# VOL. V .--- NO. 29.

## ROCHESTER, N. Y., FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1852.

Douglass

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER is for passing so severe a judgment on a large of bim; he makes very fine sermons. How presumption, mark out those whom God could not have prevented and did not dare to is it I never have heard these things before ? shall choose to employ in His service; and annul, we have had the profigious enlarge-ABCAREL BY FREDERICK DOUBLASS,

15,00

WEIGHT MANY \$ 2.00

the subscribers shall among men.

JANK ROCHTOTER, NEW YORK

DIALACTER RETWEEN A SLAVEHOLDER holv men of God ?

Her -1 have taken you up, my find out what you really decide on most my slaves, as the own children. I feed and I look after their welfare any respect up to the best of my ability ; that they threaten with existing gospel every Sabbath, and themselves, as often as king hours. I do not bings to praise myself, for y to look after their wellof my ability. In short, arry out towards them, or to all colden rule, " Thou shalt love thy For you, my friend, consider them as such .-my question, put in other words. thus : Do you condemn Slavery absolutely, in any, even the most holy, class of men, as

Rible ...... Thou shalt not steal.

S .- Steal ! I abhor the thought ! Steal ! what do you mean ? Ah, I know; you refer to the abolitionist doctrine, that a slaveholder as such, is a thief, a man-stealer. But let me tell you, my good friend, that I have 20. nothing to do with the slave-trader. Twenty my slaves were left me by my father's

no more individuals ?

truth."-John xiv, 6. xvii, 17.

Frederick

none effect by your tradition." "In vain do not rest till I have examined into my own forth and evermore. May I, in God's great pathy for the oppressed, or indignation

B .- "Though we, or an angel from hea- who applies to me for advice as to his duty. ven, preach any other gospel unto you than may, by his will, be rendered perpetual. Tell that which we have preached unto you, let me, is it wrong under all circumstances? to much controverted, and of so him be accursed."-Gal. i, 8. "I have laid ctance to myself. Is there anying you can honostly find fault with in this on. . . If any man build upon this founda-I on my plantation, for tion gold, si'ver, &c., . . the fire shall try every man's work. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he, himself, shall be saved; yet so as by fire."-1 Cor. vi, 31. ii, 15. "Let God be true, but every man is a liar."-Rom. iii, 4. "Who then is Paul ed. . . Therefore let no man glory in men." -1 Cor. iii, 5, 21. "Not that we are suffi-

> cient to think anything as of ourselves but our sufficiency is of God."-2 Cor. iii, 5. S .- You lead me a great deal farther than I meant to go; however, I wish to be thorough in the matter. I should be a trifler if I did not. And I confess I find it very Indeed I see, on perusing the passage more ness, than any which afflicts the eastern coninteresting to follow you in this examination of principles, though I have to struggle hard to maintain my own. And I have come to the full determination that none shall be henceforth my own, but those that can bear the test of truth. From the string of passages you have poured upon me, I conclude that you would have me place no confidence

men. What am I to do ? Where shall I go for authority on all these 'controverted

B .- " To the law and to the testimony ; if they speak not according to this word, it is

S.-In other words, you are the authority. S - Why, I thought that belonged to min- any man as my final interpreter of your meaning ? How can I defend, on my own apply to me, and such as me ? You seem to What guarantee have I of coming to correct

men as Washington and Cromwell, to name B.—" If the blind lead the blind, both that consequently. He requires us to give dontaent of New Mexico and Utah to slavery, liberty to all, that His sovereign will may be and the enactment of the Fugitive Bill, as

fatl into the ditch." B .- "I am .. the trath." "Thy word is S .- Severe, very severe! Yet it does exercised, without hindrance on our part. drafted by the slaveholders themselves, seem as if I had been blind in many things On every point I have to yield. I am de- forced through the House of Representatives S.-But these Christians attach a differ-till now-things Mr. Pleasant ought to have cided, and if aught in me can do it, my and without discussion, and so intensely odious and wicked, that not even personal interest 1,00 ent meaning to the passages in question. - taught us about. My honored friend, I never friend's slaves shall be free. I cannot keep nor party discipline could induce one half of 1.00 They argue that it is not the action, but thought of you as I ought. You have set me my own in bondage. As to the mode of the members of the Lower House to incur to retain 50 cents the spirit, of resistance, which the Savior thinking to-day as never before. I shall liberation, I can but trust that God, on whom the infamy of giving it their votes. new yearly subscriber, except forbids; and that the apostle disclaims a car-never forget this interview. You have said henceforth I cast my soul, will help me with interview interview. The political parties, having thus concil-iated the slaveholders, entered upon a new nal handling of the ordinary weapons in use so much, that I cannot deceive myselt any wistom from above in this important matter, race between themselves for power and office,

> they worship me, teaching for doctrines the state; and with your help, and that of the mercy, be enabled to circulate thy blessed against slave-hunts, was to be driven from vate judgment against the opinion of so many manner on my mind. I must decide, or the como. Amen.-Is. Ixi, 1. bondage of hundreds in the hands of a friend,

B .- "Thou shall love thy neighbor as

S .- You repeat my own words. Will you explain ?

B.-" As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."-Luke

S .- But doubtless Joseph was a good man, of this precept, (which God taught His peo- the anti-slavery cause. ple in ancient as well as later days, of course,)

with corn.-Genesis xlvii, 16, 26. -2 Tim. ii, 15.

into absolute destruction.

vou. so-

have added to them during the last five years. perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good for that purpose, and to that extent. B.—"Be not partaker of other men's sins." you explain yourself. I accept your authority, so low as to require that constant superinbut how interpret passa es which may be tendance, and training, which the relation taken in different senses, if I may not accept of slavery alone supplies. given to every man to profit withal."-1 binding on all Christians. But how does it judgment, if I cannot on that of others ?- Cor. xii, 7. S.-You mean me to infer that a man

longer as to my being a christian; for I never and in all my concerns, as you have assured and mutually agreed to prevent, as far as B .- "Why do ye transgress the command- had that witness in myself, which you have me from His mouth. And now, dear friend, possible, all interference in the race by the FISTMENTS, not exceeding ten lines, ments of God by your tradition ? . . Thus shown me to be an indispensable mark for we part, but for a while; for I resolve that avowed friends of human rights. The antislavery subse- have ve made the commandments of God of the individual of real faith in Christ. I can- thou shall be my counsellor and guide, hence- have ve made the commandments of God of the individual of real faith in Christ. I can- thou shall be my counsellor and guide, hence-

the advances of for commandments of men."-Matt. xv, 1 . . 9. Holy Spirit to whom you direct me, I hope teachings in my benighted land, and thus either party. By virtue of this compact, S-You are severe on the many distin- I shall soon know what it is to have a well- prepare the way for His world-wide reign, is smothering every aspiration for freedom. similar in its spirit to that which in Europe guished and excellent divines who have so grounded hope of salvation through the who shall "proclaim liberty to the captive, all who protest against the oppression of FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER. numerously upheld the views I mentioned .- Savior. But the question of slavery presses, and the opening of the prison to them that millions of native-born Americans are to be Is it not presumptuous in mo to set my pri-from peculiar circumstances, in a special are bound." And may that glorious day soon the powers of slaveholders, like those of kings, are to be regarded as held by the grace

M. MONTCOMERY. AN ADDRESS TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIANS THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN :-- We address you behalf of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Approving of the princi-ples avowed and the measures pursued by

that association, we beg leave to submit to you the considerations which peculiarly enand seeking faithfully to serve God and his title it at the present juncture to the active The lawfulness of slavery in no degree dework them much less than any of or Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believ- neighbor ;-in short, to carry out the spirit sympathy and effectual aid of the friends of pends on the complexion of its victims, since

While the advocates of constitutional government in Europe are lamenting a widewhen he bought the Egyptians for his king spread reaction in behalf of despotic aucal champions of the institution ever venture to dwell on its accordance with the attributes thority, the friends of the inalineable rights of the Deity, or the precepts of the gospel. B.-"Rightly dividing the word of truth." of man behold with grief and mortification On what ground, then, is the moral vindicaa similar reaction in our own Republic, in tion of American slavery rested ? On the behalf of a despotism more inexorable, and S.-You insinuate some misinterpretation. Benan of a deep human progress and happihold certain heathen as slaves, and that, concarefully, that a part of it,-v, 24,-shows a tinent. In both instances, the reaction is different relative position between the buyer more apparent than real. Opinions in favor and the bought, from that existing in the Service of human liberty remain the same, but the expression of them has to a greater or less Southern States of America. But, men degree been stilled by a sudden, mighty, and may be so degraded by vice, that I confer a combined effort of capitalists and politicians, The Creator and Judge of all men, infinite real benefit on them by becoming their mas- aided to a great extent by ecclesiastical inter, to control and hinder them from rushing inter absolute destruction

moral government, and of inflicting deserved In our own community, the cause of Chris-B.—"As ye would that men would do to tian morals has been deeply wounded, and a "What doest thou?" To him belongeth punishment; and none may say unto him,

new impulse given to infidelity, by the vari- vengeance, and none may execute it in his S .- You suggest that, if such a contin- ous modes adopted by merchants, politicians, appointment. He saw fit to destroy by water gency should arrive, in the ordinary course of and divines to conciliate the slaveholding in-a guilty world; but will it be inferred from events, I am yet to deal by my poor besotted in high authority respecting the supremacy of a moral right to drown sinners? For their or vicious neighbor, as I would in his place, human laws, which, if true, convict the extreme wickedness, the seven nations of because there is no light in them."-Is. viii, be dealt by. And I must confess, that under "noble army of martyrs," including the Palestine were doomed to extermination, and subjected. When the professed ministers of such circumstances I should desire no more blessed apostles themselves, of being but the Jews were ordered to take possession of felons and traitors. Public men, and even their land, and to put all the inhabitants, Christ refuse to sit in the councils of the constraint than were really necessary to rechurch with their reverend brethren not col-B .- " All Scripture (is) given by inspira- form me, and render me capable of becoming ed terms their ignorance of a higher law make no covenant with them, nor show mercy My land needed more hands, and I tion of God, and is, profitable for doctrine, happy and useful. I could not contemplate than the Federal Constitution. Rich men unto them. Does this commission to the part handsomely (my neighbors soid I gave for reproof, for correction, for instruction in my own enslavement by another, even in the among us have given of their abundance to Jews confer upon us similar rights in other righteousness; that the man of God may be lowest conceivable condition, as right, save and lawyers, heretofore regarded as reputa- idolatrous and otherwise excessively depravble, have not shrunk from taking reward ed; and we are assured by pro-slavery divines But it is a very common, if I may not say against the innocent, and prostituting a noble that God, by an express revelation, gave the against the indecent, and what dishon-S.-Very good, very good. And they say general opinion, that the African race are sunk profession to the service of the slave-catcher. Jews the privilege of buying and holding The sympathy heretofore felt for the victim their inhabtants as slaves; and hence we are of oppression who had escaped from his taught that, without any similar revelation to prison-house, and the repugnance manifsted ourselves, we are authorized to keep our own to aid in his arrest, have been denounced as brethren in bonds, and to reduce them to "prejudices to be conquered;" and lips the condition of beasts of burden, in defiance human rights, have been busily employed in the express commands of God to do jusproclaiming to republicans the duty of catch- we would they should do unto us. We utterly ing slaves. Nay, some professed ambassa- deny the authorized existence of hereditary must be free, or he cannot follow out the lead- dors of the merciful Jesus have announced chattel slavery in the Jewish commonwealth, point back to the trade, and say I sanction it, B .- "Ye have unction from the Holy One, ings of this spirit in all circumstances. But from their pulpits that He has sanctioned such slavery being absolutely forbidden by the conversion into articles of merchandise the universal emancipation proclaimed on of beings charged with no crime, made a each returning Jubilee. But so far as relates and ye know at things. - I being and ye know at things. - I being a bully a bull of beings enarged with no erine, made a each feturning sublee. Due so lat as fetures in the spirit of truth . . will guide yeu into all human relationship, which, tho' bindiag in little lower than the angels, and redeemed to the lawfulness of American slavery, it is its nature, is yet no obstacle to the opera- by his own blood ! A law has been passed wholly immaterial whether the Jews held for the recovery of fugitive slaves, which, slaves or not, since it is admitted by all that for its cool violation of all the received and if they did, they acted by virtue of a special acknowledged principles of judicial justice, and express permission from God, while it is for its outrages on humanity, and for its equally admitted that no such permission S .- If I get your meaning aright, it is that arbitrary requirement of every citizen to has been given to us. If American slavery whatever may be a christian's relative re- assist in a slave-hunt when commanded by be senctioned by the religion of Jesus an official menial, is unexampled in the legis- Christ, then, indeed, is that religion an inexmind. lation of any Christian country. Yet an plicable riddle, both tolerating and forbid-LETTER FROM JACOB LYBRAND. active agency in the execution of this most ding every species of cruelty, injustice, and oppression.

