Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Pro-Slavery.

From the New Haven Courier.

THE PATRIOTISM OF ABOLITIONISTS.

If ever a set of men dismissed the little common sense which nature gave them, and determined to make their way through the world with empty sconsces, it appears to be the more fanatical of the Abolitionists.

In their efforts to extend the area of freedom, they seem to be willing to cast aside prudence, self respect, and patriotism, and like a Maylay, delirious with opium, stab right and left, at friend or foe, careless of consequences, and intent only upon producing general disorder, and uncompromising hostility.

What have these men done for a series of years but divide churches, convulse communities, instigate popular commotion, and servile rebellion? As a political party, they have been faithless to their professions, and while ostensibly contending for the rights of the bondman, have been instrumental in not only perpetuating Slavery, but in extending its desolating dominion over large tracts of country, and placing the free States at the footstool of those which look with jealousy at the prosperity which white labor secures, and are striving to wrench away the staff upon which the Northern manufacturer leans.

How far they have benefitted the age or the nation, by their insane struggles after political power—how far they have inspired their fellow-citizens with confidence in their ability to direct or govern where they have obtained it, and how much authority communities are willing to yield them, let the whole people who consider, and treat them as aliens to republicanism, and as strangers to all liberal feelings, answer!

The want of good faith which has characterized their behaviour to others, has recoiled upon themselves; they have quarrelled, divided, and fought in their own ranks, and have, at times, had only a single bond of union, and that was to accomplish as much mischief as possible.

As a nation, we should have been less stigmatized, had the Abolitionists confined their blind fury to their own country, and their abolitions of treason to their domestic presses; but these, it seems, do not afford sufficient scope for their malignity or fiery enthusiasm. They must go abroad to publish their infamous manifestos against their own Government, and from a foreign shore, hurl defiance, contumely and hatred, against the land already sullied by having given birth to such unnatural children.

The standard bearers of abolition, the trumpeters of the grand army of destructives, desire the dissolution of this Union, for what purpose heaven only knows, unless to glut their philanthropic eyes with anarchy and bloodshed, although they may hypocritically deny it. In confirmation of this, if, indeed, it need wanting, from their various tracts and speeches, on this side of the water, we make the following extracts from a letter, written by Henry C. Wright, of Philadelphia, to the London Spectator, from Roseneath, under date of August 31st. He says:

I am an enemy to the American Union, and seek *its dissolution!* because, in the language of John Quincy Adams, the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery, constitute the vital and animating spirit of the National Government. * * * * * * *

I would array against the American Union, the moral and religious sentiment of the world, and by this means abolish American Slavery. * * * * * * *

If that compact continues, the whole continent will, ere long, become a vast slave market. Down with every *Government* and *Church*, which cannot exist without enslaving men! * * * * * * *

But why seek aid from *Britain to overthrow the American Union?* Simply because that aid is *needed*; and because the people of this country have a right to give it.

It is the duty of Great Britain to use all their moral, social, and intellectual influence, *to disseminate among American citizens disaffection and disloyalty*" to their slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slaveholding Government, and *I shall do what in me lies*, to excite them to a faithful fulfilling of this duty! * * * * * * *

Let the people of this nation *combine*, and by 'Christian, peaceful, and bloodless means,' seek the *dissolution* of that slave-breeding, and slave-trading *Union*; let them bar their ports against all vessels commanded by a man-stealer from that land of *Republican whips* and chains; let every slaveholder be treated as a *common* pirate and freebooter; let no slave-holder be allowed liberty, or to abhor Slavery—because I believe *hypocrisy, injustice, and despotism*, have not a more efficient friend, and *freedom* a more *potent enemy* than the *American Union*, therefore I call upon the friends of human rights in Britain, *to band together*, and bring their concentrated moral influence to bear upon it, to *effect its dissolution*.

For thus seeing to serve the combined moral and social power of Great Britain *against* the American Union, I am called a traitor to that Government. *So be it!* "Slave-breeding, slave-trading, and slaveholding form the whole foundation" of that Government. *I must be a traitor to it*, or my God. *To acknowledge my allegiance to it would be to renounce my allegiance to the "King Eternal."*

This addle-headed declaimer, in various parts of this Union-destroying epistle, asserts that the dissolution of the Confederacy can take place without bloodshed, and that the people of Great Britain can interfere with our domestic affairs without provoking hostilities. Were we all *non-resistants*, as we suppose he is, why, then to be sure other nations might dispose of us to their liking; and had the Americans no more blood in their veins, than he has brains his worthless skull, there would, certainly, in the worst of circumstances, be no expenditure of the vital fluid!

From the St. Louis New Era.

SLAVERY.

The frequent collisions between citizens of the slaveholding States, and those of the free States, tend to array the different portions of the country against each other, and to endanger the Union. Nothing so seriously threatens the existence and perpetuity of our Republican Confederacy as the unwarranted efforts that are made by a portion of the citizens of the free States, to interfere with the slave property of the South, and the high-handed measures sometimes resorted to by the people of the South, to defeat and counteract the efforts to endanger and impair the value of that description of property. The rights of the slave States to continue and maintain the institution of Slavery, and of the owners of slaves to retain and use that description of property, are as well secured by plain, constitutional provisions, as any other right that exists; but still there are a large number of persons who are so firmly and deeply opposed to Slavery, that they think that all legal and constitutional provisions in favor of Slavery are void, and ought to be disregarded. Men entertaining such opinions will ever be ready to violate the rights of slaveholders, and laws of the slave States. The systematic efforts of the Anti-Slavery men to disturb the slave population of the South, and the continued efforts of individuals to induce slaves to abscond, and to aid them in effecting their escape, are producing a state of feeling that menaces the Union more than any other cause. There are a large number of the people of the free States who, although they do not approve of Slavery, still are desirous of respecting all the constitutional rights of the slave States, and slave owners, and disapprove of the incendiary efforts that have been made to sow discord in our Confederacy. On the patriotism and firmness of this class of people, and the forbearance and moderation of the people of the slave States, depends the safety of our present constitutional Republic, for it has been demonstrated, that the days of the Union of our Union would be speedily followed by great changes in our system of Government, that would be very unfavorable to the enjoyment of liberty. The existence of a number of rival Republics, each having their separate armies, navies, and fortifications, would lead to border wars and conflicts, which would raise up a race of military heroes, and the consequence would be that liberty could not long survive. All efforts to produce disunion between the different portions of this Confederacy, tend to its dissolution, and ultimately to endanger the liberty of the people.

Selections.

From the Genuge Republican and Whig.

Mr. GIDDINGS'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Bryce:—In replying to the note of Mr. Brown, contained in the "Whig" of the 15th instant I will avail myself of your indulgence, to state my views somewhat at length in regard to the doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed by gentlemen, Miss Kelley, Messrs. Jones, Stebbins, and Foster, who have lately addressed the people of this region on the subject of Slavery. I am led to do this from the fact that some partisan papers in this part of the State appear to regard the coincidence of views between myself and the American Anti-Slavery Society, as a matter of some importance. That Society embraces some of the ablest jurists, the most devoted patriots, and purest philanthropists of our nation, and I see no reason to depart from any doctrine which I have entertained, and labored for years to establish, merely for the reason that such men hold the same principles.

The agents of that society, while in this place, avowed the object and unfavorable design of their association to be, "*the total separation of the people of the free States, from the guilt and disgrace of sustaining and upholding Slavery.*" It is surely unnecessary for me, to inform your readers, that I entertain that same object I have written, and spoken, and labored for years. And I doubt whether a man of intelligence, belonging to any party, can be found in this region of Ohio, who will so far disregard his own character, as publicly to declare himself desirous of remaining contaminated with the guilt; and of sharing in the disgrace of supporting that institution.

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I do not wish to effect our separation from the guilt of sustaining Slavery, the American Anti-Slavery Society, or any other association, with those who breed mankind for market, or hold their fellow-men in degrading servitude.

It is most unquestionably true, that the churches of nearly all denominations of Christians within the free States lend a most powerful and efficient support to the institution of Slavery, by admitting slave-holders, and sometimes slave-dealers to preach in our pulpits; and by receiving to our communion and Christian fellowship lay members of Southern churches, who actually breed mankind for market, and those who are stained with the guilt of holding, and buying and selling slaves. I know of no obligation resting upon our churches to continue such connection.

I think the guilt of our church members in not having acted on this subject, is far less than was imputed to them by those agents of the Society to whom I refer. The guilt of our church members must be proportioned to their intelligence on the subject. For if a church-member be not conscious that Slavery is wrong, or not sensible that he is aiding its support, his guilt must be far less than it would be were he to bestow his influence in favor of it while fully impressed with the extent of his enormity.

The institution of Slavery is productive of more licentiousness and crime in the United States, than all other causes combined. It actually sacrifices nearly thirty thousand human lives within this nation annually. In my minister of the gospel, who either apologizes for Slavery, or attempts to justify it from Scripture, or advocates our continuance in church-fellowship with those whose hands are thus stained with human gore, desire no credit for my faith. I will endeavor to give him satisfactory evidence of their reality. Now, Sir, if our church members were fully conscious, that by admitting slaveholders to our communion, we encourage and sustain these crimes; that we justify those murders, and actually say to the world, that those who commit them are good and worthy brethren in our churches; I do not think they would long remain in church-fellowship with us. I know of no cause, but the apathy of our churches more to a want of information in regard to facts, than I do in the want of moral feeling, or of Christian principle. I believe the proper remedy to consist principally in the promulgation of facts to our church members, and churches, rather than by immediately separating from them. But if the majority of any or all of the churches persist in continuing their fellowship with those who are contaminated with the guilt of slaveholding, then I have no doubt the time will come, and that too at no very distant day, when those members who wish to promote gospel-purity in our churches will leave such churches.

It was to me a most startling assertion made by one of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that there "*were ten professed ministers of the Gospel, who uphold Slavery as a Divine institution, for every one who was one Whig; whereas that stand to advance such a sentiment.*" I was at first disposed to doubt the correctness of the assertion; but upon examination I was compelled to admit its perfect accuracy. I have nothing to say in extenuation of the guilt of that class of clergymen. They have the means of knowing the truth; and if they willfully shut their eyes to the documents and evidence before the nation, and obstinately persevere in rejecting information, their guilt becomes so apparent that I will attempt no excuse for it. It may appear somewhat out of place for me to speak upon matters relating to the Church; but I think at least I shall be excused by those clergymen, who have labored so zealously to show our people the sin of *voting* for a slaveholder, while they themselves still hold in Christian fellowship, and administer the holy sacrament to those who buy and sell the image of our God.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, as a further means of separating our people of the free States from the guilt of sustaining Slavery, propose an immediate dissolution of our political connection with the slaveholding States of this Union. On this point I disagree with them. I think that all intelligent men will say that to enforce the constitutional rights of the free States, would prove as fatal to the institution of Slavery, as it would to dissolve the Union. Our people are more ready to support the Constitution, than they are to separate from our Union with the slaveholding States. As a matter of policy, therefore, I have felt it my duty to urge a maintenance of the Constitution; feeling a perfect assurance that the very existence of Slavery depends, not upon the Constitution but upon its violation,—not upon the support which our people are bound by the Constitution to lend to it, but upon the support which has been extorted from them by violations of the Constitution. When the day shall arrive that Northern men will insist upon their rights, and refuse to contribute the substance acquired by their toil for the maintenance of Southern Slavery,—that scourge of our land will cease, and ours will become indeed a *free people*.

In my political duties, I am bound by the same rule as in my church relations. My first duty is to promulgate facts—to lay truth before the people. If the great mass of our citizens of the free States, were fully conscious that they are involved in the moral guilt of thirty thousand murders every year; that the continuance of these murders and other crimes attendant upon Slavery, cost the people of the free States annually more money than we pay for all the internal improvements of our State; for the maintenance of the support of light-houses, and for the improvement of our navigation:—were they further sensible that this money was extorted from them without the shadow of constitutional authority; with no more color of legal right than is possessed by the highwayman who compels his victim to deliver his purse,—I think they would stand forth united in resisting further outrages. I believe they can be induced to do this in less time than they can be induced to dissolve the Union with the slave States. As a question of policy, without regard to any other consideration, I prefer this mode of vindicating our rights. On this point consists the most important difference between the views entertained by the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and those which I entertain.

As to the character of the Constitution, I differ from those members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with whom I have conversed. I think a true construction of that instrument gives full protection to Slavery than the construction which they put upon it. I cannot say that the clause respecting fugitive slaves; that which prohibits Congress from abolishing Slave-Trade until 1808; and that which gives to the slave States a representation in Congress proportioned to the number of slaves they hold, were not concessions made by the Northern States in favor of Slavery. This fact is perfectly evident from the debates in the convention which framed the Constitution,—in the conventions of the several States at their adoption of the Constitution; by all contemporaneous history; by the uniform construction given to it by the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial departments of the Federal Government, and by those of each of the several States; by all jurists, statesmen, and legislators, from the day of its adoption to the present day, that it appears to me difficult for any intelligent man to believe our Constitution to be an "Anti-Slavery document." There can be no doubt but the framers of that instrument intended to grant certain privileges to the slaveholding interest. But it was early seen that these provisions carried into full practice, could lend but an uncertain, and at best a temporary support to Slavery.—The slaveholding power, therefore, saw the necessity of usurping undelegated authority, which had not been granted by the Constitution, but which was in direct opposition to, and a violation of that instrument. In order to protect the slaveholding States have usurped power, they have violated the Constitution, and encroached upon the sacred rights of the free States. Thus, it is a usurpation of power to appropriate money collected in the free States to support Slavery, and it is a violation of the Federal Constitution, as it is an encroachment upon our rights;—and in proportion as these usurpations become flagrant, in the same proportion will the Northern States be violated in their interests and the honor of the free States be outraged.

Much is said as to the character of the framers of the Constitution. They unquestionably made concessions in favor of the slaveholding interest. This we have shown to be a matter of history. The circumstances with which they were surrounded, it is not unlikely that we might have voted for its adoption. But I do not see that our opinions of the Constitution ought in any way to be effected by the character of its framers. If it be defective, let it be amended. To say that it is imperfect, is no impeachment of the integrity of its framers. They were doubtless honest, patriotic men, and did what they then thought best for the country; but were they now living, and had witnessed the outrages committed upon the Constitution by the slaveholding power, I have no idea they would frame another compact, bestowing upon the slave States the unequal influence given them by our present Constitution. The fatal error into which they were drawn, was the adoption of that clause which gives to the slave States a political power proportioned to the slaves they hold in bondage. Slavery and freedom are antagonisms. They are irreconcilably opposed to each other. Southern statesmen are accustomed to legislate for Slavery and oppression: Northern men for freedom and the rights of man. The interests of slave labor controls the Southern policy,—that of free labor dictates the North. Hence, the error of giving unequal powers to the slaveholding interest.

