have been chilled, and have perished in the pinching atmosphere of pride and prejudice? Abolition has altered the atmosphere, and is fast releasing "the genial currents of the soul," (white as well as colored,) from "icy fetters," by which they have so long been bound. This, though unintended, and subordinate to our grand design, is in itself a great work. It is a moral resurrection. It illustrates strikingly the difference between modern abolition, and that kind of abolition (now so much commended by slaveholders, though bitterly condemned, in its day, by them,) which existed in the early period of the independence of this country.—Good was then done, but it was at uncertain intervals, and only in detail. No constant, powerful, and all-pervading pressure was produced on the heart of society. The forerunners of our cause did here and there break from vast and accumulating fields of ice, a few fragments. Now it is wasting away under a warm atmosphere. We find in this no occasion for boasting, because it seems to us more discreditable to a Christian and republican nation that it was left undone so long, than praiseworthy that it is now done. We find in it an occasion of gratitude and regret.

But if the conduct of the self-styled superior race excites these mingled emotions, the course of the simple-hearted and self-taught *parias* of our land affords us peculiar satisfaction. They intuitively detected the specious fraud of African colonization. Fifteen years before Mr. Garrison published his eloquent and unanswerable argument against that association of wheedlers and dupes, the free colored people, with almost entire unanimity, signalized it as the insidious foe of their race. When we consider that those who thus failed to circumvent them, had so long hidden from them the key of knowledge, and tasked their ingenuity to find out means of brutalizing them, we cannot but regard that event as pretty good evidence of the fallacy of our pretension to intellectual superiority. We, however, regard the question as unimportant in a moral point of view. Whether the colored man be really inferior, owing to some malformation of the glands, as Mr. Jefferson learnedly argued, or whether he be, under equal circumstances, the equal of the white man, as Mr. Jefferson later in life admitted, we do not care a pin. If he be inferior, there is so much the more need of maintaining his rights, and so much the more meanness in robbing him of them.—For our part, we set no particular value upon those proofs of the equality of colored with white men, which are most highly valued It is enough for us that they are human beings, and wish to be free; that they are rational beings, and desire to improve themselves and their condition. Yet we rejoice when they give those proofs of high capacities and aspirations which the indifferent or unfriendly demand, as a condition precedent to doing them simple justice, and acting towards them with common honesty.

We have been led to these reflections, in view of an admirable letter from a committee of a thriving colony of colored persons in Ohio, published in the Standard of June 22. To this we understand that our worthy colored coadjutors in Boston respond, in an excellent spirit, and with a clear perception of the great importance of the example to the improvement, dignity, and happiness of the colored men of America.

We subjoin the remarks of the editor of the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* upon this respectable colony.—The cordial interest, and the frank spirit evinced in a region where we must be pardoned for saying we looked so little for it, has afforded us heartfelt pleasure:

Great self-improving movement among the Blacks.—Barely glancing at the extraordinary sayings and doings of the press and the pulpit—of the slave-holder and his tender—of the colonizationist and the abolitionist—each proposing some *panacea* for American slavery—one cannot shut his eyes to the fact that the slavery question is the most momentous question before our people. It is a question so momentous, that most of editors—southern editors, particularly—are afraid to touch it. We confess we suffer ourselves to be controlled by no such timidity. It ought to be touched, met openly, and unshrinkingly; and if we, writing in the heart of Maryland, (a son of Virginia, reared with slaves to wash our feet,) cannot be trusted with the theme, who else may? We profess to know every difficulty in the way of the question as presented by the advocates of "immediate abolition." We know that they expect a degree of self-sacrifice from the hereditary slaveholder, (not "dealer," mind,) which they themselves would not be apt to meet under a supposable interchange of situations, sincere as their declarations may be. We know that the professed fears of bloody violence as the sequel of wholesale emancipation, are realities with many masters. We know that many of them fervently pray for riddance from such a curse upon the soil. We know that the "Southern Quarterly Review" speaks truly when it says that it "appreciate that there are few slaveholders but would give slavery a decided negative, were it to come up now, as a *new* question, divested of the peculiar circumstances which surround it." We know, too, that no slaveholder of ordinary gentility will take offense at the temperate and respectful discussion of the question; and therefore we have felt at liberty to lay before our numerous southern readers whatever documents of interest 'coming under our notice, and calculated to throw light upon movements *pro* and *con*; and we shall continue in this course.

Among all the movements relating to the blacks, (the free ones, specially, and to them being more or less, the slaves,) none have gratified us more than those which we are about to describe—*self*-improving movements, which may be expected to prevent a crisis in the fortunes of their luckless race. We have no room for further thoughts naturally suggested; and if we had, we feel too unwell to pursue the subject further.

MISCHIEF IS AFOOT.

The following paragraph has appeared in several of the city papers:

"Mr. B. Green, son of Mr. Duff Green, is, it seems, appointed secretary of legation to Mexico, and is about to depart for that country, to enter upon the discharge of his duties. It is stated that he takes out important despatches to our minister to Mexico, on the subject of the unsettled claims of our citizens upon that country."

It is well known what extraordinary and agonizing efforts Mexico has lately made in the midst of civil wars, and under the burden of her revolutionary debt, to pay the first instalment on the sum awarded to American claimants by the late commission and umpire. And now, when only one-eighth of that sum is paid, and Mexico is struggling with accumulated misfortunes, a sudden demand is to be made for the allowance of outstanding claims, which were either not presented at all, or too late, to the former commission. Why is this? It is to take advantage of the embarrassments of Mexico, and to compel her, in order to purchase forbearance, to submit to the dictation of our minister, Mr. Waddy Thompson, in the pending negotiation concerning Texas and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY therein.

In all probability the most interesting and important discussions between the commissioners of the respective parties will have been commenced at Mexico by the time this messenger and secretary shall arrive. It depends mainly on the firmness of Mexico in a position unfavorable at best, whether Texas shall obtain her independence coupled with freedom to the slave, and a perpetual interdict of annexation to the United States, (which would involve the re-establishment of slavery,) or whether she shall obtain it without any restriction whatever. The fate of the American slave, for the present generation, at least, depends on the issue of this negotiation. Let abolitionists be vigilant. Let freemen be forewarned. Let our rulers at Washington be made to feel that the eye of the North is upon them.

MR. GIDDINGS'S SPEECH.—We think that our columns cannot be occupied more usefully than by this keen, and fearless, though unavailing defense of the rights and honor of freemen against the audacious encroachments of slavery. We solicit for it a careful perusal. It abounds with important principles, and is animated by the noblest spirit. Mr. Cushing, who has lately sailed for China, attacked, through the *Newburyport Herald*, that part of it in which Mr. G. charges him with having been a consistent defender of the slave trade. Mr. Giddings immediately replied, and made a triumphant vindication of his statement. With surprise and regret, we have learnt from a Newburyport friend, that the Herald has refused to insert the reply.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—A meeting was held at Hingham, in the county of Plymouth, Mass. in the latter part of last month, on the subject of capital punishment, with immediate reference to the case of Leavitt, now under sentence of death, in that county. Thomas Loring presided, and Quincy Hersey was secretary. Mr. Richardson, pastor of one of the churches, and formerly a representative in Congress, reported a petition for the commutation of Leavitt's punishment. Messrs. Spear, Stearns, and Davis, also pastors of churches in Hingham, supported the petition, and a large committee was raised to obtain signatures to it. Among the charities, as among the liberal arts, there is "a common bond." Hingham is a place from which we should expect such a movement.—The Plymouth Rock, from which this information is derived, states that a like petition was in circulation in the town of Plymouth, and had received upwards of one hundred names.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in making a private and unostentatious journey to Canada, Saratoga, and the Falls, has been met everywhere with such strong public demonstrations of respect and affection, that his quiet journey has been converted into a continual ovation.—At Buffalo he was addressed in behalf of the city, by Mr. Fillmore, late member of Congress; at Rochester, by the mayor, &c. We have never known a statesman to be honored with so much attention and respect from American women. The explanation is obvious. He has won their confidence, and touched their hearts, by his disinterested services to the cause of the poor and oppressed.

MEETING OF THE EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—We hope to hear of a full and effective gathering on this occasion. A society which has done so great a service as was rendered by the admirable refutation of the sophistry and misrepresentations of the repeal agents and writers in this country, has every encouragement to persevere.