most miserable. In short, as Christians, we must rebuke every sin except that giant sin of our nation which involves the perpetration of almost every other. But it is af-

Paper.

descant from Southern pulpits on the divine rights of slaveholders! And shall we be It certainly seems unfortunate that the of God, and too sacred to be discussed or It is under these circumstances, painful, mortifying, and unexpected, that we address ourselves to the Anti-Slavery Christians of the United States. The whole question of the duty of opposition to slavery rests on the sinfulness of reducing innocent men and women, and their children after them, to articles of merchandise. If human beings may be held as chattels, they are, of course, egitimate subjects of traffic, and the African. no less than the American slave-trade, is a

but every allusion to this great and all-per- degraded and unhappy victims. vading sin of our nation is carefully excluded. Occasionally, a tract or religious biog- Free Church did right in receiving from the raphy from the other side of the water is deemed worthy of republication; but it is slaveholders the prices of the "bodies and first submitted to a process significantly the souls of men," I am not aware of a sintermed "cottonizing," and which consists in gle Protestant denomination on this side of carefully expunging every expression condemnatory of human bondage. The A. and the Atlantic that concurred in that opinion. F. A. S. Society, utterly repudiating such a By this mail, I forward to you a copy of time-serving view of Christian duty, aims at the letter above referred to, published by the convincing the hearts and understandings of "Belfast Anti-Slavery Society," in 1846, all, both at the North and at the South, of

the sinfulness of American slavery. sequently, it cannot be morally wrong in It must, however, be understood, that this suffers by discussion, it might assist as an an-Americans to hold their own countrymen, Society directs its labors to the abolition of tidote on the evil document again appearing, and even their fellow-Christians, and often CASTE as well as of slavery. We have among if you would be good enough to give a place their own children, brothers and sisters, as ourselves a population, each individual of slaves. Without admitting the premises, we which is a swift witness of our cruelty and utterly deny the conclusion drawn from them. unchristian conduct. While protesting against per. You being so near the head-quarters of the injustice and oppression practiced by our the "sum and substance of all villainy," the in wisdom, goodness, justice, and power, selects his own modes of maintaining his Southern brethren, let us not forget the remarks would thus be seen in several states deep guilt of our Northern community in of the Union, I also send to you a copy of their treatment of the free people of color. No casuistry can reconcile the scorn and contumely poured upon these people with the Christian Churches of the United States." precepts of the gospel of Christ; of that gos- which it quotes in the remarks on the letter. which makes love for each other the adge of the Redeemer's disciples. It is unnecessary to dwell on the privations and disabilities to which our colored citizens are success,

-candidate for President.

rogression, Anti-Progress."

LYBRAND, Allamakee Co., ?

For "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,"

JACOB LYBRAND.

of removing Henry Fitz Warren from office,

Mr. Marshall, of California, made what I

yours sincerely. F. A. CALDER.

ored like themselves, and when colored can- LETTER OF THE REV. DR. CHALMERS, &c.

## WHOLE NO. 237.

BELFAST, 5 College Street, June 9th, 1852

DEAR SIR :- In the appendix of the refirmed, by way of apology, that we at the cently published 4th Volume of the Memoirs North are free from this sin, and have there- of the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers, his cele fore no concern with it. Were the assertion brated letter of apology for slaveholders, is true, the apology would be equally valid for again brought before the public. On its first not attempting to overthrow the idolatry of appearance, it was hailed with delight by the Hindoos, or the delusions of the false that class; published in the nevspapers of ries to the heathen. But unfortunately the the Southern States of the American Union, assertions is utterly destitute of truth - alongside of advertisements for runaway Probably not a sermon is preached in our slaves, &c., &c., and certainly proved an amby slaveholders; probably not a congregation ple recompense for the money contributed to is assembled in the free States which does the Free Church of Scotland, and it prof. not include persons directly or indirectly in- ably will be appealed to, as an authority by terested in slavery. How many of our sons the slaveholders, while a slave remains in are constantly removing to the South, and becoming slaveholders! What numbers of the United States. His biographer styles it our daughters are mistresses on slave planta- (as Dr. C.) "matured oppression of his" tions ! How many Northern clergymen now "sentiments" on slavery, &c. Thus they were

told that Northern christians have no cause to raise their voices against a sin which is distinguished leader of the Free Church daily corrupting their sons, their daughters, should have produced such a document untheir politicians, and their clergy ? Alas !- fortunate for the cause of these that are in there is a mighty conspiracy, prompted by bonds, whose miseries it tends to perpetrate; there is a mighty conspiracy, prompter as sellish considerations, to suppress all discus-sion of this sin, all exhibition of its withering May, 1845) it perhaps might have been bet-We have great national societies for dissemi- ter to have omitted it. It appears, by the nating Christian truth; but no reader of 2d and 5th sections of the letter, that Dr their tracts and Sunday-school books learns Chalmers differed entirely in principle from all black men of all their rights; to compel them true abolitionists, as he thought that man to labor without wages; to deny them the could have property in man, and that the ab Holy Scriptures ; and to send fathers, moth- | olitionists went too far to effect slaveholders, ers, and children to market, like cattle and to do violence to their " proprietory feelings," publications faithfully and freely rebuked; to relinquish their unrighteous grasp of their

Although Dr. Chalmers thought that the with these remarks on it ; and as truth never to both, in the columns of your valuable pa-

the address of the above Society, "to the Admiring your persevering efforts in behalf of the oppressed, and wishing you every I remain, dear sir,

The money is generally considered a fair works."-2 Tim. iii, 16, 17. esty is there in such a transaction as this?

I see, however, that it is a principle mean me to consider for myself. Ah, you conclusions? by receiving, as the abolitionists would say, and ye know all things."-1 John ii, 20.as had as they represented it, the charge trath."-John xvi, 13. would be just. But they are benefitted by the S .- Do you mean to say that I am to de- tions of the spirit of God. exchange of countries. They were, to sum pend on the spirit of God, to guide me in up all their miseries in one, ignorant of the my judgment, so that I may be preserved there is liberty."-2 Cor. iii, 17. gooped in their own land. Here they hear from false conclusions? This seems to be the of the Savior, and many are saved by faith force of your quotations. If this is so, the

N-You mean me to acknowledge that xi, 14. forefathers were justified in carrying them 1 John i, 6, 7, 3. from their native hand with a friendly vio- S .- You have brought me on high and lonce, to benefit them in our own.

E --- "The weapons of our warfare are not with the Supreme? arnal, but mighty, through God, to the pull- B .- " He that hath the Son, hath life; he places."-2 Cor. x, 4. Eph. vi. 12.

admit that violence has, at least, the abideth on him."-John iii, 36. ce of coming under "carnal wea- &-But I am not an unbeliever! I am a self sanctioned slavery by enjoining on every But is it more than the appearance? member of a church. For many good men have used, and do use  $B_{-}$  He that hath seen me, hath seen

I say unto you, that ye resist not S .- I perceive. You remind me that if I new's lives, but to save them."-Matt. v, 39. ministers do not tell us about these things ?

fers these are strong passages - ligion, and I ves a decent life, he passes off individuals. Do you mean me to admit the non-resistant for a christian, like the best. I am sure I doctrine ? I always tooked on that as the felt a great deal when I joined the church unless I am much mistaken, by the great change in my feelings. They told me this Whose damnation is just."-Rom. iii, 8. majority of Christians, at least from the days was religion, and I have never had it quesof Constantine to ours. B-" The time will come when they will myself.

of endure sound destrine; they shall turn  $B_{-}$ " He that believe th on the Son of God of for us, leaving us an the children of God."-1 John v, 10. Rom. gives us the shadow of a sanction for it. that you should follow his steps : vill, 16.

-1 Pet. ii, 20, . . 24.

That last passage of yours I thought belong- old Tom. I thought it was, nigger cant, and much as if it was their peculiar property- more of the gospel than I do, after all. taking it altogether, the context preceding, B .-- "God hath chosen the foolish things

of the world, to confound the wise; and God rarely.

difficulty will be to distinguish between His sponsibilities, his duty to his God is his pre-B--- As some affirm that we say, Let us guidance, and the promptings of fanaticism. emine.at responsibility, and to this all others

the Jesuit principle, "The end sanctifies the B.-" If thine eye be single, thy whole binding. This is true as a principle. But means," is false and wicked; and that how-body shall be full of light." "If we say we we are speaking of the relationship in genever much we desire to benefit our fellow- have fellowship with Him, and walk in dark eral. And you will not claim that many, men, we must use holy and righteous means, ness, we lie, and do not the truth : but if we even intellectual christians, are in the habit simulated violence of the South. and those only, to accomplish this object - walk in the light, as He is in the light, we of exercising this close dependence on God, I have thought, that, in consideration of the have fellowship one with another." "And and consequent independence of man. advantages accruing to the African popula- truly our fellowship is with the Father, and tion, the chief of which I have alluded to, our with his Son, Jesus Christ."-Math. vi. 22. Act. x, 34.

ing down of strong holds," " For we wrestle that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." of against floch and blood, but against prin- -1 John v, 12 -- "If any man have not the lities, against powers, against . . spirit- spirit of Christ, he is none of his."-Rom. shall not see life, but the wrath of God restrain."-P's. xxvi, 10.

the Father."-John xiv, 9.

servant, care not for it."-1 Cor. vii, 21. of man is not come to destroy living fellowship with God. How is it our -Rom. viii, 28.

plished.

B .- "And not rather, (as we be slander-

refuge of weak minds. Why, it is rejected, eight years back, and I experienced a great and I experienced a great (interview), let us do evil, that good may come :- New Mexico and Utah to the slaveholders, extend beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal

B .- "God is no respector of persons."-

were ye called ; because beareth witness with our spirit, that we are palliates the iniquity of our wrong doing nor ever be trodden by slaves.

A CONTEMPTIBLE ADVENTURER -- It is gen- renounce the all which belongs to hina, - we there is neither bond nor free, there is to confound the things that are mighty; and this world to confound the wise; and God exerted which, aided by the supposed security inseparable abominations, as an exception erally conceded about here that Henry B. are not to say that, unless this surrender is neither male nor female; for ye are all one base things of the world, and things which are hath chosen the weak things of the world to contound the wise; and too deterted which, and by the so-called Com- from the Christian code. We must love all hath chosen the weak things of the world to contound the wise; and too deterted which, and by the so-called Com- from the Christian code. Stanton has proved himself to be the meanest dog of the age. We trust that in case by any unforeseen calamity Pierce should be despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things, confound things that are mighty; and base which are not, to bring to nonselt things that are mighty; and base victory were all thrown away, with the single as are black. With the same exception, we in Christ Jesus."--Gal. iii, 28. 8-You mean to say that Christ was my which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh should glory in His despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are california. Something was indeed gained to justice and mercy to all. We must give Bichosen, Stanton may not get the office which society. The truth is, that, according to all which are not, to bring to nought things that the character of the national capital, by pro- bles to men of all lands and all races, except he has debased himself to obtain. The politand this I cannot deny. But your connec- presence."-1 Cor. iii, 27, 28. ton of the use of violent means by Christians S-I don't think I ever heard those word, which are not, to bring to hought things that hibiting the importation of slaves for sale, to about three millions of our countrymen. ical rot has spread extensively among the ture, the very men, who are now looking at New York Barnburners. Poor souls, let the object ab extra and in the character, it with the passage foretelling their refusal before. Yet Mr. Pleasant is a good man, be last, and the last first."—Matt. xix, 30. may be, of zealous abolitionists, would, if them die. So speaketh the Salem (Mass.) Freeman placed from infancy in the condition, and to hear sound doctrine, is something quite and learned in theology. He came out S .- The conclusion you mean me to arrive ington to Alexandria. In return for the Supplications must be made for all men, exexposed through life to all the besetting innovel to me. What authority have you first in his divinity class. We all think much at is, of course, that man cannot, without Californian Constitution, which Congress cept these among us who are of all men the to which we say Amen.