That clause of the Constitution to which I refer gave an undue and disproportionate power in the Federal Government to the slaveholding interest.—From the fatal hour of its adoption to the present day, there has been a constant struggle for the rights of the free States—against the very Constitution which gives it—and against the liberties of mankind. Under this clause of the Constitution, Slavery was strengthened and fortified, and became a political power in the slave States. It has spread its virus into every department of its administration. Its poison has been diffused through every vein and artery of the body politic; it has corrupted the fountains of life; its cankerous tumors are fast gathering upon the vitals of the nation. Speedy and efficient measures alone can save the Republic from that dissolution to which it is rapidly approaching. With this unjust representation, the slave interest has usurped to itself powers above the Constitution, and trampled upon the rights of the free States with perfect impunity. Seizing upon the power of Government, at an early day, it discarded the Constitution which was ordained "for the purpose of securing the blessings of liberty"—and wielded our national influence to perpetuate the curse of American Slavery. Before the haughty vaporings of Southern members, the Northern mind became timid, unassuming in their manners, and retiring in their habits, were early accustomed to cower. The history of our Government is an exhibition of continual arrogance on the part of Southern, and of constant submission on the part of the North; of Southern encroachment and of Northern surrender. It is a most humiliating fact that the rodomontades of Southern men, accompanied by a display of canes, pistols, and bowie-knives, silenced debate in Congress on all subjects where Slavery was concerned. If the rights of the free States happened to come in contact with the interests of Slavery, all discussion in favor of the former and against the latter was silenced; while Southern members, with bullying swagger, would declare the glorious institutions of the South too *sacred for discussion*, and Northern men would upon those whom they insultingly term "*Northern doughfaces.*" If a Northern member, under a sense of duty, were to attempt a reply, he was compelled to do it in such language as was dictated by Southern slaveholders. If he gave vent to his feelings of self-respect, or spoke the language of freedom, he was instantly silenced by Southern insolence and by Northern polroons. While sitting in the Hall of Representatives, and compelled for hours to listen to language insulting to every citizen of our free States, without the privilege of reply, I have deeply felt the degradation to which the people of the North were subjected.

The people of this Congressional district are fully aware that in 1842, I stated by way of resolutions, my views, denying the constitutional right of the Federal Government to involve the people of the free States in the support of the coast-wise slave-trade. For this expression of my views, I was publicly censured and driven from my seat in Congress. Indeed, so servile had some Northern members of Congress become, that they voted to censure me for daring to assert the constitutional rights of the free States. Papers politically friendly to me spoke of the act as *imprudent*, and others characterized it as *presumptuous*. So vitiated had Northern sentiment become in respect to Slavery, that a free expression of opinion in regard to the crime of that institution, was scarcely tolerated in our social circles. The dissemination of truth in relation to Slavery, was obstructed in every mode which slaveholding ingenuity could invent. Mobs were collected: the laws of the Federal and State Governments were set at defiance: Southern post-offices were violated: private correspondence exposed: printing presses destroyed: Northern citizens travelling in Southern States were seized by mob violence, imprisoned, and scourged: and in some instances life itself was taken, by the prompting of a mob. Indeed, while I now write, intelligence has reached our village of a slaveholding mob convened in an adjoining State, for the purpose of preventing by violence the publication of a paper devoted to the cause of truth and humanity; and in order to silence the advocate, paralyze the pen of one of the truest and most devoted patriots of the age. Languishing upon a bed of sickness from which he was unable to rise, a conclave of fiends, headed by a late member of Congress, seized upon the opportunity to display their valor. It was a most fortunate moment, when the physical debility of their victim held out to them a sure guarantee of personal safety. Never did I realize more fully the truth, that "*Slavery is an unnatural and unnatural curse*," than while I now write. It is truly a curse to the master—a curse to the slave—a curse to the States in which it exists—and a *bitter curse to the free States of this Union*. But how long these outrages continued, I would gladly see our union with the slaveholding States dissolved.

No greater insult could be offered to the dignity of our free States, than to tax them for the recapture and return of Southern slaves who have fled from their masters: No greater outrage than this could have been perpetrated upon the Constitution. Yet the people of Ohio have paid for arresting and returning such fugitives, at the rate of *eighty thousand dollars per head*. We have been taxed for the purchase of blood-hounds, to act as auxiliaries to our army, in leading them to the hiding-places of women and children, who have sought liberty in the deep gloom of the forests. Equally insulting to our character, and subversive of the Constitution has been the employment of our army, in shooting and murdering defenceless women and children, for no other cause than their attachment to liberty. This deep disgrace, these damning crimes, have been brought upon us by our union with the slaveholding States. Not in pursuance of the Constitution, but in perversion of that instrument. With my hands thus clotted, and dripping with the blood of slaves, I cannot reverence a union with those States that have thus involved us in such overwhelming guilt, and such disgrace. For the union with those slave States, who have thus defeated the great and paramount objects of our confederation; subverted the Constitution, wasted war against the rights of mankind, I entertain no attachment. Give me *constitutional liberty*, or give me *dissolution*.

If we look to the position which our own State holds to the Union, we shall find but little to cheer our hopes, or cherish our pride. Our soil is often polluted with slaveholding violence. Neither the dignity of our State, nor the Federal Constitution has been able to protect our people from the slaveholding rapacity of adjoining States. Our beloved citizens have been seized, dragged from our territory, and sold into Southern Slavery. Vain have been remonstrances of these acts have been demanded, under provisions of our Federal Constitution, such demand has been rejected with a contemptuous sneer, by slaveholding Governors, and our State now remains humbled, and as remediless as the savage tribes of Africa, on whom like depredations are committed. Colored people have been shot down, like brutes, within our own territory, in the presence of our own people; our soil has drunk their blood; their slaveholding murderers, returning to their own State, have boldly defiance to our laws, and spurned with contempt the obligation of our political compact. We have become so accustomed to endure them, that free white inhabitants of our State have recently been kidnapped from our territory, and taken by lawless violence to an adjoining State, under pretence that they had done acts in Ohio which were opposed to the laws of our sister State. The Judiciary of that State, having investigated the subject, has approved the act, and remanded our kidnapped citizens to prison, where they now remain. I have not time to hint further at the usurpations of the slaveholding interest, or at the outrages that have heaped upon the people of the free States. I have said enough to show that our union with the slave States has proven destructive to the interests, the dearest rights, and the sacred honor of the free States; and to our Constitution, and disastrous to the "rights of man." Are unbridled licentiousness, degrading oppression, violence and bloodshed, a curse? then has our union with the slaveholding States brought that curse upon us. Are the millions of enemies within our Government, held in subjection only by physical force, a curse? Then has our union with the slave States brought that curse upon us. Are war, rapine, and human butchery, a curse? Then has that curse been brought upon us, by our union with the slave States. To impress these facts upon the minds of our people, has been an important object of my public efforts for the last ten years. From my first entrance into Congress to the present day, I have embraced all proper occasions to exhibit the outrages and insults heaped upon the free North by the slaveholding power. The slave States certainly have no claim on us further to share the burdens, or to bear the burdens, or to participate in the guilt, or to fight the battles of an institution execrated by civilized man, and cursed of God.—Rather than do these, I would dissolve our political connection with those States. I would dissolve the Constitution in all its bearings. Although our fathers made a hard bargain for the North, one that is injurious to our interests, and our honor, yet would I abide by it. Beyond that, I would not go. I would yield not a single constitutional right of our State to save a union that has so long, and so bitterly oppressed and insulted us. I would maintain our rights under the Constitution, leaving the Union to be continued or dissolved, as the slave States shall prefer. And I rejoice that the progress of public sentiment is such as to enable every man to look forward to a point of time, not far in the future, when the constitutional rights of the free States will be *vindicated*, regardless of the effect which such vindication may have upon our union with the slaveholding States. God speed the day.

But I regard all discussion concerning the continuance of our present union as a waste of superrogation. Present indications leave no doubt that it will be dissolved within the coming six months: indeed, it is announced by some of our papers, that a mission is already dispatched to Texas, for forming holding Government. Our army is already in Texas, in all probability now engaged in another war to sustain Slavery. This last crowning act of Slaveholding perfidy, is attended with one extenuating circumstance—the principal actors in the plot have frankly avowed that their object is to support Slavery, and the slaveholder. The question will then be submitted to the people of Ohio, whether they will continue to the people of Ohio, whether holy purposes. To such an alliance, former or such holy purposes, I hope Ohio will not yield her assent. The interests and the honor of the free States forbid it: justice and humanity forbid it: respect for the opinions of the civilized world, regard to the principles of our pilgrim fathers, venetion for the memory of our revolutionary ancestors forbid it. The history of past ages, our own experience, proclaim in thunder tones, the infamy and ruin that awaits the damning deed.

J. R. GIDDINGS.

Jefferson, August 28, 1845.

P. S.—In answer to Mr. Brown's note, I can only say, that I recollect a conversation with Miss Kelley, concerning the outrages committed upon the free States, in order to sustain Slavery. In that conversation, I expressed my views of the Union, and my wishes in regard to its continuance, with the same qualifications as I have stated them above, and not otherwise.

J. R. G.

NEW ENGLAND AND VIRGINIA.

A large number of New England and New-York farmers have, within a few years, gone into Virginia, principally Fairfax county, and purchased the waste land, that is, the land exhausted by bad cultivation. They have gone to work in the New-England style, with "their own hired" *help*, and are redeeming the soil, and bringing back the means of wealth which Providence placed in the bosom of the earth. The success of this enterprise has been beyond all expectation. The grateful earth responds bountifully to the fingers of the husbandman, and not a drop falls from his brow, that does not promote the fertility of the soil. A correspondent of the Alexandria Gazette, who is a close observer of this inroad upon the manners and customs of the Virginians, has written a series of admiring papers upon the improvements made, and recommends that Virginians shall adopt the mode of life, and encourage the means of labor, which proves to be so eminently successful to their new neighbors. He thus concludes one of his essays:—*Tribune.*

"Of late years, we have had frequent appeals to the people of Virginia to imitate the citizens of the Northern States in the improvement of our natural resources, by the construction of railroads and canals, by the establishment of manufactures, the improvement of our agriculture, and the extension of our commerce. But are we prepared to adopt the means essential to success? Are we willing to bring up our children to rely upon themselves? Can we substitute hired 'help' for servile dependents? Will we promote the mechanic arts by encouraging our own sons to learn them? And shall we be able to discard those prejudices by which honest labor has been depressed, and false notions of gentility engendered amongst us?"

From the Plain Dealer.

Mr. GIDDINGS'S LETTER.

It will be seen by the many and pointed interrogatories of this gentleman to us, that he is desirous of drawing out a general discussion on the subject of Slavery, and more particularly on the question as to how far the Constitution recognizes the "peculiar institution." We have no objection to such a discussion, feeling, as we do, that Mr. G.'s position is wholly untenable, and fearing nothing from the truth which, such a controversy if properly conducted, would necessarily elicit.

We have no time to-day to answer Mr. G.'s inquiries, but on a future occasion will pay our respects to him and his fanatical doctrines.

Mr. Gray:—I have just read in the "Liberty Herald," an extract from the Plain Dealer, containing your remarks upon my letter to the "Republican and Whig." You observe—"He (Giddings) says Slavery is sustained by encroachments on the Constitution, dictated by the South, and contends that this influence is stronger than the Constitution itself, and shows a disposition to abandon that instrument on this account."

You surely could not have designed to misrepresent me; but had you given my remarks to your readers, I am sure they would have drawn any other conclusion than the one at which you arrived. So far from abandoning the Constitution, I said, in express terms, "*I would maintain the Constitution in all its bearings!*" I am sworn to do that, and the only objection to our union with the slave States, was that they had entered into a compact, which almost continually to violate that instrument. Will you, and your readers, maintain the Constitution in all its bearings? If so, you must resist all encroachments upon the free States for the support of Slavery. Having stated that I would support the Constitution in all its bearings, I said I would not go beyond that. "*I said I would not yield a single right of the free States.*" Would you? I desire to understand on what point the issue is to be formed. I ask for as the Constitution goes—there I stop. If, Sir, you or any reader of this article, would go further, and violate our political compact by yielding up our own rights, I would not purchase a continuance of our union with the slaveholding States, much less, Sir, and we will then ask you, or any reader of your paper, to adhere to a Union without constitutional restrictions? If so, please express the sentiment, that we may understand the point on which we differ.

But you say, "Mr. Giddings talks of a dissolution of the Union, and hints at the existence of two Republics, a Northern and a Southern, with Constitutions antagonistical, as a practical thing. This we pronounce a dangerous dogma." Why it is a dangerous dogma? There are almost nine millions of freemen north of Masons and Dixon's line. Four-fifths of the whole revenue of the nation is paid in by them, and four-fifths of the physical power of the nation is in the free States. The danger, therefore, cannot be *to us*. But you say there would be war between the two Republics. But which of the two Republics would declare war against the other?

The slave States have about four millions of free population, and about three millions of slaves. These slaves are so many deadly enemies within the borders of the South, that it would, if we all know, require the whole military force of those States to keep the slaves in subjection. They would not be in a situation to go to war. They would have neither men nor money to carry on a war with us. As you will recollect, in 1775, South Carolina sent an agent to Congress expressly for the purpose of informing that body that they could furnish no troops against the common enemy, as it required all their men to hold their slaves in subjection. Such would be the helpless condition of the slave States at this time. They would be incapable of making war. If they were to do it, Massachusetts alone would conquer the whole Southern Republic in six months. They could not make war upon us: and I trust we should deal justly by them. If so, I repeat, there would be no danger of war. Nor do I believe there would be one-half the contention between the two Republics that exists at this day.

The change may be made. The two Republics may be formed, without even interrupting the employment of the great mass of the people. The great conflict between free labor and slave labor, which has existed since 1775, and which can never be reconciled, would then cease, and prosperity would again animate the Northern laborer. But as in my letter to the "Republican and Whig," I now say I would maintain the Constitution in all its bearings, and leave the slave States to continue or dissolve the Union, as they see fit. But I would have *constitutional* Union, or *dissolution*.

Very respectfully, J. R. GIDDINGS.

From the New-York Tribune.