THE REFORMER.—An association at Oberlin propose to publish, once a fortnight, a paper with this title, under the editorial management of JAMES A. THOME, so well known to abolitionists, and W. B. ORVIS; "devoted to temperance, anti-slavery, moral reform, peace, health reform, Christian union, Christian retrenchment, female elevation, general education, parental reform, professional reform, national reform."

It would give us pleasure to insert the entire prospectus, if it were not too late in the week.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN OHIO.—We would earnestly solicit attention to the meetings notified by the devoted friends of freedom in Ohio. The communication of the appointments reached us too late to be as serviceable as could be wished. May the zeal and activity of the tried and true make up for this deficiency.

Anti-Slavery Items.

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—A negro man, named James Johnson, who has resided for several years at Princeton, New Jersey, and made himself a great favorite of the neighborhood, was arrested a few days ago upon a claim of him as a slave. The claimant was a Mr. Thomas, of Mississippi. The man claimed being brought before a magistrate, his counsel asked for him a trial by jury, under the late act of New Jersey. The counsel of Thomas objected that the law of New Jersey was unconstitutional, and cited the case of Prigg. The magistrate, however, decided that he would not set aside a law of the State, and a jury was ordered. Johnson was clearly identified, and the jury, after half an hour's absence, found in favor of the claimant. While he was carrying off his property in a wagon, the property jumped out, and an attempt was made at a rescue, but it did not succeed. In the fracas, some of the students of the college from the South, drew knives and dirks. The affair was ended by the people's buying the slave. A lady advanced $500, and other citizens added $100 more. The slave is to work five years for the lady. Thank God he is free. This is the first fugitive slave case which has been submitted to a jury in any State.

PUNISHMENT FOR MURDERING A SLAVE.—The supreme court of Alabama has refused to reverse the decision of the Perry county circuit court, sentencing a man named Jones to the penitentiary for ten years for whipping one of his slaves to death. Jones is a man of extensive family connexions, and great wealth.

We do not think this convict will stay long in the State prison. Apropos, we would inquire of some South Carolina editor what became of the man (Allen, if we recollect right, was his name) who was under sentence of death for the murder of a slave, and whom Governor Butler refused to pardon, making on the occasion a memorable parade of "noble sentiments?" Many had their eyes upon that case, and remain now, some four or five years, uncertain (not very uncertain, however,) as to the issue of it.

PRO-SLAVERY MOBS.—We have accounts of two new ones. For one, we refer to the letter of our brother McKim. Of the other, we derive the following particulars from the *Cincinnati Gazette*:

"Our city has been visited by another mob. We are pained to make the confession, but so it is. Cincinnati, with its numerous churches, its free schools, and its boasted intelligence, has been again disgraced by lawless outbreak and ruthless violence.

Mr. Barnabas Bond, a negro girl to our city, who was induced to run away from him. He immediately published a card on the subject. That was followed by another—a meeting was called on Monday afternoon, (a good deal of excitement prevailing in the morning,) to consider the subject.

That meeting took place at the Fifth street market house, at 5 o'clock, near where Burnet resides. Mr. Scanlan addressed the meeting. Doctor Lawson, Judge Walker, the mayor, and Mr. Brough spoke, urging the people to maintain the law, and preserve order.

The meeting dispersed about 7 o'clock.

At dark, a large crowd collected in front and rear of Burnet's house, opposite the market house, and a few boys began to pelt his windows with stones. Some rowdies of course soon joined them. The mayor, with the watchmen, was promptly on the spot, and arrested several of the ringleaders, while attempting to break down the door of Burnet's house with a meat bench from the market house. They were immediately escorted to the watch-house, and such as could not give bail, were the next morning committed to jail for trial.

During the day yesterday, there was quite a large number of boys and loafers hanging about the scene, and amusing themselves by pelting the store with rotten eggs, and an occasional brickbat.

The windows to the two upper stories are broken in, and the shutters of the store much injured; but no entrance effected.

We are not aware that any person has been seriously injured. The mayor was struck in the side by a brickbat, during the afternoon or evening.

A special meeting of the council was held in the afternoon. A committee of five was appointed to confer with the mayor on what measures were requisite to prevent the repeal of the law. The committee returned, and stated as the opinion of the mayor, that no further *legislation* was necessary. The council soon after adjourned.

Several boys and half-grown men were arrested in the afternoon by the mayor, who was on the spot nearly all day, actively engaged in the discharge of his duty."

We are informed by Capt. Lane, of the brig Rossia, which arrived yesterday from Trinidad, Cuba, that a Spanish Guinesman arrived at that port on the 24 June, and landed her cargo, consisting of four hundred and fifty slaves. They were landed about five miles to leeward of the town of Trinidad. The vessel and cargo are the property of Don Pedro Blanco, esq. (the famous negro stealer.) The vessel was overhauling and refitting with great despatch for another voyage. She would sail in about fifteen days.—*Journal of Commerce.*

PETITIONS—The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, after consultation with the Massachusetts board have adopted the following forms of petition for general circulation:

CONGRESS PETITION.

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of——, in the State of——, respectfully say:

1. That Congress will immediately abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia, and in the territories, and the slave trade between the several States of the Union.

2. That neither Florida nor any other new State may be admitted into the Union, whose constitution of government shall tolerate or recognize slavery.

3. That Congress will use its utmost care for amending the Constitution of the United States, either so as to abolish slavery, or so as explicitly to exonerate the people of each State from all obligation to aid in maintaining it.

4. That the customary diplomatic and commercial relations be entered into between this country and the republic of Hayti.

STATE PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in the State of——

The undersigned, citizens of——, in the State of——, respectfully ask your honorable body,

1. To propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States:—"No State shall tolerate slavery within its limits, or suffer any person under its jurisdiction to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

2. To take measures for the abrogation of all constitutional provisions, and all laws of this State, making any distinction among citizens on account of color

3. To pass a law declaring and defining the rights of the people of this State, in the use of the means of conveyance furnished by the railroad companies therein, in order that the officers of said company may no longer claim the right of insulting or maltreating any of their passengers on the sole ground of a difference in color.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign Items.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The London papers are to the evening of the 18th of July, and Liverpool to the 19th, both inclusive.

Great anxiety was felt in England in consequence of the non-appearance of the steamer Caledonia. The ship which took out her passengers was spoken about eighty miles from Cape Clear on the 21st of July, about two days from Liverpool.

The Commercial Bank of London has declared a dividend of four per cent. for the last year.

The Morning Herald, which is now the sole organ which the government possesses, had an article the other day declaring that the ministers would not have recourse to coercive measures against Ireland, for the very singular reason—that it would be the ruin of conservatism in this country to identify it with civil war in the sister kingdom. This article is regarded by the well-informed, as meaning that the government is consequently indifferent to the true ministerial policy. In the *Herald* of yesterday, the editor rejoices in Sir R. Peel's declarations, that he will not be forced by his friends into a coercive line of conduct. The *Times* and the *Morning Herald*, and the *Morning Post*, are quite furious at Sir Robert Peel for not adopting violent measures at once.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

The affairs of Ireland had been debated in both houses. In the House of Lords on the 14th of July, upon the Marquis of Clanricarde's resolutions that the dismissal of Irish magistrates was inexpedient, unconstitutional, and unjust. The duke, earl of Ripon, and others, spoke against the government, vindicated the proceedings of the Irish chancellor at great length, as did also Lords Brougham and Lyndhurst, and the resolutions were negatived by a vote of 91 to 29.

The Irish arms bill was still proceeding slowly through committee in the House of Commons, determined opposition being offered to every clause. The great debate was in the House of Commons—beginning on the 6th of July, and ending on the 12th.

It arose upon Mr. W. S. O'Brien's resolution, which was—

"That this House will resolve itself into a committee for the purposes of taking into consideration the causes of the discontent at present prevailing in Ireland, with a view to the redress of grievances, and to the establishment of a system of just and impartial government in that part of the United Kingdom."

