SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

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Selections.

LIBERAL MEDITATIONS—KOSSUTH AND COTTON.

By Rev. H. W. BEECHER, *in The Independent.*

The topics of excitement now-a-days follow each other with such rapidity that we seem to live in a dream in which the most astonishing conjunctions occur in the strangest objects no longer surprise. Our age is becoming used to high flavored. Nothing palls so deadening, revolutions, world alliances, less than exposition. Nations have any power to arrest attention. The unparalleled history of the settlement of California, the sudden creation of a fleet of sea steamers surpassing in magnitude the men-of-war of which we used to look up as the very mountains of the deep, the disastrous revolution of Cuba, the rival legal tribunals of San Francisco, by which the law has taken the place and functions of organized lynch-mobs, the courts and government established in cities, while the courts and government, which in popular mind, hung like skeleton flies in a spider's web, swinging in the wind; the scope and glorious work of the most renowned of modern men—Louis Kossuth; these and such like events occur almost daily. Once, it was a thing to be spoken of if one had doubled the Horn or the Cape; but now it is becoming as common to go from Broadway into Wall street. To ship that insures to-day, bound for Canton, looks into San Francisco, cuts across the Pacific, slows its Oolong and Imperial pioneer as a homesick dog will lick its blade-prow, and is back again, almost before we have done talking about her sailing. The globe used to have a respectable circumference, in the days of Dilworth and Morse; but it is now used to be talked about. We might now almost go round it in long voyages in a wash-tub, and as well talk of long voyages in a wash-tub. Very soon there will be no place where a man may hide from his neighbors, unless it be behind the icebergs of the Polar Sea. Deserts are steadily encroached upon. Speed into a little and a little further every year. And intercourse will soon be familiar whether ground be Yankee traders, who will whittle from the Cape of Good Hope straight through to the Nile or to Algiers! After this, there will be no place left in the world where a man can lose himself—unless he joins some Union Safety Committee. A man can scarcely be found there.

The topics of the morning, over a dish of coffee, are no longer the weather, the crops, the upsetting of a coach, or a smashing burglary or two. We now eagerly count up how many people were smashed up in the last railroad collision, and how many blown up in the last capitally executed steamboat explosion. It is a matter of infinite pleasure to us always to learn on such occasions, to hold the "one was to blame," and that the "utmost care was taken" by the engineers and conductors. For, if one has acquaintances in the affair, it is a great deal more pleasant to have their disaster was a *fate*, not a careless accident; and that they died honourably by a law of nature, not by the neglect of a stupid conductor, or a drunken captain.

Then, too, we sup upon no whisky-washy highway robberies; we affect hearty murders, and capital hangings—yes, and we like to see the victim hang! We ought not the government to appoint a commission on Hemp? We remember that Daniel Webster very significantly assured the gentlemen of Congress, as, we believe, he was in the operation of pulling hemp with nothing to stand on was very inconvenient. But lately, we observe, that the cords which Government supplies for hanging people, are constructed that men find something to stand on quite unexpectedly, and have to be swiftly hung before they are quite killed. This is so much better than pulling on our part. We claim to have a personal interest in this matter of hanging. Daniel Webster has most emphatically declared that existence to the Fugitive Slave Law is treason. Judge Grier, of Pennsylvania has charged the jury that the extemporaneous resistance of fugitives and their compeers to civil process was treason. Free-labor men have met marshals with patriotic celerity to Syracuse, to arraign for treason all who aided and abetted the recording of a man to his liberty.

Now it is quite clear that traitors are to be plentiful. The prospects of harvest were never better. We have felt the symptoms of ripeness ourselves. And as treason is a crime that has been thought to deserve hanging, it is plain that the Government has work on hand for a while to come. Every candidate for such honours, therefore, has a right, we think to insist upon it that if the Government will hang one man for helping another to his liberty, they shall at least provide good hemp. It is against the law to try a man twice for the same offence. But our hangmen sometimes *try* a fellow twice or three times before they succeed. We have prejudices against being hung with a rotten cord. The Southern hemp is not strong enough to hold the Union together if it is not strong enough to hold the weight of one traitor. Why not drop hemp entirely (as it drops in nations), and try a cord of Cotton? Our cotton theology have caught the wind as well as cotton sails. Why not cotton cordage? If cotton is half as good for hanging traitors as cotton theology and cotton petitions are for the Union, why, hemp ought to be suspended. Won't the Union Committee try? Some of them, who have been the most intimate with the Union, are suspended but ought they not to hang in suspense? If any of them have a mind to try it, we will intercede for the other convenience requisite, so that they shall be at no expense. But every proper deceration requires that they should use *cotton*. Judas tried hemp, and the rope broke. We trust that they will so far deviate from his intermediate experiment of selling his master at a bargain, as not to throw away the thirty pieces of silver, and not to try hemp. Give us the money, for the relief of fugitive slaves, and take good cotton for traitors! and, if they have their country, do let them take cotton that won't *break*?

As for ourselves, while we regard robbery and ordinary murder as in bad taste, we begin to have a penchant for treason. That is getting to be a gentlemanly affair. There, for example, are the Irish traitors—noble fellows, guilty of not loving oppression! There are our ancestral traitors—Adams, Warren, Jay, Washington, and others, whom the British Government, at the time, was an intent upon hanging as our friends as Washington now are upon hanging Chartists and Kossuthites. Poland has had and multitudes of traitors, and the Czar of Russia has twisted them away by hundreds under the snows of Siberia! We recollect with pride their historic names of ancient traitors in England, in the days of the struggle of men for liberty. Italy has her traitors, too, Achilli, Mazzini, and others. And Austria—why, she has scores and scores of traitors! She exports them. All England is going just now at the arrival of the world's most illustrious modern traitor, Louis Kossuth! And he goes from his dear Kutahyia in a steamer fitted out by the Hanging Government of the United States! What—impossible! Will it not interfere with home manufactures? Will it not interfere with home demand? Hemp is necessarily high in price of late years, and is in a very precarious state. It is right to glut our market with superior foreign hemp, brand and especially, ought the Government to have a hand in this branch of commerce?

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But we know that we are singular. It is but fair to state that many of our most venerated clergymen, who were ordained of God to teach men to Kossuth God's law when it comes in conflict with man's—differ from us. Of course they will refuse to take part in any ovation of Kossuth.

What an absurdity would it be for those revered men who acted as Sepoys, on a Saturday night, Foote (more familiarly known whilom as Hangman for his senatorial pugilism, as from the first of his Senate of the United States, that he would help to hang another United States Senator, Mr. Hale, upon the first tree, if he had him in Mississippi—for the form of free speech in behalf of liberty!) Senator saved by the Fugitive Slave Law, to celebrate the Union several of our most aged and eloquent clergy crowded the table in their presence, and amid the artillery of champagne they consecrated their thanksgiving upon such salvation as Union Committees worked out?

Now, let us suppose that a committee of clergymen should be deputed to wait upon the illustrious exile (whose traitorous effigy has just been hallowed and hung, we know!) Of course we should select those who have most pointedly inveighed against the doctrine of Higher Law. Dr. Dewey, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Spencer, Dr. Spring. Dr. Lord—could a better committee be desired?

During the quarantine of two days which our Government has ordered at Staten Island, we may imagine that it is to give time for our excellent rulers to cleanse away all inward taint of treason, as well as outward contamination of plague, from the illustrious exile. We will imagine that the days are to be divided between the Church and the State. Our clerical committee would without doubt cast a shade of sadness on the blushed hero, as they marched into the cabin of the Steam Frigate Mississippi—(the State of repudiation and Senator Foote!)—each one bearing a presentation copy of his sermon or speech against the Higher Law. The oldest clergyman would approach Kossuth, and welcome him to this land of liberty and equality. Its blessings are described: the stability of our prosperity are briefly given. "All these things, my dear excellent spokesman, "we owe under God to our liberty. We people can thrive while ground by oppression." This happy lauding would be followed by the gentlemen proceed to question his notions of law and government, patriotism and treason.

How your Excellency, may we ask, that Slavery is a *sin per se*? Do you not regard it as a patriarchal institution tolerated by Jehovah, not abrogated by Christ, and properly used, a beneficent arrangement for the blacks?

M. Kossuth (being, perhaps, more used lately to the sword than to theology) may be supposed to be rather confused, and rather evades so unsavory a catechism.

But our good divines are too expert in examining candidates to let this little off. They question into which Truth has been split up, to be easily dodged. And so Dr. S. says plainly, "Would you sir, if by uttering the prayer for it, you could release every slave in America, to-morrow, dare to utter such a prayer?"

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"Do you believe that a slave has a right to run away from his master?"

"Do you mean to inquire by this question, gentlemen, whether I have close right in running away from the service of Austria? I believe I have."

"No, sir; oh no. You are a white man. Perhaps we ought to put the question a little more explicitly. Do you believe that a black has a right to Slavery in South Carolina, has any right to run away?"

The English tongue being yet a little new, Mr. Kossuth does not exactly know what is the meaning of the phrase, (a phrase, of which her own citizens somewhat partake), and supposing that it is the name of some prison, or government gallows, answers "Yes, I think it is a terrible crime, to think that he ought to work his sentence out, whether he is white or black."

"Do you think when a man is flying for his liberty, that any one has a right to help him off?"

"Oh certainly I do. I quite agree with your Government, gentlemen, who have kindly provided my passage in a steamer where with to escape the Emperor of Austria."

"But, do you think it a fugitive is arrested, that he ought for ever to be compelled to serve for his release against the express laws of his native land?"

"Ah, gentlemen, you are quite familiar with my case. I perceive that you refer to my extradition from Kutahya, against the edict of the Emperor of Austria! I quite agree with you, gentlemen, that the Turks did a noble thing."

By this time the committee of doctors whisper a moment in consultation, and conclude to leave a copy each of their several sermons and addresses in favour of obeying the Fugitive Slave Law, and to turn the leaves upon the most salutary passages; such as this, in Dr. Lord's sermon ("Union Safety Committee" edition, p. 6), "To plead a Higher Law disobedience to a human law, the subject-matter of which is within the cognizance of the State, is to reject the authority of God himself, who has committed to Government the power and authority which they exercise in civil affairs. As a slave is by our laws defined to be a *chattel*, to be completely in the power of his master; and our laws give to the master the right to treat his female slaves as he will; to separate families, sell the children in one direction and the parents in the other; as our civil laws have made the master in the right of holding his own blood to market mingled with his stock, it is not strange that Kossuth, in reading the passage, quite failed to see its practical drift, and thought that it was a hint to him to be an obedient citizen when he should have settled down.

Dr. Spencer called his attention by a dog's-eared leaf in the sermon (on page 17), "A man has no right to fling away his life for a mere sentiment, right to fling away his life and his property and leave his wife a widow, or his orphan children to be sold at auction to other masters." This is a pert text, to remind the gentleman that citizens have no right to resist Government until there is a good prospect of success. Upon this passage, Kossuth ponders; and as he walks up and down his new deserted cabin, he soliloquizes: "As if the greatest achievements of the world were not in their inception gloomy and cheerless to all sound methods of estimation. It is the cause, and the Government to die—it is that courage that is the Government, and the man of mind, which cries out 'give me liberty or give me death!' It is that nobleness of nature that scorns to accept life as a burden of disgrace, and hastens to lay it down as a sacrifice to liberty; in short, it is that spirit of disobedience to unjust laws, of great souls to sublime and heroic determination, which, if dying, that ever vindicate man's manhood, living or dying, that ever gives success." Every Hungarian that has fallen a tongue of liberty in the cause of Kossuth, has been also fear and hatred of Government. Poland has had and multitudes of traitors, and the Czar of Russia has twisted them away by hundreds under the snows of Siberia! We recollect with pride their historic names of ancient traitors in England, in the days of the struggle of men for liberty. Italy has her traitors, too, Achilli, Mazzini, and others. And Austria—why, she has scores and scores of traitors! She exports them. All England is going just now at the arrival of the world's most illustrious modern traitor, Louis Kossuth! And he goes from his dear Kutahyia in a steamer fitted out by the Hanging Government of the United States! What—impossible! Will it not interfere with home manufactures? Will it not interfere with home demand? Hemp is necessarily high in price of late years, and is in a very precarious state. It is right to glut our market with superior foreign hemp, brand and especially, ought the Government to have a hand in this branch of commerce?