ANTI-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT MEETING AT THE LYCEUM.

A meeting for the purpose of devising measures to procure the abolition of capital punishment in this and other States, was held last night (20th instant) in the Lyceum of Natural History. The large room was filled with a very influential and intelligent audience, a large number of which were ladies.

The Chair was taken by the President, Vice-Chancellor William T. McCoun, supported by Messrs. John B. Scott and Josiah Hansen, as Vice Presidents, and Mr. Josiah Hopper as Recording Secretary.

The Chairman in a brief and appropriate speech stated the objects of the meeting.

Rev. Thomas Cornell, then made an able speech against Capital Punishment, introducing extracts from the Report of the Committee of the Legislature of this State, on the subject of abolishing hanging.

Mr. Balch then introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the firm and settled conviction of this meeting, that the perpetuity of the death penalty is utterly inconsistent, with the benevolent spirit of the age, and in direct contravention of the teachings and aims of the Christian religion; and that therefore it is the duty of every friend of humanity to use his utmost endeavors to have this blood-spot wiped out from our statute-books.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has arrived which demands the most vigorous and united effort of the friends of the abolition of Capital Punishment; and that, therefore, the most efficient measures should be forthwith taken to bring the subject before the people of our State in such a way as to enlist their attention and action.

Resolved, That it is important that the subject should be agitated by lectures, discussions, circulation of documents, the collection of facts and statistics bearing on the question—and that, to this end, we earnestly recommend the immediate formation of societies in every city, town or hamlet in the State.

Resolved, That as the death-law can only be abolished by the Legislature, it is of the utmost consequence that petitions, praying that body to take immediate measures for the removal of this foul stain upon our Christian Commonwealth, be circulated among all our citizens, and forwarded by their respective representatives to the Legislature as soon in the month of January next as possible; that that body may fully understand the wishes of the people on this great question of life and death.

Resolved, That as the circulation of facts and arguments is essential to the right direction of the public mind on this subject, we recommend the publication, in cheap form, for general distribution, of the able and convincing Report of J. L. O'Sullivan, Esq. and other works advocating the same measure.

Resolved, That as funds are necessary for carrying out the object contemplated in the above resolution, the friends of the cause are urgently requested to forward the Executive Committee such sums as they may wish to appropriate to this purpose, for which there shall be forward ed to their address an equivalent in these documents at cost price.

Resolved, That the above resolutions, accompanied by a circular from the Executive Committee be printed and forwarded to all known active friends of this reform in this State; and that all editors willing to do so, are requested to publish the same in their respective journals.

The Rev. T. B. Thayer, in an able and eloquent speech, advocated the resolutions.

Mr. Balch followed in an earnest appeal to all to get up petitions in every town and village in the State. He also introduced the Report of the Committee appointing delegates to the National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 12th of November next, and presented the following names:

William T. McCoun, Horace Greeley, Benjamin Ellis, Jacob Harsen, M. D. Oliver Johnson, Rev William S. Balch, James G. McAdam, Isaac T. Hopper, Rev. Samuel H. May, William A. Conant, Sydney Howard Gay, Rev. T. B. Thayer, Freeman Hunt, William B. Burbank, F. C. Havemeyer.

Mr. Greeley followed with a few remarks on the necessity of requesting the Legislature to submit the subject to the people.

Mr. ——— then alluded to the two unfortunate men under sentence of death at Delhi, and presented petitions to Governor Wright for a commutation of their sentence, which were numerously signed.

Mr. Balch was appointed Corresponding Secretary in the absence of Mr. O'Sullivan.

Mr. Greeley then stated that Rev. Mr. Stetson and Rev. Gerrit Smith were expected here this week. He moved that the Executive Committee be instructed to call another meeting on this subject as soon as expedient.

The meeting then adjourned.

FREE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

We mentioned last week that such a meeting of the colored people was held in Geneva, on the 8th instant. The following is an abstract of their proceedings:

The following persons were chosen officers of the Convention:

President—AUSTIN STEWART, of Canandaigua.

1st Vice President—H. K. Thomas, of Buffalo.

2d Vice President—T. E. Grant, of Oswego.

Secretary—J. W. Duffin, of Geneva.

The correspondence which follows, was read, and ordered to be published in the proceedings:

Farmington, N. Y. Sept. 12, 1845.

Dear Sir:—The colored citizens of Western New-York, have called a Suffrage Convention, to be held at Geneva, on Wednesday, Oct. 8th, 1845, to adopt measures to secure for them the elective franchise.

Your known love of liberty, and hatred of oppression, have induced the committee to extend to you an invitation to be present at that Convention. And I hope, Sir, you will bestow one, when it comes, on the rights of the colored citizens of this State to the right of suffrage. Have pleased for you a home in the heart of every colored American.

I am, Sir, with respect,
Your obedient servant,
WILLIAM W. BROWN,
In behalf of Committee.

To Hon. Wm. H. Seward.

Auburn, Sept. 22, 1845.

Dear Sir:—Your letter in behalf of the colored citizens of Western New-York, inviting me to attend a convention of the friends of equal and universal suffrage, at Geneva, has been received.

Absorbing professional engagements oblige me to be content with the part of an observer, rather than an actor in public affairs. Therefore, I cannot properly venture upon the honor of accepting your invitation; but I tender you assurances of my hearty sympathy and co-operation.

The prejudices of white men in our country against your race, so groundless in reason, and nurtured so long, and so ingeniously, have produced just, and at last, intolerable self-punishment.

The free white laborer trembles, at the approach of every session of Congress, lest the planters of the South, voting for slaves, may deprive him of protection against the competition of half-paid and half-starved industry in Europe. The poor man of the North is denied liberty of speech in the House of Representatives, and the liberty of addressing any zone of the South on a common evil, through a free press. The commerce of the country, and all its vast interests of improvement, by railroads and canals, have been hazarded in the danger of a war for Slavery; and finally, that institution has secured a preponderating power in the Senate of the United States, by breaking down its high and glorious prerogative of making treaties with foreign States.

Here are the alarms, the injuries, and the dangers which perplex the white men of the North. None of them could have happened if the freed men of the North had enjoyed and exercised their inalienable right of suffrage. Their instinctive sympathies could not have been misled. When the white man reproaches you with your complexion, you may safely tell him that a dark skin never covered a doeface.

I confess, I look impatiently for the restoration of your right of suffrage. I see in its consequences not merely the elevation of a large portion of my fellow-men, to higher social virtues and enjoyments, in our own State, but also an influence which will strengthen our Republic, and direct it to be the banishment of human Slavery from the face of the earth.

Be assured, then, that the votes I shall cast for a Convention and a Constitution, which will be barbinge of such results, will be the most cheerful exercise of the elective franchise in my life.

I am, dear Sir, with many thanks for the great kindness expressed in your letter,

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. Wm. W. Brown, Farmington, Ontario Co.

The business committee then reported the following resolutions, which were taken up, discussed separately, and adopted:

Resolved, That the only thing for which a Government and laws are wanted is, for the protection of man in the rights which God has given him.

Resolved, That equality in the use of the elective franchise is the only true basis of a Democratic Government.

Resolved, That the extension of this right to one portion of the citizens of this State, and the withholding it from another, however small, is a shameful denial of the fundamental doctrines of genuine Republicanism.

Resolved, That the disfranchisement of the colored citizens of New-York was altogether uncalled for, and unjust, as forty-five years of equal suffrage fully prove.

Resolved, That the majority, by imposing a property qualification upon colored voters, whose greatly in the minority, while they will not observe the same qualification among themselves, betrays a spirit of despotism and oppression, which we can find in the most tyrannical and despotic Governments.

Resolved, That it is hypocritical for the people of this State to complain of oppression in foreign lands, while they are tolerating an invidious constitutional distinction in regard to the fundamental principles of the Government, which holds that all men are created equal.

Resolved, That we find no fault with the laws of the land, which welcome the oppressed of other nations (if they are white) to the benefits of our institutions, and which furnish a safe asylum; but we com-

plain that we, native-born citizens, are denied the same rights which are so largely and freely extended to foreigners.

Resolved, That the town Boards of the several towns in this State, upon which is devolved, by the statute, the duty of selecting from the tax lists, suitable jurors for the courts of record of the respective counties, in uniformly rejecting persons of color, without regard to their qualifications or good moral worth, have added greatly to the oppressions under which the colored people labor, and have thus given a semi-official sanction to the prevalent wicked prejudice against color, and thus grievously multiplied the disabilities of an injured people.

Resolved, That the property qualification required of colored voters, is unreasonable, unjustifiable, and unnecessary; draws one line of cast between blacks and whites, and another between colored men; and virtually says to the freeholders—Property, not intelligence, integrity, and patriotism, is the measure of the man.

Resolved, That we demand the restoration of our rights, at the hands of the people of the State of New-York, who, without any cause, took them from us, and have persisted in the wrong for the last twenty-four years.

Resolved, That to the non-possession of the elective franchise may be traced most of the degradation to which we, as a people, have been subjected, and is the fruitful source of unnumbered and unmitigated civil, literary, and religious wrongs.

Resolved, That in proportion as we are treated with disrespect, contumely, and neglect, in our political, literary, and ecclesiastical relations, from the want of the elective franchise; so would we command respect and influence, in these different relations, by the possession of it.

Resolved, That there is great hope for the politically oppressed, in their own exertions, relying upon the favor of Heaven, and appealing to the just sentiments of those in political power.

Resolved, That we hold the elective franchise as a mighty lever for elevating, in the scale of society, any people, and feel sensible that, without it, we are but unmanually free, the vital means of our improvement being paralyzed: we do therefore believe it obligatory on us, and do hereby pledge ourselves to each other, to use all just means in our power, by devoting a portion of our time, talent, and substance, to agitate this question, until we obtain a restoration of this inestimable boon.

Resolved, That in case a Convention should be called, it is the duty of every friend of equal suffrage to vote for those delegates, in the Whig or Democratic parties, that are in favor of extending to the colored people of this State, equal suffrage.

The following address was adopted by the Convention; and some arrangements were made for future meetings:—

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

FELLOW-CITIZENS of the State of New-York, we appeal to you to restore to us the elective franchise, which you have withheld from us for the last twenty-four years; we honor New-York and her noble institutions, but we cannot honor that spirit which actuates the majority, to take away the rights of the minority. To all her citizens the value of suffrage is valuable in proportion as she is free, but surely there are none who can so ill afford to spare it as ourselves; to deprive us of "equal suffrage," is a denial of the fundamental principles of genuine democracy. By depriving us of our rights you say "that all men are born free, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" when you have taken away an individual's right to vote, you have made the Government a despotism to him; to foreigners the want of the right may be tolerable, because a little time or labor will make it theirs; they look forward to the day when they can enjoy it, and hence they enjoy its benefits, but when a distinct class of the community, already sufficiently the objects of prejudice, are wholly and forever disfranchised and excluded to the remotest posterity, *from the possibility of a voice in regard to the laws* under which they are to live, it is the same thing as if their abode was transferred to the deserts of Arabia; they have lost their cheek upon oppression, their wherewithal to buy friends, their panoply of manhood—in short, they are thrown upon the mercy of swa away, but who will say more willingly submit to it for that?

We love our native country, much as it has wronged us, and in the peaceable exercise of our inalienable rights, we will cling to it.

We are citizens; this we believe would never have been denied, had it not been for the subserviency of the people of the free States to Slavery; but as our citizenship has been doubted by some who are not altogether unfriendly to us, we beg leave to submit some proofs which we think you will not hastily set aside.

We were regarded as citizens by those who drew up the Articles of Confederation by which the States in 1778; the fourth of the said articles contains containing the following language: "The free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States." That we were not excluded under the phrase "paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice," any more than our white countrymen, is plain from the debate that preceded the adoption of the article, for, on the 25th of June, 1778, the delegate from South Carolina moved the following amendment in behalf of their State:

In article 4th, between the words free inhabitants, insert "white." Decided in the negative—ayes, two States—nays, eight—one State divided. Such was the solemn decision of the Revolutionary Congress. On the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States no change was made as to the rights of citizenship. This is explicitly proved by the Journal of Congress. Take for example the following resolution, passed in the House of Representatives, December 21, 1803:

"On motion, resolved, that the committee appointed to inquire and report whether any further provisions are necessary for the effectual protection of American seamen, do inquire into the expediency of granting protection to such American seamen, citizens of the United States, as are free persons of color, and that they report by bill, or otherwise."—*Journal House Representatives, 1st session, 28th Congress.*

Proofs might be multiplied; in almost every State we have been spoken of, either expressly or by implication, as citizens.

What have we done, fellow-citizens, to forfeit the right of the elective franchise? Why should taxpaying colored men, any more than other tax-payers, be deprived of the right of voting for their representatives?

We ask your attention to facts and testimonies which go to show that, considering the circumstances in which we have been placed, our country has no reason to be ashamed of us. Our fathers shared with yours the trials and perils of the Revolutionary, and the last war; when our common country has been invaded by a foreign foe, colored men have laraded their lives in its defence, our fathers fought by the side of yours in the struggle which made us an independent nation, we offer the following testimonies:

Hon. Mr. Burgess, of Rhode Island, said on the floor of Congress, January 25th, 1828, that "at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, Rhode Island had a number of this description of people; (slaves,) a regiment were enlisted into the continental service, and no braver men met the enemy in battle; but not one of them was permitted to be a soldier until he had first been made a freeman."

Said the Hon. Charles Miner, of Pennsylvania, in Congress, February 7, 1828: "The African race make excellent soldiers, large numbers of them were with Perry, and aided to gain the brilliant victory on Lake Erie, a whole battalion of them was distinguished for its soldierly appearance."

The Hon. Mr. Clark, in the Convention which revised the Constitution of New-York, in 1821, said in regard to the right of suffrage of colored men: "In the war of the Revolution these people helped to light your battles by land and by sea. Some of your States were glad to turn out corps of colored men, and to stand shoulder to shoulder with them; in your late war they contributed largely towards some of your most splendid victories, on Lakes Erie and Champlain, where your fleets triumphed over a foe superior in numbers and engines of death; they were manned in a large proportion with men of color; and in this very house, in the fall of 1814, a bill passed, receiving the approbation of all the branches of your Government, authorizing the Governor to accept the services of 2,000 free people of color."

Said the Hon. Mr. Martindale, of New-York, in Congress, January 22, 1828: "Slaves or negroes who had been slaves, were enlisted as soldiers in the war of the Revolution; and I, myself, saw a battalion of them, as fine, martial-looking men as I ever saw attached to the northern army, in the last war, on its march from Plattsburg to Sacketts Harbor."