Sir Robert Peel denied that Ireland had been treated, in consequence of the union, with a more parsimonious spirit than would have been observed if she had had her own parliament, and quoted some returns, in order to prove the liberality which had been observed toward that country. It was quite impossible that Ireland could benefit by the repeal of the union in a pecuniary point of view, considering the establishments which she must then of necessity maintain. At present, Ireland paid no assessed taxes, and in a recent crisis had escaped the property tax, to which the rest of the kingdom was subjected. The expense of the post-office was also borne on this side of the water, and he was surprised, under such circumstances, that it could be supposed that Ireland was not benefited, in a pecuniary point of view, by the union.

With respect to the patronage of the Irish church he read a letter to the lord lieutenant, leaving him at liberty to dispose of church preferment in that country according to the merits of the parties, as to the professional merits of both parties, and intimating that it was necessary for the benefit of the Irish church that this principle should be acted upon, and that he was willing to forego all parliamentary influence rather than act upon any other principle. This letter was written in 1841, at a time when he little thought he should ever be called upon to read it in that house in self defense. Upon the subject of education, he had no hesitation in approving of the course pursued by the government, and in reference to the distribution of government appointments, he could assure the house that he never asked a man's country or religion, when considering his fitness for office, in proof of which, he referred to the appointment of commissioners of metropolitan police, both of whom were Irishmen. In the same way when he selected three sculptors to erect statues in Greenwich hospital to three of our naval heroes, two out of the three were Irishmen, a fact he was not aware of until afterward, when he saw an attack made upon him in a public journal for extending undue favor to the people of Ireland.

With respect to the course he meant to pursue, he would say that he was prepared to govern Ireland fairly and with moderation, and to give every consideration to all those measures which seemed to be necessary to its prosperity. He was not ashamed to act with care and moderation, and he claimed for the government the right to decide upon the application of the existing law, or upon the necessity of asking parliament for measures of coercion. If the necessity should arise, he knew that past forbearance was the strongest claim to being entrusted with further powers when they thought proper to ask for it. It was their firm determination to govern by authority, and by power, the repeal of the union, to the full extent of their ability, but it was sufficient to adopt the necessary measures of prescription until they found moderation unavailing. The right honorable baronet sat down amidst very general cheering.

Lord Palmerston said that the debate was most remarkable, both for what was said, and what was not said, and the speeches of some honorable members on the ministerial side, he looked upon as a pretty fair indication that before long the opinions of the minority in that house would be the opinions of the majority.

He thought civil war preferable to the dismemberment of the empire; but he looked upon "repeal" to be a merely conventional cry for the redress of grievances, and that if these grievances were redressed, they would not care for the repeal of the union. He was of opinion that the Protestant church of Ireland might be very considerably reduced, though he was not prepared to state the extent to which that reduction should be carried. There was no country in the world presenting such a spectacle as that which Ireland afforded—no country where the poor were compelled to pay for the support of the church of the rich. He hoped, if the government were not prepared to hold out hope to the people of Ireland, that, at all events, they would not drive them to despair—and in this respect their silence might perhaps be deemed merciful.

A repeal subscription has been got up in Paris.

The *Nation*, the weekly Irish organ of repeal, has the following manifesto:—

"And now, Englishmen, listen to us. Though you were to-morrow to give us the best tenures on earth—though you were to equalize Presbyterian, Catholic, and Episcopalian—though you were to give us the amplest representation in the senate—though you were to restore our absentees, disencumber us of your debt, and redress every one of our fiscal wrongs—and thereby, in addition to all this, you plundered the treasuries of the world to lay gold at our feet, and exhausted the resources of your genius to do us worship and honor—still we tell you, in the names of liberty and country—we tell you in the name of enthusiastic hearts, thoughtful souls, and fearless spirits—we tell you, by the past, the present, and the future, we would spurn your gifts, if the condition were that Ireland should remain a province. We tell you, and all whom it may concern, come what may—bribery or deceit, justice, policy, or war—we tell you, in the name of Ireland, that Ireland shall be a nation!"

The London Spectator says: Sir Robert Peel stakes power, fame, and the safety of his country, in his own confidence in being right in his difference with all the world on the subject of the present agitation in Ireland. His view of it is expressed in two words: it will soon "blow over." If it should, Sir Robert Peel will not merely not lose, but will gain in all sorts of ways from having differed with the public on this occasion. Let us suppose that O'Connell makes no "next move"—that the payment of the repeal rent out of the landlord's rent falls off to a trifle—that repeal meetings cease—and that O'Connell, having nothing left to agitate, leaves the year 1843, retires to Darrynane and his beagles; let this be supposed, and then, who can doubt that, whether as regards the country at large, the opposition, or the disaffection of some of his own party, Sir Robert Peel will gain a signal triumph, and a large accession of power and fame?

Mr Everett attended the annual dinner of the Royal Humane Society at Derby on the 14th of July, and made an address. The following is an extract:

"Attached as I am ardently, passionately, to my own country, desirous to strain every nerve in her service, and if need be to shed every drop of blood in her defense; (cheers,) I yet rejoice that my ancestors, the Puritan yeomen of your ancestors. My lord, the sound of my native language beyond the sea is music to my ears—(cheers.) I do rejoice that at home I speak my own mother tongue I speak in the mother tongue also of a hundred people like that of yourselves—(cheers); and, my lord, if there is any occasion—if there is any meeting that should tend to bring us together, it is such a meeting of those devoted to the great purpose, at the common interest of civilized nations?—(cheers).

Oh, my lord, I believe that if one thousandth part of the energy, of the skill, of the treasure that have been expended by rival nations in the deadly struggle of what is called "the field," had been employed in a generous emulation to see who could excel the other in the arts of peace (cheers), I believe, my lord, if this had been done, you farmers would have driven us diplomatists out of the field (cheers); at any rate you would leave us very little to do in carrying on our international discussions. You have been pleased to allude to the important commercial connection between our two countries; it is important, and most earnestly and heartily do I wish that it might become more so. But there is a thought on this subject which has struck me, since I listened to your lordship's instructive speech last evening, illustrating the inestimable importance of the cotton manufacture.

The commerce between our two countries is the largest that is carried on between any two countries on the face of the globe. The annual commerce between Great Britain and the United States is twofold that which you carry on with any other people. The entire annual movement of this commerce both ways,—your exports to the United States—your imports from the United States—either of them single handed is as great as your total commerce with any other nation. And what think you it amounts to? About as much as the annual crop of oats and beans in Great Britain—(cheers.) I take the fact from the instructive essay of your worthy colleaborateur, Mr. Pusey."

British exports to the United States had fallen off remarkably. The total value in 1833, was £7,579,699; in 1836, £12,425,603; and in 1842, £3,528,807.

The imports from the United States into this country, show a very different result. The import of bark has increased between 1833 and 1842, from 18,459 cwts. to 27,678 cwts; that of silk, from 896 cwts. to 7,024 cwts.; that of butter, from 1 cwt. to 3,769 cwts.; that of cheese, from 9 cwts. to 14,097 cwts.; that of wheat, from nothing to 16,111 quarters; that of wheaten flour, from 95,859 cwts. to 383,436 cwts.; that of hops, from 72 cwts. to 1,132 cwts.; that of lard, from nothing to 25,555 cwts; that of pork, from 1,352 cwts. to 13,408 cwts.; that of rice, from 24,114 quarters to 40,450 quarters; that of tobacco, from 107,000 cwts. to 152,632 cwts.; that of tobacco, from 20,748,317 lbs. to 38,618,012 lbs.; that of cotton wool, from 237,506,738 lbs. to 444,030,779 lbs.; that of turpentine, from 322,486 cwts. to 1,036,000 cwts.; and that of sheep's wool, from 334,678 lbs. to 561,028 lbs.

With regard to shipping, the American tonnage (entered) has increased from 229,869 tons, to 319,524 tons; the British tonnage (entered) from 1,127,600 to 1,256,000 tons; and the British tonnage (cleared) from 1,126,000 to $256,300; total 8513,300. There was insured on buildings, $100,000, on other property $66,000. The number of persons living in the burnt district, exclusive of those whose business was there carried, and living in other parts of the town, is stated at 1050.

A mad doc was killed in Philadelphia, but not until after it had bitten six or seven children.