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WHOLE NO. 596.

THE PROPOSED DIVISION OF CALIFORNIA—ITS RELATION TO THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY

THE South, from Monterey down, are thoroughly awake to the necessity of such a division of our State, as will enable each set of interests in California to protect and to promote, without the proper centre. From the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, there has existed a jealousy on the part of the Southern members, that they, from their numerical strength, and notwithstanding that concessions have been made to the South, the Government has been anything but favourable to that section of the State. The organic laws, were not calculated to give them as arranged as to form a geographical system, naturally suggesting the proper boundaries for a State. And when we come to look at the most counties from Monterey to San Diego, seem attached in our State rather by an arbitrary rule, than from any geographical or economical considerations. The great crime of Dr. Palfrey is, that he set free and watched over the fellow men whom his father held in bondage. The sin of Horace Mann is only this, that he loves freedom and hates Slavery. The offence of Charles Sumner is, only that he believes the first principle of the Constitution of Massachusetts, and of the Declaration of Independence. Even in Massachusetts, the seed-field of the Puritans, we have but a few men who dare defend the principles of Christ and Liberty. An attempt has been made to convince the people that there is no law above the declarations of Congress; and that it is treason to establish Atheism as the first principle of government.

Well, my friend, these are hard times; times of corruption, evil times. Do you not wonder at the great corruption, evil times? yet I think they are glorious times also. I am glad the crisis has come; it will be over all the sooner. The two ideas, the Rights and the Wrongs, are now in full battle; every election is affected by this Anti-Slavery movement; we cannot ignore the question; it is fairly before the people; they see only a little of its extent; the whole will appear in due time. I have no fear for the result. Pennsylvania may recede from the right; even Massachusetts may recede; but it will be only for a day; they will both come back to the True and the Right, and give it their hearty approval, their hearty love. God will give it triumph.

I am glad that some black men have been found at last, who have dared to resist violence with powder and ball. They are driven back to the elementary principles of human nature. The law is against them; the Constitution is against them; public opinion is against them, and the kidnapper arms to have their bodies. Men who reverence our fathers for throwing British Tea into Boston Harbour, and shooting to death the British soldiers at Lexington and Bunker Hill, cannot help to do honour to negroes who repel violence by violence, and shoot the kidnappers. Perhaps you will hang them for treason. I suppose all that is the money, all that the talent, all that the corruption of the American Government can do to secure the condemnation of those men will be done. I shall not be surprised if some of them are hung amidst the huzzas of Democrats and Whigs, and with the blessings of the clergy on the judicial crime. But of old time the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; and the crow who made his meal on the gibbet, was the carrier pigeon who bore glad tidings of great joy to those who waited for the salvation which the Lord God has appointed. I say I rejoice that a negro has shot a kidnapper. Black men may now hold up their heads before those haughty Canadians who say, "Forever! Forever! We are too resistant: yes! I am glad the leading Anti-Slavery men are so—that great set is the right of Liberty, they would not shed a drop of blood for it! I fear they would not, for though I think their doctrines extreme, they are yet nearer right! I think than the common notions. Let us have firmness without fight, as long as possible.

I am sorry my friend Garrison cannot go to your Convention. I wish it was possible for me to be there, and speak in behalf of the Rights of Humanity. Right. As it is I can only give you the hearty good will and earnest desire that your Convention may labour forget the Rights, and nor its discretion—settle in Nature its Love.

Truly yours,

THEODORE PARKER.

THE following article from a Southern paper, the (Louisville) *Presbyterian Herald*, contains some valuable information for those devout people among us who hold it a religious duty to send missionaries even to the uttermost ends of the earth to save the perishing souls of the Heathen, and denounce as fanatics, disorganizers, and infidels, those who would do any thing to expose the character of the system producing such a state of things as is described in this article:

OUR BLACK POPULATION

Can any means more efficacious than those now in operation be adopted for the moral and religious instruction and improvement of our coloured population? is a question of high importance to the church and the nation. That those now in use are inadequate to the wants of this portion of our population, or to the duty of the church, and especially the Presbyterian church, must be admitted by all. What is the relative proportion of our black people, so far as the Presbyterian church is concerned? Almost nothing has been done for them, although for twenty years the attention of the church has been directed towards them, with considerable interest and feeling on the part of many, both of the ministers and laity. Very few or no Sunday Schools now exist for their instruction—many of our ministers who have attempted to preach to them have given it over in despair; and many of our people who had, and do, have a desire of their private instruction, and of requiring their attendance at the domestic altar, have failed in the attempt, although nothing short of an offensive compulsion would secure it.

The blacks will attend, to some degree, the ministry of one or two of our sects of denomination—they will attend the preaching, such as it is, of persons of their own colour in large numbers, but they will not, and do not, be at the pains of instruction and inquiries extend, attend, in any considerable numbers, the services of Presbyterian ministers, not even when devoted exclusively to themselves.

Cases of a total failure, on the part of one of the ablest ministers in the country, who has taken a very deep interest in their religious welfare, and who has endeavoured to establish a series of, to establish a separate service for them, and who, if any man could, would have been supposed capable of making himself acceptable and useful to the people who dwelled, in the same neighbourhood, in multitudes, to hear a preacher of their own colour.

That this is a subject of the greatest importance, every thoughtful man must feel. God, in his providence, is making this whole nation feel that our destinies as a nation are indissolubly connected in anxious suspense, the balance of our national destinies, yet undecided, it depends upon the fulfilment or neglect of imparting to them, in all the fulness of its blessings, the gospel of Jesus Christ, that the Constitution will fail to enjoy a permanent career of national prosperity and glory, or is to sink into the common lot of the nations of the world, and to be divided into separate and warring States, "worrying and devouring" each other, to the infinite gratification of the tyrants of the Old World.

No Christian can, and he is not, a good one, if he is historical and prophetical Scriptures, and in profane history, which is but a commentary on the latter, can for a moment suppose that the presence of three millions of a foreign and alien race in this land is an unmixed and undesigned circumstance. Every man of reflection and sagacity, be he Christian or unbeliever, must perceive that there is no element which is connected with our national existence whose bearing is and will be so influential on the nation as the existence of this race amongst us. They are increasing, in some portions of the country, more rapidly than the whites—in all parts they are in sufficiently than the whites—in all parts they are in sufficiently

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FRUITS OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

THE natural results of this atrocious policy are now beginning to develop themselves. Slaveowners avail themselves of the law rigorously and vindictively; the free black population and a few white men are commencing to resist the forcible seizure of their temperate resistance and bloodshed result. The two Messrs. Gassaway are dead;* other parties in the fray at Christiana are injured; the fugitive slaves were taken (probably they are safely beyond the borders of the United States); but twenty-four persons (blacks, with two exceptions) have been arrested, charged with treason (!); the Maryland slaveowners set no bounds to their fury, demanding vengeance, threatening to withdraw from the Union, and the excitement is still at a fever heat. Of this affair upon the black population generally in the Slave States there will, doubtless, be gradually comes to their hearing (as it will) exaggerated and suggested to doubt in the nation to excite their minds, remains to be seen.

What has taken place has been in the attempt to enforce a law for the recovery of a species of property, which property will never can be property except in a legal sense, by means which the laws of the United States themselves would not permit for the recovery of any other property whatever.

We have, on a previous occasion, characterized this enactment, not as a new outrage against humanity (though it is a strong one), but as a mere, but a very small to civilized law. Slavery is, alas! recognized in the United States; but the legalized violation of the admitted requirements of Slavery, which, we believe, in the United States' Slave Code. Americans are, most of them, sadly callous to the evils of Slavery; and, consequently, many feel perfectly indifferent to the outrage, and, as shareholders and pro-slavery men ought to have had too much respect for the principles of common law as applied to their *de facto* "property" in Slavery, to have ever devised those enactments which specifically disgrace the Fugitive Slave Law. A law which allows any white man to claim property in any black allows any white man to claim property in any black man, and, in a large, which admits the most disgraceful laxity in the proof of identity, and expressly bribes the judge, by a fee of twenty dollars, if he decides against the judge, by a fee of twenty dollars, if he decides against the judge, the judges themselves being men specially appointed for this one judicial office, and the officials established and disinterested, and, in fact, not the established and disinterested judges, but a peculiar class, which cannot be evaded, defied, opposed, or violence. The marshal has power to summon American citizens to his aid in this enterprise; but no law can insure the obedience of American citizens, or, if the American citizen has a will of his own, even where no such question as Slavery is concerned. The law, it seems, declares resistance to be treason. The law, it seems, declares resistance to be treason. The law, it seems, declares treason. A strange notion of a law, truly, to prevail among men who are wont, on much less important occasions, to take the law into their own hands in the name of Liberty, independence, and genuine Freedom! Mob law is but little shocking to the American mind in comparison with law, if exercised on behalf of a black man's personal property, against an unequal law made by white men, and, in fact, against the Constitution. In United States' law of treason cannot be understood by the people, and, in fact, it is, therefore, a mere nonsense, we know what it means; it is evil design against the Crown as the symbol of Government; an idea simply ridiculous to the American mind. In this idea simply ridiculous to the American mind. In this mind, it might be expected to denote evil design against the head of the Republic as representing the sovereign people. But no! the PRESIDENT is not, in the case before us, assailed in person or office. In treason a defiance of the sovereignty of law? Then resistance to a law is treason. Then resistance against any law were treason. Then resistance against any law were treason. When is the American idea of treason? Is it resistance to the law in *Slavery matters alone?* Is that "peculiar institution," which forms the peculiar misfortune and curse of their country, the blessed and sacred Liberty to which the Americans must swear loyalty, and which requires to be protected by statutes of high treason? Does this stand in place of crown and sceptre? Is this the national emblem in which Americans can glory? Surely not! Yet be it so;—be it that hostility to Slavery, or to the details of the Fugitive Slave Law, is treason in the American State—then Abolition doctrines are treasonable, and the Anti-Slavery press is actionable for high treason! Surely the doctrine of treason against Slavery, as Goodloe, Gamble, or Parton of a nation of Republicans, can hardly be sustained.

It seems probable (indeed it is stated as fact in some accounts), that in the late bloody affair in Pennsylvania, the free blacks acted under the advice or instigation of some of the Abolition party. If this is true, we cannot think such advice or instigation wise, right, or Christian. But we cannot at all wonder at others taking a different view; nor at the warm friends of freedom being ready to join in the affair at the impulse of generous feeling, without any deliberate and calm view of duty, wisdom, or probable consequences. Such a law for maintaining such an institution is sure to produce temporary resistance. Passive resistance might be the wiser and the more Christian course: but Americans are not the men to complain, with such provocations as they have, to be before you the question, How shall we receive Slaveholders? Instead of recognizing the great principles which he stands; for it is plain that if we accept his principles we cannot hold on to our own!"

Thereupon an animated discussion was held. One gentleman thought that it would be policy to say as much of Kossuth, that nobody would think of *them*. The Secretary of the Navy was of opinion that statesmen and their principles were like ships and their armament; there must be a set for each side, besides a few revolving guns set in the middle, and running with equal facility in every direction.

The Secretary of the Army thought it a plain case. "A statesman's real principles are mere heavy artillery, stationed in the fort, and never to be used unless the enemy attacked the fort. But then there was another set of principles to be used in the field—light horse, skirmishers, and flying artillery. Now, gentlemen, I think that Consistency should be applied successfully. You see, gentlemen, just now, that conscience and old-fashioned patriotism, and higher law, are non-interest paying stocks, and our money-changers rule the market. Our statesmen have invested largely in the old securities; but I think we have cornered them. There never was a timidest market for Honor and Truth. Our banks give the old stocks another push down, rush the fanciers a notch or two up, and then, just before the reaction comes, we will sell out, and make a clean profit on the speculation."

The Secretary of State, who had looked remarkably bare-headed, and consequently, in his modesty, gradually cheered up as these counsellors proceeded, and by the time that the bottom bottles had been uncorked he was ready. "Gentlemen, we have been discussing a case as this. If I have been able to render some slight service to my country in former days, I shall not be found wanting in such a case. This Kossuth is a man, I believe, I am therefore praise Kossuth, and praise America, and praise liberty, and say as little about *principle* as possible. Gentlemen, I think we have settled this whole question. It is quite possible for us to take both sides, and to use both sides. We must believe in Slavery, and we must believe in government too. Men have rights; but so have masters. Men must obey their consciences; but they must obey the laws. Men must be free; but Government must be free

olent numbers to be objects of the deepest interest and attention. Their presence gives distinction and peculiar character to a whole section of the land. All other political subjects and interests are absorbed in the political one growing out of their presence.