On the 20th of March, 1779, it was recommended by Congress to the States of Georgia and South Carolina to raise three thousand colored troops who were to be rewarded for their service by their freedom. The delegation from those States informed Congress that such a body of troops would be not only "formidable to their enemy, but would remove the danger of revolts and desertion" among the slaves themselves.—*See secret Journal of the old Congress, volume 1, pages* 105—107.

During the last war, the free colored people were called to the defence of the country by General Jackson, and received the following testimony to the value of their services:

Soldiers! when on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perilous duty of your white fellow-citizens, I did not conceal from you, for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy; I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger, and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign; I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear, his parents, wife, children, and property; you have done more than I expected. In addition to the qualities which I previously knew you to possess; I find moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads you to the performance of great things.

Soldiers! the President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the prize which your efforts deserve. Your General anticipates them in applauding your nobility, &c. By order, (signed)

THOMAS BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.

Are we to be thus looked to, for assistance in the "hour of danger," but trampled under foot in the time of peace? Did our fathers fight for American liberty that their children might be disfranchised and loaded with insults? Can the people of New-York justify themselves in preaching from us the birthright, civil liberty. We would respectfully ask you to look at the fact, that, while you deprive the colored American citizens, of the benefit of the elective franchise, you at the same time extend it to the foreigner, who may land upon our shores ignorant of our constitution and laws.

We lay hold of the principles which New-York asserted in the hour which tried men's souls, and which they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to sustain. We take our stand upon that solemn declaration, that to protect inalienable rights, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and proclaim that a government which tears away from us and our posterity the very power of consent, is a tyrannical usurpation which we will never cease to oppose.

From the Free Labor Advocate.

ADDRESS

Of the Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends held at Newport, from the first to the sixth of the ninth Month, inclusive. To Friends generally. To the members of the religious Society of Friends wherever these may come:

DEAR FRIENDS:—Being permitted through the goodness and mercy of God, to meet together in this our annual assembly, our minds have been turned in humble thankfulness to the Fountain of all good, who trust, a flow of that gospel love which knows no bounds, we have felt our hearts engaged to address you as brethren and sisters of the same household of faith.

We are aware that the present ruling influence in the different Yearly Meetings of the Society, has, from some cause or other, prevented that interchange of sentiment and reciprocity of Christian feeling between us and those bodies, which seems to us the cause of truth demands of those making profession of the same Christian doctrines and principles, and of supporting the same vital and precious testimonies: yet we doubt not but there are many of you whose hearts will respond to this our salutation of Christian affection and love.

In proportion as the advancement of the cause of Christian righteousness, we believe, would be promoted by such an interchange of sentiment, we feel ourselves bound to seek for mutual help and encouragement, and of thus stirring up in each other, the pure mind by way of remembrance.

Entertaining these sentiments, we feel engaged to call your attention to subjects which we deem of the greatest importance to the advancement of that cause which we, as professors of the Christian name, have espoused. The first to which we would allude, is that of the existence of Slavery throughout the world, and especially in professedly Christian communities. We are aware that you, as well as we, have long held a testimony against Slavery; we know but what, dear Friends, has been the amount of exertions which we have in time past put forth for its extirpation? Has our testimony been an efficient one? Do we not have to fear that the practice of that which is calculated to neutralize it, or at least refraining from any direct participation therein ourselves, quietly folded our arms in apathy, and suffered our neighbors, without rebuke, to continue the practice?

We apprehend a true response to these interrogatories would disclose an awful culpability, unless a want of thought and reflection upon the tendency of our action, or inaction, can exonerate us. We know that there have been honorable exceptions, but the main body of Friends, while lamenting the cruelties inflicted on the slave, have at least indirectly paid the master for the extorted fruit of that toil which had been performed under the infliction of the lash,—they have rendered the ungodly oppressor honorable, so far as the weight of their character—their elective franchise, and political influence could effect that object.

We apprehend these remarks are more or less applicable to Friends throughout the world; but it is to those in the United States that we would wish more particularly to refer. We do not make these remarks in a fault-finding disposition, for well do we know that we ourselves have been verily guilty concerning our brother, in time past, but surely we do say, in the language of the Apostle James, when exhibiting the necessity of faith, that we are addressing, on another subject: "Brethren, these things ought not so to be." Let us for our own encouragement, and for the encouragement of others, and uncompromising zeal of our worthy predecessors, in their active and aggressive opposition to every thing, both in Church and State, which they believed to be wrong. Were the laws under which they suffered, anything to compare, in regard to cruelty, with many of the laws in the Southern States of this Confederacy, under which our colored brethren continually groan? and yet their opposition was such, that they in most, if not every instance, which held all support from those enactments, consistent with their peaceable principles. But how has it been in the Church? Friends, we fear, have, in this instance, course, performed a large share in enacting those more cruel and oppressive laws, instead of refusing to comply with such regulations, and peacefully and faithfully suffering the penalty. There are particular laws, which, in regard to the slave States, but notwithstanding this has been their course, still they have professed to bear a firm and unflinching testimony against Slavery; and what would seem a more remarkable circumstance, many of them, having bequeathed to the slaves, so far as their own actions were concerned, the laws under which they groan, to avoid the direful consequences naturally arising from such a legacy, have left the country, and removed to free States; thus leaving the victims of such enactments to pine in chains, and drag out a miserable existence in the absence of those, who, had they remained, might at least have performed the part of the good Samaritan, in pouring in the oil and the wine.

But have they not, like the Priest and the Levite, passed by on the other side? Nay, have they not been more culpable? The Priest and the Levite had no hand in placing the man among thieves, but these doubtless have been active agents in reducing the slaves to their present condition. There surely is a very heavy responsibility resting upon Friends residing in the slave States. The Church of Christ must, and will be as the salt of the earth,—the light of the world, and as a city set on a hill that cannot be hid. Let your light so shine, dear Friends, in regard to this vitally important subject, that others seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in Heaven.

The slaves, your and our brethren, are in chains in your land, and they are thus conditioned, at least in part, through your instrumentality, and that of your ancestors, and it is works in their favor, and not mere words that are required at your hands. Where will be your joy in serving influence, as the salt of the earth, if you do not practically oppose those unjust and cruel enactments, let the consequence be what it may? Where will be your joy, as a city set on a hill, if you desert your brethren in bonds, for the sake of ease or convenience, if you withdraw your light on the subject, from the public mind, and leave it to grope in its present awfully dark and depraved condition? We are sensible in some degree of the trials to which you must be subjected in the support of a firm, unflinching, and aggressive testimony against this crying sin, and we desire, if possible, to strengthen your hands therein.

There is an awful and portentous cloud hanging over our country, and we are warranted in believing, that should it escape the threatened vengeance of Heaven, it will be through the condescending mercy and goodness of God, in consequence of the prayers, the intercessions, and renovating influence of the example and efforts of the few righteous that dwell therein, even as the presence of ten such would have saved the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly.

It is indeed a painful reflection, that Slavery, war, and intemperance should be, as at present, upheld by many of the professors of the religion of Jesus—that an appeal should be made to the Bible for a justification of such practices. No wonder that Infidelity is making such fearful inroads among the people, as is at present witnessed. For, let it once be understood that the religion of the Bible countenances practices notoriously inhuman and revolting, the ingenuous mind must at once reject it with feelings of disgust. Hence, dear friends of every country and description, as the cause of our holy Redeemer is near to our hearts, as we desire the extension and establishment of His kingdom on earth, let us labor with earnestness and zeal, and put forth every effort in our power, for the removal of these foul blots from the Christian name; omitting no opportunity of reproving and exhorting, in Christian meekness and love, all who are engaged in such practices.

But above every other consideration let us be careful, that while we are reproving others for wrong doing, we do not virtually support and uphold the same evils by our own actions, and thus unhappily condemn ourselves in the things which we allow.

There is yet another subject to which we wish to call your attention, and which we would venture to suggest has not claimed that consideration of Friends, which its importance demands. It is that of capital punishment; or the legal taking of life, for the commission of crime. This practice, so universal throughout all civilized, and professedly Christian communities, is most certainly contrary to the precepts of the Gospel. It was not Christ's mission, according to his own declaration, to destroy men's lives, but to save them; and if it is contrary to the spirit of Christ, to take life upon any occasion, how can it be possible that his followers can do it with impunity? To us it appears no better than a system of legalized murder; and we know no murder hath eternal life abiding in him. We could therefore, sincerely desire that Friends everywhere might be very careful, not to give countenance to such a practice, by attending places of public execution, or voting for those in legislators, who favor such a revolting and inhuman practice.—Finally, in conclusion, dear friends, may the God of Peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever, Amen.

Signed on behalf of the meeting.

WALTER EDGERTON, }
REBECCA EDGERTON, } Clerks.

TO POLISH MAHOGANY FURNITURE.—Rub it with cold linseed oil, and polish by rubbing with a clean dry cloth after wiping the oil from the furniture. Do this once a week, and your mahogany tables will be so finely polished that hot water will not hurt them. The reason is this: linseed oil hardens when exposed to the air, and when it has filled all the pores of the wood, the surface becomes hard and smooth like glass.

Communications.

Letter from Ireland.

DUBLIN, Sept. 30th, 1845.

FRIEND GAY:—I could not let the boat leave without sending you a few lines, to inform you of our labors and progress. We have been here in the city of Dublin one month, which is much longer than we expected to stop when we first arrived. The reason of our long stay is owing to the increased interest in the cause of emancipation in our country, occasioned by the lectures which Frederick has given.

It has been extremely difficult to move the people out, and it was some time before they came; but now the interest is very great. The people are like *Lebigh coal*, hard to ignite, but make a very hot fire when they are once under way. They are free, and generous, and are ready to do all they can, when they are well informed as to their duty. Great ignorance prevails among the great city, on the question of Slavery, the Anti-Slavery cause, our Constitution, and other obstacles which retard the progress of abolition. I think some light has been shed on the subject, and considerable interest created. Many of the first citizens of Dublin have attended our meetings, and given their countenance and support to help on the cause; among whom, none has rendered more prompt and efficient service, than the Lord Mayor of the City, who kindly consented to preside at our meeting on Tuesday evening last. He made a short speech, in which he said, that his mind had been called to the horrors of Slavery in the United States, by reading an account of the raising of some shackles from one of our Government vessels, (the Missouri,) on the coast of Calcutta, intended for the Slave-Trade, and he had been much enlightened by what he had heard that night, and should feel it his duty, in future, to bear a more decided and open testimony against American Slavery.

I have attended a great Repeal meeting in Conciliation Hall. When I arrived, although it was before the time appointed, the hall was crowded. I was introduced to the *Liberator*, and invited to take a seat with him on the platform. This gave me a fine opportunity to see and hear him to the best advantage. I had the greatest desire to hear the man, whom the world has acknowledged to be one of the greatest of the age. I will not attempt a minute description of the man, well knowing, that no pen of mine can do him justice. I have heard great men on our side the water. I have listened to the dark logic of a Webster, the smooth and classic speeches of a Choate, and the silver-strains, and beautiful periods of our own Phillips; but I *must* say, that for barning and withering denunciation of oppressors, and the fine and finished construction of his sentences, the rich tones of voice, and powerful gesture, I have never seen any man on our side the waters that exceeds him. He has been stopping at his farm in the country for some time, to recruit his health, preparatory to a series of monster meetings, which he has now commenced for the Fall. He is in fine spirits, and, although now about seventy years of age, he looks as fresh and vigorous, as though he was no old man forty. He expects to live many years to come. He says his family have a track of living until they are ninety. He says he never saw him than any other man in the kingdom. I send you a paper containing his speech. I think the *women-whippers* in our country must feel their degradation, when they find themselves held up to enlightened audiences throughout the civilized world.

Since we have been in this country, we have experienced the most marked respect by individuals of the first respectability, who would scorn from their presence the most aristocratic slaveholder, or his wicked apologist. You can have no just conception of the loathing which the people have of the hypocrisy of our Government. While we are boasting of our religious and political freedom, we are holding one out of *every six of our population, in the worst of bondage*, while we are proclaiming that the press, and the pulpit are free, and untrammeled, we are silencing every attempt to plead the cause of the oppressed, by the pistol, and bowie-knife.

Our hearts were made sad by the news of the suppression of C. M. Clay's paper. Oh! what a chivalrous set are those Kentuckians! what brave men to attack a man's property when he is sick, and confined to his bed. What a sublime position they now occupy before the world! coming together in regularly organized mobs, and then declaring that Mr. Clay had done nothing but what he had a perfect right to do, by the laws, and Constitution; and yet they send a Committee to steal his property in a genteel style, by the hands of sixty gentlemanly ruffians.

I am ashamed to own here, that I come from such a country, without telling the people that I am an Abolitionist. I dare not open my mouth against the many evils of the Government here, or say a word in favor of the many good principles in our own, lest I should be rebuked by the reply: "Oh! you come from the land of slaveholders, where children are sold by the pound, and women to suit purchasers." These things have rendered us despicable even in the eyes of despots, for no Government this side of the water, is mean enough to be guilty of the things practised in our own.

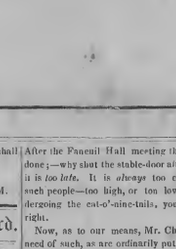
I have written thus far in great haste, but must stop in order to get my letters into the mail, which will close very soon. I will write you again, when I hope I shall be able to give you a more interesting letter.

Yours, for the right,

JAMES N. BUFFUM.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, OCT. 30, 1845.



Anti-Texas and Anti-Slavery action in Massachusetts.

The adjourned Middlesex Mass-Meeting at Cambridge.

All the leading men of the county who were present at the two previous meetings, were again on the spot, with the purpose of setting in motion the means of condensing the public sentiment of the State in such a shape as shall overpower all partisan lines of division, and freed from the delusive spell of political gradualism, shall tell immediately upon Congress, and compel that body of Whigdeism and Democracy to feel the people master and itself a servant.

The Hon. Henry Wilson took the chair, and William Schouler, Esq. of Lowell, the Secretary's desk.

A business committee, consisting of Messrs. Thomas S. Harlow, Hon. William Jackson, Messrs. Brown, of Lowell, Walcott, of Natick, and Farnsworth, of Groton, having been appointed, retired for the preparation of business.