An affecting Scene.—Yesterday afternoon, a boat load of Germans, evidently direct from the "Packet," landed from the canal. Among the passengers was an old lady, and some three or four children quite grown up. Every boat-keeper, as usual, were immediately among them soliciting custom. As one of these importunate old lady, she immediately threw herself upon his neck and wept. The children also embraced him, and tears and smiles alternately have the sway. The explanation of the scene given us, was that the old lady was on her way to the far West, in search of her husband, who had emigrated some years ago, and she had thus unexpectedly met him at this place.—*Buffalo Courier.*

ABOLITIONISTS, PAY YOUR DEBTS!

The Executive Committee of the American Society have adopted the ONE DOLLAR PLAN, for the special purpose of paying the debt, for which partial provision only was made at the late annual meeting.

The question is now to be answered—*Does the American Anti-Slavery Society number twenty-five hundred members, who are able to pay One Dollar each, for the payment of its debt?* If so, we shall soon be an honest society. If not, we shall soon cease to be a society at all. Our operations cannot be continued, if we cannot go upon the cash system.

Friends of the Society are requested to act as agents in their respective localities, and to collect without delay, as much as they can, and remit to the Treasurer.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

22 Henry Soule, Duxbury, Mass.		$1
23 " " "	"	1
24 S. Soule, " "	"	1
25 Francis Jackson, Boston,		1
26 James Jackson, "	"	1
27 Harriet B. Jackson, "	"	1

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 8th mo. (August) 5th, 1843.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: Asa Sawyer, Berlin, Mass.; Abner Allen, Lebanon, N. H.; Henry Curtis, Westford, Ct.; J. F. Merriman, Brandon, Vt.; Thomas Thompson, Dover, N. H.; Wm. Durfee, Palmyra, N. Y.; Mrs. Charles Sedgwick, Lenox, Mass.; Daniel Pound, Russelhurch, Pa.; Joseph Carpenter, New Rochelle, Moses Pierce, Pleasantville, N. Y.; J. R. Lowell, Boston; Asaph Holmes, Kingston, Mass.

Wm. C. Rich, New Haven, $1; James Ferguson, N. York city, $1; Henry Soule, Duxbury, Mass. $4; Clarinda Lee, Frankfort, N. Y. $1; Rufus Horton, Portland, Me. $1; E. S. Fox, Green co. N. Y. $1; Andrew Robbins, Boston, Mass. $2; Peter Wilson, N. Y. City, 50cts.; Charles White, Hudson, N. Y. $3; Wm. P. Williamson; Plainfield, N. J. $1.

Donations.—A friend, per J. M. McKim, Philadelphia, $1 50; a friend, do. do. 50 cents: Mary Richards, E. H. Corson, and J. M. McKim, each $1. pledges.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

CHESTER COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Chester County Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Friends' meeting-house, Uwchland, on third-day, 29th of 8th month, (August) next, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Several distinguished speakers are fully expected to be present, and the citizens, generally, are desired to attend and participate in the proceedings.

SIMPSON PRESTON, *Rec. Sec.*

8th month 3d, 1843.

CONVENTION.

A national convention of the colored citizens of the United States, will be held in the city of Buffalo, on the third Tuesday in August, 1843 at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The object of this convention is to deliberate on those questions that pertain to the colored man's rights, and to adopt such measures as will effectually secure to him the privileges of an American citizen. Among the objects to be promoted, is the establishment of a permanent press through which the grievances of the colored people may be made known, and redressed; and to render the topics of momentous interest will come up before the convention, and it is hoped that all who can make it convenient to attend, will be present to aid with their wisdom the deliberations of the assembly.

☞ Messrs. Hilton, Cole and Neil, are among the delegates expected from Boston, and it is hoped that a large New York delegation will be present.

The colored people of Ohio are invited to hold a State Convention, at Columbus, on the 10th of August next, for the purpose of advancing their interests as citizens of the State.

A CARD.

The subscriber proposes to establish a depository of *Anti-Slavery* books in Chicago, as soon as arrangement can be made for that purpose.

Gentlemen who have on hand a quantity of anti-slavery publications which they wish to dispose of, can send a sufficient supply for this section of the country to the subscriber, to be sold on commission, and the money from the sale of the same will be remitted as often as desired.

Packages may be directed to Z. Eastman, care of Humphreys & Winslow, Chicago, Ill.

Z. EASTMAN.

July 27th, 1843.

MEETING OF THE WINDHAM COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

There will be a meeting of the Windham County A. S. Society held in Chaplin, on Friday, the 18th of August, next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Let there be a full and spirited attendance. Apathy has been too long hanging over the heads and hearts of Connecticut abolitionists. Wake up from your slumberings, and go over and help your persecuted brothers there, to show the people their sins. JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Sec'y.

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting will be held on Monday, the 14th of August, in the Baptist church, in Norristown, and will commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Those who were present at the last meeting, will need no urging to be present at this time. It is anticipated that these will all be there, and it is hoped that they will bring enough of their friends and acquaintance to double the number of last year's attendance. It is time now to begin preparations for this occasion; and no time should be lost. No reasonable efforts should be spared to bring out an overwhelming meeting. *In this very abolitionist should said.* An opportunity will be here afforded of giving an impulse to the cause in Pennsylvania, which will be felt for years to come. Let us all get ready to avail ourselves of it.

J. M. McKIM, *Cor. Sec'y.*

KENNETT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A stated meeting of this society will be held at Marlborough, on Friday, 8th month, 11th, at 1 o'clock, P. M.

JAMES R. PUGH, *Sec'y.*

Chester County, 7th mo.20, 1843.

TENTH MASSACHUSETTS A. S. FAIR.

The undersigned give notice that the tenth Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair will be held in Boston, during the next Holidays, (the week after Christmas,) and they ask the help of all who value human liberty, and believe that the appeal must find a response in every good, Christian heart: for it is not a sectarian scheme—it is not a political party, which they have in view; but a great national undertaking for humanity. Not forcibly, but persuasively; not in the spirit of hatred, but, as it has been begun, in the spirit of love, would they have this generation accomplish the work of emancipation, which must come, in reverence. It is a work which cannot safely be delayed an hour; and they hope, by this effort, to do much towards awakening all hearts to the emergency.

The Fair will be devoted, as heretofore, to the diffusion of anti-slavery truth, and to sustaining and cheering onward such devoted persons as have given their lives to the glad yet severe service of arousing an unwilling nation to a sense of its moral responsibility.

M. W. Chapman, *Lavinia Hilton,*
Ann T. G. Phillips, *Hannah Twitts,*
Mary G. Chapman, *Catherine Sargent,*
Susan Cabot, *M. A. W. Johnson,*
Eliza Lee Follen, *Caroline Weston,*
Olivia Bowditch, *Anna R. Philbrick,*
Sarah A. Russell, *Mary Young,*
Sarah B. Shaw, *Harriet Jackson,*
Helen E. Garrison, *Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa Loring, *Louisa M. Sewell,*
Jane Wigham, *Caroline F. Williams,*
Thankful Southwick, *Abby Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent, *Mary Willey,*
Maria White, *Marian Fuller.*

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society again presents itself, with the utmost confidence, the subject of our annual sale of useful and fancy articles. The prompt liberality with which you have hitherto responded to our calls, and the zealous energy with which you have advocated our cause, encourage us to continue as that you perceive its utility, and need no argument from us on that point. It also assures us, that you are ready to join heartily with us, in similar, but more extensive labors, when the occasion shall arise. The last year has sale, which, at a time of great financial perplexity and embarrassment among all classes, was unusually successful, encourage us to enlarge the scale of our operations, and to extend our appeal to the public, in behalf of our preparations for the sale of 1843. All that is necessary for the accomplishment of our plans, is, that each should faithfully perform his or her part of the labor; and in proportion to the ability with which each should consider how much those who know, by its enjoyment, what *freedom is*, owe to those who know it not. The letter of the slave presses not less heavily, dear friends, because we have become politically uncle to the emancipation. Shall not this year's efforts prove that we remember this fact?

Respecting the manner of aiding us, you can no longer need information. The committee would merely suggest that it is highly desirable that the materials used in the preparation of all articles, should be the produce of free labor, that we may not be guilty of robbing the slave of the fruits of his toil, in order to procure means to effect his emancipation.