B --- "The manifestation of the snirit is

surely we must admit the possibility of

B.-"Where the spirit of the Lord is do evil, that good may come, whose damna- For Satan can disguise himself as an "angel must give way. But in order to the carrying detestable law has been made, even by proof light," as you elsewhere warn us.-2 Cor. out of this direct responsibility to God, no tessed ministers of the gospel, a test of Chrishuman relationship must or can be supremely tian obedience.

The success which has thus far attended the combined efforts to which we have re- and merciful precepts of the gospel of his ferred, has been in a great measure owing to Son. Hence, we believe it morally wrong to the fancied security of the North and the render any voluntary aid in upholding an in-

The war against Mexico was waged for the to bondage. acquisition of slave territory, and great was

and traders in Southern votes and merchan- refuse to legislate in behalf of slavery. e devised the patriotic work of saving the ously reported, and as some affirm that we Union, by surrendering the territories of in regard to this horrible and sinful system and making slave-hunting a national duty, Government, and reach even to the slave-S .- Ha! again that Jesuit-killing passage. The work was hastened on by the most aggressive religion. "Go ye into all the tioned to this day. You make me doubt about I infer that you mean to teach, that while astounding treachery, supported by the world," was the command of its divine God in infinite wisdom and power over- audacious assumption that the law of physi- founder. Can it be our duty to send misrules all the malice of men and devils for cal geography and Asiatic scenery rendered sionaries into China and Hindostan, to re-

If I say we seek the African's welfare by other effect on the slaveholding interest than country, reduces millions to ignorance, degwhen he saff red, he threatened not, 8-Dear me! Why I am afraid none of taking care of him in his imbecile condition. to break down those bulwarks which the red-eral Government, from its beginning, has ing them the lamp of life, keeps them in nitted himself unto Him that judg-us know what real religion is. And yet, now you show me that God requires us to educate been busy in raising around it, and to rouse virtual heathenism? Convinced that slavery I think of it, I have heard my boys talk of him into christianity; and then, that for all beyond the slave territory into active is a sin, we not only have the right, but are 8-Ho, ho! Not too fast, good friend.- the witness " among themselves, especially aught we can tell, Ged calls him to some bostility. But the work of saving it was loss of the use all lawful means for its special labor or mission, which requires his little danger, the work of saving it was less oppose it, and to use all lawful means for its ed particularly to our slaves: it looks very no more. But I begin to suspect they know liberty as an indispensible condition. Still profitable than pairiolic, as it tended to proyou must admit that such cases are not the course threatened by the South; and the know not what degree of cruelty and injusrule, but the exception, and occurs but very proceedings of Union-saving committees tice amounts to a violation of the law of God.

or the trade and the votes of the slave- many of our clergy at the North and nearly Iowa, June 11, 1852. B-"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world B-God hath chosen the foolish things of holders. In this manner an influence was all the South, to regard slavery, with all its these, and, renouncing his property in slaves,

Friends and brethren, we believe before God that American slavery is hateful in his sight, and utterly irreconcilable with the holy iquitous system, or in reducing a fellow-man

commendable and a Christian commerce .--

the slavery alleged to be recognized in the.

criptures was unquestionably that of

Asiatics and Europeans. None of our cleri-

alleged fact that God permitted the Jews to

We are continually told that the Federal the fear felt by the North that human bond- Government has nothing to do with slavery, or that which should be precious to them- vitiating as each of these systems is, and age would be extended to the shores of the and yet from a very early period its powers Pacific. No less than fourteen States pro- have been exerted to protect, to extend, and S-True, yet in olden times God honored tested, through their Legislatures, against to perpetuate the institution It is the obmany persons in position of restraint with any enlargement of the area of slavery.- ject of the A. and F. A. S. Society to affect, S.—You have brought me on high and holy ground. How dare I talk of fellowship special testimony for him. E. G. Joseph, and the special testimony for him. E. G. Joseph, warn his countrymen of the impending ca-Naaman's captive Israelitish maid, &c., &c.- lamity, and to approve and enforce the great very. In relation to the constitutional pow-And had it not been for their captivity, God's principles announced by the Free Soil Con-purposes of mercy had never been accomwas awakened throughout the North, and been avowed by Daniel Webster himself .its representatives in Congress bowed to the With him we hold that Congress is fully au- $B_{-}$ " Surely the wrath of man shall praise is representatives in congress bowed to the with him we hold that congress the will of their constituents; and all the devices thorized to abolish and to forbid slavery in admess (or wicked spirits) in heavenly viii, 9.—" He that believeth not the Son thee; the remainder of wrath shalt thou of the slaveholders to procure territorial gov- its own territories, to suppress the commerce ernments for the conquered territories, allow- in slaves between the States, and to refuse S .- But, dear friend, have you not your- ing the slavery of a portion of the inhabi- admission into the Union of new slave self sanctioned slavery by enjoining on every man to abide in his calling. Are these not man to abide in his calling. This was followed by any envisions, as in the found in a system has the people will follow in his foottants, were defeated. Soon, the Wilmot pro- States. We also cordially concur in his your own words, "Art thou called, being a territory to freedom. This was followed by Constitution does not confer on Congress the the joyful intelligence that New Mexico and right to legislate respecting fugitive slaves .-B.-- "We know that all things work to- California had both adopted State Constitu- In accordance with these views, the A. and "Render to no map evil for evil." am a christian, I am one in the enjoyment of gether for good to them that love God, &c." tions prohibiting slavery. A shout of victory F. A. S. Society aims at delivering the Genascended from the North, and the greatness of the triumph was supposed to be attested liance with slavery, and they desire to effect of March last, on "American Progress-S .- Just so; and this shows that the posi- by the slaveholders. It was at this moment this much-desired deliverance by inducing If a man professes to have experienced re-tion of a slave may be the very best for some of fancied security that the capitalists and the people to select for their representatives politicians contrived a panic about the Union, in Congress such men only as will resolutely

But as Anti-Slavery Christians, our duties under regulations of extraordinary cruelty. holders themselves. True Christianity is an tros the trath "-2 Tim iii, hath the witness in himself." "The spirit the good of His people, that by no means the vast region conquered from Mexico could prostrate in the dust their altars and their gods, and yet to observe the silence of the A dissolution of the Union could have no grave in regard to a sin which, in our own were found a convenient mode of advertising A combination of circumstances has led

idates for the ministry are excluded from

theological seminaries solely on account of To the Editor of the Witness : the tincture of their skin, it is not surprising MY DEAR SIR, - You will recollect that that others should be as regardless of the some months ago, there were communicatemporal, as certain of the clergy are of the tions held with you on the subject of Amerispiritual welfare of men to whom God has can slavery, and that in these there was the been pleased to give a dark complexion. - challenge, or crimination, of myself, as hav-When the pious youth is denied the usual fa- ing given forth a most inadequate deliver cilities for qualifying him to minister to the ance of the evils of the system. At that diseases of the souls of his people who shall time I looked forward to the opportunity of rigidly condemn the professors of the heal- sharing in the discussion which this question ing art for denying similar facilities for min- will probably give rise to at the next meeting istering to the diseases of the body, by ex- of our General Assembly. But as that expectacluding colored students from their lecture- tion will not now be realized. I have to crave abuse the colored man, and the demagogues very brief and general exposition of my

who, availing themselves of a popular preju- views, in the columns of your newspaper. dice, deny them equality before the law, 1. Slavery, like war, is a great evil; and

have high examples to extenuate, if not to there is no philanthropist, who bears an enjustify their pride and cruelty. In striving to secure to our colored people the rights piness of our species, but must desire the freely accorded to all others, and thus giving final abolition of them from the face of the the means of maintaining themselves by hon- earth, and must also feel it his duty to supest industry, of developing and improving port the best and likeliest measures for their talents, and of studying the things speeding onward so blissful a consummation which belong to their peace, the Society is Yet, destructive and demoralizing as both pursuing an object in perfect accordance are, and inimical as Chistianity is to all viowith Christian benevolence, and one that lence, and to all vice, it follows not that must commend itself to every unprejudiced there may not be a christian soldier, and neither does it follow that there may be a Christian slaveholder. Let the moral atmos phere of both be as unfriendly as they may MR. FREDERICK DOUGLASS: DEAR to the growth either of religion or of humanity, still it holds experimentally true, that SIR :- I wish that you, or some of your within the limits of the deleterious influ

able correspondents would write an ence, and not of course by the influence, but article for your paper on Congressional elec-tioneering and caucusing. The course pur-tione of Congress while in some sued by members of Congress, while in ses- donagh, of America, are not the singular, sion, is an outrage and an insult upon the and, we should hope, not the rare instances people. Wasting their own precious time- of either kind; and they demonstrate, that or that which should be precious to them-and robbing the nation of their money in atrocities that have ever disfigured the sad electioneering, and making Presidential history of our race, yet that neither is inspeeches. Were it not that the people, good compatible with the personal Christianity of easy souls, will stand almost anything, the those who have actually and personally to do easy souls, will stand almost anything, the wonder would be that they had not long since hurled such miscreants from power, who prostitute their office to influence the people opposed to slavery, insoniuch that the days to vote for their-the members of Congress of universal Christianity will be days of uni versal peace, and days of universal and equal But now that Mr. Fillmore, that supple liberty for all men."

tool of the slave power, has set the example 1. We regard the comparison between war and slavery, as both singular and unjust. Unless for a -and in that instance he is praiseworthy-bury of form office. be found in a system, be a reason for still holding fellowship with the system, why did the Doets leave the Established Church of Scotland '-W

presume he considers a *flaming* "speech" in he say there are no good men in it? When churches make laws, it is not surely for that it only of March last, on "American Progress-Judge Douglass-the Presidency." He, doubt-less, thinks he is very severe against what he sake of the few good men found among them terms in his dignified language, "Old Fogy-

2. Distinction ought to be made between ism." The honorable gentleman dilates in the character of a system, and the character closing language upon the "progress" that of the persons whom circumstances have 'voung America" has made. And as an in- implicated therewith ; nor would it always stance of the progress, he mentions the fact be just, if all the recoil, and all the horror, that, formerly in our Democratic, (???)- wherewith the former is contemplated, were visited in the form of condemnation, or of Republican (!!!) Country, it was necessary moral indignancy, upon the latter. Slavery to have a property qualification to entitle a we hold to be a system chargeable with citizen to the right of suffrage. But he was atrocities and evils, often the most hideous citizen to the right of suffrage. But ne was very careful not to remark that, in removing flicted or deformed our species. Yet we the property qualification, they substituted must not therefore say of every man who has another which is as much worse as any that been born within the confines of a territory can be imagined, namely, that the elector accurred by its presence, who has grown up must be a WHITE citizen. That word, in and become familiar with its sickening spec the connection of citizenship, is, as I once tacles,-who not only by habit has been ured to such transactions, and such sights, as heard a gentleman remark, the blackest word that can be named. That is reform; that is the first time had entered upon a region of "progress" with a vengeance! To use the slavery, but who by inheritance is himself the owner of slaves, - we are not to say of him, that unless, by an act of violence on all those possessory and proprietary feelings which exist in such strength within every bosom, he make the resolute sacrifice of

# FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

and hoper, or void of Christian principle. o unchristianize, or to pass a general sentence of excommunication on slaveholders.

between the sinner and his sins-condemning the sin in the abstract, yet receiving the sinner into itself that sort of ecclesiastical felony which under the light of the Gospel, and after being womed of the evil. The Dr. admits slavery to be plainly admitting man's right of property in his fel-low man. Abolitionists think that the pick-pocket the slave-owner to the body of his fellow-creature.