Mr. GARRISON presented a resolution to the following effect:

Resolved, That should the perfidious and unlawful act of Texan annexation be consummated at the next session of Congress, it will be the duty of the Legislature of Massachusetts promptly to declare in the name of the people, such act null and void,—one that never can receive their sanction, be the consequences what they may.

The Committee retired for the preparation of business,—the Chairman, Mr. T. S. Harlow, stating as they did so, that they considered the ground of principle covered by the resolutions of the previous meeting, and should therefore merely present those covering the ground of action contemplated. It had been their purpose to prepare also a resolution similar to the one just offered by Mr. Garrison, but since it was already before the meeting, and would occupy the time in their absence, they should consider that as a sufficient basis for the discussion of provisional action in the last event.

Previous to the appointment of the business committee, Thomas S. Harlow, Esq. of Medford, spoke as follows:

The question, before the country, Mr. Chairman, is no longer whether the black race shall be emancipated, but whether the white race shall be enslaved. Southern policy is founded entirely on Slavery. It is not in one thing only, nor in one event only that this is made evident. Great slaveholding territory as one in a succession of events all tending inevitably towards the same conclusion. If these encroachments upon Northern rights go on, all is lost. The catastrophe may yet be averted by a great Northern party which should not submit to be carried bendlong by mere political leaders. If the spirit of Liberty is not dead, this is the course affairs will take. Time was, when all minor considerations gave way before the great question of Freedom. It was not dollars and cents, and cotton and sugar alone, that occupied men's souls; and I hope we shall find virtue enough in Massachusetts, in our time, to defy dollars and cents, and sugar and cotton, and *cotton manufactures* too. Something remains to be done by us, though the case has been assumed by political leaders to be desperate. The course of the South should be an example to us in our mode of procedure. *They* always go together as one man, when the support of *their* system and, it should now be our business to devise and pursue such a line of conduct to sustain ours, as that every man of right feeling and principle in the Whig and Democratic parties, shall feel the compulsion of his conscience upon him to pursue in this emergency. I will leave it to be developed by others, during the day, only stating that we are, in my apprehension, here, not to discuss the subject of Slavery mainly, but incidentally, as connected with the subject of Annexation. We are not here as Anti-Slavery men, but as freemen of the North.

After Mr. Harlow retired with the Business Committee, the Rev. CALEB STETSON, of Medford, spoke as follows:—

We have, Mr. President, a great many good words floating about in the community;—enough to make men think of what befel a crew wrecked once before, in northern latitudes. Six months after, when the chains of frost began to yield, there was a wonderful echoing, and voices were heard that could not overcome the coldness, when they first attempted to get a hearing. In this case, Sir, we find in like manner, that after long torpor the air seems unexpectedly full of words; and I hope they will all get thawed out before the great conflagration, and go sounding on, till they shall have awakened the whole people. Let them go forth, not to Whigs and Democrats, not to Liberty partisans, but to righteous men, till all shall become righteous through the righteous remonstrance. And it shall be so, fellow-citizens, if this "breath of the sweet South," has not scorched up the dews of humanity, which water men's hearts from heaven.

There was a Welsh captain I once read of, who had seen one PISTOL—ancient PISTOL—uttering such brave words at the bridge, that he thought on his conscience, that this ancient Pistol must be as valiant as Mark Anthony.

I remember those "words at the bridge," last winter—I was there—at the bridge of Faneuil! and so were you too, Mr. Chairman, and we did think to see gallant service done in consequence. I thought it was meant to make ourselves masters of the bridge, and maintain the mastership too; and shall it not be done yet, friends? I thought we *there* meant to waken the spirit of our old Commonwealth, and by her, the whole country, and I trust we *here* mean it still. We mean to shed no man's blood—to blow out no man's brains, after the *old* warlike fashion. We have better weapons than they had in the old times. We want the blood—the brain of every man to be those weapons. Let us magnetize them to the utmost: *they* are the instruments with which the warfare of humanity is to be carried on. There is not a man—there is not a woman—in New England, but has some circle where each can act with greater effect than any other person, and each is thus a missionary appointed by Providence to speed the redemption of the land. There are multitudes of such missionaries, as we know, Sir.—The spirit of Faneuil Hall is not dead, but sleepeth. If it were not so, that it *is asleep* for the moment, this Hall would not—yonder Common would not be large enough to contain us. But we are not overwhelmed by numbers, because the people have not been awakened, and informed that the danger is imminent. When some spoke last winter, before the Faneuil Hall meeting, of the necessity of immediate action, they were told "the time had not arrived:—there was no danger;—it was *too early* to act." After the Faneuil Hall meeting they said, the thing is done;—why shut the stable-door after the steed is stolen? it is *too late*. It is *always* too early, or too late with some people—too high, or too low. Like the man undergoing the cat-o'-nine-tails, you never can hit them right.

Now, as to our means, Mr. Chairman. There is no need of such, as are ordinarily put in use. They are unsuited to the work. We shall go on, I hope, on common grounds, without party organization, party candidates, or party nominations, gathering up the whole public feeling of the State, so that the very next Congress shall be instructed by it. Let this be done, without party machinery, or party feelings, and it will be *impossible* for the Congress of the United States to admit Texas as a *slave State*. (Applause.) *That* is the one purpose in crowding onward the catastrophe—the extension of Slavery—so says one of the organs of the Democratic majority, that helped to hasten it—the Democratic Review. It was the avowed object, to extend the area of freedom. The writer says it was a blunder, (worse, as Fouché said, than a crime,) to put it on that foundation. Here, we as openly take our stand. *It shall not be admitted because* it is a slave State! (Applause.) But Government means to go and commit as in this matter, and we are to become part and parcel of a slaveholding nation.

Shall we bear this? Some say, *It is done;* and we mind, I say, so I—(applause:) *It is not done!*—and if it were, it might be undone. *Righteousness enough*, is all that is wanting to prevent, or undo it! I will meet all questioners, as to admission of Texas, as a slaveholding State, with a NO! And it shall be in the words (not the sense) of Carlyle—AN EVERLASTING NO! It shall have all the might of affirmation! (enthusiastic applause.)

If we are overcome in this contest, it can be only because of pecuniary influences, and political temptations, which paralyze every free tongue. But carry into every parish, every town, every county of this State, a spirit which shall loose men's tongues—get a strong expression of State opinion and feeling, of FREE opinion and feeling, and Texas *cannot* be annexed.

But grant it be; will this work have been done in vain? No, I say! No good effort can fail so long as a righteous God lives. It may not work out what we look for, but every righteous word men speak, and every righteous deed, shall go sounding through the universe, to fulfil yet grander and more benevolent purposes than yours and mine, in the counsels of infinite Providence.

What if our immediate purpose fail? our life of protest and labor for the right cannot fail. It shall raise up a generation of brave and faithful hearts, to carry on our work in the coming age. Its effect shall not be limited by space, any more than it shall be clocked by time. Will ideas stop at geographical boundaries! Will the flood of *feeling* roll back at Mason and Dixon's line! Will *thought* regard the slave-laws! No! it will go sounding on, till it accomplishes whereunto it was sent.

But can you hope, by the introduction of a foreign State, to make us all slaveholders? We declare it is impossible. We will sever that cord by which you hope to bind us. Where we have been doubly joint-stockers, shall we *undow* by joint resolution, or we will cut the Gordian knot of slaveholding policy which we cannot untie.

Our resolve is unchangeable: not so that of the advocates of Texan annexation. As they have changed once, so barely, under the pressure of circumstances, so they may again; *for we mean* what we say when we declare, (I quote the very words of the party now in power,) that "*under no circumstances whatever*, will we consent to the annexation of the slaveholding territory of Texas." (Applause.)

Mr. Stetson was followed by Mr. Lovejoy, of Cambridgeport, who expressed the feeling that it was too late. There were but two courses for Massachusetts—either to withdraw from the Union, and to stand alone, or to take up arms, and to stand alone. Let the Union be broken down by joint resolution, which shall tend to bring out the exact truth as to our purposes, and nothing more. He did not wish to bring in any Southerners or opposers to intermeddle and frustrate them. This preliminary question is, whether we shall annex all creation to this meeting. I say no, for the sake of speedy and effectual action. If all men from the free States discuss with us, and the vote be made up of Middlesex men, that will meet my views.

Mr. BRADBURN, said something which the reporter did not hear.

Mr. E. R. HOAR, said this was a meeting of men who had rights, and were determined to maintain them.

Mr. GARRISON, presumed that no person present from beyond the limits of the county, had the slightest idea of voting. He advocated Mr. Schouler's proposition.

The President pro tem, Hon. Henry Wilson, put the question, and it was so decided.

Mr. T. S. HARLOW read the resolutions embodying a plan for immediate county action upon the State; and remarked that the county gentlemen knew and believed, that there was right sentiment enough in the county, so far as this plan went, to carry it triumphantly, if that sentiment could but be disconnected from party trammels and ties. We would enlarge our committees of correspondence—call meetings in every parish, every town, every county;—thus prepared, we would all, throughout the State, unite in an over whelming State Convention, planting ourselves in Faneuil Hall, and it would be found that the voice of Massachusetts was not dead, merely because there had been no powder burnt or blood spilt, since the Faneuil Hall Convention. We are said to be a *cold* people: it may be so—but once warmed, we are not easily chilled again. Once aroused, we are not readily put to sleep again. Our warmth and energy will be felt beyond the State. Our voice will rally a GREAT FREEMAN'S PARTY of the North, from which the Southern men who will, shall not be excluded. (Applause.) We will sustain no party or course which does not repel Texas. Let all public men understand this, and we shall not find them eating their own words. The resolutions I have presented point out the way of concentrating this spirit, *which we know does not sleep*. Other ways may be suggested and discussed, but we of Middlesex county do not contemplate dissolution of the Union in *this* movement.

Mr. Harlow then spoke of the wrongs, we alone of all people, undergo from the South. What English sailor was ever taken from an English vessel, and thrown into jail in Southern ports? How long, in such a case, would it have been, before a declaration of war followed? *Endurance had ceased to be a virtue, but we would endure one more hour for the sake of the* present effort.

We regret not to be obliged to abridge, and omit so much that would be desirable to have preserved in the foregoing.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Middlesex county, would move the acceptance of the plans of the Business Committee, for this reason, that they were practicable. We lose the confidence of practical men, if we adopt those which are not so. The other resolution was like an unknown quantity in mathematics. The first thing done should be to throw it out in solving our practical problem. We might be defeated—we need not *slay* defeated. We should emulate old Blucher, who was *beaten*, but never *conquered*; however often beaten, he always rallied next day. Like him, we should find a Waterloo somewhere, for the advocates of Slavery, and we would never quit the field till we had found it.

There is not a Whig speaker who, and at length; but we have been obliged to abridge, so as to do justice only to the idea.

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Boston, rose, and said that he was somewhat peculiarly circumstanced in this Convention, representing, as he did, through the kindness of his constituents, those who had expressed in the Legislature, the opposition of Massachusetts to Annexation, and, who had been severely reflected on in the course of these discussions. Gentlemen present, have not in his estimation, the right to indulge in these reflections. The Legislature had supposed, in the past action of that body against Texan Annexation, that it represented the people of Massachusetts. It had relied on boys of the story, who, all the preliminaries arranged, did not come to blows, because "one was afraid, and the other durst not." It needed but men to go ahead, and pioneer the way for them, and they would be found in the right spot, if for no other reason, because they could not help it. Those who go ahead, will be called Nullifiers; he accepted the term, if it meant to refuse to sustain that mockery of a Government which was striving to make Texas to be thought something of good Government, and if he were to be a fighting man, he must, in consistency, take arms in its defence, and against this existing *form* of it, all blasted up with iniquities. He then drew a graphic picture of a military review, and all its fantastic trickery, and ridiculed the absurdity of men who trained themselves for fight, and when the time came for fighting in a noble cause, had no heart for it. He was for taking strong action to-day—not only against Texas, but ulterior action, embracing the whole scope of the question. He felt faith and hope growing stronger in his bosom—we should make this the Rubicon, and the next and the next meeting would be more powerful still; we should ere long have a response from Maryland and Kentucky. He hoped there would be no party organization—this whole matter lay deeper than party could reach. We must not foolishly attempt to stop the mere volcanic eruption at the crater. We must go deep down to the infernal central fires of a corrupt public sentiment.

We regret to be prevented by want of room and time, from giving Mr. White's exact words, but the above is a brief sketch of the tenor of his remarks, which were suspended on the entrance of Mr. Thomas S. Harlow, from the Business Committee, with a plan of immediate action.

Mr. Bradburn, then made a very amusing but not very reformatory speech, setting forth "the impracticability of doing anything when ninety-nine one hundredths of the community were opposed;" and that in such a case, it was not worth while to offer a proposition. In one hundred—one thousand—one hundred thousand instances, our rights had been more greatly outraged than by the annexation of Texas. We had no rights left.

Mr. Bradburn insinuated in particular the treatment of his colored mariners at the South, which our readers will recollect came particularly under his cognizance as one of the legislators of Massachusetts, and on which he is, from that knowledge, peculiarly qualified to speak.

The Rev. Barzillai Frost, of Middlesex county, spoke ably upon the importance of a common ground, and the preservation of individual freedom; of keeping to the point, and not launching out into generalities. He did not think it worth while to attempt the impracticable, but the plan of the Committee for condensing and directing public sentiment against Annexation, was not in his view, impracticable; and that was the point of the meeting.

Mr. Harlow, of Middlesex county, moved that all citizens present agreeing with us, be invited to participate in the discussions.

Rev. CALEB STETSON, of Middlesex county, hoped that the should not exclude any who might be present of opposite views.

E. R. HOAR, Esq. of Middlesex county, had no objection to any arrangement, provided it did not interfere with our purpose—the bringing of Middlesex county to act upon the Commonwealth, and through her on the country.

Mr. E. WRIGHT, thought all present were sufficiently agreed in opinion to be able to act advantageously together.

W. A. WHITE, Esq. of Middlesex county, proposed that it be a general discussion and a county vote.

WILLIAM SCHOULER, Esq. of Middlesex county, did not believe that there were a hundred persons in the county who were in favor of Annexation, if the question could be fairly put to them, independently of other questions. He would have it put to them, having that done by rational action, the part of which consisting of such resolutions bearing upon their face the exact truth as to our purposes, and nothing more. He did not wish to bring in any Southerners or opposers to intermeddle and frustrate them. This preliminary question is, whether we shall annex all creation to this meeting. I say no, for the sake of speedy and effectual action. If all men from the free States discuss with us, and the vote be made up of Middlesex men, that will meet my views.