The contributors to our last sale may be glad to learn that a portion of the avails of their labor have been devoted to the support of the National Anti-Slavery Standard—that potent instrument of good to the cause of Freedom. They who wish for further information respecting the appropriation of the proceeds, are referred to the last report of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Let us begin our preparations immediately, and devote to the work as much time, labor, and money, as we should wish an enslaved brother or sister to devote to it, if our situations were reversed.

Sarah Pugh, *Anna M. Hopper,*
Maria M. Davis, *Mary Grew,*
Hannah Lindsay, *Sarah Pugh,*
Harriet D. Purvis, *Margaret Jones,*
Sarah H. Wise, *Elizabeth J. Neall,*
Margaret J. Griscom, *Emma Parker,*
Sarah M. Douglass, *Sarah J. McKim.*

TEXAS AND MEXICO.

JUST published, and for sale at 143 Nassau street, fourth part of "The Lerion of Liberty:" being a remonstrance of some of the Free Men, States, and Presses, to the Texan Rebellion, against the laws of Nature and of Nations. Price 6 cts. single; 50 cts. per dozen.

July 13, 1843.

Poetry.

From the Democratic Review.

NOW AND THEN.

A DIALOGUE.

Written under a picture representing the last man hung in Massachusetts for stealing.

BY HARRY FRANCO.

Now. Merciful Heaven! unmerciful men!
What is it I see hanging there, brother Then?
(Abruptly exclaiming, young Now thus began).

Then. That, brother Now?—(*points to the gallows*)—why, that is a man.

——But wherefore thus suddenly stricken with grief?
'Tis true it's a man, but the man was a thief?
The scoundrel purloined a huge round of prime beef.
Indeed, he confessed it, and foolishly said,
That his wife and his children were crying for bread.

Now. Crying for bread! Did the man want food?
Was it guilty to take for his famishing brood?
Oh, dear brother Then, was it thus in your time?
Was poverty, brother, the poor wretch's crime?
And pray, my good Then, do answer me, whether
The wife and the children were hung up together?

Then. Ho! ho! brother Now, but your question is rich;
Yourself, in my time, would have swung for a witch.
The man, my dear Now, with the beef in his maw,
Was hung to fulfill a nice point of the law;
His wife more respectably died in her bed,
Heart-broken or starved, and his children were fed
At the poor-house awhile, and doubtless you'll learn
That they, for some crime, have been hung in their turn.
Mankind, you will find, are so strangely perverse,
That in spite of the gallows they grow worse and worse.

Now. Poor man! So they hung him up there for a show,
Like a signboard to swing in the wind to and fro.
See his rags, how they flutter and flaunt on the air;
Like moss from a tree hangs his dark matted hair;
His children look up to their father and cry,
And wonder why he above others should fly;
But wonder still more at his dangling up there
Without wings, unlike all other fowls of the air.
See, the crows gather round with their ominous caw,
Like professional folk that exult in the law;
There's the soul of a Jeffries, or Campbell, no doubt,
In a suit of black feathers, careering about,
Or black-coated parasites (Heralds of Peace!)
Who took charge of a fold for the sake of a fleece;
Still thirsty for blood, though at large in the sky,
Wherever there's crime and a carcase they fly.

Then. Ho! ho! my young master, your manners are rude;
All your reasons are false, all your doctrines are crude;
I can prove to you clear as the breath that you draw,
That hanging is right by Levitical law.

Now. Well dear brother Then, I've no time to dispute,
And I might not your long-winded speeches refute.
This world I am heir to I find such a state in,
That really I have n't much leisure for prating.
But leave not, I bee you, that death-bearing tree,
With its horrible fruit, as a keepsake for me.
You will leave me enow for the Devil's applause,
In your prisons, and fetters, and barbarous laws.

I stand on the spot that once bounded your view,
And beyond see a horizon hidden flom you,
Though a mist seems to rise in the distant profound,
It is fringed with a halo, reflecting a bound
Unbedimmed by a cloud, which the Future shall see,
When he stands on this spot now a boundary to me.

From the New-York Mirror.

BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

BY N. P. WILLIS.

How unconsciously, in the pure reveries of boyhood, do the exquisite pictures of the Bible take form and color, and enlarge and become vivid in the glow of imagination! Who has not sat in church, and during the calm music of the voluntary, fed his thought upon some passage of the sublime in Holy Writ, which, just read, lingered in his ear? It was other such a dream, suggested by a passage of scripture, that he wrote the lines that follow.

It was a green spot in the wilderness,
Touched by the river Jordan. The dark pine
Never had drop'd its tassels on the moss
Tafting the leaning bank; nor on the grass
Of the broad circle stretching evenly
To the straight larches, had a heavier foot
Than the wild heron's trodden. Softly in
Through a long aisle of willows, dim and cool,
Stole the clear waters with their muffled feet,
And hushing as they spread into the light,
Circled the edges of the pebbled bank
Slowly, then rippled through the woods away.
Hither had come th' apostle of the wild,
Winding the river's course. 'Twas near the flush
Of eve, and, with a multitude around,
Who from the cities had come out to hear,
He stood breast-high amid the running stream,
Baptizing as the Spirit gave him power.
His simple raiment was of camel's hair,
A leathern girdle close about his loins,
His head unshorn, and for his daily meat
The locust and wild honey of the wood—
But like the face of Moses on the mount
Shone his rapt countenance, and in his eye
Burned the mild fire of love. As he spoke,
The ear leaned to him, and persuasion swift
To the chained spirit of the listener stole.
Silent, upon the green and sloping bank,
The people sat, and while the leaves were shook
With the birds dropping early to their nests,
And the gray eve came on, within their hearts
They felt if he were Christ. The rippling stream
Still turned its silver courses from his breast
As he divined their thought. "I but baptize,"
He said, "with water: but there cometh One
The latchet of whose shoes I may not dare
Even to unloose. He will baptize with fire,
And with the Holy Ghost." And lo! while yet
The words were on his lips, he raised his eyes,
And on the bank stood Jesus. He had laid
His raiment off, and with his loins alone
Girt with a mantle, and his perfect limbs,
In their angelic slightness, meek and bare,
He waited to go in. But John forbade,
And hurried to his feet and stayed him there,
And said, "Nay, Master! I have need of *thine*,
Not thou of *mine!*" And Jesus, with a smile
Of heavenly sadness, met his earnest looks,
And answered, "Suffer it to be so now;
For thus it doth become me to fulfill
All righteousness." And, leaning to the stream,
He took around him the apostle's arm,
And drew him gently to the midst.

The wood
Was thick with the dim twilight as they came
Up from the water. With clasped hands
Laid on his breast, th' apostle silently
Followed his Master's steps—when lo! a light,
Bright as the tenfold glory of the sun,
Yet lambent as the softly burning stars,
Envelop'd them, and from the heavens away
Parted the dim blue ether like a veil;
And as a voice, fearful exceedingly,
Broke from the midst, "*This is my much loved Son,*
In whom I am well pleased," a snow-white dove,
Floating upon its wings, descended through,
And shedding a swift music from its plumes,
Circled, and fluttered to the Saviour's breast.

Scorn not angelic Truth, for the sake of her evil herald;
Heed not *him*, but hear his *words*, and care not whence they come. *Proverbial Philosophy.*

Miscellany.

From Graham's Magazine for August.

THE POST-OFFICE.

BY MISS SEDGWICK.

The family of James O'Moore was a reputable branch of the old and broad-spreading tree of the O'Moores in Ireland. James had married young, in spite of the wise counsel of the sage and rich, who can themselves indulge in the luxury of wives and children, and think it very foolish for the poor should do without them. Neither would Jemmy O'Moore be guided by others' experience, which has been well called the "stern light of the ship." So, at five-and-thirty, he was a husband and the father of nine children; "five," as his wife expressed it, "gone to the blessed Virgin, in Heaven—three boys o'er-topping their father, and stouter than he, and our Rosy, dear, the beauty o'county Cork, though her mother should be ashamed to say it, but her mother it was alone that knew she was the truest and best that ever mother leaned upon, God bless her!"