Can any reasonable man, any thoughtful Christian, therefore, for a moment doubt that in the decrees of Providence, tremendous consequences are connected with this race, to our race, and that their religious improvement is not only a benevolent work, but a duty in which our self-interest is deeply involved? Can any man, with a tincture of Christian feeling and knowledge, fail to perceive that these millions of immortal men, with their countless posterity, were not placed in our midst merely to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, but for purposes as mysterious, but as far from being the blessing of Him who ruleth over the nations, and appointeth to them the bounds and limits of their habitations, will rest upon us—if not, what can be meant by "a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation," which shall consume our national existence, and number us among the nations of the earth who have been "weighed in the balances and found wanting?"

No adequate provision has yet been made for the moral, religious, and intellectual instruction of our black population. This, our paramount and national duty, is neglected, not simply by the nation or by some of the world, but by the Presbyterian and by no branch of it to so fearful a degree as by the Presbyterian. Our Christian influence upon this population is almost nothing, and it has been attempted our ministrations; and if they did, they are not adapted to their wants. Something more must be done than is doing, or a great national blessing is neglected, and of course a great national delinquency incurred. Something more must be done, or a fearful responsibility will rest upon the Presbyterian Church, which ought to be foremost in the performance of this national obligation, and which is foremost in its feelings of interest in this race. But we must not only feel—we must act. We must not only "say," but "do."

What, then, is necessary to be done? Is there any existing agency sufficient to meet the demand? There is not, as every one is obliged to acknowledge. Whatever is the cause, the blacks do not and will not attend the services of our church. They do not generally attend the services of any denomination. Vast multitudes live and die almost in total ignorance of the Christian religion! In the midst of a Christian population, with "the Sun of Righteousness" shining in full-orbed splendour around them, they "sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death."

It is evident that some instrumentality more potent than now operates must be brought into exercise. A fact generally known suggests what it must be. It is observable that the blacks are very ready to attend religious services performed by one of their own colour. Whatever be the reason of this fact, it is undoubted—that while they will not, in any considerable numbers, attend the instructions of a white minister, though the service be expressly appointed for them, they will flock to hear the preaching of one of their own colour, however illy qualified to instruct them. We say this is the undoubted, indisputable fact, whatever may be the reasons for its existence. Doubtless the reasons are not in "plenty as blackberries;" but as the fact will not be questioned, the causes of it may be passed unnoticed. They, however, it may be said, are sufficiently deep in human nature and the relation of things to produce permanent effects. They are not likely to cease to operate soon, if ever.

Let blacks will and do attend Christian service performed by one of their own colour. They are united in flocks—they have a strong religious tendency. They are susceptible of deep religious impressions, and, under suitable and adequate religious instruction, would doubtless yield abundantly the fruits of Christian knowledge. Indeed the cause of this article believes, that observation on the peculiar traits of the African character suggests strongly, that it is during this race is fitted for religion as it have its fullest development, and exhibit its highest triumphs.

We repeat the fact, our black populations will and do willingly, perseveringly, and in numbers, attend religious instruction by coloured teachers. Here, then, the instrumentality is to be found which must be used to elevate them in moral and religious knowledge. We are not unaware that strong prejudices exist against "negro preachers," and that many still exert back with aversion at the idea of fostering their instruction. It would be a sufficient reply to the objections of such persons, that coloured preachers now exist in numbers, and will continue to exist, and that it would be wise on the part of Christians to take them under their patronage, and endeavour to improve their qualifications. This doubtless would be a wise policy. *But we maintain that coloured ministry* is the only adequate instrument to meet the religious wants of the coloured population, and likely ever to elevate them to an equality with the whites in religious knowledge, and that "manifest destiny" for which Providence has placed them in our midst. Such a coloured ministry it is then the duty of the church to provide. Such a ministry it ought to be made in the discipline of the Presbyterian church, as to admit of an order of coloured ministers. Such ought the slaves and friend, proper efforts should be made to educate and qualify, to an adequate extent, such a class of preachers.

We know that we shall startle the prejudices of many—that many will start at the idea of such—but we know also that this, or something very like it, is imperatively demanded by the condition of this class of our population, and the relations we sustain to it. Nor is the proposition so novel as it may seem. Ordained coloured ministers exist, we believe, in the Methodist and Baptist churches, and why should not such an order exist in the Presbyterian church? With a proper training, such as our church could and should furnish, a coloured ministry it has then the duty of the church to provide. Such a ministry should be made in the discipline of the Presbyterian church, as to admit of an order of coloured ministers. Such ought the slaves and friend, proper efforts should be made to educate and qualify, to an adequate extent, such a class of preachers.

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It is a matter of high gratification to know that the subject presented in this article has been under the consideration of one of our Presbyteries, and has been brought before the Synod of Kentucky, and ultimately the General Assembly, under favorable auspices. J.

TESTIMONY AGAINST SLAVEHOLDING.

It is generally understood that the first African slaves imported into the colonies, now composing the United States, consisted of a cargo of negroes, carried into James River, by a Dutch vessel, in 1620. The situation of the country, covered, as great part of it then was, with the native forest, rendered the cultivation of tobacco, and the practice of purchasing and holding slaves, seems to have been fallen into without much reflection. The first importation occurred about four years before George Fox was born; and, consequently, almost thirty before the Society of Friends was known. When the doctrines of the Society were advanced, and embraced in various parts of North America, negro Slavery was already planted there, and it is probable that, among the converts, numbers were in possession of slaves. Amidst the warm and privations of a newly settled country, labour was in great demand, and the distinction between the conditions of masters and slaves, was therefore less strongly marked than in later times. Little was then thought of the means by which the slaves imported into this land were obtained in their own. It was probably believed, and, perhaps, in some cases correctly, that the condition of the negroes was rather improved than deteriorated, by a transfer to the fertile farms of the western world. Hence, it is not surprising that many of the converts to Quakerism should continue to hold possession of their slaves; and that the practice of holding them should become common. The subject seems to have engaged but little attention from Friends, on this continent, during the time of George Fox. And this is readily accounted for on the supposition that the Slavery, then existing here, had not been assumed a very oppressive character. But, in the West Indian Islands, where Slavery was more predominant, the evils of the system were more clearly and forcibly marked; and he subject aroused the feeling and disturbed the conscience of George Fox, when he visited Barbadoes, in 1671. He then advised Friends of that island to treat their slaves with kindness, "and that, after certain years of servitude, they should make them free." He also gave his judgment, that when released, the slaves of the Lord's Day had the best day, and have no objections which may not be overcome to turn it for the entrance of Slavery? And is there not Cuba close at hand? And the Republic of the Sierra Madre in due training for Reunexation. And as the round and top of all, have we not the Fugitive Slave Law and the New Doctrine of Treason? What has made all these to run. Even the necessary excepting the existence and efforts of the Anti-Slavery Movement? The hearts of the Slaveholders were no softer twenty-five years ago than they are now. They clung to the system which gave them the political control of the whole country as desperately then as now. The State of the Northern mind is certainly no worse than it was then. Even the miserable tools of the tyrant, who either made the accursed law at Washington or carry it into effect at home, were no worse and no better than than now. But the Anti-Slavery agitation has applied the test to all manner of men, and proved them, whether they were true gold or dross. It has worked no alchemic change in the character of the metal itself. The South felt itself in danger, and therefore sought to surround itself with these new outworks. It is the sense of danger and not of security that builds fortifications and extends lines of defence. The North, not yet ready for an effectual resistance of the power that rules over it, made believe hefrightened at the buggaboo. Mr. Webster tricked it out, that so it might postpone that inevitable Day, and so the South had its way again.

Our plan has thus far worked exactly as we expected in all material things. We always believed that the South would be aroused by the movement of this question to that madness that goes before destruction. Perhaps we could hardly have imagined the diabolical impudence of the Fugitive Bill or the infernal absurdity of Judge Kane's Law. But we the civil spirit would cry aloud and send us before it deported from us, we always believed. What has been gained by the Fugitive Bill? One slave dragged back from Boston, against all law, over the protrate institutions of Massachusetts; two from New York; two or three from Buffalo; and three or four from Philadelphia. We do not take into the account those carried back from the Free States along the line of Slavery, for slaves have always been recovered in that debateable land. But in the parts of the country where fugitives have been accumulated safe, these cases make up about the sum of the triumphs of the Fugitive Law. And as an offset, we have the Rescue of Shadrach, the battle of Christiana and the storming of the Syracuse barracoon. How stands the Agitation account? On which side of Profit and Loss is the balance? This Agitation is "the Plan" of the Abolitionists, and we have to thank Mr. Webster for the Slave-catching Judges and Commissioners and their whole tribe for the help they have given us at their own charges. Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers are busy doing our work. It is our business to keep them at it, and in due process of time out of the chaos of conflicting passions and opinions the New Polity will take unto itself shape and substance.—E. G.

ANTHONY SHERMAN.

We heard last week the name of Anthony Sherman was headed editorial columns, and long memories in several of our morning papers. The name is a good name, and has a sort of Puritanical twang to it, as if it were born and brought up in Massachusetts or Connecticut, and had sat for the last two centuries in the high-backed pew of a New England Meeting House, and had a fine family of seventy-thirsty buried at from under the old-fashioned sounding-board of a New England pulpit twice a week, at least, ever since the landing of the May Flower.

Anthony Sherman—Anthony Sherman—It may be a foolish fancy, but the name comes over us like one of those pungent odors, which we have not smelt for nothing remembered in this world, and which fanciful people refer to some former state of existence. Had we any faith in such a fancy, we should be certain that we had known some of the Anthony Shermans a hundred or two years ago, when we had never cooked hats and tied their knee-breeches, and carried our rifles to church to be ready for any sudden inroad of the Savages; when we should have deemed our minister tainted with some foul heresy if his long prayer was short of an hour, or his sermon less than two; when we should have mourned over our very sins if we neglected our meeting-house more than once a week, and have been in dread of eternal damnation had we indulged in ever so grim a joke more than once in a twelvemonth, and that at any other time than the Annual Thanksgiving; when our children were brought up in the fear of God with the fear of good hickory saplings, and heresies and all free thinking were rooted out of the nursery of government at the time of Nullification, was the integrity of the Slave System one of the causes which provoked the Chivalry of South Carolina to appeal to Arms and to the God of Battles? Nothing was heard of it. Nobody was disposed to meddle with it. Or nobody but an obscure handful of fanatics, chiefly confined to Massachusetts, the most notorious of whom, the Mayor of Boston (the Hon. H. G. Otis), though searching diligently and going about like Diogenes with a lantern, could find the existence of all the ills lice to boot, could scarcely find. A quarter of a century before, when Slavery impudently thrust Louisiana into the company of the States, and a dozen years before when, with even more brazen assurance it hullied us out of the South Western Territory, there seemed to be some sense left of the encroaching and grasping nature of Slavery, and some spirit to attempt resistance to it. But Slavery was triumphant in the end, and it was decided that it was bedewed lodged Sovereign Lord and Absolute Master of the whole land.

How stands the case now? Does Slavery feel safe as it did then? Though ever insolent, it is, at least, not the insolence of contempt that it now shows towards us. In those days the subject was never moved in Congress. The chief presses were silent upon it as the grass. The pulpits were busy in their peculiar work of saving souls. The paramount duty of catching negroes had not then been revealed. The feet of those that brought the glad tidings of that great joy were not yet beautiful upon the mountains. The laws as they had existed for forty years were deemed all sufficient for the protection of Slavery. Even when the persistency of the Abolitionists had roused the zeal of the meeting-houses and work-shops of the North to rally about the darling institution of their Southern customers, and Garrison was mobbed and Thompson driven out of the country, the South professed to be satisfied with the loyalty of the North and to regard itself as safe in its mother's keeping. But those halcyon days are past. The consumed dropping of the Abolitionists told us last year on the sons of the North like a heart. The echoes of the North and West were heard in the Capitol. Anti-Slavery could no longer be kept out of Congress. It presented itself, with its credentials in its hand, and insisted upon being heard. Though its seat was vehemently contested, it prevailed, and has been for many sessions the most prominent and loudest member of Congress. Even during the last session, when it had been gagged and its tongue bored through with a hot iron. Its very silence was more eloquent than the loudest phrase, and provoked even more and wider discussion than had followed its freest speech.