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them. It had been disappointed in them. "We fought," continued Mr. Adams, "the battle last year, and lost it; and I will not say why we lost it. But I will say your situation is owing to your own party divisions, and I will add, that unless you can agree *to act together*, you will be defeated always in like manner. Look at Massachusetts! divided into, I know not how many parties, and then look at the South united in all that concerns Slavery, as the heart of one. My friend's resolution, (alluding to the one offered by Mr. Garrison,) will not unite us all, and, therefore, I am not for making it the basis of this day's action. But union is the indispensable requisite for any effectual action.

It does not become us, Sir, to speak in very strong terms in view of the divided condition of our State. We should lower our tone if we would have a correspondence between our language, and the reality of the case. How shall we be able to meet it, if we allow every little question to take the precedence of the great one of Slavery, and Anti-Slavery, now before the nation? We should have a feeling of the relative importance of things; and it is my misfortune to see that this State has not yet got to that feeling.

Such, and such men, I hear gentlemen say, have done so, and so: Well! would they have done so, had public sentiment sustained them in the course of opposition to Southern encroachment, with which they commenced?

It becomes you to look forward, Sir, in this emergency. It might not be impossible, that you might call your proposed Convention in Faneuil Hall, while a Governor and Legislature, should be co-operating with the South *for* Annexation, from the State-House. I repeat, Sir, that you have got to begin on a very low tone; separating your action entirely from political partisanship, and resting it wholly on the strong moral ground. This is what is more than anything necessary; and if we can prevail on our people to view it so, and to act in consistency with that view, then, Sir, the case is settled rightly; but if not, it will certainly go against us."

MR. GARRISON, adverting to Mr. Adams's remark on the resolution he had presented, said:—"Sir, this resolution does but speak of Legislative duty; it does but say what Massachusetts OUGHT to do; and will my friend object to its passage *here*, who has so eloquently advocated its adoption in the Legislature ere now? Will he shrink from a fresh advocacy of it here, or anywhere, because the people will not sustain it? What if they will not? Have we not an individual duty to perform, each one of us here? and surely, so had the members of our Legislature, in the years that have just passed."

MR. E. WRIGHT, said that he was one of those, who could not trust the party leaders of the last years. That was his motive for doing as he had done.

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, disclaimed any impeachment of gentlemen's motives for the course he had disapproved.

Mr. Wright, was quite ready to forgive the gentleman, and hoped the gentleman was equally ready to forgive him, they might go on together on the lower tone. Mr. Wright thought the question of Annexation had never been fairly presented to the Democratic mind of the country. It had been made acceptable to their Anglo-Saxon prejudices, that Texas should be annexed, by representing it as extending the area of freedom, and they were befooled by this false issue. But on the naked question, divested of its mask, the response would be different. The people have a right to say, that Texas shall not come with its rascality upon it, and have you so little faith in man, as to believe that the Democrats will not be true to their Democratic principles, on the naked question? A plan had been adopted by the Liberty party, which was feasible, and there were a sufficient number here to start the machinery. It was, to have some man at the polls on election day, to take the names of every voter opposed to Annexation, and the women could get the names of their own sex. This was the idea started *at the recent* Liberty party Convention, and it had received a favorable response. Mr. Wright then read a letter from Woonsocket, enclosing money to carry on the plan.

Mr. Wright closed, by saying that as far as this effort was concerned, he knew that Liberty party was willing to be merged; and this was what he called a practical view of the case. We give Mr. Wright's idea, in our own words though.

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS agreed in thinking so too, and hoped that a committee would be appointed, to use the time between now and the next session of Congress, in building up a public sentiment against Texas, though he should also advocate the course proposed by Mr. Garrison's resolution, as indicating the right course for Massachusetts to take. If our fathers, in their day, had done it, we had not have stood thus humbled to-day before the slave power. We should do it in ours, for this reason:—that we may preserve our own souls: The Whigs and the Democrats should do it, even for the preservation of all *they* value. As long as men lie in the lap of Delilah, they may be sure they will have their locks shorn. What cares the South for all you can do while under her sceptre? Till a body of men deny its authority—till this body says COME OUT, there is very little hope; therefore it is, I say, COME OUT!—that you may save your integrity alive: COME OUT—that your own virtue may not be a matter of history six months hence.

I hear one and another asking about results, but I say, Sir, nothing can result for the cause of Freedom, unless men refuse to be counted in the number of Slaves.

I honor the high feelings of our Adams's, and our Allens, and many others, and I honor them—but I dare affirm of any men, that unless their feelings are strong enough to override all party divisions for their country's salvation, themselves will add fresh names to the list of those who have yielded to political temptations.

It has been called impracticable to obtain action of sufficient strength to check the onward steps of Texan annexation. I grant we cannot do it alone. I agree that five men out of six are dead to the claims of the moment—the Democrats, because they are gaining power, the Whigs, because they are making money.

I heard it asserted that five-sixths of the community, say ninety-nine hundredths were against us. I know it—there is hardly one in a hundred ready to break his party ties, or abandon his sectarian organizations. But I know what might make them—the presentation of men to lead them on, whose names are associated with Anti-Slavery, and unassociated with the odium that inevitably gathers round the name of him who has labored for the down-trodden for a long course of years.

If we can do this—if we can place on this committee names that are broadly known through the land—idolized, and loved, it may be of some effect:—Otherwise, the effort will be but a waste of time.

The hour of adjournment is now at hand, and I hope the interval between this time and the afternoon meeting, will be used practically, in drafting into this service, gentlemen's names that shall give a fresh infusion of that power of character which the people at large know how to estimate—names yet unhackneyed in the advocacy of the Anti-Slavery cause; otherwise it is of no use. I sympathize with those whose names are most intimately associated with the Anti-Slavery cause—but the people *don't*. Find such names as I just indicated, and go forward.

Mr. Phillips went on to illustrate, most eloquently, from English history, the present position of the country, and hoped for so strong a demonstration against Texas as should startle Winthrop from his treason, and make Choate tremble out of his nonentity. (Long continued applause.)

As to disunion, he continued, it must and will come. Calhoun wants it at one end of the Union—Garrison wants it at the other. It is written in the counsels of God. Meantime, let all classes, and orders, and interests unite in using the present hour, to prevent the consummation of this Annexation of Texas. (Continued cheering.)

Mr. E. WRIGHT said that in this way the advocates of Annexation were baffled in 1837.

☞ *[And all our readers will recollect how in 1838 and '39, and up to the present hour, Mr Elizur Wright has labored, both at home and abroad, by calumny and misrepresentation, to break up the very movement on common ground, that procured that action of 1837, and which is, at this hour, the only movement on common ground, for the abolition of Slavery. All who heard it, will recollect his evening speech at the last New England Convention.*—ED. STANDARD.]

MR. T. S. HARLOW, of Middlesex county, moved the appointment of a committee, for the addition to the committee of nine, of such names as should be judged requisite.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq. of Boston, said that there was no general State Committee existing, and that it had occurred to him that a jealousy might exist in the minds of men throughout the State, if Middlesex county should undertake to act for Massachusetts. The plan that had been last named was one that had been presented by his friend Mr. Sewall to the Liberty party Convention, and was by that body adopted with a proviso for the enlargement of the Liberty party Committee with the names of gentlemen from the other parties. But it had been found that an unwillingness existed to act as part of the organization of the Liberty party, and it had been, in consequence, suggested that *this* movement in Middlesex, was the movement with which in co-operate. He thought further, that all possible jealousies might be prevented by one more arrangement which he was about to propose.

It was, that this Convention adjourn for the purpose of immediately reorganizing as a State Convention, to take the requisite steps for the execution of the plan just presented.

WILLIAM SCHOULER, Esq. of Middlesex county, hoped that this motion would not prevail, since no such formalities of arrangement could alter the facts of the case. We could not really turn a County Convention into a State Convention by such a procedure.

E. R. HOAR, Esq. remarked that it was not our responsibility what gentleman chose to do in the interval between the meetings.

MR. T. S. HARLOW, of Middlesex county, said the motion before the Convention was to appoint a new Committee of three, to select more parties.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq. of Boston, said he would move an adjournment, and then that Committee could be with more propriety selected, as we could not with propriety act in our present capacity as a State Convention.

EDMUND QUINCY, said that it would be well to have a clear understanding as to what was contemplated, since it seemed to him, that by the last proposed arrangement there might be a clashing of the two Committees acting on the same ground. We must take care not to interfere with any already existing arrangement in this case. He thought there could be no difficulty in the matter, and that we had better go on in the common channel marked out by the previous action.

Mr. Garrison rejoiced that old Middlesex should have the glory of leading in this movement for Liberty, as she had in old times, but hoped no jealousies about technicalities would mar a united effort. We had better dissolve at once if that were the case. It was melancholy and discouraging to have petty jealousies arise.

Ellis Gray Loring, Esq. had the most entire respect for the nine gentlemen composing the first Committee, and hoped they would all serve on the second.

The dinner hour having nearly arrived, the Convention adjourned to meet in the afternoon. The meeting, composed of those gentlemen who remained after the adjournment, immediately reorganized.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq. of Boston, was called to the chair, and Edmund Quincy, of Norfolk county, nominated Secretary. Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. of Boston, read a series of resolutions, by which ——— were appointed as a State Committee. Mr. Sewall spoke warmly and *eloquently in support of the action recommended by the* resolution. His faith in the moral nature was strong.—We must rely on the moral principle. We had trusted too much to politics.

Mr. GARRISON hoped we should do nothing justly liable to exception. The chairman of the morning Convention had intimated to him that this was thought an unfair proceeding, and one that had no tendency to allay jealousies. He should hesitate.—

E. G. Loring, Esq. the Chairman of the noon meeting, said he must, as a question of order say, that

Poetry.

TUBAL CAIN.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

Old Tubal Cain was a man of might
In the days when earth was young;
By the fierce red light of his furnace blight
The strokes of his hammer rung;
And he lifted high his brawny hand
On the iron glowing clear,
Till the sparks rushed out in scarlet showers,
As he fashioned the sword and spear.
And he sang—"Hurra for my handiwork!
Hurra for the spear and sword!
Hurra for the hand that wields them well,
For he shall be king and lord!"

To Tubal Cain came many a one,
As he wrought by his roaring fire,
And each one prayed for a strong steel blade
As the crown of his desire;
And he made them weapons sharp and strong,
Till they shouted loud for glee,
And gave him gifts of pearl and gold,
And spoils of the forest free.
And they sang—"Hurra for Tubal Cain,
Who has given us strength anew!
Hurra for the smith, and hurra for the fire,
And hurra for the metal true!"

But a sudden change came o'er his heart
Ere the setting of the sun,
And Tubal Cain was filled with pain
For the evil he had done;
He saw that men, with rage and hate,
Made war upon their kind,
That the land was red with the blood they shed,
In their lust for carnage blind.
And he said—"Alas! that ever I made,
Or that skill of mine should plan,
The spear and the sword for men whose joy
Is to slay their fellow-man!"

And for many a day old Tubal Cain
Sat brooding o'er his woe;
And his hand forbore to smite the ore,
And his furnace smoulder'd low.
But he rose at last with a cheerful face,
And a bright, courageous eye,
And bared his strong arm for the work,
While the quick flames roared high.
And he sang—"Hurra for my handiwork!"
And the red sparks lit the air;
"Not alone for the blade was the bright steel made!"
And he fashioned the first plough-share.

And men, taught wisdom from the past,
In friendship joined their hands,
Hang the sword in the hall and the spear on the wall,
And plough'd the willing lands;
And sang—"Hurra for Tubal Cain!
Our staunch good friend is he;
And for the ploughshare and the plough
To him our praise shall be.
But while oppression lifts its head,
Or a tyrant would be lord,
Though we may thank him for the plough
We'll not forget the sword."

From the Democratic Review.

THE SHOEMAKERS.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

Ho! workers of the old time styled
The Gentle Craft of Leather!
Young brothers of the ancient guild,
Stand forth once more together!

In the olden, merry manner,
Once more on gay St. Crispin's day
Fling out your blazoned banner!

Rap, rap! upon the well-worn stone
How falls the polished hammer!
Rap, rap! the measured sound has grown
A quick and merry clamor.
Now shape the sole! now deftly curl
The glossy vamp around it,
And bless the while the bright-eyed girl
Whose gentle fingers bound it!

For you along the Spanish Main
A hundred keels are plowing:
For you the Indian on the plain
His lasso-coil is throwing:
For you deep glens with hemlock dark
The woodman's fire is lighting;
For you upon the oak's grey bark
The woodman's axe is smiting.

For you from Carolina's pine
The resin-gum is stealing,
For you the dark-eyed Florentine
Her silken skein is reeling:
For you the dizzy goatherd roams
His rugged Alpine ledges;
For you round all her shepherd homes
Bloom England's thorny hedges!

The foremost still by day or night
On mounted mound or heather,
Where'er the herd of trampledight
Breaks forth to fling men together,
Where the free burghers from the wall
Defied the mail-clad master,
Than yours, at Freedom's trumpet call,
No craftsmen rallied faster!

Let foppings sneer, let fools deride,
Ye heed no idle scorner,
Free hands and hearts are still your pride,
And duty done, your honor.
Ye dare to trust for honest fame
The jury Time empanels,
And have to Truth each noble name
Which glows on your hallowed annals.

Thy songs, Hans Sachs, are living yet,
In strong and hearty German,
And Bloomfields lay, and Gifford's wit,
And the rare good sense of Sherman;
Still from his book, a mystic spell,
The soul of Behemen teaches,
And England's pristers at quakes to hear
Of Fox's leathern breeches.

The foot is yours; where'er it falls
It treads your wrought leather
On earthen floor or marble halls,
On carpet or bleacher.
Go carpet, sweet charm is found
Still there the grace or vestal's,
Of more than nectar crowned
Are those old celestials!

Ray, rap!—your stout and bluff brogan,
With hobnail step slow and weary,
May wander where the sky's blue span
Shuts down upon the prairie.
Yet stepping shine on beauty's foot,
By Saronna's fountain!
Or lead, ice-glow-flakes falling mute,
The dance on Catskill mountain!

The red brick to the mason's hand,
The block earth to the tiler's;
The shoe upon shall stand with command
Like fairy Cinderella's!
As they who shaped the household maid,
Behold their shoon upon her,
So all shall see your toil repaid
With health, and home, and honor.

Then by the toast be freely quaffed
In water cool and brimming:
"All honor to the good old craft,
Its merry men and women!"
Call out again your long array
In the old time pleasant manner;
Once more on gay St. Crispin's day
Fling out his blazoned banner!