3. We deny not the vitiating tendency of shvery on the hearts and the characters of all who are engaged in it; and let us concede, that in virtue of these, a greater number-if an inventory could be taken of themof ichuman and licentious, of barbarous and brutalized men, are to be found in the middle and upper classes of society, throughout the elaveholding States of America, than throughout those other States which have so nobly rid themselves of this enormous evil. Now, what effect ought this admission to have upon the question ? Not that slaveholding shall simply, and per se, infer exclusion from the ordinances of the gospel, but that, as many of the vices which slaveholding tends to generate and to multiply infer this exclusion. there will, and because of these vices, be a more frequent call for ecclesiastical discipline The

in the slaveholding congregations. Apostle tells us not to keep company .- not to hold Christian fellowship, if "any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idelator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner." Should any such, then, present himself for admission to the table of the Lord, there is a clear scriptural warrant for his debarment from this, and all the other privileges of Church membership; not, however, on the ground of his being a staveholder. men. but on the ground of one or other of those exist the habits and the temptations of slave- which they have been doing for the last forty years, holding. The magnitude of the temptation and for which Dr. Cunningham calls them men without sense or sanity. Besides, when ministers, can never be held an alleviation of the crime. so as to exempt the slaveholder, who has fallen into it from the proper and the prescribed discipline, else there is an end of all possible. Christian morality. Far less can the magnitude of the temptation to laxity of discipline, or to pass over the delinquencies of a wealthy and influential slaveholder, exempt any to assert that slaveholding is an occupation which Christian Church from the duty of an im-partial, and pure, and rightcous government over all its members,-else not only may that Church present a hideous mass of corrup- Notwithstanding the severe things which he writes tion, but every other Church in Christen- against slavery, he here plainly admits that it is dom, which connives at it, contracts thereby a blemish and a deformity, which must and which ought to injure its otherwise fair reputation. Let every man, be he a slaveholder and let the brotherhood of every Church be the masters of a household, who must have of the vices which are here enumerated; disowned which is found to tolerate these vices in its members, be they high or low .---Nay, should it be found in any instance that delinquents of the congregation,-let the church be all the more indignantly denounced as unworthy of fellowship or recognition, and its brotherhood be disowned by the other Churches of Christ. When we have got thus far into the argument, we come within sight of a clear principle,-a comfort which we did not enjoy so long as the demand was made upon us for the excommunication of all slaveholders, or for the wholesale excommunication of all Churchos that more found to have the names of slaveholders on the roll of their communicants. Our understanding of Christianity is, that it deals that it deals with persons and with ecclesi- from them. astical institutions, and that the object of sons. In conformity with this view, a purely holder or not, as licentious, as intemperate, as dishonest. Should any single American mind of the minister Dr. Chalmers dreads. Church be found to have acted others i e. let it, while the imputation rests upon it, and principle involved in the demand which these it remains unreformed, be treated as an out- Abolitionists now make on the Free Church cast from all other Churches. Nay, should of Scotland; it is in itself a wrong procethe corrupt proceeding be carried up by ap- dure for hastening forward that object, for peal to an American Presbytery, and be the accomplishment of which we are alike sanctioned or tolerated there, let all coun- desirous with themselves; or, in other words. tenance and communion with such a Presby- it is not only wrong in principle, but hurtful tery be suspended. Last of all, let the Su- in effect. Should we concede to their depreme Court,-the General Assembly of the mands, then, speaking in their terms of our American Presbytetian Church .- be convict- opinion, we incur the discredit (and in prood of having passed a corrupt sentence, which portion to that discredit we damage our usec rries in it the principle, and brings along fulness as a Church of having given in,-and with it the practice, of a toleration for un- at the bidding of another party .- to a facdoubted moral delinquencies-and then the titious and new principle, which not only only correspondence, we trust, which the wants, but which contravenes, the authority of Free Church of Scotland would consent to Scripture and of Apostolic example, and, inhold with the Presbyterian body of America, deed, has only been heard of in CLristendom would be that of grave and solemn remon- within these few years, as if gotten up for an

fluences which operate on the mind of the what the particular Churches are where men slaveholders, have been those very slaver are recognised as members, and live in the bolders themselves, - the whole system of undisturbed possession of church privileges, whose social economy they do well in denounc- notwithstanding their concubinage, or their ing, and in laboring to extirpate from the cruelty, or the gross violence and villainy of face of the earth ; yet, would they often sin, any sort, which might not only be charged notwithstanding, both against truth and upon, but have been actually made good charity, if, by a sweeping and universal against them; and then we shall know, and charge, they were to denounce all who par- in the light of clearest scriptural principle, take of this system, nay, live upon the prof- how to guide our proceedings, both with the its of it, as individually void of humanity Churches which sanction such enormities by their forbearance, and with Church Courts There are various methods, various lines of which, by their corrupt judicial sentences, procedure and policy, on which philanthro- may be well said to frame these iniquites by pists and patriots might enter, and join their a law. This were a far more likely process forces for the abolition of slavery. The whereby to augment the moral force of that most unjustifiable, and, let me add, the most opposition to slavery, which as one of its unwise and least effectual of these, were to most determined and implacable enemies, pronounce a wholesale anathema, by which we hope is growing and gathering every day, -not by forcing upon us a new principle, and requiring at our hands an altogether 2. It this paragraph, the Dr. makes a distinction new practice, unknown to the Churches of

church communion. It is strange reasoning in a Divinity Professor, to argue that being reared under shorter or longer periods from the ecclesiasthe system, and being familiar with its atrocities. tical community. There are other felonies of which we have never doubted,-vices a very bad thing, contrary to Scripture ; yet asserts that we ask too much from a man, when we bid him renounce that all that *belongs* to him. This is these vices do follow in the train of slaveholding with greater frequency than in the has a better right to what he has stolen, than has train of any other occupation, let this, by the exercise of a virtuous Church discipline, be made palpable to all, and another powerful blow will thus be inflicted on the system .-another telling argument be added to the successive strokes of that catapulta which is at length to bring down this monster evil. with all its horrors and teeming abominations. It is thus that the title of a pamphlet. which I lately saw, might be reversed; and the American Churches, instead of the props, as they are represented, of American . Slavery, might be the pioneers to undermine its foundations, and bring it to its final overthrow,-not by aggression from without, but by the force of sentiment and principles from within,-a force which, to the immortal honor of the Free States of America, has already told spontaneously, yet with full effect, on more than half the provinces of the Union. But I must repeat my conviction, that slavery will not be at all shaken,-it will be strengthened and stand its ground, -if assailed through the medium of that most questionable and ambiguous principle which the Abolitionists are now laboring to force upon our acceptance, even that slave-

holding is, in itself, a ground of exclusion from the Christian sacraments,-instead of being assailed through the medium of such other and obvious principles as come home to the hearts and the consciences of all

5. Dr. Chalmers here, as if in ignorance of all vices which exist, it is to be feared, in grea-test force and frequency, wherever there and elders, and communicants hold slaves, the diffi-culty of exercising di cipline on the sins springing out of slavery is increased-rendered almost im

If these vices do follow, says the Dr., in the train of slaveholding, with greater frequency than in the train of any other occupation. Does Dr. greater temptations to sin! The meaning here, alas! is so plain, that he who runs may read.only an occupation, which has more attendant sins in its train than any other calling in which men may engage.

6. There is one reformation about which, or not, be cast out from the brotherhood cf for ourselves, we feel no difficulty, and that the Christian ordinances, who falls into any is, how to proceed against slaveholding ministers, or ministers who hold slaves, not as

brejudices or heart-burnings against the gos-full exposure-but within the limits of truth bel of Christ, at the time that he was em---of the evils and atrocities of a system did full justice to both. For after he had ac- our civilized world. For the accomplishment complished his purely evangelical tour, and of this result there is no need of exaggeration. before leaving America, he held a confer- The application of a whip to human beings you. ence which, I believe, lasted for days to- as a stimulus to labor, the cruel separation

many of the most influential men in America, and then gave his public testimony on flesh of our own flesh, and bone of our own style worthy, we have no doubt, of the cause, of any education, to the whole of a degraded and worthy of his own connection with those lace, who share alike with ourselves in their illustrious names, - the Frys, and the Gur- capabilities, and the immortality of their neys, and the Buxtons, and the Clarksons. duration-these are topics which cannot fail

7. In this paragraph, the high ground is taken, that to refuse to receive a slaveholder to the Sacra-ment, not on'y wants Scripture authority, but is ac-tually opposed to Scripture. That is, if we refuse the Sacrament to a slaveho'der - a man keepng fellow-creatures without education and without them the rights of men — if the Sacrament he re-fused to such men, we are opposing the Holy Word of God. How different the sentiments here expressed from those of the Rev. James Morgan, in writing the address of the Belfast Anti Slavery So ciety, to the Church in the United States. Dr. almers thinks that all which is demanded in that address should be refused-and, indeed, it has been

John J. Gurney visited the societies of the Friends or Quakers in America, of which body he is a minister ; and as they neither have nor can have aves, it would have been useless for him to have been urging them to do what they had already done, that is, refuse to admit slaveholders to their munion and fellowship.

Communion and fellowship. Not to allude to one topic, namely, slavery, lest he awaken prejudice against another topic, namely, the Gospel, is strange advice to give a minister—an advice on which the coputation from the Free Church to the Presbyterians of America extrantly acted. They did not imitate Mi. Gurney, in bear-ing witness against clavery are they left America. Bid the money they specified account them? Did the money they received prevent them ? Ab-olitionists think it did; and the slave-masters are perfectly satisfied with their conduct. It is a pity we are not told what was the testimony of Mr. Gurney against slaveholding. It was just the con-trary of Dr. Chalmers' testimony,--it was, that they should be refused christian fellowship. If Dr. admires these men so much, it is strange he ever lent them any assistance in the abolition of British slavery.

8. But whatever the merit or demerit of their proceedings with Mr. Gurney, there is at least one specimen of that injudicious meddling with parties engaged in another good work besides their own, which was fitted only to embarrass the operations, and implead to interfere. We have before us the Thirty-Fifth Annual-Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, where, among other articles, there is one designated, "Memorials on Slavery."-I would recommend the insertion in full, both of the memorials and of the deliverances thereupon as far as they are given, in your Witness newspaper as holding out what we deem a most instructive example for all other Christian bodies, and in particular for the Assembly of our Free Church. We can only state here, that in the pream- that party. ble to one of these memorials, American slavery is denounced as a system of oppression most unjust and grievous, and the requirement founded on this sentence of conempation-(a sentence in which I believe that loth the American Board of Missions and the Free Church of Scotland most cor-

dially acquiesce.) is, that the Board would instruct "all their missionaries and agents under its patron ge to bear a decided testimony, wherever and in whatever form it exists, and, most especially, to declare in the

name of the Board, that American slavery is in against God, and that its existence in a Anti-Slavery Sewing Society."

would have had him to do, when he kept a direct influence to bear on the American nor grace my speech with a high sounding clear of the one topic, and so awakened no legislators. For this purpose lot them make exordium. With little experience and with less learning. I have been able to throw my oloved in the enforcement of the other topic. which requires only to be known that it may thoughts hastily and imperfectly together; And yet be acquitted himself rightly of, and be execrated by all the wise and the good of and trusting to your patient and generous indulgence, I will proceed to lay them before

This, for the purpose of this celebration, is gether, with members of Congress, and of relatives-nay, apart from these special the 4th of July. It is the birthday of your enormities, the mere traffic in men, who are National Independence, and of your political the evils of the tystem of slavery. - in a bone-above all, the denial of Christian, or freedom. This, to you, is what the Passover was to the emancipated people of God. It carries your minds back to the day, and to the act of your great deliverance; and to and the Wilberforces, who for two genera-to enlist a daily increasing number of Chris- the signs, and to the wonders, associated with tions have held unsparing and uncompro-mising warfare with this system of foul in-ionite and hore of the system of foul in-system so full of abominations and horrors. Nor can we despair of the effect that such a national life; and reminds you that the Rere-action, vigorously kept up and never devi-

ated from, must have, and that speedily, on public of America is now 76 years old. the American Government; for let us not forget, that this country, throughout many of marriage : for no man can keep slaves and grant others, even of Britain herself, in putting good old age for a man, is but a mere speck them the rights of men - if the Sacrament be reher provinces, took the precedency of all in the life of a nation. Three score years down slavery by law. and ten is the allotted time for individual I am. my dear sir,

#### Yours very truly, THOS. CHALMERS.

9. Dr. Chalmers here admires the example of the American board, for only praying against slavery, and refusing to act against it : and he hopes that the Free Church will imitate them in this : that is

in praying without acting. We are sorry to say that the Free Church has, when entreated by the Abolitionists to give them the weight of their influence done just the contrary. The Free Church has voted on the side of the slaveholder, and received his us. The eye of the reformer is met with money and his thanks; and voted against the slave,

and received his indignation and his ears. Is it not melancholy, that when slavery has been denounced by the statesmen of all the nations of Europe, it should find a refuge in the church, and apologists in ministers; and that slavery can co-exist with christianity, and that the life of a man is in more danger, while speaking against slavery among white christian slaveholders, than among Caffres or Hindoos. In conclusion, it may be remarked, that the prac-

tical effect of this letter has been to gladden the hearts of shaveholders and depress Abolitionists, both in this country and America-showing clearly that Dr. C. is regarded as the apologist of slavery.