And for further jewels of our crown have we not Texas, and the Mexican War, and California, which the accident of the gold discovery, which filled it with a New England population, saved from the talons of Slavery, and New Mexico where Slaves are pouring in in shameful disregard both of "physical geography" and of "Oriental scenery," and Utah, of which the Sons of the Easter Day had the key, and have no objections which may not be overcome to turn it for the entrance of Slavery? And is there not Cuba close at hand? And the Republic of the Sierra Madre in due training for Reunexation. And as the round and top of all, have we not the Fugitive Slave Law and the New Doctrine of Treason? What has made all these to run. Even necessary excepting the existence and efforts of the Anti-Slavery Movement? The hearts of the Slaveholders were no softer twenty-five years ago than they are now. They clung to the system which gave them the political control of the whole country as desperately then as now. The State of the Northern mind is certainly no worse than it was then. Even the miserable tools of the tyrant, who either made the accursed law at Washington or carry it into effect at home, were no worse and no better than than now. But the Anti-Slavery agitation has applied the test to all manner of men, and proved them, whether they were true gold or dross. It has worked no alchemic change in the character of the metal itself. The South felt itself in danger, and therefore sought to surround itself with these new outworks. It is the sense of danger and not of security that builds fortifications and extends lines of defence. The North, not yet ready for an effectual resistance of the power that rules over it, made believe hefrightened at the buggaboo. Mr. Webster tricked it out, that so it might postpone that inevitable Day, and so the South had its way again.

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MR. SCOBLE AT BROOKLYN.

You have mentioned me as the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; but I do not appear in an official character at present. I have come to this country as a private gentleman, on my own account. It is true, I have connected with the object of my journey the cause of the Anti-Slavery Movement; I would also state that an eloquent and able country man of mine has lately visited this country, and I understand he has succeeded in all his objects in preparing as the advocate of emancipation, from the Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain, but rather for private objects. Many have been the attempts made to make me say, that he did not come here as the representative of that society, nor as the exponent of its views with respect to Slavery here. But I think he was very wise, and all—Hon. George Thompson

I feel that it would be wrong if I should make this statement, lest it should be considered that the great body of Abolitionists sympathize with him in the views he expressed here. Such is not the case with respect to the relation in which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society stands to the general question of abolition. Nor is it the case with respect to the special relations it sustains to Anti-Slavery organization in this country.

In the British, then, we are associated with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with which we sympathize as to principle, object and means of action. We have heard, with great delight, political movements taking place in this country, which have for their object the emancipation of Slavery. I allude to the liberty and free soil parties, so far as they confine their movements to the abolition of Slavery in the United States. I have heard with regret, that it has been said, that the position I occupy is a personal one, and that the society to which I belong sympathizes with all the political movements here. But I wish to set my face, in a view to the overthrow of Slavery. I shall now branch some of those topics to which my attention has been directed, and which I have heard discussed, and, although numerous, as clearly as I can, to the understanding of those who have not been accustomed to what the Abolitionists of Great Britain have done.

It was thus that Mr. Scoble introduced himself to his audience at Brooklyn. Since the appearance of our last number, Mr. Lewis Tappan has denied that he had any thing to do with the publication which we made the basis of our article in that paper, and we willingly make this correction of what he deems an "injustice," at the same time that we remark that he justifies our strictures upon Mr. Scoble by repelling as an unjust imputation that he (Mr. T.) would have participated in such an act as that which we charged. But that Mr. Scoble himself was consenting to or cognizant of the preparatory notices of his lecture, is, we hold, very sufficiently indicated by these opening remarks in the lecture itself. That he should have asked his audience to accept him because they might repudiate George Thompson, is a fair inference from the fact that there was a reason for that repudiation, is not, bad as it is, the worst feature of this introduction.

If Mrs Opie did not include, she might very properly have included in her category of Lies, the Lie by implication. If Mr. Scoble knew anything of his audience—and it is not to be supposed that he is ignorant of the position of the Anti-Slavery question in this country—he very well knew that they were not familiar with divisions that have taken place among Abolitionists both here and in Great Britain. Taking advantage of that fact, he boldly and arrogantly assumes that there are no Abolitionists in this country except those represented by the British and Foreign Society. He knows this to be untrue; he knows that there is a large class of persons there, and among them many who were active in bringing about the great act of West India emancipation, who have no respect for, and no connection with, that Society. But grumbling, for the sake of argument, that he might properly assume, with his views, that such persons are not Abolitionists, and so escape the imputation of intended falsehood, he can make no such plea for his reference to Mr. Thompson. He knew that probably not one of his audience had ever supposed that Mr. Thompson proposed himself to be a delegate from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He knew that if any such supposition existed, it was altogether erroneous, and that if he referred to it at all he could only honestly do so to correct it. He knew for grounds that the supposition which he knows to be false exists, he proceeds to justify it by asserting the supposition itself to be unfounded. He creates the falsehood by assuming its existence, and makes it his own in coming forward to contradict it. If there be one thing more than another which he could positively declare to be true of George Thompson, it is that that gentleman would, for no consideration whatever, consent to appear as the Representative of the British and Foreign Society; that he has not for years acted with it; and that he altogether repudiates with the hoast of liberty, never longing to shake off the shackles, never defying the right and the power to make him a slave—*this* sort of religion, this "obedience unto masters," which slaveholders love to teach their slaves, and to have their slaves accept, is a good marketable commodity, and can be reckoned to a penny at its money value. And after this come industry, for that is a thing that grows up with the weeds and the back under the whip, and these have their last work; but last of all, and least of all, a thing, indeed, that there had better be none rather than too much of, is intelligence. Intelligence! What does a slave want of that? He can be about 40 without it; he can be industrious without it; he can be fed and clothed for $1,500 without it. Is it not enough that the master should be intelligent? He is the head, the servant the hand only. Need he hand think? Need it even feel? It needs only nerves from the head, and the power to be obedient when ordered upon; if it be more, it will repine at slavery, it would rather be detected as knaves than exposed as fools, and doubt if he would be gratified at a defence of his honesty which would render necessary a confession, on his part, of a supposed superiority in Mr. Thompson which could have no other foundation than intellectual strength and laughable vanity. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive of any other motive on the part of Mr. Scoble, but a determination to deepen and intensify the prejudice against his distinguished countryman, to strengthen also that which exists against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to recommend himself by such means, to popular favour among Pro-Slavery people. It must have occurred to him that he could not, by such a course, but injure the Anti-Slavery Cause. Possibly he reckoned that as a misfortune; he certainly did not choose to avert it by foregoing the pleasure of indulging his prejudice, of his attachment to a bigoted ecclesiarch, and of his personal vanity. Is this, a stranger might ask, the spirit of Abolitionism? Is it that which has mainly governed Mr. Scoble in his Anti-Slavery relations for a dozen years past.

He was not unmindful, however, of his censuring an Englishman, who had ventured to call this people to account because of their persistence in national crime—positively the sole charge brought against Mr. Thompson—he was pronouncing his own condemnation. It was therefore that he dwelt in general terms. He did not venture to take exception to any particular act, or any particular form of expression of Mr. Thompson, because to have done so would have been to acknowledge that the question of Slavery was one which could not properly be meddled with at all, and especially by an Englishman. For nobody knows better than he that it is a subject, that was rarely complained of; but that he should meddle with it at all. He was feared, and hated because his arguments and his eloquence were irresistible; because his method was unexceptionable; because he could neither be answered nor found fault with; because he was so wise that it was impossible to get up any false issues; because the one great and monstrous sin of this people was, by him, always and continually held up before their eyes, and made so to glare upon them made so hideous in their sight, that they must make hate it, or him dare not stand before their great guilt. He was ever more perfectly embodied the idea of Anti-Slavery; what he aimed at is precisely what all true Anti-Slavery effort ever aims at; his method is precisely that which the cause, to be successful, must naturally and inevitably take; and his fate is precisely that which a true Anti-Slavery Man there is antagonist exists,—to be both hated and feared. It was impossible, therefore, that Mr. Scoble could do anything but exactly that which he did do.

And that was to deny that George Thompson was an Abolitionist at all! Anti-Slavery in England, is the British and Foreign Society, yea its Secretary, and Mr. Thompson is not its representative. Hate him as you please; distrust him as you please; mob him as you please; he is no preacher of Anti-Slavery. It is I, John Scoble, who am the Apostle of that Gospel, and I shall prophesy to you most things not pleasant, and not harsh things, and things hard to hear and to bear.

Is it necessary for us to stop to characterize such Anti-Slavery as that?

Mr. Scoble knew he might say what he pleased of Mr. Thompson, and that the Brooklyn audience, who could deny or confirm his statements. But he had yet to dispose of Anti-Slavery in America. There must be, he knew, some sort of vague notion in his audience that there were such people as Abolitionists in this country; that they had done, and were doing, something—very generally considered, I suppose, wrong—when they reflected what this Slavery question now is in the land. And what was George Thompson to these? What he to himself is, Mr. Scoble declares, Mr. Thompson is not, he says he will answer all impertinent questions. "I am the Representative of the British and Foreign; I sympathize with American and Foreign, and also with the Free Soil and Liberty parties. Mr. Thompson stands not with me in the first position; neither can he in the two last. He is not an Abolitionist at home; neither is he abroad. In him I am not represented. In me, the true view."

A question or two before that Brooklyn audience would have put Mr. Scoble in a very awkward position. But as we were not there, and they are not before us now, it is hardly worth while even to suggest them. Mr. Scoble, however, might have included within the circle of his sympathies the American Society also, as the principles which he has been advocating in his recent public labours in this country,—we have the authority of Frederick Douglass for saying so,—are identical with those of that Society. Nor does that differ from the Liberty Party, for instance is not only an Anti-Slavery party, but it affirms the United States Constitution to be Anti-Slavery also, and through it they would, if they could, abolish Slavery in all the States. The Free Soil party, on the contrary, does not only recognizes the Compromises of the Constitution, but avows its determination to abide by them, and declares that it has no right or intention to interfere with Slavery where it is established. Yet Mr. Scoble is in unity with both these political parties of opposite principles, and all sympathizes, also, with the American and Foreign Society, without any purpose at all, for the excellent reason that, in fact, he is not Anti-Slavery at all. The friends of the Liberty and Free Soil parties may speak for themselves, the praise of their defamer of George Thompson, that he is not an Anti-Slavery Society, though making with its auxiliaries, an expenditure of from two to four, of from eighteen to twenty thousand dollars, would raise an Anti-Slavery existence should be ignored by Mr. Scoble, as that of a little worm in the presence of an Anti-Slavery sympathy of such easy virtue.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN ENGLAND.

The following expression of feeling from the Bristol and Clifton (England) Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society on the occasion of a recent visit of Mrs. Chapman and her sister to the city of Bristol, was adopted at a meeting of the Society held on the 22d of October:

We embrace the earliest opportunity of our assembling together, after the departure of Mrs. Chapman and the Misses Weston from Bristol, to express the high gratification we have derived from the visit of our beloved friends, and spirit in which our sacred energies have been enlisted in the cause of humanity, that we feel bound to express our sympathy with our sisters, the assurance, the interest, and the principles, thus

THE PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN.—The last number but one of our Pennsylvania coadjutor contained a valedictory address of C. M. BURLEIGH, who has been its editor for several years past, much to the satisfaction, we understand, of the Committee of the Pennsylvania Society, and of the readers of the *Freeman* generally. Mr. Burleigh now, however, changes the field of his labors to devote himself to lecturing, and OLIVER JOHNSON has taken the vacant editorial chair of the *Freeman*, which, if he does not fill to the satisfaction of every body, will, we are sure, be their misfortune rather than his fault. In the last No. of the paper he thus addresses his readers:

THE EDITOR TO HIS READERS.