Miscellany.

MARIE;
OR
Slavery in the United States.

BY GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.

Author of Travels in Ireland; and, in conjunction with de Tocqueville, of "Penitentiary System of the United States."

(Translated for the Standard.)

CHAPTER XI.—[Concluded.]

The Trial—in Continuation.

"In England, where birth and wealth are all in all; the upper classes, with their elegance of manners, can with difficulty bear with the ordinary ones of the cit, and the plebeian; the latter feel constantly the need of an excuse for their condition.—In America, on the contrary, it is the rich man who has to ask pardon for his luxury and his polish of manner. In England, sovereignty comes from above; in the United States, from below.

"The cause that renders the Americans eminently sociable, is, perhaps, the same which prevents them from being polished: there is no privileged class to excite envy, but then there is no superior class to serve, by its elegance, as a model for the rest.

"For my own part, I prefer, I acknowledge it, the involuntary coarseness of the plebeian, to the insolent politeness of the courtier.

"I further admire in among the Americans, a quality most valuable in a free people—good sense. I believe that in no country in the world does there exist so much of reason, universally diffused, as in the United States.

"There are countries of Europe in which the same moral or political question receives a thousand different and contradictory solutions. One is sure, on the contrary, to find the Americans agreed on almost all the principles of public and private life. You will find no one who denies the utility of religious faith, and the obligation to respect the laws.

"Every man knows all that is going on in his country, weighs it with sagacity, and speaks of it only with reserve, and after reflection.

"The Americans have the habit and the love of travelling, and almost every man has, at least once in his life, traversed the space between the Canada frontier and the Gulf of Mexico. This experience adds to the natural correctness of their good sense. You find among them no exclusive admiration for the old, nor stupid astonishment at the new; neither inveterate prejudices, nor ridiculous superstitions.

"The excellence of their good sense is owing, perhaps, to the fewness of their passions; what leads me to think so is, that overcome by national pride, while the quick flames mounted high, and he sang—"Hurra for my handiwork!"

And the red sparks lit the air;
"Not alone for the blade was the bright steel made!"
And he fashioned the first plough-share.

And men, taught wisdom from the past,
In friendship joined their hands,
Hang the sword in the hall and the spear on the wall,
And plough'd the willing lands;
And sang—"Hurra for Tubal Cain!
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Once more on gay St. Crispin's day
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From the Saturday Emporium.

THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.*

BY REV. FREDERICK W. HOLLAND.

We have waited long in patient expectation that this subject would be treated by some powerful pen in our favorite journal. But, as yet, this branch of reform has called forth fewer writers than any other. Only here and there one has risen to notice on either side of the subject, by presumption or prejudice, by fervent humanity or stoic severity, by generous courtesy or overbearing dictation toward opponents. And, if we mistake not, there is a growing desire to see and know, and hear and judge, far beyond the means of present gratification. After the excitement of a protracted debate, we are very likely to over-estimate the interest of the community in a subject which has interested us so deeply, but no other philanthropic discussion seems to meet with such eager, divided, and passionate treatment. Our present purpose is, in the briefest possible compass, to present some of the strongest objections to what has been strangely enough termed a signal emblem of Christian civilization. We shall give, without the loss of formal quotation, the leading points in the graceful essay of Dymond, the sophistical reasoning of Cheever, the miscellaneous collection of Speer, and the masterly report of O'Sullivan: that is, we shall make the best possible use of the best materials at hand.

There is no little rubbish to be removed at the start. The advocates of the gallows lean confidently upon a certain prediction in the ninth chapter of Genesis, which they translate into a command; and, upon the injunction of blood for blood, in the Jewish code. These they regard as sufficient justification for the custom in all coming time. Six thousand more years of progress would not pass, they think, this fixed point: the very highest imaginable development of society would not outgrow this ancient warning against the crime of Cain.

We will not be needlessly tedious in these drier matters. The Rev. G. B. Cheever thus speaks of the passage in Genesis, "Whoso shedeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." The Spirit that drew the rainbow across the sky in sign that storms prepare to part, wrote this statute in lines no more to be effaced till the destruction of all things, than the colors of the rainbow can be blotted from the sky, while lasts the constitution of this physical universe. Another of the phrases in the text is that might fill man's soul with terror, this bow of mercy should span the clouds with glittering arch, so that in every storm of human passion that rises to the violence of death, this statute, as a bow of promise, is God's assurance to the world against the anarchy of murder." This is strong, bold, distinct language. It asserts for what, as a prophecy, was and is singularly true, the authority of a universal, illimitable, everlasting edict of Heaven. He forgets to observe that the 5th, 5th, and 6th verses each contain, according to this reasoning, a universal law; and yet, we presume to select one and reject the others, without any apparent discrimination in the second mentioned, without any pretended permission from Deity. We cat the blood of beasts, though this passage in Genesis expressly forbids it; and, we not only do not require, we do not permit, "every man's brother" to take the life of the murderer of his relative. This essentially shatters, if it does not overthrow, the main position of the advocates of capital punishment. They pick out one pretended injunction from a multitude of contradictory ordinances, and commence their graveyard atmosphere over the whole; and this, forsooth, is perpetual, the rest temporary—this society cannot outgrow, the rest society has cast off as a worn-out cloak—this was positively designed for all the living and to live, those only for that dispensation and the next.

But, we have something more positive to offer. "Whoso shedeth man's blood by man shall," &c. It may be willful blindness, but we cannot possibly see anything in this save a prophecy similar to the words of the covenant, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword;" a prophecy of what ordinarily to occur under the righteous government of God, and his permission of what free play demanded by the passions in a passionate age. As a prophecy, it has been wonderfully made good. Men of blood do not live out half their days. Professor Upham relates, that a gang of thirty smugglers, who beat an excisemen to death on the coast of England, and none of whom were punished for that crime, all but one died by violence; and he, who had made this confession on a dying bed, had only kept watch during the night. The self experience proves that "murder will out," and the general usage of mankind hitherto has hastened to wreak upon it the dictates of a revengeful spirit. And yet, probably, every existing Government restrains this prophecy, or limits this precept, in at least half of its scope. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood" is the unqualified sentence. Yet, the homicide is not punished with death, the insane slayer is not, the murderer in self-defence, in the battle-field is not, the destroying beast is not always. So much for an unrepealed, illimitable law of the Governor of the Universe. He has provided in the eternal fitness of things, in the constitution of human nature, for a material modification of what the friends of humanity now are seeking to modify just a little more.

The Mosaic code is next resorted to by the supporters of the existing criminal law, in confident an easy triumph. This "moral rainbow of the universe," the gibbet, arches over this entire system.—Life was taken for very many, and some very slight offences. If a man's ox had gored a man to death, yet, was no doubt more humane than the systems which surrounded it, and far above the habits of the nation to whom it came; as far above, I believe, as was consistent with its securing the obedience of the newly emancipated serfs of Egypt. But, when we remember that the system was intended to be a preparation for something better, and that the nation to whom it was addressed were at once fickle and stubborn, we may well question if the Deity sanctioned its authority the most savage custom of modern times. It cannot surely surprise a rational mind, that a system which has from its Alpha to its Omega, eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, which made the picking up of sticks on the Sabbath, the permission of liberty to a dangerous ox, capital offences, should legalize the exaction of blood for blood. And it cannot but surprise a rational mind, that, after so many centuries, under an entirely different religious system, having for our Master him who says, "It was said by them of old time, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but, I say unto you, resist not evil," that nine-tenths of the religious community should uphold the gallows mainly because it was permitted to the Jews some three thousand years ago.

Two facts throw great light upon this permission, and at the same time forbid our assumption of the like barbarous license. First, the death-punishment in the institutions of Moses, was the greatest possible modification of existing customs. All was done that could be done to secure the unhappy murderer a fair trial. A city of refuge was located here and there, where the revenge of the next of kin could not reach him. Sometime had to elapse in which the blood might get cool, and sentiments of humanity spring up. Escape from the last suffering, for what might have been an innocent mistake, was ever in one's power. There was no little mercy in the very law, which (perverted to a modern existence) strikes us with such horror. We should remember, as Mr. Salvador well remarks, the Jew had no thought of preventing crime, hardly any of reforming the criminal. His single idea, like that of the surgeon, was to cut off the diseased limb of the body politic. He had no thought of cure. Humanity was not for long ages to rise so high. And only, when it can be shown that our opinions, customs, and institutions correspond to those of Egypt's oppressed bondsmen, may their law of blood be repeated with safety, even upon the gatherer of sticks on a Sabbath, and not a moment before. Unnumbered passages occur in the New Testament showing, as Jesus himself says, that "for the hardness of the Jewish heart" many a precept was written, or, as the epistle to the Hebrews expresses it, "that there is a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof."

A second character of the Jewish law is still more decisive. Deity himself was regarded as the head of the Jewish nation, the executor of its laws, the moving appeal in the case of doubt, the actual though unseen Judge. Thus, one of the strongest objections to our infliction of this irremediable punishment, that the innocent have suffered and will suffer instead of the guilty, because men are not omniscient, finds no resource in the supposition of a perfected. The rightful object of punishment met his dues. But, as no existing tribunal pretends to the wisdom of the All-seer, as a majority of murderers have been convicted on circumstantial evidence, as the innocent frequently suffer in room of the real culprits, the second justifying circumstance of the Mosaic case will not bear application to our times.

It ought to be sufficient in this community, however, to maintain this position as necessarily progressive—that what is divinely adapted to one state of society may be divinely adapted to another—that the new garment must not be pieced out with the old skins, but must be a complete, excellent, useful, and blessed in their appointed time and place, even as like the prohibition of the eating of blood, foolish if not pernicious among us, under wholly different relations. The folly, of course, rests upon their heads who dismiss these reverently-buried bodies to worship them as deities; who, like the Turkish jailors, chain the living to the festering dead: who will not suffer the law to bring us to a schoolmaster to Christ.

Something might be said in this connection of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," as retained by Jesus, without any qualification, exception, or limitation—without any hiding-place for the sanction of killing those who have themselves killed.—But, we must hasten to other thoughts. We remember that our Saviour was but once called upon to pass sentence of death, upon a confessed criminal too, the perpetrator of one of the worst of crimes, and, so far from giving the expected sign, and satisfying the Pharisees's blood-and-thunder appetite, he simply bade the crouching culprit, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go and sin no more." And, whatever use may be made of two allusions in the epistles to the habit of the tribunals of that day, when one member of the apostle's flock was a victim to the sanguinary edicts of his day, when he came "not to destroy men's lives but to save," when love is the fulfilling of his law, when its word is, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," when it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbor, but I say unto you love your enemies"—he must be blind, indeed, who cannot see an immense change, from Moses to Christ, in this very thing. The teachings of Christianity seems, to us, to dismiss this cruelty and consuming time on the portion of the subject.

Taking for granted that the peculiar message of Christ needs no formal repetition to his professed disciples, we proceed to what seems an insuperable objection in the delicate phrasing, "its implied omniscience in its administrators." This very weighty charge against the commission of a new crime, in retaliation for one perhaps already repented, has never been met: it never can be met. Were the public informed as to the frequency of such fatal mistakes, the conviction would be instantaneous, that another execution, at least in the Northern States. "Till the infallibility of human judgements be proved to me," was the declaration in the French Chamber of Deputies of one whose name thrills every American breast. "I shall persist in demanding the abolition of the punishment of death." These words of Lafayette cannot be understood by any who have not given a particular attention to the subject. It is needless to remark, that in the presence of this fear the doom of death we should sometimes inflict on an innocent fellow-being an irreparable injury. One reason of this is, that the best writers agree that it is impossible to detect insanity in all cases. The assassin of the English Minister, Percival, was discovered after his execution to have been merely insane; but, as the excuse is set up in almost every case, the jury have generally very little patience with it, even were their information sufficient to guide them to a just decision as to one's mental soundness. Again, by an examination of the criminal calendar in one of our States, for several successive years, we find that the great majority are condemned on merely circumstantial evidence. A community maddened by some fresh tale of outrage—some friendless vagrant, or suspected profligate is pointed at by a fatheriess rumor—by and by, some malicious things are remembered, or imagined to have been dropped about the murdered by the supposed culprit; thus, some sufficient cause is found for the deed—last of all, the man fails to give a satisfactory explanation of his whereabouts at the moment—his execution follows without the appearance of hesitation or doubt part. Often, the real culprit surrounds some doubtful character with such a net of circumstances, that by the aid of a little perjury the innocent shall suffer for the guilty; and, as in the case recorded by the historian, Smollett, the actual criminals embrace and encourage their miserable victim upon the very instrument of death, where their crimes have made him stand.

One of the more prominent cases we abridge from the very able New-York Report. Groans have been heard to come from a chamber, a man has been discovered bending over a murdered body, his lantern in the left hand, in the right a knife dropping with blood, his face horror-stricken, his answers suspicious: well, years after he is executed it is proved that he was only the *first spectator* of the crime which had palsied him with terror. A father has hastened to his counthouse murdered, only a reformatory son being at home, whose gain by immediate possession of property were motive enough for the act, the shoe print in the snow is his, the hammer which gave the death-blow is found bloodstained in his drawer—he suffers in consequence, protesting his innocence, and long years after his sister confesses to the successful ingenuity which set up the innocent to screen the guilty. Two men have been seen fighting in a field; they are old enemies; and, when one is found dead, and the pitchfork which did the work is that of the murdered man's known foe, and was borne by him to the field that very day: but, long after judgment has been rendered according to the unanswerable appearances, the real criminal has been detected among the jury who were so confident of the guilt of the accused. The tavern-keeper has been charged by his own servants with the murder of a traveller, they seeing the very act, and he every early dawn detecting his master burying the stolen money in a very secret way in the garden, which the master confesses to have done—of course, the gibbet closes his history, the well murderers being the principal proofs of his guilt. A father and daughter are heard in violent dispute: she cries "cruelty, death," and the like: he comes out, locks the door, and shortly after low moans are heard, and the daughter, being forcibly entered, she is found weltering in blood. The father is executed under the overwhelming weight of this complete chain of evidence in satisfaction for the wild deed of a suicide! Nay: multiplied instances are on record, as for instance in the old trials for witchcraft, where the accused have confessed their guilt, and yet died innocent. One of the Bournes, in Vermont, confessed the murder of Colvin, when, just as the final cap was closing his history, he rose from his forest, cry was heard, "For God's sake stop," and the murdered Colvin himself appeared. This is the strongest case we have anywhere met with, though, in our own vicinity, an experience of the peril of sitting in judgment over human life somewhat similar to this occurred. And, at one assizes in England, no less than six innocent persons, as was afterward found, were hanged.