Those who, unreasonably, or, if they will, reasonably, dislike the Irish, cannot deny that, in the glowing fervor of their affections, in generosity to their kindred and people, and in gratitude to each member of the human family, Jew, Greek, or barbarian, who *in a kind manner*, renders them a service, they are unequalled. O'Moore had a judicious and generous landlord, and he would have thriven well in his own country, with only his four serving children to bary or bring up; but there was a cousin, with three sickly girls and a boy, to whom his kind heart bade him extend protection and support. The boy, Dennis Rooney, was, to be sure, no charge to him, or to his mother. Dennis was a stout, brave, and manly boy, and, when but twelve years old, he had saved the life of the heir, an only son of the lord of the domain on which they lived.

This noble youth was only son of Sir Philip Morrit and his wife, Lady Ellen, was born with a deformity that made him incurably lame. He was beside, sickly, and of a nervous temperament, and retiring disposition. He loved solitude; and, when possible, would rather enjoy his mother and sister, and Dennis, about the woodlands of the estate. His ruling passion was a love of wild flowers, and in trying to obtain some violets that grew on the brink of a stream that bounded the estate, he fell in, and unable to resist the swift current, he was carried down into an artificial pond, where he would inevitably have been drowned but for the timely intervention of Dennis Rooney. Dennis came near being dragged under by the convulsive grasp of the drowning child, but his stout arm and stouter heart prevailed; and he not only took the boy from the water, but carried him, half a mile, to the castle, and laid him in his mother's arms. Dennis was at once taken to the castle, was taught, by Lady Edward's own young sons, reading, and cyphering, and, what to Dennis was as important, he was put under the head gardner for instruction in his art. Master Edward transfered his love for solitary pleasure to the garden. His only pleasure, beyond the reach of his mother's loved and tender voice, was working beside Dennis in the flower-beds. Time did not lighten the burden of life to the poor child; as he grew older, his mind became dimmer, and his body feebler. He was always leaning on Dennis, or limping after him, and seemed to love the presence of the bright, strong, cheerful boy as the plant loves the sunshine.

At the period when our history of the O'Moores and Rooneys begins, the three sisters of Dennis had married and gone to America, loaded with favors and presents from Sir Philip and Lady Ellen. Dennis had manifested no disposition to join them. He was quite contented with the service he was in, and never left the castle but to visit the O'Moores. "And why do you always go there, and never go to fairs, or wakes, or merry-makings of any kind?" asked Lady Ellen. Dennis looked straight up, and straight down his honest, manly face, and then he looked sheepish—in short, he looked every way but in his mistress's face, as he replied, "Sure my lady has seen Rosy O'Moore." Sure my lady had, and, with a woman's quick wit, she read the whole history of Dennis's heart. After a little consideration, she told him so—drew from him a full disclosure of his wishes and dawning plans, and promised to forward them, by giving Rosy an eligible place at the castle. That Dennis should ever leave it while Master Edward lived, was out of the question. Lady Ellen said, and Dennis assented, for he felt himself bound there not only by Edward's dependence upon him, but by his gratitude for the multiplied favors heaped on him and his family by Sir Philip and Lady Ellen.

A week had passed since he had seen Rosy. In the next half hour after his communication with Lady Ellen he was on his way to the cottage. Rosy, who always knew when it was Dennis that knocked, opened the door for him. The flush of welcome, or the blush that overspread her cheek when he kissed it, soon passed away, and he observed that she was paler and less cheerful than usual.

"Sure, Dennis," said the mother, "these have been the longest days of the year that you have been staying away from us."

"Indeed, and that's true," replied Dennis, glancing at Rose, "hours are minutes here, and minutes are hours away from you."

"Oh, it's getting darker than ever we saw it yet, Dennis," Dennis started. "Is it O'Moore that's been at the castle to-day?" continued the old woman.

"No."

"Nor Dan, nor Pat, nor Tommy?"

"Not one of them."

"Then they've—bad luck to it—is yet to tell."

Dennis was confounded. He fancied he only had news to tell, and resolving not to have that interfered with, he turned from the mother, and asked Rosy to walk down the green lane with him. Rose tied on a snow-white apron, threw her little cloak over her shoulders, and they went out together. The sentiment of the humble, like the diseases of childhood, is simple, uncomplicated, and little varying in its symptoms. "Thanks to you, Rosy, dear," said Dennis, "is it now to ask you how you have been, for you sighed in reply. "Sure that question was asked as long ago as we can remember?"

"And answered just as long ago—was it not Dennis?"

"Sure, sure it was, Rosy, and we have been as good as one ever since, having but one heart between us—troth plighted and all, and so, Rosy dear, but why are you so dark?—you send chills to the very soul of me. Rosy, I've something to tell, speak, Rosy; if trouble has come to you have not I a right to the better half of it?" Dennis's arm was round Rosy's waist, and Rosy pressed the hand that was on her heart, but she could not utter a word.—Dennis waited for the story to come, as most proper, in "there, my life, don't send any more after them! I have news to tell you that will drive away all sorrow—sunshine to melt away all clouds, Rosy; if one door is shut another is opened." And he proceeded to communicate the good and most prosperous that Lady Ellen's kindness had opened to them.—Poor Rosy's sadness deepened at every word, and, when he had finished, she covered her face and sobbed out, "I cannot be—I cannot be—Dennis, it can never be." Dennis alarmed and confounded, was rather relieved when he found out the real lion in the way; and after a little soothing and cheering, Rosy began to feel that there was still twilight above her horizon. She had communicated the following facts.

It seemed that James O'Moore had been long vainly struggling against the current of hard times. With all the indulgence of his landlord, it was hard for him to pay his rent; and his boys, now grown to be capable and industrious, had no work to do. Emigration is the great national resource for Ireland. O'Moore's relations and friends on every side, were going to America, and sending home letters and remittances, for those left behind. A few days before, O'Moore had received letters from the husbands of Dennis's sisters. They were still in Canada, where they had heard the most tempting accounts of the facilities for settling on the new lands in the United States, and vehemently urged O'Moore to come out, with his sons, and join them. O'Moore was an impulsive and determined man—qualities that do not often go together. Foreseeing opposition from the women, he imparted his plan to the boys only. They joyfully concurred with him. He made fortunate arrangements for the sale of such effects as must be left behind him, and on the morning of this day, he told his wife and daughter that in one week they must be ready to go to the salt water.

Rosy listened as she would have listened to a sentence of death, and, turning from her father, she sunk down on a chair pale and motionless. Her mother understood her child's feelings, and after her own surprise and shock had a little subsided, she said, "Sure Jemmy O'Moore it's for the good of your boys, I have not long to abide it—I cannot learn to stand alone in my old age."

"Alone! will not we be on every side of you?"

"Not she that I most lean on. I have always had something to lane upon since I first lay upon my mother's bosom: when she was taken, then it was my poor father, then it was you, Jemmy, and now is it not Rosy that's my prop—my rest and comfort by night and by day?"

"And God belping me, will still be, mother," said Rosy, dropping on to the floor at her mother's feet, and laying her head on her lap.

"Ah, my darling, is it not you that 're promised, and, as I left all for your father, so you must leave all for Dennis—this is the thorny way of life that Providence has marked with his own finger."

"Now this is just woman's way," interposed Jemmy, "flying off into the clouds instead of walking in the beaten road before you. What the devil signifies blurring your eyes, Rosy? Can't Dennis come with us?"

"Never, never, father; he is duty-bound to Master Edward. *It's the nearest duty we must do.* I'll go with you, mother—I will, and I'll say never a word against Dennis's doing God's bidding, and all that is possible to serve Master Edward. Should I that love him before all things, stand between him and his duty?"

And to this noble resolution Rose adhered, at first with struggling sighs and bitter tears, and afterward with a more cheerful resignation.

How wisely and how beautifully Providence has interwoven the reciprocal relations of the rich and poor! Money could not buy, but it might reward such service as Dennis's. The sickly child of fortune could not be independent, and he was bound to the generous benefactors of his family by ties far stronger than any chains ever forged. Lady Ellen was sure her son would pine away and die, if Dennis left him; and so he probably would have done; and a man with less tact and constant to duty than Dennis might have questioned whether a life so feeble and profitless were worth preserving at such a cost. But there was no such question in Dennis's clear mind. His three sisters and long gones to go with Rose, made one scale, and his duty into the other, and that preponderating, the thing was settled.