The readers of *The Pennsylvania Freeman* were informed that it would be immediately placed under the care of a new Editor; but my friend Burleigh unfortunately confined to bell them who had been his successor, thereby subjecting me to the necessity of introducing myself. Except, however, for the gratification of a mere personal curiosity on the part of readers aforesaid, there was no need of any formal introduction, and I am, on the whole, glad that my advent is so entirely unceremonious. Those who were present at the recent Anniversary were fully informed of the impending change; and if to others my appearance is a surprise, I hope it will not be an unpleasant one. Identified, as I have been, with the Anti-Slavery Movement from its very beginning, I can never find myself a stranger among Philanthropists of any locality—certainly not among those of Pennsylvania, where my first labors as an AGENT of the American Anti-Slavery Society were performed, and where I have at various times received so many tokens of kindness and confidence.

Having called by my presence and co-operation in the formation of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, I come now, after the lapse of thirteen eventful years, to serve that Society in a position which, while it affords opportunity for great usefulness, involves also very high responsibility. That responsibility I shall feel, and if I were not sure of the generous sympathy and hearty co-operation of those with whom I am to be associated, my courage would fail me at the threshold. Assured of such aid, confident of the goodness of the cause, and trusting implicitly in the protecting care of God of Freedom and Truth, I enter upon the discharge of my duties in a sanguine and hopeful spirit.

The occasion calls for no elaborate declaration of principles, still less does it require any parade of promises and professions; for, in respect to the Press, a degree of caution involves nothing that is new, while a little over offensive to those who know how to judge the tree by its fruit. The *Freeman* is the organ of a Society with whose principles all its readers are familiar. Its character has been formed, its reputation established, by my predecessors; into whose labors it is my privilege to enter. It is enough, therefore, for me to say, that the principles of which it has heretofore been so able and faithful an exponent, are those which I most earnestly cherish, and which it will be my object to unfold and disseminate as widely as possible. To this end it is my purpose to devote such ability as I possess, and the strength derived from an experience of twenty years in the Editorial profession. Mindful of an Anti-Slavery Editor's responsibilities and duties in fair higher than I can hope to attain, but it will ever be my aim to make *The Freeman* a welcome guest in every household where the love of Freedom and Humanity is cherished, a minister of life and strength to every Anti-Slavery heart, and an agent for imparting light and liberty to the ignorant, for dissipating unfounded prejudices, for the eradication of false principles, for inspiring every where within the Free States a more fervent hatred of Wrong and a purer love for the Right, and for awakening the people to a keener sense of the sin of Human Slavery and of the obligations that rests upon them instantly to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free.

In, the discharge of my duties I shall doubtless be brought into conflict with hostile parties, sects and individuals, and necessity will be laid upon me to expose to the reproclamation of the good and the true that sanctimonious Republicanism which, with loud professions of reverence for University Liberty, forges new chains for the millions of Gods, and that conservative Christianity which claims the sanction of Heaven for making merchandise of human flesh and domining millions of the human race to the degradation and brutishness of a worse than Egyptian bondage, or professing hostility to Slavery, yet leaves its victims without relief and strikes hands with their oppressors in Church and State. In dealing with opponents, of whatever grade or profession, while I shall aim to be just and even generous to them, that their humility may be without excuse and the power of truth in their consciences inspired by no feeling of self-justification.

That the relation thus consummated between the undersigned and the readers and friends of this journal may contribute to our mutual happiness and usefulness, and to the advancement of the cause in which we are enlisted—the cause of Truth, Freedom and Righteousness—is my earnest hope and ardent prayer.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

Communications.

[FOR THE A. S STANDARD.]

Notes and Comments, Observations and Reflections, Scenes and Sketches, Gleanings by the Way-side, &c, &c.

BY AN ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURER.

NO. III.

ELYON, Oct. 20, 1851.

Is not this a great country? This land of the *free* and home of the *brave*—when Christians and Republicans hunt and fester humanity, in the name of God and Freedom! Yes, this is a great country, a *Christian* country, a land of *Liberty*, and of *Free!* Yes, of course, *And Christian* too! Yes, to be-sure. Are not the people of this country free to do all they have the power to do? Are not the strong among them free to rob and plunder the weak? Who wants greater freedom than this? And as to Christianity, don't the pious Christians of this country hold up a copy of the Bible to them, to buy Bibles to send to the perishing heathen of other lands? Who wants a purer and more benevolent Christianity than this? The Devil. The Devil—no, just about the same, I should think. If the Devil don't reign in his slave every time he thinks of the United States, he is more bad than we have, And, if any man, being who has a soul, can think of the state of things, in this country, without feeling his blood boil through every vein and artery, to the extremities of his system, and freeze again by the time it reaches his heart, he must have a very *small* soul, or, to say the least, a very calm one.

Why, what have we here, in this country, in the last half of the Nineteenth Century? A Gospel declaring its fundamental principles to be love supreme to a God of universal and impartial justice, and as sacred a regard for the rights and interests of our neighbours as for our own. A Declaration which sets forth the absolute inalienability and entire equality of human rights which unequivocally asserts the self-evidency of truths which bound, as an execrable monster, the wretch who dares to assail the personal freedom of the poorest and weakest member of the human family. And, what then? O, *wonder of wonders! Horror of Horrors!* *What then?* A nation of people, claiming as their own, and glorifying the one, and professing to centre their hopes, for time and eternity, in the other—doing what? Crying aloud against the wickedness of the world? No. Throwing open the prison-doors of the wronged and plundered captive? No. Pleading for the dumb? Breaking every yoke? binding up the broken heart? No, no. Nothing of the kind. *What then?* *Deliberately standing with their cloven hoofs upon the torn and bleeding necks of three millions of their own countrymen, whose rights they confess are sacred and dear as their own!!*

Now I challenge all the assailants of Popery and Paganism, to find, in the history of any age or country, a parallel to the brazen impiety, the desperate wickedness, the haggard oppression and the white-faced hypocrisy, of the professedly *Christians* and *Republicans* of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. The destestable Pharisees of Christ's time, are not to be compared with this company, excepting, perhaps, in reference to the frequency and length of their prayers and their exceeding great reverence for the *House* and the *Word* of God. The history of the dark ages, so called, stands all over, as it is, with innocent blood, will, all things considered, compare more than favourably with the history of this country, when it shall have been faithfully written. ENGLAND is an *old grey headed sinner*; AUSTRIA is a *bloodhirsty tyrant*; FRANCE a *religious tyrant and political juggler*. But the UNITED STATES is a DEVIL INCARNATE, *clothed in the garb of an angel of light!* Nowhere this side of the *infernal regions* can the parallel be found; and whether or not it can be found *there*, will depend altogether upon how much the actual wickedness of the place exceeds all human powers of description—*Pollock's* and *Edwards'* included. By the powers of this *government*, and by the consent and approval of the *religion* of this land, more than three millions of our fellow beings are confined in the infernal prison-house of *imbruting and unending* BONDAGE. Untold millions dered humanity sold in the loins of their fathers, beauties of Creation, and their feet tread the soil professedly *consecrated to freedom*, on the crowded bruises of the *land of the Free!* Read the following extract from the letter of a young and beautiful slave girl, to her mother, while in the slave prison, waiting to be sold to the traffickers in human souls, from H. C. WRIGHT's '*Science of Man.*'

"My dear mother, will you please to come as soon as you can? I expect to go away very shortly. O, mother, my dear mother! come now and see your distressed and heart-broken daughter once more! Mother, my dear mother! do not forsake me, for I feel desolate. Please to come now.

"YOUR daughter,

"EMILY RUSSEL."

Her owner declared her the most *beautiful woman in the country.*

Such is the situation to which every seventh woman in this nation is, every day, liable. Let Earth be clothed in mourning. Let Heaven blush for humanity Let the stones in our streets cry out. Let HELL peal forth a cry of *horror* that shall pierce the American heart, and shed tears of heartfelt pity for the victims of *American rapacity*, and pour out burning indignation and burning rebuke upon the deliberate supporters and perpetrators of *American villainy*. The American *Government* authorizes this *Heathish* work, and the American *Church* sanctions it. But who are the American Government and the American Church? The American *people* who organize and support them. On *their* broadloors rests the responsibility, on their souls the *guilt*.

If Justice awards eternal fire to the common sinner, in the next world, how the narrow, selfish souls of *American bloodhound* DOCTORS OF DIVINITY will shrivel up, when they are brought face to face, at the bar of God, with the spectral victims of their hypocrisy here. How the flames of Hell will leap forth to embrace the souls of pious American Slaveholders and their abettors, when the Devil shall have claimed his own.

I am no believer in eternal vengeance, or eternal fire, or in arbitrary, unfeeling torture, at all, under the Divine administration. But that the American soul must be specially purified, or be *damned*, in point of consequence, as it is now in point of fact, I have not the shadow of a doubt.

Two weeks last Sunday, I lectured in the church in this place (Elton, town of Freedom), in the afternoon and in the evening. REAR-ADMIRAL LACKNOW kindly consenting to give way for me, in the afternoon. The day was stormy, and but few were out; more in the evening; a good degree of interest manifested; a fair expression of determination to labour for the extermination of the Slave Power. Lectured here again last Sunday evening, for the second time, to a crowded house, which is about the same thing with me. '*Preached!*' says some friend, 'I didn't know you were a preacher.' 'But I am though.' 'But what authority do you presume to preach?' 'Not by that of the Synods, Associations or Conferences of Christendom, I assure you. I was never set apart for the service, by 'laying on of hands' ' 'What right, then, have you to preach?' '*Divine right!* Let me ask a question: What *right* have you to question my right to preach? Answer that, or hold your peace.' 'Mrs. Foster used to tell the people I was a *reformed* preacher. A slight mistake of hers. The reformation went before the preaching. But for that fortunate circumstance, I might, with much more propriety, can boast of a great number of—an unreformed preacher. But we will talk about these things hereafter, if necessary.'

Lectured here again last evening. The friends met to organize. Through a misunderstanding, only the men came, and not many of them. Much as the master fear to listen to the voice of the Church and dare not, and admit it, in the abstract, than to not upon it One woman was present; and what was remarkable about that, she *remained*, though a few others came, and left because more were not there. *She* was a *mother*, and had a mother's heart. Other women would, doubtless, have left, but for the fear of understanding. This place promises very fair. Some fifteen have pledged life, fortune, honour, in behalf of human rights. One other would go it all but fine and resolute.

II. CHRONICLES, CHAPTER I.

BY ULRIC.

[FOR THE STANDARD.]

Now it came to pass in those days that King Zachary died, and was buried with great pomp; and many made loud lamentations over him.

2. Zachary was a great warrior, and the fame of his valour in battle had made him to be King over the people.

3. Now Zachary did neither good or evil while he was King.

4. Howbeit he was a great man, and he had many servants, and much land, and cattle, and slaves.

5. And there were many beggars in those days, who fought with each other fiercely for the crumbs of office and favor at the King's table.

6. Moreover it perplexed the King greatly to divide the crumbs, so as to keep them quiet.

7. But Zachary had hardly settled the kingdom by the appointment of the great men, and the mighty men of the land, to posts of honor and profit, when he was smitten with disease and died.

8. Now, when the King was dead and they had buried him in all the cities of the land, as the manner is to bury Kings, they took Millard, who rode in the second chariot, and made him King in his stead.

9. Now Millard was of the common people, and was put in the second chariot by reason of the great fame of Zachary, and not because he was a wise or brave warrior, for Millard was a timid man of the race of doughfaces.

10. Nevertheless, they made him King, and all the Chaldeans and dough-faces bowed down to him, but the Tidalites refused to bend to homage.

11. Now, when Zachary died, the Sachems of the land met together in the city of Ivah, into the great Temple, to make laws for the people.

12. Now the Chaldeans ruled in the land, and worshipped an Idol which they had set up in the South, called Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im.

13. And the Chaldeans offered to this god (which they had set up above all gods, even the God of heaven) the weaker people of the land in sacrifice.

14. And the weaker people of the land had none but the Tidalites to help them, and the Tidalites were few, for many that were Tidalites afterwise had turned to the dough faces and gone a-whoring after the god of the Chaldeans, Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im.

15. Now the number of the people that were delivered to be burned upon the altar of this idol of the South to be burned upon the altar of this idol of the South were three millions two hundred and fifty thousand and men, women and children.