(*Remainder next week.*)

From the Christian Advocate and Journal.

A VOICE FROM TENNESSEE.

Mr. Josiah Holbrook,—Sir:—Last spring I got a box of your apparatus, and am satisfied with the purchase. In the box I find "the Self-Instructor," of May and November, 1844. The perusal of these two publications, and a recommend from Dr. Cry was sufficient to induce me to order a set for myself. If you would cheerfully communicate any information in your power on the subject of education, I take the liberty to address you this letter.

In the first place, I request you to send me all the numbers of the Self-Instructor; and if it be continued, consider me a subscriber. You have convinced me that geometry, geology, geography, and botany, and I would, zoology, are the first sciences for children to learn. Observation and classification belong to them by early and fixed habits of the mind, and they are the only habits by which the mind can be improved.

In the next place, I would ask of you the favor to give me a catalogue of books that would constitute a complete course of juvenile instruction, until a child could be kept progressing in from the time he could read and write. Some very simple and brief geology, botany, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, zoology, and so throughout the whole of natural and moral science. I do not like systematic botany. It should be altogether elementary. I have thought that a juvenile course of the primer order, embracing the simplest rudiments of all the sciences, should be put into the hands of beginners. Nothing should be in the book but what they are to learn. They are thus introduced to science, and if it is well done, they will desire a further acquaintance. Every succeeding apparatus for illustrating should go along with it invariably. Even to let them know that there is such a science as chemistry, geology, &c. &c. and to give them some little idea of what it means, would inspire them with a desire to look further into it after they had graduated in their first course—the primer course, I would call it. After completing a course like this, I would turn them back to geology, botany, &c. upon a larger scale.

Do you understand me, when I say such a first course in existence? Also, such a second course as I have mentioned; the prices at which they can be had; with suitable apparatus in each department? If there is not, what would you think of a periodical devoted to such a first and second course? And which should propose to accommodate subscribers with simple apparatus? One number in primer form containing the rudiments of botany; another geology, another chemistry, &c. through the whole geography, moral philosophy, and all science—all emanating from the same mind, and forming a connected series. It would seem to me that such a work, well executed, and cheap, would be patronized. Then a second course, on the same plan, with simple grammars of ancient and modern languages, would fill out my idea of a complete course. It is such a work I would patronize more devotedly than any I have ever seen or heard of.

I am not a teacher, but a judge of the circuit courts of Tennessee. Convinced of the importance of popular education, I am determined to give what poor influence I may have, on the bench, in the social circle, and through our political journals, to the first periodical I can see that favors the above scheme, and to the first course of books I can find of the above description.

Education must commence in early infancy—almost in babyhood—in simple attractive form—cheap, very cheap, too, or it cannot succeed. I wish to make a movement to throw some such works into every family in my circuit, as soon as I can see and know the right sort. There is now here great, unbounded sympathy on the subject. We have been retrograding for several years. I believe these cheap little works, especially if they come periodically, say quarterly, will, combined with the fourth of July school celebrations, be the most efficient means of stirring the public mind.

The idea suggests itself to me that if such a journal were published quarterly, and a box of apparatus suitable to illustrate the sciences embraced in it, furnished with it, so that each would arrive about the same time, they would both be taken by schools—a given number of the journal, and one set of apparatus for a school. Thus for every 25 or 30 copies of the paper, one set of apparatus might be sold. If plans were taken to communicate a knowledge of the enterprise to every post office in the Union, and the thing done up cheaply, it would certainly succeed, and do more than all the learned essays that genius ever penned to promote popular education.

But in the wild woods of the West, one thing is wanting to give it success; and that is, teachers who would understand how to teach and illustrate. This could be remedied by sending out a few itinerant lecturers, with a full set of apparatus, to teach classes the use of them. I believe they would get well paid for their labor, and would, in a few weeks, qualify teachers enough in a county to *learn*, and then instruct the youth of the county. I am inclined to think that an itinerant system of lecturing on the use of astronomical, physiological, chemical, and mathematical apparatus would succeed. It would have all the outward appearance of humbuggery to give it attraction, and intrinsic merit to give it the patronage of men of sense and learning. A lecturer of this sort, with all the necessary apparatus, coming into a county, would in one month, prepare twenty sub-lecturers, who would supply themselves with a set of apparatus, and a sufficient number of the journal, and go into every neighborhood lecturing, and thus increasing the patronage of the work to an infinite extent, and creating everywhere, a thirst for knowledge.

You will excuse me for the too long, and perhaps too free letter I have written.

Respectfully, yours, &c.

A. CARUTHERS.

Carthage, Tenn. July 31, 1845.

A Great Movement.—The large but sensible plan in behalf of popular education given, in the above letter, bears strong marks of a wise judge. If all the judges in our land would unite with Judge Caruthers, in "using their influence upon the bench, in the social circle, and through the political journals," in throwing instruments of knowledge into "every family" in their respective districts, it would indeed be a great movement in favor of a free and common cause. Could they not thus confer a greater blessing upon their country by preventing, than by punishing criminals? J. HOLBROOK.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE COMMERCIAL COMMUNITY.

Mr. Editor:—At a town meeting recently held in Birmingham, England, to remonstrate against a proposed increase of the British Navy, Joseph Sturge, a gentleman long and deeply interested in commerce made the following statement: "I know something about chartering and insuring ships, and I do not hesitate to say, that if the whole of the navy were scuttled to-morrow, and sent to the bottom of the ocean, I could go to Lloyd's and insure ships and cargoes, without paying one shilling more premium, and I could charter vessels to any part of the globe without paying any more freight." This bold and somewhat startling declaration, from such authority, has led me to inquire if it could be supported by the evidence of unerring statistics. I here present their testimony for the consideration of those of your readers who are engaged or interested in commercial pursuits.

The amount of tonnage owned by Great Britain, embracing every kind of vessel engaged in the domestic and foreign trade, is 3,047,178 tons.

The amount owned by the United States, is 2,158,602 "

The cost of American shipping, is $60 per ton; and an experienced ship-owner has estimated the value of our whole mercantile marine at $40 per ton; new and old. The cost of ship-building and its materials, are much lower in Great Britain; but admitting that all the mercantile shipping which that nation has afloat, is worth $40 per ton, then the value of British tonnage would be $121,885,920

American do.	86,344,080
French, 389,619 tons	15,584,760
Value of the tonnage of the three nations.	$223,814,760

As the interest of capital invested in trade, ought not to be added into, but deducted from, the profits of that trade, in order to arrive at its precise net gain, we shall be admitting a very liberal profit to this amount of shipping, if we estimate it at 15 per cent. after deducting the interest of the capital employed. And we submit this estimation to any shipowner, as one sufficiently high, for such an amount of tonnage, even if there were not one uninsured vessel lost on the ocean during the year. Then the net annual profit of all the shipping owned by Great Britain, the United States, and France, at 15 per cent. is $33,572,214.

Now, intelligent ship-merchants, will you not stick a pin at that fact? And, now, another at this? *The appropriation of the British Government to their Navy, for the current year, is* $33,620,200!!

Now I appeal to your sober convictions, if these two facts are not of some significance to the commercial world! Think of it, for a moment! The profit of the whole mercantile marine of these three great nations, falls short of the annual expense of supporting the British Navy! And is this the protection which Commerce owes to navies! Here are three great commercial nations expending annually fifty-two millions of dollars on their combined navy, whose principal function is to protect commerce and navigation; while all their mercantile shipping can earn, above its cost, is but a little more than thirty-three millions per annum! Look at France:—in 1837 she appropriated about $12,000,000, to her navy department, and she owned that year about 370,000 tons of shipping; which, at $40 per ton, was worth $12,800,000,—a trifle more than the cost of its *protection!*

But let us bring this matter nearer home. We have about 1,000,000 tons of shipping engaged in the foreign trade: the profit of which, at the rate we have taken, is $6,000,000 per annum. To protect this interest is almost the only avowed object of our navy: and to render it adequate to the service, the Government appropriated, for the current year, $6,350,789!!! Now, is not such a mountain load of naval protection like millstones about the neck of Commerce: a grevious burden to her canvass wings? Nations which do not own a single vessel of war, are underbidding those whose bullying, blustering navies whiten the ocean. And I will close this article with the words of an extensive ship-owner in this country, and which are singularly coincident with the declaration of Joseph Sturge:

"If we had not a single ship, we could receive and sway everything we wished to buy, and sell, by foreign vessels, which would do their own fighting: and, instead of charging our commerce with a farthing for *naval protection*, would carry all our freight at a cheaper rate than is now paid for the same service." E. B.

Worcester, Sept. 28, 1845.

CURIOUS DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT BIBLE.

A copy of the first complete edition of the English Bible, printed by Myles Coverdale, bearing the date 1535, was accidentally discovered, a short time since, in the false bottom of an old oak chest, at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, the seat of the Earl of Leicester. There are numerous imperfect copies of this edition of the Holy Scriptures in existence, two being deposited in the library of the British Museum, one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, one in the Cambridge University Library, and in fact most of the great libraries and public institutions in England, as well as many private individuals possessing the volume. The copy now brought to light, is the most valuable discovery since Myles Coverdale's labors hitherto known, being in every respect perfect, whereas all the other volumes enumerated are deficient of many leaves, both at the beginning and the end. The proprietor of Holkham has had the book appropriately bound and enclosed in an oaken box, and it now graces the shelves of his magnificent library. A London bookseller is said to have offered $500 for this bibliographical treasure.

"Speaking about Guns."—"The doctor told us a good story the other day," says the Nashua Telegraph. "When the Rev. Mr.—— was ordained over the Old South Church in Boston, Dr. W—— preached the sermon. It was a capital one, and a copy was requested for the press, but the doctor declined. An old gentleman reasoned with him, and urged that a good deal to have it published, 'for,' said he, 'I have heard it now twelve times, and it grows live minutes longer every time—it is a wonderful sermon.'"

We have frequently, says the Germantown Telegraph, published the examination of classes at schools, in many instances very amusing; but never, we believe, anything as good as that which really occurred in a highly Aspectable school in Arch street, Philadelphia, last week. The teacher was examining a class in grammar, when he asked a lad, ten or twelve years of age, what part of speech *Man* was. "A noun, Sir."

"What kind of a noun?"

"A *bloody noun*," was the instant reply.

"Master Henry will go down tail for his pertness."

To Preserve Flowers throughout the Winter.—Pluck the flowers when half-blown, and place them in a closely covered earthen vessel, dipping them, with the stalk downwards, in equal quantities of water and verjuice, mixed with a small quantity of bay salt. The vessel must be kept closed, and in a warm place; and then, if in the coldest day of winter the flowers be taken out, washed in cold water, and held before a gentle fire, they will open as if in their usual bloom.

CIRCULAR.

It is proposed to publish, in *monthly numbers*, a work entitled "The Kosmian," containing a series of Letters, written from the United States, by *Ahmed El Korah*, to his friend in Algiers, translated from the original Showiah, by the author, and edited by Francis R. Green.

Ahmed's Letters virtually contain a *History of the Anti-Slavery movement* in this country, embracing a period of about twenty years: and they not only show the history of the times, but they illustrate the spiritual progress of the individual. Many interesting subjects are discussed in the course of the correspondence, such as the *Condition of Slaves—of the Southern Slaves—of Northern Laborers—of the Industrial classes of Women—and of Domestic Servants—Party Spirit—Treatment of the Indians—and Cruelty to Animals*—with a particular account of all the great Reformers, *Radicals, and other Inventors of Law*, which illustrate the pro-slavery spirit, and mark the progress of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

The author has no party bias, whatever. He speaks as if under a peremptory obligation to utter *the truth*—being restrained by no bonds, whether sectarian or political. He utters his thoughts in the free out-pouring and confidence of bosom friendship; and we know that he is moved by a strong love of liberty—and of the race. *His party is Humanity—his platform the wide world.*

The Editor respectfully solicits encouragement in her arduous undertaking, in seeing that the *Friends of Freedom* universally will promptly second her efforts; which nothing but *the hope of doing good*, could have suggested, or would sustain.

"The Kosmian" will be published in numbers, of 32 pages each, octavo size, printed in fair type, on good paper, stitched together, and issued *monthly*, at the price of $1,00 a year, *payable on the receipt of the first number.* Persons procuring five names, shall be entitled to six copies.

It is hoped that the friends to whom this Circular may be sent, will be regardful of its claims, and patronize as many names as possible. They will please forward them to the subscriber, on or before the first of January next. The work will be issued as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have been obtained.

FRANCES H. GREEN.

Anti-Slavery Office, }
Corner of Broad and Dorrance sts. Providence, R. I. }

KENNETT SQUARE ACADEMY.

The location of this Institution, so generally known for the intelligence, enterprise, and high moral character of its patronage, is unsurpassed for beauty of situation, and healthiness of climate.

The course of instruction includes English Grammar, Geography (with the use of Globes, Mapping, Construction of Globes,) plain and ornamental Penmanship, Pen Drawing, &c. Elocution (upon the system of Dr. Comstock,) Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, History, Rhetoric, &c. &c., Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Mensuration, Surveying, Analytical Geometry, Differential Calculus, and Astronomy—together with the Greek, Latin, and French languages, &c.

Regular Lectures will be delivered, and examinations had during each session, at the close of which there will be a public exhibition.

Terms—$50,00 per session, of 5 months—*and no extra charges.*

The winter session will commence on the third day of the 11th month, (Nov.) next. For references and other particulars, address the subscribers, Kennett Square, Chester County, Pa.

JONATHAN LAMBORN, }
LEWIS LAMBORN. }

Kennett Square, Oct. 9, 1845.—3m.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a beautiful and commodious farm for accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same restraints and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic labor, with industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year to be an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

C. MACK, *Director of Education.*

Bachofen Meadows, }
Northampton, April 14, 1844. }

FREE CALICOES

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine merino shawls, which will be sold at a large advance of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,

Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets. *Philadelphia*, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

No. 31, *North Fifth street.*

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

Terms—the same as in New-York; i.e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months. If $10,00, in advance, will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $36,00 will pay for twenty copies.

A full assortment of anti-slavery publications is kept constantly on hand, for sale, a handsome variety of miscellaneous books, and useful and fancy stationery.

All letters relating to the business of the office should be directed to *J. Miller McKim*, No. 31 North Fifth street.

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD.

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