Frederick Douglass' Paper. "ALL RIGHTS FOR ALL !"

### ROCHESTER, JULY 9, 1852.

BT TISH SUBSCRIBERS .- Please to take notice that earth with their mysterious properties .pede the success, both of their own righteous first Suscentre. I have builde that, and of that with which they are first Suscentre. Newcastle-on-Tyne, will they may also rise in wrath and fury, and act as agent for our paper, and will receive subscripbear away, on their angry waves, the accumtions and donations for the same. ulated wealth of years of toil and hardship.

To the Liberty Party of the United States. They, however, gradually flow back to the At your Convention in Buffalo last fall, you nomi-nated Gerrit Smith for President, and Charles Dur-kee for Vice-President; but neither of them consents same old channel, and flow on as serenely as ever. But while the river may not be turnto be a candidate. Hence, we call another Convened aside, it may dry up, and leave nothing tion to nominate persons for these offices ; and we propose that it be held in Buffalo on Wednesday the behind but the withered branch, and the un-1st day of next September. This Convention should be a large one, and it will be if the men and women sightly rock, to howl in the abyss-sweeping who love the Liberty Party feel is deeply as they wind, the sad tale of departed glory. As should feel how indispensable to the salvation of the country is the speedy success of the principles of with rivers so with nations. National Committee of Liberty Party.

GEORGE W. JONSON, New York, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, " JOHN THOMAS, " ANTOINETTE L BROWN, " ELIAKIM ROBERTS, Ohio. T. B. HUDSON, "JAMES H. COLLINS, Illinois. JAMES CATLIN, Pennsylvania. SAMUEL AARON, " E. B. CROCKER, Indiana. April 6, 1285.

The following vote of thanks is handed us ment; and England as the fatherland. This for publication, by "the Rochester Ladies' home government, you know, although a other disadvantages, your fathers declared express devout gratitude for the blessing re-

of impartial liberty.

S. OTTMAN of Rush.

These people were called tories in the taught in your common schools, parrated days of your fathers; and the appellation, at your firesides, unfolded from your pulpin probably, conveyed the same idea that is and thundered from your legislative half meant by a more modern, though a some- and are as familiar to you as household words what less euphonious term, which we often They form the staple of your national ports find in our papers, applied to some of our and eloquence. old politicians.

thority of national sanction. They did so in safely left in American hands.

I am g'ad, fellow-citizens, that your nation is so young. Seventy-six years, though a if I read it.

Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right, ought to be free and ndependent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all God and his cause is the ever-living now men; but nations number their years by political connection between them and the thousands. According to this, you are, even State of Great Britain is, and ought to be,now, only in the beginning of your national di-solved.

Citizens, your fathers made good that

chain of your yet undeveloped destiny.

America is young. Great streams are not easily turned from channels, worn deep in dark clouds may be seen. Heavy billows, a doubtful one. There are illustrations of a like mountains in the distance, disclose to near and remote, ancient and kodern. It was the course of ages. They may sometimes rise in quiet and stately majesty, and inundate the land, refreshing and fertilizing the iner to a spar at midnight.

attractiveness.

simple, dignified and sublime. The population of the country, at the time,

stood at the insignificant number of three millions. The country was poor in the munitions of war. The population was weak and scattered, and the country a wilderness I or those I represent, to do with your national unsubdued. There were then no means of independence ? Are the great principles of were British subjects. The style and title of concert and combination such as exist now. Neither steam nor lightning had then been bodied in that Declaration of Independence, glory) was not then born. You were under reduced to order and discipline. From the extended to us ? and am I, therefore, called Potomac to the Delaware was a journey of upon to bring our humble offering to the many days. Under these, and innumerable national altar, and to confess the benefits and considerable distance from home did in the for liberty and independence and triumphed.

I remember, also, that, as a people, Amer. Their opposition to the then dangerous icans are remarkably familiar with all facts hought was earnest and powerful; but, which make in their own favor. This is one amid all their terror and affrighted vocifer- teemed by some as being a national trainations against it, the alarmiag and revolution- perhaps a weakness. Whatever makes for ary idea moved on, and the country with it. the wealth or for the reputation of Amer. On the 2d of July, 1776, the old Conti- cans, and can be had cheap ! will be found to nental Congress, to the dismay of the lovers Americans. I shall not be charged we of ease and the worshippers of property, slandering Americans if I say that I think elothed that dreadful idea with all the au- the American side of any question may be

the form of a resolution; and as we seldom I leave, therefore, the great deeds of your hit upon resolutions, drawn up in our day, fathers to other gentlemen whose claim to whose transparency is at all equal to this, it have been regularly descended will be less may refresh your minds and help my story likely to be disputed than mine! THE PRESENT.

> My business, if I have any here to-day, is with the present. The accepted time with

"Trust no future, however pleasant, Let the dead past bury its dead Act, act in the living present, Heart within, and God over head

resolution. They succeeded; and to-day you We have to do with the past only as we can reap the fruits of their success. The free- make it useful to the present and the future dom gained is yours; and you, therefore, may To all inspiring motives, to noble deeds which properly celebrate this anniversary. The can be gained from the past, we are welcome. 4th of July is the first great fact in your But now is the time, the important time nation's history-the very ring-bolt in the Your fathers have lived, died, and done ther work, and have done much of it well. You

Pride and patriotism, not less than grati- live and must die, and you must do your tude, prompt you to celebrate and to hold it work. You have no right to enjoy a child's in perpetual remembrance. I have said that share in the labors of your fathers, unless the Declaration of Independence is the RING- your children are to be blest by your labora BOLT to the chain of your nation's destiny; You have no right to wear out and waste the so, indeed, I regard it. The principles con- hard-earned fame of your fathers to cover tained in that instrument are saving princi- your indolence. Sydney Smith tells us that ples. Stand by those principles, be true to men seldom eulogies the wisdom and virtues them on all occasions, and in all places. of their fathers, but to excuse some folly or From the round top of your ship of state, wickedness of their own. Tips truth is not

the leeward huge forms of flinty rocks ! That fashionable, hundreds of years ago, for the bolt drawn, that chain broken, and all is lost. children of Jacob to boast, we have "Abra-Cling to this day-cling to it, and to its prin- ham to our father," when they had long lost ciples, with the grasp of a storm-tossed mar- Abraham's faith and spirit. 'they contented

themselves under the shadow of his great The coming into being of a nation, in any name, while they repudiated the deeds which circumstances, is an interesting event. But, made his name great. Need I remind you besides general considerations, there were that a similar thing is being done all over peculiar circumstances which make the ad- this country to-day ? Need I tell you that vent of this republic an event of special the Jews are not the only people who built the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the The whole scene, as I look back to it, was sepulchres of the righteous ? Alas! that is

should be so; yet so it i2. " The evil that men do, lives after them,

The good is often interred with them." But pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have political freedom and of natural justice, im-

angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, may yet give direction to her destiny. Were the nation older, the patriot's heart might be sadder, and the reformer's brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow .--

career, still lingering in the period of child-

hood. I say, I am glad this is so. There is

hope in the thought, and hope is much need-

ed, under the dark clouds which lower about

There is consolation in the thought, that

Fellow-citizens, I shall not presume to dwell

at length on the associations that cluster

about this day. The simple story of it is,

that, 76 years ago, the people of this country

your "sovereign people" (in which you now

the British Crown. Your fathers esteemed

the English Goverr ment as the home govern-

them to our common Lerd. 3. In this paragraph, Dr. Chalmers totally for- and eternal, even the principle that no slavea state of concubinage, we do not understand the

seventh commandment.

4. We hope that our Free Church will frightened from her propriety, or forced by journey which he made some years ago in hore, on the other hand, that she will not be clamor of any sort, to outrun her own convictions, so as to adopt, at the bidding of it for the main object of dec'aring the blessed thurity in Scripture, and of which she can gather no traces in the history or practice of

who combine this worldly with their sacred or professional occupation. In our own Churches we should lay an interdict on our gence which is not shown to the humbler ministers here against their holding any secular trade or employment, lest it should secularize them; and a fortiori, we would lay an interdict on ministers there from holding slaves for profit, lest it should brutalize them. We must be forgiven the harshness of this expression. We do not say that this is the invarible effect of slaveholding in America, and therefore it is that we resist the proposed excommunication of all slaveholders. But we say, that if not the universal effect, it is at least the tendency of the system ; and we hold it the bounden duty of every Church to restrain its ministers from all which might put to hazard either their characters or reputations, and so to keep all not with civil or political institutions, but vitiating tendencies and temptations away

6. The Dr. here kindly permits a minister to hold these last is to operate directly and proxi-mately with the most wholesome effect on the consciences and the character of perwould not allow them to trade in horses, lest they and rightly administered Church will ex-such a trade; though he kindly begs pardon for the clude 'rom the ordinances, not any man as a such a trade; though he kindly begs pardon for the rude expression. It is not the sin of the trade itself he fears or objects to. it is only the worldly influ-