16. And, notwithstanding the number was so great, yet the Chaldeans (who were, as their name signifies, yet the Chaldeans (who were, as their name signifies, demons and robbers) were unwilling that one should escape the miserable life and hopeless death to which they were devoted.

17. And they also desired that their Idol, Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im, should become the god of the land, and none be permitted to hold office, or buy or sell, but those who worshipped him.

18. And many of the Tidalites forsook the God of their Fathers and said it was expedient to worship Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im, and obey his law, for it was higher than the law of the God of heaven.

19. And moreover, some of the priests of these apostates said to the people that the God of heaven had commanded that the law of the Idol should be obeyed, and the people answered and said, Amen.

20. Now when the Sachems were gathered together in the great temple of law that stood in the midst of the city, Baal-hermon, who had often desired to be King, and Beoh, Sachems of the Chaldeans, and Busi, the prince of dough-faces, and Dan, the Apostate, with many more who worshipped Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im.

21. They sought to make laws to honour their God, and give him power over the land, and bring back those that had fled from his altar, and to have no mercy upon the poor of the land, but to hunt them like beasts, and bring them in chains into the power of the Chaldeans.

22. Now this law was odious to Eubulus and all the Tidalite lawyers and their brethren of the North land, but the power of the Chaldeans was strong, and the Chaldeans and the Dough-faces made the law.

23. And king Millard, who reigned now in the place of Zachary, must sign the law or it would not be binding, but he, being of the race of Dough-faces, signed the law, commanding all the Tidalites in the land to worship the Idol of the South or else be hunted down and be imprisoned, so then all the worshipers of Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im, held Jubilee because the laws of their god had become the law of the land

24. Now one of the mighty men who stood next the throne of king Millard was Dan the apostate; this Dan aforetime had hated the Idol of the South and would not worship him.

25. But Dan forsook the god of his fathers, and followed after strange gods and goddesses, Mammon, Bachus, and Venus, and he became a son of Belial.

26. Now when the law was passed, that all the victims fleeing from the tortures of the Idol of the South should be caught and returned in chains, Dan became a priest of the Idol he had hated aforetime, and preached sabbath-day to all the people, saying they must worship this god, for there is no other god like him, and his law was above every other law.

27. So Dan came to the land of his Fathers and passed through it, preaching submission to the people. Howbeit in the city of Yankeedom they would not permitted him to preach in the Synagogue, and he turned away in anger; and afterward came to the land of the Gothamites

28. Now in the city of Gotham were many sons of Belial, who were rich in gold, and silver, and merchandise of all kinds, and they knew no god but Mammon, whom they worshipped.

29. But when Dan, the priest of Cu-shan-rish-a-tha-im, expounded the worship and law of his god to them, and had then the Chaldeans would buy their merchandise no more; for they would buy only of those who had promised submission: And the priests of the Gothamites said, Amen.

30. And the sons of Mammon in the city of Gotham gave to Dan the goodliest chariot to be found in all the land, with fine horses to draw it, so Dan was strengthened in his heart, and the chief merchants of the Gothamite merchants and priests were quieted.

31. Now, in the middle of the land of Gotham, was the city of Salt: in this city, and in the regions round about, were many Tidalites, who would not submit to the law of the Idol of the South, but hunted down, and often held councils to overthrow his power, and save from death his tortured victims; and when any of them escaped to them, they would not return them, but held the law in derision.

32. And Dan came to the city of Salt, and, being a great man, he spake to the people, and the dough-faces that came around crawling upon their bellies to lick his feet; and when the dough-faces heard his voice, they cried and said, it is the voice of the God-like.

33. And Dan took up his parable and said, he is known to all who hate the law, and worship, of the God of the South, that King Millard will even send to the city of Salt, which is in the midst of the land of Gotham, and fetch thence the escaped victims of his god, and the he will do, if need be, in the midst of the next council of the Chaldeans assembled.

34. And Dan defied the power of the Tidalites, and departed to give an account unto King Millard of their disobedience.

35. For the Tidalites in the city of Salt and in the regions round about, being mighty men, and men of renown, had prevailed against the law of the God, and feared not the King, neither would they obey the law in giving up the victims of the Idol of the South.

36. And in process of time, when the wrath of the King had waxed hot, and the Tidalites in all the land of Gotham had met together in the city of Salt, to consider how to break the power of the Idol and release his victims.

37. Then the King sent an officer of the sons of Belial to take from the city of Salt one of the poor of the land, who had escaped thither and was protected by the Tidalites of the place.

38. Now this poor man was taken and chained and dragged to the Hall of Judgment, for no crime but that of being a poor, so poor that, according to the law by which he was to be tried and condemned, he could not own his itself.

39. Then did the Tidalites rebel against King Millard and Dan the God-like, and all the Sachems and officers who made the law, and they took away by violence the poor man from the power of the Belialite Court, and sent him to a place of safety.

40. Then did the wrath of the King and his ministers become exceeding hot, and they raised the cry of treason throughout the land, and sent forth men to punish the rebellious Tidalites with death, and the Dough-faces exold, Amen.

COMPROMISE.

DANVERS NEW MILLS, ELEVENTH Mo. 3, 1851.

FRIEND GAY: In renewing my subscription for *The Standard*, I have an opportunity to speak one word for the cause it advocates. I think I will improve it.

"No Compromise of Principles" should be a watchword for Reformers. It has been so with many in the Anti-Slavery cause. High as was the position first taken by the American Anti-Slavery Society, it has been long and fully sustained. Indeed the Anti-Slavery Reform could never have been so firmly planted on any other basis than that of absolute Right, or carried on with such hopeful success by any power other than the moral power of Truth. The cause must have had a vitality of faith unusual in the influence of moral teachings upon the human mind. They must have believed in the efficiency of that sublime course of moral action which the Saviour taught and which it is so hard for men to believe. They have faith and stand firmly—they directed their course by the rules of moral right, and have had success. What but success could be expected from such a course? what from such faith but steadfast support of the righteous cause? I speak of the Reformers—the true and faithful Reformers, the multitude have no such faith yet. Many individuals who have espoused the Anti-Slavery cause, and attempted to stand upon its high platform, have left it in disgust when they learned that it could not be lowered to suit their inclinations, or that their moral principles are immutable. But there are others who give it their aid in all sincerity, partly perceiving the beauty and purity of moral action, but who still want full confidence in the power of simple truth alone, to induce a mutual change as unjust to yield the slave his rights. May the faith of the unfaithful give strength to theirs. Outlawed as they are, it is not strange that slaves, who have heard no holier teachings, should stand upon their natural rights and defend them, as at Christiana, by physical force and with deadly weapons. It is not strange that the colourd man, drawn together by a common sympathy, influenced by the example of the fighting world around them, should use clubs and pistols against the common foe. But why should men who have learned higher principles waver? Why should those who believe in the *truth* of Christian principles disbelieve in their *power?* Principles which are impotent in time of new-test trial are unworthy of support.

I lately heard a man, who has long been a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a noted lecturer for the cause, speak very unceasingly of that Society because it discountenances a resort to arms, in any emergency, in defence of the slave's right to liberty. I rejoice that it is so. What to him seemed a reproach, appears to me the great hope of the slave. I most earnestly wish, for the sake of humanity, that not only the Society, but each member of that Society, as an individual, would at all times discountenance resort to arms. The cause of human equality and brotherhood cannot rest on Tyranny's own foundation—that of physical force. Victory, even, in a good cause, if won by violence and bloodshed, is little else than total defeat. It is a short apparent success purchased at the price of corruption.

There is a better way to defend the Right than by building up an error, for after generations to combat. If professed Christians, and consequently professed Christian principles, War, and its terrible offspring, Slavery, had not been known now.

It is true that some Abolitionists, who once advocated the use of the weapons of truth alone, now recommend far other and weaker weapons. I am sorry that it is true. It is also true that those who once were engaged in the cause who persuade others to approach the high stand which they occupy instead of descending to the lower themselves. They are men whom unceasing opposition cannot defeat, the desertion of friends dishearten, or persecution intimidate; and if no accompanying prejudice of education or early habit, and the principles which they stand upon, there is hope for the cause of humanity yet. N. PAGE, JR.

Miscellaneous News.

FATHER MATHEW will publish copious notes of his tour in America immediately after his return home. His Secretary, C. B. Mahony, Esq., will edit the works.

—DANIEL WEBSTER is said to have received $5,000 for his argument of the great India Rubber case in Boston last week.

—It is stated that a project is on foot for a World's Fair at New York next year, to be held in a glass palace, similar in material and structure to that at London, but much smaller.

—THE VOTE FOR FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—At the Whig Convention in Syracuse, on Wednesday last, for the Rochester city district, twenty-one votes were cast for Frederick Douglass.

—There is a Whig Congressional Convention in this City District, subscribed to the call of a State Convention in Massachusetts, with a view of nominating Mr. Webster for the President.

—A PRETTY HARD CASE.—The *Evening Post* says no Illinois editor, speaking of a *manumit slave* in that quarter, "ever ventures to mention God, and *Sabbath* they have had in that city for the last five years.

—A BLACK GENERAL.—General Avalos, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mexican forces in Tamaulipas, is about as black as the present Emperor of Hayti. Dr. Miller, our Consul, arrived at Tampico, on the mouth of the Rio Grande jocosely told Avalos that if he were sought east of the Colorado, he would readily sell for a prime negro, and he would be a fine one.

—A COLOURED PREACHER MISSING.—The Rev. Mr. Everett, a coloured preacher, in this city, left his residence in Sullivan-st. on Friday morning last, and, so far as heard, has not been seen since that day to the great grief of his family.

—A JONAH UNHEEDED!—Our neighbour of *The Express* (says the *Tribune*) went all the way up to Syracuse to save the Union in a Speech, which does not seem to have been wanted there. The Speech, in question of that sallow locality, especially the suggestion that the present Constitution of the State expires in twenty per cent. on Salt would be repealed if the Salt Pointers didn't evince more alacrity in man-hunting—which was greeted by one unanimous hiss of derision and derision Give the Syracusans the Enlarged Canals and they will sell Salt extensively, duty or no duty. The Speech is published in the newspaper's effort we copy from *The Western State Journal:*

A REMONGUE IN THE "RURAL DISTRICTS"

Master Editor—Some time since I wrote to Old City to explain to us, on Saturday last, our duties, and quoken our moral perceptions in relation to the Fugitive Slave Law. Your Speech was received by many of the citizens of Syracuse and of the county of Onondaga were opposed to it, in feeling and in principle, but having "saved the Union" for your Speech, it appeared considerable length upon the fact, that prejudice existed over there against the Fugitive Slave Law, and intro and formed a part of our social organization, and was as inexplicable as it was general. It was delightful to witness your Speech, in the Rural Districts, and disclaiming that he, "a poor worm of the dust," should question or seek to change this divine order of things, which had been the best lice of the Colonies, and which the scale of society so far below the White one, and it was an exhibition of patriotism which I am sure very few persons would have conceived, when he claimed that the protection of the Fugitive Slave Law was necessary to preserve the Union, and compelled to see the Irish and German labourers would meet in that of runaway slaves, if they were allowed to come and remain here as free men. Upon this point he rose to a considerable length, appealing to the prejudices of foreigners especially, and attempting to ridicule the effort made in Syracuse to elevate the Negro, and the moral and social condition of the negro. It was the most distasteful, mean and contemptible speech I ever heard, in this respect.

This argument was only equalled by the one he made use of in *The Express*, a few days later the affair of Oct. 1, and which he repeated here on Saturday, that in consequence of that affair, efforts would this Winter be made in Congress, with the object of the duty on Foreign Salt. The storm of hisses which greeted his ears as he dragged in this threat to intimidate us, was significant of the feeling of the people, and he was no cause out of it. He said he had heard several Members of Congress speak of it as a matter of course, but what was, he said, he had suggested it before he did. Master Brooks was silent. The honour of its paternity is due to himself, and those who have heard him speak of the Fugitive Slave Law are worthy of them who made them. They could only have originated in a heart essentially selfish, necessary and unfeeling, and in a mind, if it can be, of the moral and social condition of the negro. It was the most distasteful, mean and contemptible speech I ever heard, in this respect.