The lovers parted: Rose came with her family to America, and Dennis remained in the service of Master Edward, at the castle. They were too young, and too strong of heart, to part without hope. "Be sure, Rosy, be sure," were almost Dennis's last words, "that poor Master Edward's shattered frame cannot stand it long, and, when it pleases God to take him to his rest, I will be after you, as fast as winds and sails can bring me."

Flowers have bloomed on our prairies, and passed away, from one age, unseen by man, and multitudes in Europe have been acted out in obscure places, without note of admiration. The sweetness of both has gone up to Heaven.

The O'Moores joined the Kellys—Dennis's brothers-in-law—at Montreal. The limit assigned to his stay, in search of their fortunes, does not permit our detailing, step by step, their progress; led on—as such wanderers are—by chance advice, and chance acquaintances, and the hope of casting off old burdens, and gaining new advantages, they reached Illinois, and pitched on some new land, about five or six miles from the thriving little town of Clifton.—To reach this point, all the O'Moores' convertible property had been turned into money, and the money was nearly expended. The golden cloud that, to the sanguine eye, rests over this western world, had till now gone before them, and now, at the very point where they hoped it would stand still, it melted away. The fate of "the best laid schemes o' mice and men," hung over our Irish friends. The first season, James O'Moore took the fever of the country, and died. His eldest son, finding that harder work than he had done at home met with smaller present returns, was disheartened and disgusted, and left the farm, and went to work on a railroad. Patrick, left to labor alone—for Thomas, the youngest, had remained in Ireland, to fulfill a year's engagement—was discouraged and was laid by with the fever, whose first victims the disheartened are. The period of illness had extended all their power to their friends—they had difficulties of their own. The life of a settler, is at best, a life of hardship and endurance—emphatically a struggling life.

The second letter opened gloomily on the O'Moores. Patrick could just crawl from his bed to the fire, his days being varied only by chills and no chills. His poor mother was like an old tree dying of transplantation, an unwise movement for an old subject. Rosy did her best, with kind words, hopeful suggestions, smiles, and ends of songs—her tears she kept to herself. Many a tear she shed, when there was no light in the hut but that of a smouldering fire. They were all, in truth, pining with homesickness. The Irish are often ridiculed, or condemned, for vaunting the comfortable homes they have left behind them. "The Almighty knows," they say, "what we've come here for, we were a dale better off at home!" This is false in word, but true in feeling. Their earnest affections take possession of their memories, and efface all but that which made the happiness of their birthplace, and childhood's home. There, in perpetual freshness, are the joys of youth; the associations of song and story are there—there, in golden light, all the bright passages of life—its pleasant acquaintaceship, and sparkling incident. And, there, these ministers of suffering, trial, superstition, never dwelt in their land, but spirits of sorrow plucked out, and become ministering angels—messengers from another world. Who ever looked back upon home, through the vista of time, or the wide space of distance, and saw anything but light and loveliness? Surely, there, the exiled Irish may be pardoned the hallucinations of their filial love.

Dame O'Moore's widowed and sinking heart turned to Thomas. A weary month had passed and gone since any tidings had reached them from Ireland. At last came a newspaper, forwarded by a friend in Montreal, giving an account of the wreck of a packet that had left Liverpool, on a certain day, with an unusual number of emigrants. The paper contained an imperfect list of the passengers, and among them was the name of Thomas O'Moore.—"And sure it's Tommy;" said the old woman, "as I look at it I see it's Tommy's own name and no other."

"But, mother dear," said Rosy, who could find a ray of light gleaming where all was darkness to her mother's dulled vision, "all county Cork is full of O'Moores, and are there not six Thomas O'Moores, cousins to us, or something that way, besides our own Tommy?"

"Ah, yes—but this is my own—I feel it to be the very marrow of my bones—now look," she said, pointing to the name, "it's as like him as his own face. Oh, Rosy, it is he, and none other—my heart is broke!"

Rosy, in spite of having a weight of sorrow, of which her mother was ignorant, in the intervals of watching the children's pillows, had taken their cow a cup of hot, fresh tea, contrived to let a ray of hope into her drooping spirit. The day was bright, and, when the little cabin began to show an air of comfort that neatness and order give, even where there is poverty and sickness, Rosy proposed walking into Clifton, to see if there were not a letter in the post-office.

"That's my own darling," said her mother; "it was the night I was dreaming of roasted potatoes, and that's a sign of letters coming—old blind Barey 'twas told me the sign, when Pat, his son, was away to the Indies. But, Rosy, dear, where's the money to pay for the same?"

"Sure there not a shilling, mother, left, of the last pound of tea?"

"Ah, no, Rosy, that same went to Clifton, for the last vial of my mixture. I would not rob you, darling, but sure a letter would be better to us all than gold. There's the gold piece Dennis—God ever bless him—gave you at parting."

"Mother, what for would I tell you in that dark hour and you sick, but sure it was the gold piece I paid for father's coffin, to quiet his dear soul. Could he rest easy, the thing not paid for, and his own dear child having gold in her purse?"

"It's all right, Rosy, love; the blessing of the dead and the living on you! If there should be a letter! Pat, boy, is there ne'er a shilling at the bottom of your purse?"

"Na, na, mother," groaned Pat from the chair, where he sat cowering over the coals; "my last shilling went to the pedlar—bad luck to him—for the fever pills."

"Oh, mother, dear," interrupted Rosy, "it's a lucky thought, the same I have." She pulled from her bosom a shilling, suspended by a thread-bare ribbon, from which its original rose-color had been long washed out. "Sure I never thought of its being money—it was *a love token* we called it. It was when you and I and Dennis went to the fair—he bought this ribbon and tied round my neck, you remember, mother—it was my seventh birthday—I'll scarce know myself without it—but I'll not scruple to part with it to bring you the comfort of a letter—so kiss it for luck's sake, mother, dear."

Her mother kissed the love-token, and kissed her good child, and poured out a shower of tears, as she said, "God Almighty's blessings rest on you, as it does, and ever will, for you've kept all His laws, and crowned them all with honoring father and mother—so you've His sure word that these black days shall lighten up, and be long and bright to the last, in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee—God speed ye, my darling!"

These blessings, the very effluence of well performed duties, fell, like dews from heaven, on Rosy's spirit, and filled it with cheerful expectation. She changed her working-dress for a holiday suit, and having arranged becomingly her fine dark hair, she looked at herself with pardonable complacency, for to drawing-room mirror ever reflected a sweeter face than was given back by the little bit of broken, triangular glass, by which she tied on a pretty straw hat. "Rosy," said her mother, "your mourning bonnet, child!" A crape bonnet of her own fashioning was the only badge of mourning Rosy had been able to obtain. "There's no luck under a black bonnet, mother, dear," said Rosy, "So this once I'll leave it behind—the weed is on my heart all the same." So again kissing her mother, and giving Patrick a cheerful parting, she stepped out forth on her six-mile walk, to the Clifton post-office.

She called at the shanties of the sisters of Dennis, to ask if they had any money to send for letters.

No, they had no money, and no expectation of letters. They expected their husbands from Buffalo, in a fortnight's time, and if Rosy would wait, they would then give her enough to pay for the letters that all Ireland would send her. Wait a fortnight! thought Rosy, as she definitely shook her head to the proposition. It was an affair in which she waiting of a "thousandth part of a minute" could not be voluntarily brooked.

(To be concluded next week.)

UNIVERSAL FAME.

BY J. K. PAULDING.

It is amazing to observe how little mankind know of each other, although the vanity of human nature whispers every distinguished person, that his fame is, or will one day be universal. The myriads of Asia and Africa, with a few solitary exceptions, never heard of the illustrious heroes, statesmen, poets and philosophers of Europe; and a vast portion of the inhabitants of the latter, are ignorant of the very names of the great men of the East. But instead of an essay, we will give our readers a story to illustrate our meaning.

It happened some years ago, on a time, that an Israelite, an Egyptian, a Greek, a Turk, a Persian, a Chinese, a Frenchman, an Englishman, a German, an Italian, and an American, met by chance at a caravansary, somewhere in the East; and being all great travelers, speaking many languages, entered into conversation with each other. As usual, they all differed in their opinion of human happiness; the comparative value of the various enjoyments of life—and, above all, in their own individual importance, in the scale of nations. Each one held up his own country as the acme of perfection; and the utmost he would allow the others was, a degree of merit exactly corresponding with their approach towards the infallible standard set in his own self-importance.