7. But, again, not only is there a wrong strance because of the dishonor done by occasion, instead of been drawn from the repositories of that truth which is immutable

and eternal, even the principle that no slave-bolder should be admitted to a participation in the parent sin, which he would spare, while he would push the numerous family: that it is the fruitfel tree, which he would not cut down, but merely prune the branches as they appeared. He merely prime the branches as they appeared. He forgets that slavery necessarily embraces and pro-duces those erimes of dishonesty and licentrousness —sins for which he would exclude from the tellow-ship of the Church. The whole essence of the in-quiry consists in the question—what is slavery in itself? If it he in itself a sin, even a giant sin, the other shows of lathers in color of the shows of the share of the the work of the shows of the show of the show of the shows of the sho itself? If it be in itself a sin, even a giant sin, towering above all others in solitary horror, and em-bracing them all, then there runs a fallacy through litionists have conjured up what the enemies this letter, unworthy of its author. If it be not a of their righteous cause might construe into giant dishonesty to claim and treat a man as pro-perty, which cannot be done without every moment a testimony on the side of slavery, whea, in stealing the man from lamself, we must confess fact, we are all most intent on the extinction ourselves ignorant of the eighth commandment.— of it, as one of the greatest moral nuisances that ever infested the face of our earth. To success to hold three millions of human beings in illustrate our meaning still further, let me suppose that my distinguished triend, than when none within the circle of my acquaintand discipline, that churches are entreated to deal ance is more devoted to the cause of Chri-t, with slavery, and not as a civil or political institu- or more strenuous in his opposition to slavery, and all its abomimination - John Joseph Gurney, - let me put the case of his never deviate to the right or the left from being required to denounce slavery right and the path of undoubted principle. But we left, along the whole path of that apostolic America, when he visited and travelled thro'

other parties, a new and factitious principle of gospel of salvation to all, whether bond or odministration, for which she can see no au-tion of this high errand, some zealous and obtrusive Abolitionist had crossed him in his way,\* and required of him to mix up on all the Churches in Apostelic times, 4. To say nothing of the unworthy appeal to the price of the Free Church, not to net at the bidding to God, the avowals of his detestation for slaforeign party, our best answer to the statement very, and of his opinion that none who were

of all men, whether this be the way by clusion, that this is an object which does not privilege to speak in this beautiful Hall, and a startling idea, much more so, than we, at quick martial tramp of a great and multitu- blacker to me than on this 4th of July !gan - The christians of Britain have felt themselves which either the missionary cause on the one practically or executively come within their to address many who now honor me with this distance of time, regard it. The timid called up on to enter into a solenen compact to refuse christian fellowship to any members of your churdinous nation, echoed back by all the hills, Whether we turn to the declarations of the province as a church in a distance in a dist other hand, would have best been expedited. ches who may be participators in the crime of sla very, either by practising it themselves, or connivor Missionary Boards, that these Abolition- faces, nor the perfect gage I think I have of that day, were, of course, shocked and alarm- bespeak the occasion one of thrilling and the conduct of the nation seems equally hidi-The truth is, that had the two been implicated and bound together, in the way that ists can ever expect to advance their own Corinthian Hall, seems to free me from em- ed by it. ing at it in others." Whether is the planic to believe Dr. C., when he says that to exclude the slave owners is unscrip-tural or Mr. Morgan, when he says that to receive them is unscriptural—a determination come to after prayer. Is Dr. C. not emong the christians who have come to this determination ? universal interest-a nation's jubilee. ous and revolting. America is false to the whether is the public to believe Dr. C., when some did require of him, it would have cause. They have addressed themselves to The fact is, ladies and gentlemen, the dis-Such people lived then, had lived before, and will, probably, ever have a place on this harrassment Friends and citizens, I need not enter past, false to the present, and solemn the wrong parties; and we can now ander further into the causes which led to this an- herself to be false to the future. Standing ctand how it is, that by a wayward and misniversary. Many of you understand them with God and the crushed and bleeding guided tactict, they have greatly injured and tance between this platform and the slave planet; and their course, in respect to any fave come to this determination ?
5. Would the Abolitionists, then, have their eye on such cases, and hold them forth in nothentic exhibition to the world, so that the Churches of distant lands may be made to know what the laxity of discipline is to know what the laxity of discipline is kept back the object which thousands and better than I do. You could instruct me in slaves on this occasion, I will, in the name of plantation, from which I escaped, is consider- great change, no matter how great the good where, have as much and as houestly at heart able-and the difficulties to be overcome in to be attained, or the wrong to be redressed thousands more, both in America and elseregard to them. That is a branch of knowl- humanity which is outraged, in the name of as they have. It does not seem to us the getting from the latter to the former, are by by it,) may be calculated with as much preedge in which you feel, perhaps, a much liberty which is fettered, in the name of the right way of going to work, that they should no means slight. That I am here to-day, is, cision as can be the course of the stars .deeper interest than your speaker. The constitution and the bible, which are disroabor as they have done to affix a universal to know what the laxity of discipline is which obtains throughout the Churches and Church Courts of America. Let them verify the instances, and tell us of them in detail, causes which led to the separation of the garded and trampled upon, dare to call in to me, a matter of astonishment as well as of They hate all changes, but silver, gold and stigma on American slaveholders. But thro' the medium of the public mind, both in their gratitude. You will not, therefore, be sur- copper change! Of this they are always colonies from the British crown have never question and to denounce, with all the emown and other countries, they should bring | prised, if I evince no elaborate preparation, | strongly in favor. lacked for a tongue. They have all been phasis I can command, everything that serves

Resolved, That the grateful acknowledge-Christian land is nowise chargable to the Christian religion which they are commisment of this Society be, and are, hereby sioned to preach, but is grossly at variance tendered to Wm. A Reynolds, Esq., for his with all its precepts." Besides the memori- many kind offices during our occupancy of als, the Board take notice of three petitions Corinthian Hall. Also for a generous dona- judgment, it deemed wise, right and proper. which have been addressed to them. In the tion of six dollars to the treasury of this But, your fathers, who had not adopted the first and second of these, they are requested Society. and urged to take measures to prevent receiv-

ing into their treasury, any monies contrib-uted in one way or another by slaveholders or any of the avails of slave labor." In the third petition, they are desired to pass res-

We admire the practical wisdom of the past two o'clock. Board in the deliverance which they have

come to, and in which the state "that the Board was established and incorporated for

the express purpose of propagating the gasoel in heathen lands, by supporting missionaries, and diffusing the knowledge of the Scriptures-that the Board had confined themselves to this one great object ;--and not to turn aside from it. or mix any other oncerns with it. And we still think, toat he Lord of missions, and the Savior of the

from it. And we have the comfort to believe also that this is the only purpose and course of action which will give permanent satisfaction to the Christian community who are enlisted in the cause of missions .- being ful y

persuaded that an essential departure from this plan of operations would tend to defeat the great end we are pursuing .- the convertributed by slaveholders, it is still our opinion. that considering the character of the Board

and the nature of its objects, it may fairly be presumed, that the funds contributed to our treasury are obtained in a proper manner, and contributed from right motives; and tleman came forward, and was greeted with proceed. it is very manifest that we cannot properly

examine into the motives of those who sustain our operations, and that the attempt to do this would be marked with absurdity, and would plunge us in difficulties from which we could not possibly be extricated." " It will not, we trust, be overlooked, that that in reply to previous petitions, the Board has repeatedly and very frankly declared, that they can sustain no relation to slavery

as a Board, can have no connection or sympathy with it, - plainly intimating that we consider it one of the obvious evils which exist in the community, but the removal of which, though we regard it as an object of fervent desire and prayer, does not fall within our province as a Missionary Board. We know

the subject can desire more than this." 8. It is difficult for the Abolitionists to avoid S. It is difficult for the Abortonists to avoid giving offence. When petitions were lately pre-sented to the Presbyterian church in America, pray-ing them to refuse rellowship to slaveholders, the reply was, that the Presbyterian church courts had

inly to co with *faith* and *morals*, and so could take to cognizance of slavery. Is there no question of moral at stake, when the owners and breeders of slaves are received into churches, and called good christian brethren. Yet Dr. Chalmers calmly tells the Abolitionists, that when they present petitions against slavery, to churcles and missionary boards, they are obtruding, and intruders with those with whom they have no business. Yet, in the fifth section of this letter, he admits that it is by the very is to be destroyed.

9. We regard the example here set before us as eminently fitted to have a wholesome influence on the spirit and counsels of our vinced that the Supreme Ecclesiastical the present occasion. Court of our Free Church will, with one mind and spirit join in the fervent desire and

exercise of its parental prerogatives, impose upon its colonial children, such restraints, burdens and limitations, as, in its mature fashionable ideas of this day, of the infalli-MARIA G. PORTER, Treasurer. bility of government, presumed to differ JULIA GRIFFITHS, Secretary.

The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society wisdom and the justice of some of those olutions declaring that "American slavery is will meet, on Friday, July 9th, at the house burdens and restraints. They went so far a sin against God and man, and ought to be of Mrs. Farley, Holly Farm, corner of North in their ensitement as to pronounce the St. Paul Street and Ridge Road, at half- measures of government unjust, unreasonable, and oppressive, and altogether such as

JULIA GRIFFITHS. Sec'y. THE CELEBRATION AT CORINTHIAN HALL. scarcely need say, fellow-citizens, that my opinion of those measures fully accords with The friends of freedom were highly favor- that of you fathers. Such a declaration of ed on Monday with excellent weather for this agreement on my part, would not be worth Celebration. Five or six hundred persons much to anybody. It would, certainly, prove hat a regard to our sacred trust requires us (notwithstanding the many attractions in nothing, as to what part I might have taken o pursue the object with undivided zeal, and other directions, and the noise and confusion in the great controversy of 1776. To say without, assembled in Corinthian Hall to now that America was right, and England

celebrate the national anniversary, in what wrong, is exceedingly easy. Everybody can world, will approve of this deliberate pur- we conceive to be the only appropriate man- say it; the dastard, not less than the noble pose of ours, and this course of action, and ner in which that anniversary can be cele- brave, can flippant'y discant on the tyranny would frown upon us if we should depart brated. The meeting was called to order by of England towards the American Colonies. JAMES SPERRY, Esq., a veteran in the cause It is fashionable to do so; but there was a time when, to pronounce against England, LINDLEY MURREY MOORE, Esq., was unan- and in favor of the cause of the colonies,

imously called to the Chair, to preside. tried men's souls. They who did so were ac-After briefly stating the objects for which counted in their day, plotters of mischief, the meeting had assembled, the throne of agitators and rebels, dangerous men. To sion of the heathen." "As to the monies con- Grace was feverently addressed by the Rev. side with the right, against the wrong, with the weak against the strong, and with the

The President then called on the REV. oppressed against the oppressor! here lies "The Declaration of Independence." That gen- seems unfashionable in our day. But, to

evident pleasure by those who recollected his Feeling themselves harshly and unjustly thrilling speech in the same Hall, at the treated, by the home government, your Anti-Slavery Festival on the 19th of March. fathers, like men of honesty, and men of Mr. Raymond was not less happy on this spirit, earnestly sought redress. They petioccasion than on that. His remarks were tioned and remonstrated, they did so in a beautifully appropriate, as an introduction decorous, respectful, and loval manner.to the immortal "Declaration," and the Their conduct was wholly unexceptionable. reading itself was eloquent and admirable, This did not answer the purpose. They saw which implies approbation of the system, and, eliciting much applause throughout. themselves treated with sovereign indiffer-After this part of the ceremony had been ence, coldness and scorn. Yet they perse-

completed, FREDERICK DOUGLASS came for- vered. They were not the men to look back. As the sheet anchor takes a firmer hold,

ward, and spoke as follows: Mr. President, Friends and Fellow-Citizens: when the ship is tossed by the storm, so did He who could address this audience with- the cause of your fathers grow stronger, as not how any man who maturely considers out a quailing sensation, has stronger nerves it breasted the chilling blasts of kingly disthan I have. I do not remember ever to pleasure. The greatest and best of British have appeared as a speaker before any as- statesmen admitted its justice, and the loftiest they were about to assume, wisely measuring the mournful wail of millions ! whose chases sembly more shrinkingly, nor with greater eloquence of the British Senate came to its distrust of my ability, than I do this day. A support. But, with that blindness which the fathers of this republic, did, most deliber- rendered more intolerable by the jubila feeling has crept over me, quite unfavorable seems to be the unvarying characteristic of ately, under the inspiration of a glorious pa- shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I to the exercise of my limited powers of tyrants, since Pharoah and his hosts were triotism, and with a sublime faith in the great do not faithfully remember those bleeding speech. The task before me is one which drowned in the red sea, the British Governrequires much previous thought and study ment persisted in the exactions complained for its proper performance. I know that of.

apologies of this sort are generally consider- The madness of this course, we believe, is ed flat and unmeaning. I trust, however, seen now, even by England; but we fear the force of sentiment from within the church, that sla- that mine will not be so considered. Should lesson is lost on our present rulers.