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It is at least singular that sensible men should resort to such arguments, to convince a people of their error in holding the law in utter abhorrence Mr. Brooks attempted to intimidate the people of this city, as a matter of moral principle—a question of right or wrong which cannot be changed by any fear of compulsion, or prejudice, of course not which will only become stronger, more decided, and more unyielding, with every contemptible effort to force or bribe them by a threatened compulsion, to do the business of the city. If the Union is not yet sufficiently sound without taking off the duties, it is time it was, and we submit to it—but the Fugitive Slave Law, and they who then seek to enforce our regard for it, will still be held in contempt, as they have been.

—IMPORTANT FROM ST. DOMINGO.—By an arrival at this port last week advices are received from Genaives, St. Domingo, to the 10th inst. We learn by this arrival that the Emperor has made a treaty of peace between the American, French, and English authorities to force the Emperor, (Soulouque) to respect the true towards the Dominicans. They had drawn up proposals for him to sign, and in the event of his refusing, the three powers would force him to sign it. The Emperor was at Genaives with about 8,000 men, and was to have given an answer to the proposals at that place, but did not. The Emperor promised to do so at Port au Prince, where he was going.

A later arrival at Boston brings letters stating that the Emperor remained at Port au Prince, and that the Cape, and would reach Port au Prince in a few days from whence he would return, and give an answer to the American, French and English Consuls. He had interfered in behalf of the Dominicans. Nothing satisfactory had transpired. Coffee was selling at $7 6 a $78, Hayitian currency, per 100 lbs.

—PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT IN REGARD TO EXPEDITIONS AGAINST MEXICO.—Washington, Thursday, 23.—The following has been issued by the President:

PROCLAMATION.—*Whereas*, there is reason to believe that a Military Expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States for the purpose of invading the Mexican Republic, with the intention of so doing; and whereas, there is reason to apprehend that a portion of the people of this country, regardless of their duties as good citizens, are engaged in, or may be induced to take part in the same; and whereas, such enterprises tend to degrade the character of the United States in the opinion of the civilized world, and are expressly prohibited by law; Now, therefore, I have issued this proclamation, hereby commanding all such shall connect themselves with any such enterprise, in violation of the laws and National obligation of the United States, to withdraw therefrom, and I do hereby call on the civil authorities, and the military, to be vigilant in arresting for trial and punishment every such offender.

MILLARD FILMORE.

The proclamation is issued on information received that some Texans had organised and crossed the frontier.

—ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.—Mr. C. L. Remond gave an excellent lecture on Sunday evening, and there was a large attendance for the full evening. Mr. Remond in the course of his remarks alluded to a change of views in his own mind, during the last year, with respect to the Anti-Slavery measures. The support given in the Free States to the Fugitive Law showed him that the Union were dissolved, the line between the supporters and opponents of Slavery might as well be drawn through Massachusetts as by Mason and Dixon's line. Prior to the date of his lecture, Mr. Remond read an interesting account of the Syracuse rescue, by John Thomas, and he concluded his address in spirited and eloquent manner.—*Essex County Freeman.*

—THE SYRACUSE RESCUE CASE.—Mr. James Lear and Mr. Smith, of Marion, (Wayne) Co., remarks the *(Boston Courier)* reached St. Louis on Saturday last, on their return home from the fruitless attempt to recover their slave, Wilcox, who became entitled, under the provisions of the fugitive slave law. The St. Louis Republican says that these gentlemen, as soon as they reached the city, made a public statement of the whole affair, and of the causes that led to its disgraceful failure. They give the fullest sympathy to the resolution of Gerritt Smith, introduced into the abolition meeting at Syracuse, after the arrest of the slave had been consummated. The statements throughout appear to be a tissue of the vilest calumny. The Republican closes its article with the following tribute to the fidelity with which the Federal officers, in Syracuse, have endeavored to execute the law in good faith:

It gives us great pleasure to be able to add, as we do on the authority of Mr. Lear and Mr. Smith, that every officer of the National Government whose services were called into requisition, from the several Deputy Marshals, the District Attorney and others—all manifested the most perfect willingness to execute the law at all hazards. Not a finger was lifted in the performance of his duty. They were beaten and mauled by the ruffians, but this did not change their determination; and in the case of Deputy Marshal Hall, it is certain that the law will yet be executed in New York.

—ANOTHER RESCUE OF A FUGITIVE.—At Ottawa on Sunday week, by a number of Indiana strangers, come into the city in a buggy, driving a white horse. They inquired the way to some known place, and were directed accordingly. The river was pointed out to them, far from town, before they were pursued and overtaken by Mr. Constable Skinner, and several others, who, although they were in sight, arrived too late about to arrest them, when one of them showed his free papers, and they were allowed to go on their way, but the other was taken by force, and brought back down, where he was placed on a canal boat and started towards La Salle, with a view of its being placed on a steamboat and conveyed to his master at St. Louis. At Lock No. 11, however, the negro was taken from the officers, who were somewhat hurried by the hands of the people, and the boat went on without him. In relation to the matter the Free Trader says:

"We wish to call attention to one fact, and that is that in all their steps in this transaction, neither Mr. Lear nor any of his abettors had the first scrap of a warrant or process of law of any kind whatever. It was a plain piece of kidnapping, and as such the perpetrators should be liable to be indicted and punished. We shall be the last to oppose a proper officer in the rightful execution of the fugitive slave law, but we are free to say, that arresting a person, whether black or white, bond or free, without complying strictly with the letter of its provisions. And we believe this to be the general sentiment of this community."

—A FEMALE PEDESTRIAN.—A Miss Cushman, of St. Louis, Missouri, has undertaken to walk a mile an hour for 1000 consecutive hours. She has commenced at 6 P M. on Friday the 10th instant, and during her first twenty-four hours, her quickest mile was performed in twenty minutes and twelve seconds, and the rest at various periods between. She is said to be in good health, as well as spirits. While on duty, she is dressed in full Bloomer costume, consisting of a pink dress, pink trousers, and bonnet trimmed with silvery-colored lace. The pink dresses were drawn together to witness this novel spectacle.

THE CUBAN CORRESPONDENCE.—Respecting certain, inquiries addressed by the acting Secretary of State, Mr. Crittenden, in reply to some recent communications from the Ministers of France and England in Spain, the Secretary of State, in a letter, he has pains to say, that we understand the character given to the Secretary's letters by the intelligent correspondent of *The Herald*, is perfectly just. The spirit of the letter and the language of the letters is plain, direct, and frank, it is true; but there is in them nothing in the slightest degree unfriendly or unparliamentary. The Secretary, in his own character and dignity, or the respect due to the distinguished gentlemen to whom he addressed, that the letters were able, forcible and manly, as well as respectful and courteous, no American need be told.—*National Intelligencer.*

—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW ON THE MEXICAN FRONTIER.—WILD CAT AND THE INDIANS.—*Sept.* 20. —The sheriff of San Antonio de Bexar arrived here a few days ago, in pursuance of a requisition, for the purpose, it appears, of securing some of Wild Cat's negroes, who are claimed by sundry individuals in the Northern States. He has with him sundry documents to establish claims, and accordingly went to work, and the Indian Chief, Wild Cat, gave up the chief of the negroes attached to Wild Cat, and the same who commanded the negro warriors in the Florida war. It appears that he claimed this same negro for some purpose, and before he was aware of being looked for, found himself pinioned and in the hands of the white people. The other negroes, including the chief, and that of a lad named Mango, the son of Austin, Wild Cat's chief counsellor, and a stranger to fear or fear, and whose arrest I witnessed. There was no attempt made to stop the sheriff in his course, and the prisoners were under guard, and no rescue has thus far been attempted.

On the day following the arrest, Goffer John's *free negro* was found in and in the vicinity of Fort Duncan, the commandant of Fort Duncan, who, after examining the same, gave it as his opinion that Goffer John was a white Wild Cat, and ordered his arrest, which he attendance, and when a Big Talk was had, Wild Cat appeared in grand costume, wearing his sable plume and tomahawk, and pleading according to his nature, (that is to say, painted for war), and his men had likewise called for the fight, and the Indian which Wild Cat looked pretty much like so many devils of the secret class, and much talking did it require to keep the judiciary every cline, and the Indian witnesses, and Wild Cat concluded to keep cool, and wait for the authorities to give his wooly headed friends their liberty once more. The Indian witnesses were all taken across the Mexican river and rescue the prisoners, but the Mexican captain notified them that if they did so, he would *fire* upon them. The Indians crossed back immediately, and Wild Cat found himself between two fires, and I doubt not that the prospect thus presented had some weight to keep him in check. Lest the reader should forget Wild Cat's old friend, Mr. Morris, I will give the sum of the proceedings, after writing me to be present at the Council. I went after them and without ceremony, I received and introduced them, amicably, a big big nigger, and a boy in chains; some twenty Indians, painted and looking much like savage, and a few one-hearted gentlemen, as interpreters, and some others, who came to see the elephant. The conversation was from Seminole, delivered in Spanish, and from Spanish into English, for the benefit of those who did not understand Spanish; and after much talk, the Indians made me to understand that the Colonel had not the power to release the prisoners, since he had no right to interfere with the civil law, and that it was necessary to take them on to San Antonio. The Indians received permission to send one of their Chiefs along, as a witness, but the proposition was rejected; they appear to think that if the free papers, which John produced, signed by his owner and Gen. Jessup, are not regarded, that the word of the white man is *no good*, and, they finally retired to the Mexican side, to hold a Council of the Nation, and deliberate on some things as well as others, touching the affair, and thus ended the business of the day.

There is a screw loose somewhere, and some of our citizens give it as their opinion, that the Indians will rescue the negroes, and perhaps do some mischief. Wild Cat conducted himself with much propriety and dignity, but an angry spirit is raging within him, and he could not dispulse it. More anon. EXILE.

Receipts for the Standard.

FROM OCTOBER 1ST TO NOVEMBER 1ST, 1851.

650 G. B. Stebbens, Rochester, N. Y.	-	2 00
641 D. W. Cole, Fairfield, N. Y.	-	2 00
625 J. Batchelder, Marlboro, N. H.	-	2 00
579 A. Bassett, Milton, N. Y.	-	2 00
629 David Irish, Quaker Hill, N. Y.	-	2 00
644 David Campbell, Lebanon Springs, N. Y.	-	2 00
625 Isaac Post, Rochester, N. Y.	-	2 00
644 Lewis Devindorf, Cedarville, N. Y.	-	2 00
618 Wm. Hasford, "	-	1 00
649 Henry Bassett, Burlington Flats, N. Y.	-	2 00
600 D. Brooks, East Sheffield, Mass.	-	2 00
624 Mrs. Cordelia Adams, Hingham, Mass.	-	2 00
642 Miss Adeline Whitton, "	-	2 00
624 N. Barney, Nantucket, Mass.	-	2 00
624 N. Barney, Weedsport, N. Y.	-	2 00
619 Rev. John Gaston, Geneva, N. Y.	-	1 00
628 John Tweedy, Elizabethtown, N. J.	-	2 00
576 C. A. Wheelock, Uxbridge, Mass.	-	4 00
593 R. Haight, Hart's Village, N. Y.	-	2 38
629 O. B. Fisher, East Hamburg, N. Y.	-	2 00
616 John Wright, North Boston, N. Y.	-	2 00
592 R. Brownell, South Easton, N. Y.	-	1 50
620 P. Sherman, Milton, N. Y.	-	2 00
645 Mrs. M. Buttman, Worcester, Mass.	-	2 00
624 John Woodcock, Leicester Mass.	-	2 00
611 Henry Chapin, Worcester, Mass.	-	2 00
625 E. L. Capron, "	-	2 00
624 Wm. D. Prouty, "	-	2 00
607 Wm. R. Bliss, "	-	2 00
636 R. Owen, Conwango, N. Y.	-	2 00
John W. Tyson, Lower Providence, N. Y.	-	2 00
624 Geo. Carreton, New Lisbon, O.	-	5 00
Total,		$66 38

Notices.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar to take this method of acquainting friends with their arrangements, that ample time may be afforded for making general co-operation as shall ensure a more brilliant success than attended the last occasion.

The times demand a far higher and more self

KOSSUTH.

AN ORIGINAL BIOGRAPHY.