"The Israelites," said the Jew, "were the chosen people; therefore they must be the most true and virtuous of mankind."

"The Greeks," exclaimed the Athenian, "were the brightest of the earth, and made the world. Look at their laws, their literature, and their arts."

"Pooh!" cried the Egyptian, "you had nothing but what you stole from us. You were ignorant barbarians, and so would have remained, if your wise ancestors had not taught them, had not come to Egypt to learn their A B C."

"By your leave," said the Persian, "the natives of Irak being the most ancient people of the earth, must have been the parents of allhuman knowledge."

"Hi Yab!" quoth the Chinese, "everybody knows my nation is the most ancient, by at least forty thousand years, and that the foreign barbarians derived all their knowledge from them."

"Mashallah!" said the Turk, taking a pipe from his mouth—"Mashallah! there is no religion but that of Mahomet, and no knowledge but that of the Koran. The Israelites are *tchonfonis*, the Christians are dogs, and there is no truth but among the followers of the prophet."

"Peste!" cried the Frenchman—"nobody knows the true art of living but the French."

"Yes, but England, old England," cried John Bull, "is the country for roast beef and freedom; nobody can deny that."

"I do," exclaimed the Yankee. "The Americans are the only free people in the world."

"Mashallah! whence did you come?" asked the Turk.

"From the New World."

"I never heard of it before," said the Turk.

"Nor I," said the Persian.

"Nor I," said the Jew.

"Nor I," said the Chinese. "I don't believe there is any such place."

"Nor I," said the Turk. "There is but one world, one God, and Mahomet is his prophet."

"What a parcel of ignoramuses!" exclaimed the Yankee.

As it is impossible to settle the claims of nations by these loose generalities, the company proceeded to introduce each other, by bringing forward the greatest men, and great achievements of his countrymen, in battle array, to support his pretensions to superiority.

"Was there ever so wise a man as Solomon, so great a poet as David, so brave a warrior as Joshua, who made the sun stand still, or such a prodigy of learning as Rabbi Ben Hammeskend, who wrote beyond the comprehension of all his readers?" asked the Israelite, with scorn.

"Did the world ever produce such a hero as Napoleon, such a poet as Voltaire, such tragic writers as Corneille and Racine, such a comic one as Moliere, or such a dancer as Vestris?" cried the Frenchman.

"Bah!" exclaimed the Englishman, "What do you think of Wellington, Nelson, Shakspeare, Bacon, Locke, Newton, and all that sort of thing?"

"They can't hold a candle to Armenius, or Kant, or Gall, or Schiller, or Goethe!" said the German.

"Nor to Julius Cæsar, nor Scipio, nor Virgil, nor Cicero, nor a thousand others, who were all my countrymen, though they called themselves Romans," cried the Italian.

"Pshaw!" said the Yankee,—"all your heroes and philosophers put together, could not make one Franklin, or half a Washington."

"Gentlemen," said the Greek, "you may boast as much as you will, but had it not been for Greek warriors, philosophers, poets, and sages, you would all be in favor of the practice; the frost usually destroying the young plants, and invariably so on ground liable to heave. The drouth will sometimes destroy clover plants in the spring; but we have rarely known it to fail when a dressing of plaster was given the field after the young clover plants were up. Our practice is to sow all grass seeds in the spring, either on winter wheat, or with spring grains.

Cure for a Cancer.—We publish the following recipe at the request of Mr. Wright, of Denmark, who assures us that it is a "sure cure for a cancer":

"Take wood sorrel, and pound it well in a mortar; then strain it through a cloth, and dry it down. Cut a piece of cloth or leather a little larger than the cancer, and spread a thin coat and apply it; it will give much pain. Take epsom salts for the blood every day for not enough to physic; you may take a week before it is all out; when you suppose it is all out, then to cleanse it, take garget root, (some call cocum,) pound and strain as above, and dry it on a plate. Apply plasters of it daily, until healed up. Should the sorrel plaster prove so painful as to prevent the patient from resting nights, it may be taken off for a few hours. The sorrel grows in low, hemlock land, the leaves about as large as a dime, in the shape of three hearts. The garget or cocum is found in some parts of the country, on the roadside. It grows about as high as a man's shoulders, and bears a cluster of dark red berries. I have proved this remedy to my satisfaction.

ASA D. WRIGHT.

Denmark, Lewis co. 7th mo. 7, 1842.

The above having been found efficacious in the cure of cancer in this city, is again published for more general knowledge.—*Oneida Whig.*

Horn-Ail.—Mr. Jacob Allen, of Braintree, tells us he has seen several cattle that were cured of the horn-ail, by loosening the skin near the horn bone. He says in such complaints the skin adheres closely to the bone, and the circulation of the blood to the head is obstructed. Some years ago, he read an article in a French author on this subject, and from him received the idea that the free circulation of the blood near the spine, from the head to the tail, is all that is wanted to prevent what is here called the horn-ail.

Mr. Allen states that he has himself given relief, in several instances, merely by seizing the horn by the hands and pulling it violently from the head by the back, near the Edinburgh Mr. He thinks the sickness and horn-ail both arise from the same cause—the want of free circulation of the blood along the back bone.—*Yankee Farmer.*

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Brine fatal to Hogs.—Saltpetre is said to be as fatal to hogs, as arsenic to man; and that meat-brine impregnated with it will put an end to the swinish multitude unceremoniously.

To this we will add, that a strong brine, whether there is saltpetre in it or not, will kill hogs, unless given in very small quantities, and mixed with a large quantity of swill. If these precautions are observed, the hogs will eat, swell up, stagger about, and will die in twenty-four hours, unless relieved by being blooded by cutting off a bit of the tail or ear, and then plunged in a bath of warm water, sometimes saves them.

Cornstalk Sugar.—The Rev. Luther Humphrey, of Edwardsburgh, Michigan, has, after a series of experiments, succeeded in extracting sugar and molasses of excellent quality, from cornstalks. He calculates that he can furnish molasses at twenty-five cents, equal to the best qualities, and sugar at five and six cents. As the recipe is very simple and producible in its operation, we cannot if for the benefit of such of our readers in the country as may choose to try it:

"Take the cornstalks as soon as they have their growth, or as soon as the tassel begins to blossom, cut them up in pieces, boil them in a kettle for an hour or two, press out the juice any way you please, and boil it down to a syrup."

Sowing Clover Seed in the Fall.—G. Thompson, of Addison county, Vt. asks: "Is it a favorable season to sow clover seed in the month of September with rye, after the first harrowing and before the last, and then harrow in with the rye, with the last harrowing? The doubt felt is, whether it will not come up before winter sets in, and being too tender to endure the severe frosts of our climate, be lost." The instances in which we have known clover sown in the fall to have been lost, are so few as not enough in favor of the practice; the frost usually destroying the young plants, and invariably so on ground liable to heave. The drouth will sometimes destroy clover plants in the spring; but we have rarely known it to fail when a dressing of plaster was given the field after the young clover plants were up. Our practice is to sow all grass seeds in the spring, either on winter wheat, or with spring grains.

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"The Liberty Bell," for 1843.

THE "LIBERTY BELL" FOR 1843, IS FOR SALE, AT 143 Nassau street,—Edited by S. W. Chapin, and contains choice articles by some of the ablest men in the anti-slavery ranks. Also, a few packs of anti-slavery visiting cards, beautifully executed—very cheap.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—Job. xvii. 8.

Abbor detection, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at the office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Free Labor Dry Goods,

Manufactured by the American Free-Produce Association.

THE committee on manufactures have adopted a new *scale of prices*, the average reduction of which is greater, and the plan deemed more convenient, than the proposed deduction of 10 per cent. from the old prices.

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Philadelphia, 4th mo. 15, 1843.

☞ Papers friendly to the cause are requested to copy the above.

JOSHUA C. JENKINS

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Philadelphia, May 4, 1843. 6m

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Small stripe seersucker, at 25 cents per yard; drab and white silk Barcelona shawls; drab and white silk cashmere shawls, all sizes; drab merino and cashmere shawls, all sizes; drab merino, figured and plain; drab spun silk hose, with a great variety of linen goods.

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Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.

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