I seem at ease, my appearance would much Oppression makes a wise man mad. Your misrepresent me. The little experience I fathers were wise men, and if they did not have had in addressing public meetings, in go mad, they became restive under this treatpending General Assembly. We are con- country school-houses, avails me nothing on ment. They felt themselves the victims of The papers and placards say, that I am to colonial capacity. With brave men there deliver a 4th July oration. This, certainly, is always a remedy for oppression. Just

sulting from your independence to us I am not wanting in respect for the fathers Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be

of this republic. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were brave men. They truthfully returned to these questions ! Thea were great men too-great enough to give would my task be light and my burden easy fame to z great age. It does not often hap- and delightful. For who is there so cold, pen to a nation to raise at one time such a that a nation's sympathy could not warm number of truly great men. The point from him? Who so obdurate and dead to the from the home government in respect to the which I am compelled to view them is not, claims of graticude, that would not thankfully certainly, the most favorable; and yet I can- acknowledge such priceless benefits ? Who not contemplate their great deeds with less so stolid and selfish, that would not give his than admiration. They were statesmen, voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's patriots and heroes, and for the good they jubilee when the chains of servitude had ought not to be quietly submitted to. I will unite to honor their memory.

did, and the principles they contended for, I been torn from his limbs ? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might They loved their country better than their cloquently speak and the "lame man leap as own private interests ; and, though this is not an hart."

the highest form of human excellence, all But, such is not the state of the case. I will concede that it is a rare virtue, and that say it with a sad sense of the disparity bewhen it is exhibited it ought to command tween us. I am not included in the pale of respect. He who will, intelligently, lay down this glorious anniversary ! Your high indehis life for his country, is a man whom it is pendence only reveals the immeasurable disnot in human nature to despise. Your tance between us. The blessings in which fathers staked their lives, their fortunes, and you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in comtheir sacred honor, on the cause of their mon. The rich inheritence of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathcountry.

They were peace men; but they preferred ed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by revolution to peaceful submission to bondage. me. The sunlight that brought life and They were quiet men; but they did not healing to you, has brought stripes and death shrink from agitating against oppression - to me. This Fourth July is yours, not most They showed forbearance; but that they You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a knew its limits. They believed in order; man in fetters into the grand illuminated tembut not in the order of tyranny. With them, ple of liberty, and call upon him to join you nothing was "settled" that was not right - in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockers With them, justice, liberty and humanity and sacraligious irony. Do you mean, citiwere "final;" not slavery and oppression - zens, to mock me by asking me to speak to-ROBERT R. RAYMOND of Syracuse to read the merit, and the one which, of all others, You may well cherish the memory of such day? If so, their is a parallel to your conmen. They were great in their day and duct. You are copying the example of a generation. Their solid manhood stands out nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, the more as we contrast it with these degen- were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable erate times.

How circumspect, exact and proportionate ruin !

were all their movements ! How unlike the "By the rivers of Babylen, there we sat politicians of an hour ! Their statesman- down. Yea ! we wept when we remembered ship looked beyond the passing moment, and Zion. We hanged our harps upon the wilstretched away in strength into the distant lows in the midst thereof. For there, they future. They seized upon eternal principles, that carried us away captive, required of u and set a glorious example in their defence. a song; and they who wasted us required of Mark them !

the corner-stone of the national superstruc- hand forget her cunning, and may my tong ue ture, which has risen and still rises in grand- cleave to the roof of my mouth !" To foreur around you.

of this fundamental work, this day is the and to chime in with the popular theme, anniversary. Our eyes are met with demon- would be treason most scandalous and shockstrations of joyous enthusiasm. Banners ing, and would make me a reproach before and pennants wave exultingly on the breeze. God and the world. My subject, then, fel-The din of business, too, is hushed. Even low citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall mammon seems to have quitted his grasp on see, this day, and its popular characteristics, grievous wrongs, wholly incurable in their this day. The ear-pierceing fife and the from the slave's point of view. Standing, stering drum unite their accents with the as- there, identified with the American bondman,

cending peal of a thousand church bells .- n.aking; bis wrongs mine, I do not besitate to of lir. C. that to exclude slaveholders is a new, engaged in it could either possess the charprayer of the American Board for the refactitious, aid unceriptural principle is to quote moval of American slavery; and we are sounds large, and out of the common way, here, the idea of a total separation of the Prayers are made, hymns are sung, sermons declare, with all my soul, that the character acter, or be entitled to the privileges, of the following sentence from the address of the Socie y, written in 1841, by the Rev. James Mor. Christians. We appeal to the common sense are preached in honor of this day ; while the and conduct of this nation never looked bopeful that they will come to the same con- for me. It is true that I have often had the colonies from the crown was born! It was

us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Full / appreciating the hardships to be en- Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a

countered, firmly believing in the right of strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, their cause, honorably inviting the scrutiny let my right hand forget her cunning. If I of an on-looking world, reverently appealing do not remember thee, let my tongue cleare to heaven to attest their sincerity, soundly to the roof of my mouth," fellow-citizens. comprehending the solemn responsibility Above your national, tumultuous joy. I heat the terrible odds against them, your fathers, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, to day principles of justice-and freedom, lay deep, children of sorrow this day, "may my right

# FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

shame of America! "I will not equivocate ; I carried on in all the large towns and cities will not excuse;" I will use the severest lan in one half of this confederacy; and milguage I can command; and yet not one word lions are pocketed every year, by dealers in shall escape me that any man, whose judg- this horrid traffic. In several states, this ment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is trade is a chief source of wealth. It is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess called (in contradistinction to the foreign to be right and just.

dience say, it is just in this circumstance that from it the horror with which the foreign you and your brother abolitionists fail to slave-trade is contemplated. That trade has make a favorable impresssion on the public long since been denounced by this governmind. Would you argue more, and de- ment, as piracy. It has been denounced nounce less, would you persuade more, and with burning words, from the high places of rebuke less, your cause would be much more the nation, as an exectable traffic. To arlikely to succeed. But, I answer, where all rest it, to put an end to it, this nation keeps is plain there is nothing to be argued. What a squadron, at immense cost, on the coast of point in the anti-slavery creed would you Africa. Everywhere, in this country, it is have me argue? On what branch of the safe to speak of this foreign slave-trade, as a subject do the people of this country need most inhuman traffic, opposed alike to the light? Must I undertake to prove that the laws of God and man. The duty to extislave is a man ? That point is conceeded pate and destroy it, is admitted even by our already. Nobody doubts it. The slave- DOCTORS OF DIVINITY. In order to put an holders themselves acknowledge it in the en- end to it, some of these last have consented actment of laws for their government. They that their colored brethren (nominally free) acknowledge it when they punish disobedi- should leave this country, and establish ence on the part of the slave. There are themselves on the western coast of Africa !-seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia. It is, however, a notable fact, that while so which, if committed by a black man, (no much execration is poured out by Americans, matter how ignorant he be.) subject him to upon those engaged in the foreign slavethe punishment of death; while only two of trade, the men engaged in the slave-trade bethe same crimes will subject a white man to tween the states pass without condemnation, the like punishment. What is this but the and their business is deemed honorable. acknowledgement that the slave is a moral, Behold the practical operation of this inintellectual and responsible being. The man- ternal slave-trade, the American slave-trade, hood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted sustained by American politics and American in the fact that Southern statute books are religion. Here you will see men and women covered with enactments forbidding, under reared like swine for the market. You severe fines and penalties, the teaching of know what is a swine-drover. I will show the slave to read or to write. When you you a man-drover. They inhabit all our can point to any such laws, in reference to Southern States. They perambulate the the beasts of the field, then I may consent country, and crowd the highways of the nato argue the manhood of the slave. When tion, with droves of human stock. You will the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of see one of these human flesh jobbers, armed the air, when the cattle on your hills, when with pistol, whip and bowie-knife, driving a the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that company of a hundred men, women, and crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the children, from the Patomac to the slaveslave from a brute, then will I argue with you market, at New Orleans. These wretched that the slave is a man !

equal manhood of the negro race. Is it not ton-field, and the deadly sugar-mill. Mark astonishing that, while we are plowing, plant- the sad procession, as it moves wearily ing and reaping, using all kinds of mechan- along, and the inhuman wretch who drives ical tools, erecting houses, constructing them. Hear his savage yells, and his bloodbridges, building ships, working in metals of chilling oaths, as he hurries his affrighted brass, iron, copper, silver and gold; that, captives! There, see the old man, with while we are reading, writing and cyphering, locks thinned and gray. Cast one glance, if baving among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, shoulders are bare to the scorching sun, her gold in California, capturing the whale in the mother from whom she has been torn ! The Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hill- drove moves tardily. Heat and sorrow have living in families as busbands, wives and chil- you hear a quick snap, like the discharge of dren, and, above all, confessing and worship- a rifle; the fetters clank, and the chain ratping the Christian's God, and looking hope- tles, simultaneously; your ears are saluted fully for life and immortality beyond the with a scream, that seems to have torn its are men

entitled to liberty ? that he is the rightful you saw with the babe. Her speed had falowner of his own body ? You have already tered under the weight of her child and her declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness chains ! that gash on her shoulder tells her of slavery ? Is that a question for Republi- to move on. Follow this drove to New Orcans? Is it to be settled by the ruler of leans. Attend the auction ; see men examlogic and argumentation, as a matter beset ined like horses; see the forms of women with great difficulty, involving a doubtful ap- rudely and brutally exposed to the shocking plication of the principle of justice, hard to gaze of American slave-buyers. See this be understood ? How should I look to-day, drove sold and separated for ever; and never in the presence of Americans, dividing, and forget the deep, sad sobs that arose from that subdividing a discourse, to show that men scattered multitule. Tell me WHERE, under have a natural right to freedom ? speaking the sun, you can witness a spectacle more of it relatively, and positively, negatively, fiendish and shocking. Yet this is but a and affirmatively. To do so, would be to glance at the American slave-trade, as it exmake myself ridiculous, and to offer an in- ists, at this moment, in the ruling part of the sult to your understanding. There is not a United States. man beneath the canopy of heaven, that I was born amid such sights and scenes. does not know that slavery is wrong for him. To me, the American slave-trade is a terrible What, am I to argue that it is wrong to reality. When a child, my soul was often make men brutes, to rob them of their lib- pierced with a sense of its horrors. I lived erty, to work them without wages, to keep on Philpot Street, Fell's Point, Baltimore, them ignorant of their relations to their fel- and have watched from the wharves, the low men, to beat them with sticks, to flay slave ships in the Basin, anchored from the their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs shore, with their cargoes of human flesh, with irons, to hant them with dogs, to sell waiting for favorable winds to waft them them at auction, to sunder their families, to down the Chesapeake. There was, at that knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to time, a grand slave mart kept at the head of starve them into obedience and submission Pratt Street, by Austin Wolfelk. His agents to their masters ? Must I argue that a sys- were sent into every town and county in tem thus marked with blood, and stained Maryland, announcing their arrival, through with pollution, is wrong ?- No ! I will not .- the papers, and on flaming "hand-bills," I have better employment for my time and headed CASH FOR NEGROES. These men were strength, than such arguments would imply. generally well dressed men, and very capti-What, then, remains to be argued ? Is it vating in their manners. Ever ready to that slavery is not divine ; that God did not drink, to treat, and to gamble. The fate of establish it; that our doctors of divinity are many a slave has depended upon the turn of mistaken? There is blasphemy in the a single card; and many a child has been thought. That which is inhuman, cannot le snatched from the arms of its mother, by divine ! Who can reason on such a propo- bargains arranged in a state of brutal drunksition ? They that can, may ; I cannot. The enness. time for such argument is past. The flesh-mongers gather up their vic-At a time like this, scorching irony, not tims by dozens, and drive them, chained, to convincing argument, is needed. O ! had I the general depot, at Baltimore. When a the ability, and could reach the nation's sufficient number have been collected here, a ear, I would, to-day, deal out biting ship is chartered, for the purpose of conveyridicale, blasting reproach, withering sar- ing the forlorn crew to Mobile, or to New casm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light Orleans. From the slave prison to the ship, that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle they are usually driven in the darkness of shower, but thunder. We need the storm, night; for, since the anti-slavery sgitation, a the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feelcertain caution is observed. ing of the nation must be quickened; the coa-In the deep, still darkness of midnight, I science of the nation must be roused; the have been often aroused by the dead, heavy, propriety of the nation must be startled; the footsteps, and the pitious cries of the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and chained gangs that passed our door. The its crimes against God and man must be pro- anguish of my boyish heart was intense; and I was often consoled, when speaking to my What, to the American slave, is your 4th mistress in the morning, to hear her say of July? I answer; a day that reveals to that the custom was very wicked; that she him, more than all other days in the year, hated to hear the rattle of the chains, and the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the heart-rending cries. I was glad to find the constant victim. To him, your celebraone who sympathised with me in my horror. thing ! in preference to the gospel, as tion is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy lisence: your national greatness, swellto-day, in active operation in this boasted reing vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are public. In the solitude of my spirit, I see empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your South; I see the bleeding footsteps; I hear shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockthe dolcful wail of fettered humanity, on the ery ; your prayers and hymns, your sermons way to the slave-markets, where they are to and thanksgivings, with all your religious be sold like horses, sheep, and swine, knocked parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bomoff to the highest bidder. There I see the bast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypoctenderest ties ruthlessly broken, to gratify risy-a thin veil to cover up crimes which the lust, caprice and rapacity of the buyers would disgrace a nation of savages. There and sellers of men. My soul sickens at the is not a nation on the earth guilty of practisight. ces, more shocking and bloody, than are the "Is this the land your Fathers loved, people of these United States, at this very The freedom which they toiled to win ? Is this the earth whereon they moved? Go where you may, search where you will, Are these the graves they slumber in ? " roam through all the monarchies and des-But a still more inhuman, disgraceful, and potisms of the old world, travel through scandalous state of things remains to be pre-South America, search out every abuse, and sented. when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every day practices of this vet two years old, slavery has been national-

to perpetuate slavery-the great sin and culiarities of American institutions. It is slave-trade) " the internal slave trade." It is,