Written for the London Weekly News and Chronicle

LOUIS KOSSUTH was born in Zemplin (one of the northeastern counties of Hungary), during the sixth year of this century. His family, though of noble descent, were decayed in respect to worldly wealth: yet honest, talent, and intelligence remained in their blood, which more than counterbalanced the questionable loss of that "barbarie pomp" which is so much more fatal to genuine nobility than to impoverish.

The father of Kossuth was an officer in the Austrian army. As such he served through the French wars, and freely aided his brother in the defeat of Lefebvre (for which service he was then deemed (alas! how vainly!) the cause of nations independent of the military autocracy of Napoleon! In early childhood the young Louis (or Lajos as it is Hungarian) evinced the utmost precocity of understanding, coupled with an unbounded sweetness of disposition (here we find, as has been the case with other priecocity to be remarked of the Wellesleys and the Bonapartes), that the influence of a talented mother greatly tended to develope the character of her child. That estimable parent has lived to see all the successes and the subsequent reverses of her son, and though now of a very advanced age, she has been described by persons who saw her but two years ago as a very remarkable lady, both from her vivacious intelligence, and from the resolute disposition of her character. Under such auspices, Kossuth (it is seen that all the kindly feelings of young Kossuth were sure to be stimulated at home; whilst later, as a religiling, he completed his education in the Lutheran College (of which sect his family are members), in the northern counties, where he carried on every great studious pursuit. There he studied the history of the ancient days of his country, of its fame, of its prowess, and of the independence and the liberty of its sons, that the seed were laid of those aspirations which are as opposed as light to darkness, when compared with the "cold obstruction" with which Austrian despotism, at all times, has overwhelmed Hungary. There it was that from the broad foundation of classic learning and the noble lessons to be read in the pages of Greek and Roman history, that Kossuth moved his mind (fond of poetic tendencies) with that fund of historic knowledge which, with inuitive genius, make up for years of years and experience, and gives a great intellectual intensity when poured fourth in the language of a lofty and glowing eloquence.

Having thus prepared himself with all the advantages which a country education could afford, we find Kossuth, yet very young, wending his way towards Pesth, the capital of Hungary. There he entered into the office of a notary, and of course was bound up and unnoticed for several years. It was during this period that, through the routine of business and law affairs, his great mind was brought into contact with to particulars," and he thus acquired an accurate knowledge of all the details and working of the laws of the land which has been of such incalculable assistance to him in his subsequent position of a statesman and lawgiver.

At length, the eventful year of 1830 arrived, and the outraged nations throughout Europe rose and cursed but barterred and parcelled out like swine by the treaties of 1815, began to awake to hope. Most singularly fortunate were the Belgians, who were free from the Dutch. Luckily for them, France was adjacent, and there was also the seaboard of Holland not so far off but that we could hopefully look for a small expense. On the last day of that year, the Poles, believing in French sympathy, and counting upon the same support as the Belgians had obtained, rose against the Czar and his Russian hordes at Warsaw. They, however, found to their cost that the old Polish saying was still true:—"That Heaven was too high and France too far." Poland in Hungary was nearer, and was more true to a good cause. There were county meetings held through the land to instruct and direct the Diet, which was then in Russia, and for a levy of one hundred thousand men to aid the Poles. At first even Metternich was not ill-disposed to come to the rescue of Poland, especially as his into Russia or rather into Poland. Thus and their occupation of the mouths of the Danube had excited profound jealousy, if not positive fear, in the minds of the Cabinet of Vienna. The Hungarian of the Austrian statesman to commit himself to such a new line of policy, and the *goddess* of money-lending capitalists, who had at Vienna refused the loan for the Czar, left the patriots to be crushed—to any assistance could come to them from Hungary, save a few volunteers, amongst whom no man shone like Maximus Perseus. Sima so distinguished as a general in the war, and now liberated from Turkey with Kossuth. Many unfortunate Poles, however, succeeded in the final catastrophe in the synagogue into Hungary, where they were most hospitably received and concealed in the houses of the nobility: and whether was there a heart so welcome to a poor fugitive offered than at the humble dwelling of Kossuth's venerable mother. The Polish emigration, with their tales of woe, stimulated the sympathies of the generous Hungarians, and it did much towards the permanent spread of liberal ideas, amidst the upper classes and the nobility in particular.

About this time Kossuth, Deak, and Szemere, himself began to attend the county meetings, where the electors met and determined, by votes, how their delegates should vote in the Diet, and it was then, both as a reporter of the resolutions carried at those meetings, and also by speaking as an elector, that Kossuth, between 1832 and 1835, gradually forced himself into public life. He first began to show himself as a thorn in the side of the Austrian Government in its illegal despotism, by superintending the lithographic operation of the reports of the debates both in the Diet and at the county meetings; thus frustrated the censorship of the press which had hitherto prevented all publicity. Shortly afterwards, in the year 1837, having edited the Pesth newspaper with the greatest spirit, and success fully pointed out the lawless acts of the Austrians in seizing the Diet by armed force and thrust into a dungeon in the Castle of Buda. All our readers must be aware of the infamous notoriety which Austrian prisons have earned for themselves. It is the boast of Austria of the "Paternal Government," to make its cells so utterly unfit for human habitation as nearly in all cases, either to undermine the health, or to blunt the understanding of its victims. Two other prisoners were seized and confined about the same period. Of these, the celebrated Pulszky, the Hungarian Hercules in stature, was rendered blind through the dampness of his dungeon, and has since died prematurely. The other, a poet whose name escapes me at this moment (yet we think that it was Lovassi), was only released from his pit at Buda, as a confirmed maniac!

Kossuth, indeed, did not suffer to such an extent; but after three years, confinement, he came out with an emaciated and debilitated frame which has undoubtedly prevented him from ever enjoying the vigorous health of the late struggle, and perhaps too from personal prowess in the field to which our broadbacked Cossacks will ever turn his head when he was also well past forty years of age.

The eventual release of Kossuth was moreover owing entirely to the selfish interests of the Austrian despots. The diplomatic embassies which were in 1840 between England and France, relative to the Syrian question, had caused such fear to the Austrian and Prussian Governments that their hearts increased their armaments. But in order to obtain a greater contingent of men, and a larger supply of money from the Hungarian Diet, the Austrian despots deemed it expedient to give way to the repeated wishes expressed by the votes of that Diet on several minor affairs, and amongst other points was the liberation both of Kossuth and Wesselenyi from their illegal confinement.

Some time elapsed before the health of Kossuth could enable him to return to the duties of his position as Tribune of the Hungarian people, and it was at that period whilst on a trip to a watering-place that he met, wooed, and married his wife, the Mlle. Meselenyi, of a noble family resident at Stuhl-Weissenburg on the route from Buda to the Baths on the Balaton Lake, or Plattee sea. This event, which permanently fixed the domestic happiness of this distinguished patriot, by no means abated the zeal which burst within his breast to emancipate his fellow-countrymen.

With returning health, he again worked assiduously as before, but with greater authority as a known party, to rescue the just rights of Hungary from the reluctant grasp of that particular House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, whose *good* qualities are about equal to the *vices* of our Stuarts and the Bourbons both concentrated in one item! In this per cetful and constitutional manner did Kossuth carry on the struggle until 1841. Towards the end of the preceding year, the three great military powers had finally accomplished the utter dismemberment of unhappy Poland, by the annexation of the free city of Cracow to the dominions of the Austrian empire. The universal disgust with which public opinion abroad received the news of this spoliation was one of the first indications (after the long calm since 1830) that nations were again beginning to think for themselves. The promises too of liberality which Pius IX. had made soon after his elevation to the Pontificate, acted as a leaven, fermenting all Italy. These external causes, and the gradual spread of sound principles in Hungary itself (mainly through the means of Kossuth's unceasing efforts), had prepared the Vienna bureaucrats that something must be done for Hungary. Towards the end of the summer of 1847, their Diet was dissolved, as being too liberal for Metternich, and at the new election, Kossuth was then for the first time returned as Deputy for Pesth in a most triumphant manner.

Before the assembling of the ruling of this newly-created Diet in November, 1847, there was a preliminary meeting held by the Liberal opposition. On this occasion Kossuth was deputed to draw up the Lesk, which contained *most* of the unredressed grievances complained of by every successive Diet: since 1832, and the essential reformations (indeed even with precision) which were afterwards either legally passed and ratified by the late Emperor Ferdinand, as King of Hungary, on the 11 of April, 1848, at Presburg, or were subsequently introduced by Kossuth either as a Minister or the Governor of Hungary during the war. On the opening of this memorable Diet, Kossuth delivered that speech with the greatest ability and fervour: the new Diet was also more determined to obtain justice even than the last Diet. Nevertheless, the Diet was in a manner away with nought but procrastination and chicanery from Vienna in reply to repeated applications from the Diet for their Magyar army of Hungary to cross in accordance with the age, when the French Revolution of February, 1848, burst upon the astonished world! On the arrival of that news, Kossuth, at the 3rd of June, 1848, in a most eloquent speech, moved for a new address to the Monarch, firmly reiterating their former propositions, but now he added a prayer, "that liberal institutions similar to the Hungarian constitution be accorded to all the Hereditary States, and thus make a United Austrian Monarchy, based on the principle of constitutional principles." This is he who has been talked of as a mere revolutionist, as a Magyar who would oppress the other divisions of the Austrian Empire, and, of course, spurned. The rest is well known: for while, in a few days, Metternich was ousted by an *emeute* managed by the Viennese students, the Court promised constitutional institutions, and to keep their promises, and it has most strenuously acted up to its fraudulent intention. "Non populis servanda fides" is Italian by birth and by nature.

With the fall of Metternich, however, as the Court Camarilla (for the old Emperor Ferdinand was a mere idiot) had to dismiss the Hungarian Diet, a new career was opened to Kossuth. The late lamented victim of Austrian vengeance, Count Louis Batthyanyi, was appointed Prime Minister, and the new system of ministerial responsible Ministers for Hungary. He had long befriended Kossuth, and it was largely through his instrumentality that Kossuth had obtained his seat in the Diet of Pesth. He at once offered the portfolio of Finance to Kossuth, and the great abilities exhibited there by the new Minister fully realized the hopes entertained by his most ardent admirers.

The position of Minister of Finance, even in the times of Political quiet, is ever an arduous one; yet how much more difficult was the situation of Kossuth when he had to construct and rear a new office, during a period of the utmost excitement, and of the most of Austrian government, which left the Treasury bankrupt, both in money and credit!

The political confidence which was reposed in Kossuth by the Hungarian people was proved by the early return of credit to the hitherto depreciated paper currency, which had been issued by the National bank at Pesth whilst under the direction of the Austrians. He early recognized the issue of paper so as to bear a safe proportion to the bullion in the bank, and between the time of his taking office in the month of June, and the meeting of the Diet on the 11 July, an entirely new aspect of financial affairs was apparent in the Hungarian Exchequer. By that time, however, the hostile strike based political events were taking by the artfully-concocted schism between the mercenary Ban of Croatia, Jellachich and the new Hungarian Ministry, soon diverted the activity of Kossuth from any further. The opportunity for Financial Reform to the necessity of at once standing forth as the champion of warlike preparations and of a national army, so as to be ready for any emergency which the enemies of free Hungary might occasion.

Very shortly after the first opening of the new Diet in July, Kossuth proposed that a committee should be appointed to co-operate with the Ministry in all measures essential for the defence of the country; this committee was then increased to the number of 200,000, so as to repel the invasion of the servilists, to put down the agrarian outrages of the Wallachians, and to frustrate the treacherous designs of Jellachich; and finally that the Finance Minister be empowered to issue national notes or Exchequer bills to the amount of 10,000,000 florins, to carry into the Diet, yet this speech, amongst his many brilliant orations, stands unrivalled. It were needless to say that these resolutions were all voted by acclamation; and Kossuth was immediately sent by the Deputies appointed to the Committee for the National Defence. Between that time, and the actual invasion of Hungary by Jellachich with Croat and Imperial troops towards the end of September, Kossuth was directing all the energies, both as Minister of Finance, and as Member of the National Defence committee, towards organizing additional forces for his country. All that time, through the double dealings of the Austrian Court, Batthyanyi and the rest of the Ministry were aimed in a state of total inactivity. All had, indeed, collectively resigned early in September, but the Court again appointed Batthyanyi, and the rest of the Ministry, to office. All had, however