But I fancy I hear some one of my au- probably, called so, too, in order to divert

people are to be sold singly, or in lots, to

For the present, it is enough to affirm the suit purchasers. They are food for the cotacting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, you please, upon that young mother, whose poets, authors, editors, orators and teachers ; briny tears falling on the brow of the babe that, while we are engaged in all manner of in her arms. See, too, that girl of thirteen, enterprises common to other men, digging weeping, yes ! weeping, as she thinks of the side, living, moving, acting, thinking planning, nearly consumed their strength; suddenly grave, we are called upon to prove that we way to the centre of your soul! The crack you heard, was the sound of the slave-whip:

Would you have me argue, that map is the scream you heard, was from the woman

gled banner, and An.erican Christianity. - popular religion, the popular church, and "men for to dwell on the face of all the Where these go, may also go the merciless the popular worship of our land and nation- "earth," and hath commanded all men, slave-hunter. Where these are, man is not a religion, a church and a worship which, on everywhere to love one another ; yet you sacred. By that most foul and fiendish of the authority of inspired wisdom, we pro- noteriously hate, (and glory in your hatred.) all human decrees, the liberty and person nounce to be an abomination in the sight of all men whose skins are not colored like of every man are put in peril. Your broad God. In the language of Isaiah, the Amer- your own. You declare, before the the world, republican domain is hunting ground for lican church might be well addressed, "Bring and are understood by the world to declare, Not for thiever and robbers, enemies no more vain oblations : incense is an abom- that you "hold these truths to be self-erident, of society, but for men guilty of no crime. ination -unto me: the new moons and Sab- that all men are created equal; and are endow-Your law-makers have commanded all good baths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot ed by their Creator with certain inalienable citizens to engage in this hellish sport. Your away with ; it is iniquity, even the solemn rights ; and that, among these are, life, liberty President, your Secretary of State, your meeting. Your new moons, and your ap- and the pursuit of happiness ;" and yet, you lords, nobles, and ecclesiastics, enforce it as a pointed feasts my soul hateth. They are a hold securely, in a bondage, which, according duty you owe to your free and glorious trouble to me; I am weary to bear them; to your own Thomas Jefferson, "is worse than country, and to your God, that you do this and when ye spread forth your hands I will " ages of that which your fathers rose in reaccursed thing. Not fewer than forty hide mine eyes from you. Yea! when ye "bellion to oppose," a seventh part of the in-Americans, have, within the past two years. make many prayers, I will not hear. YOUR habitants of your country. been hunted down, and, without a moment's HANDS ARE FULL OF BLOOD; cease to Fellow-citizens! I will not enlarge further

Some of these have had wives and children, plead for the widow." dependent on them for bread; but of this, no the rights of God included. For black men, ability to abolish slavery. there are neither law, justice, humanity, nor

enactment, to send the most pious and exnothing. He can bring no witnesses for himself. The minister of American justice is bound, by the law, to hear but one side; and that side, is the side of the oppressor. Let it be thundered around the world, that, in can conceive. tyrant-killing, king-hating, people-loving, democratic, Christian America, the seats of justice are filled with judges, who hold their offices under an open and palpable bribe, and

are bound, in deciding in the case of a man's liberty, to hear only his accusers! In glaring violation of justice, in shameless disregard of the forms of administering law, in cunning arrangement to entrap the defenceless, and in diabolical intent, this Fugitive Slave Law stands alone in the annals of tyrannical legislation. I doubt if there is another nation on the globe, having

the brass and the baseness to put such a law on the statute-book. If any man in this assembly thinks differently from me in this matter, and feels able to disprove my statements, I will gladly confront him at any suitable time and place he may selec'. I take this law to be one of the grossest infringements of Christian Liberty, and, if

the churches and ministers of our country were not stupidly blind, or most wickedly indifferent, they, too, would so regard it. At the very moment that they are thank-

ing God for the enjoyment of civil and religto obey man's law before the law of God. ious liberty, and for the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, they are utterly silent in respect to a law which robs religion of its chief significance, and makes it utterly worthless to a world lying in wickedness. Did this law concern the "mint, anise and cummin"stood that I mean the great mass of the reabridge the right to sing psalms, to partake of the sacrament, or to engage in any of the ceremonies of religion, it would be smitten by the thunder of a thousand pulpits. A genover these Northern States, of whom Henry eral shout would go up from the church, Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, Samuel J. May demanding, repeal, repeal, instant repeal !-And it would go hard with that politician who presumed to solicit the votes of the pcople without ir scribing this motto on his banner. Further, if this demand were not comfaith, and zeal, and to cheer us on in the plied with, another Scotland would be added great mission of the slave's redemption from to the history of religious liberty, and the his chains. stern old covenanters would be thrown into the shade. A John Knox would be seen at every church door, and heard from every pulpit, but treacherous Queen Mary of Scotland .- similar movement in that country There, The fact that the church of our country, the church, true to its mission of amelioratthe Fugitive Slave Law" as a declaration of mankind, came forward promptly, bound of war against religious liberty, implies that up the wounds of the West Indian slave. that church regards religion simply as a and restored him to his liberty. There, the form of worship, an empty ceremony, and question of emancipation was a high religlence, justice, love and good will towards name of humanity, and according to the law man. It esteems sacrifices above mercy; of the living God. The Sharps, the Clarksons. worship that can be conducted by persons who piety, and for their philanthropy. The antibread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, movement, for the reason that the church to mankind. The Bible addresses all such country will cease to be an anti-church persons as "scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, movement, when the church of this country have omitted the weightier matters of the position towards that movement. law, judgment, mercy and faith." But the church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors. It has made itself the bulwark of American slavery. and the shield of American slave-hunters. Many of its most eloquent Divines, those who stand as the very lights of the church, have, support and perpetuate the enslavement of shamelessly, given the sanction of religion, three millions of your countrymen. You and the bible, to the whole slave system .-They have taught that man may, properly, be a slave; that the relation of master and slave is ordained of God ; that to send back an escaped bondman to his master is clearly the duty of all the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and this horrible blasphemy is shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, palmed off upon the world for christianity. For my part, I would say, welcome infidelity ! welcome atheism ! welcome any-Fellow-citizens, this murderous traffic is, preached by those Divines. They convert the very name of religion into an engine of tyranny, and barbarous cruelty, and serve to confirm more infidels, in this age, than all the infidel writings of Thomas Paine, Voltaire, and Bolingbroke, put together, have done! These ministers make religion -a cold and flinty-hearted thing, having neither orinciples of right action, nor bowels of compassion. They strip the love of God of

warning, hurried away in chains, and con- do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; re- on your national inconsistencies. The exissigned to slavery and excrutiating torture .- lieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; tence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as The American church is guilty, when a base pretence, and your christianity as; account was made. The right of the hunter viewed in connection with what it is doing a lie. It destroys your moral power abroad to his prey stands superior to the right of to uphold slavery; but it is superlatively it corrupts your politicians at home. It saps marriage, and to all rights in this republic, guilty when viewed in counection with its the foundation of religion ; it makes your name a hissing, and a bye-word to a mocking

ranks, during the last two years, as from the

Northern pulpit? As the champions of op-

The sin of which it is guilty is one of omis- earth. It is the antagonistic force in your religion, in this land. The Fugitive Slave sion as well as of commission. Albert Barnes government, the only thing that seriously Low makes MERCY TO THEM, A CRIME; and but uttered what the common sense of every disturbs and endangers your Union. It fetters bribes the judge who tries them. An Amer- man at all observant of the actual state of your progress ; it is the enemy of improveican JUDGE GETS TEN DOLLARS FOR EVERY the case will receive as truth, when he de- ment, the deadly foe of education; it fosters VICTIM HE CONSIGNS to slavery, and five, when clared that "if slavery were not sustained pride; it breeds insolence; it promotes vice. he fails to do so. The oath of any two vil- in the church, there was no power in the it shelters crime; it is a curse to the earth lains is sufficient, under this hell-black land that could uphold it for six months." that supports it; and yet, you cling to it; as Let the religious press, the pulpit, the if it were the sheet anchor of all your hopes. emplary black man into the remorseless sunday school, the conference meeting, the Oh! be warned! be warned! a horrible jaws of slavery ! His own testimony is great ecclesiastical, missionary, bible and reptile is coiled up in your nation's bosom, the tract associations of the land array their the venomous creature is nursing at the ten jumense powers against slavery, slavehold- der breast of your youthful republic; for ing; and the whole system of crime and the love of God, tear away, and fling from blood would be scattered to the winds, and you the hidious mouster, and let the weight this damning feet be perpetually told. Let that they do not do this involves them in the of twenty millions, crush and destroy it for most awful responsibility of which the mind ever!

But it is answered in reply to all this, that In prosecuting the anti-slavery enterprecisely what I have now denounced is, in prize, we have been asked to spare the fact, guaranteed and sanctioned by the Conchurch, to spare the ministry; but how, stiution of the United States; that, the right we ask, could such a thing be done? We to hold, and to hunt slaves, is a part of that are met on the threshold of our efforts for Constitution framed by the illustrious the redemption of the slave, by the church Fathers of their Republic.

and ministry of the country, in battle array-Then, I affirm, notwithstanding all I have ed against us; and we are compelled to fight said before, your Fathers stooped, base'y or flee. From what quarter, I beg to know, stooped. has proceeded a fire so deadly upon our

"To palter with us in a double sense : And keep the word of promise to the ear, But break it to the heart."

pressors, the chosen men of American the-And, instead of being the honest men I logy have appeared-men, honored for their have before declared them to be, they were o called piety, and their real learning .the veriest imposters that ever practised on The LORDS of Buffalo, the SPRINGS of New mankind. This is the inevitable conclusion. York, the LATHROPS of Auburn, the Coxes and from it there is no escape; but I differ of Brooklyn, the GANNETTS and SHARPS of from those who charge this baseness on the Boston, the DEWEYS of Washington, and framers of the Constitution of the United other great, religious lights of the land, States. It is a slander upon their memory. have, in utter denial of the authority of Him, at least, so I believe. There is not time now by whom they professed to be called to the to argue the constitutional question at length; ministry, deliberately taught us, against the nor have I the ability to discuss it as it ought example of the Hebrews, and against the to be discussed. The subject has been remonstrance of the apostles, that we ought handled with masterly power by Lysander Spooner, Esq., by William Goodell, by Samuel My spirit wearies of this blasphemy ; and E. Sewall, Esq., and last. though not least. how such men can be supported, as the by Gerrit Smith, Esq. These gentlemen have, standing types representatives of Jesus Christ, is a mystery which I leave others to as I think, fully and clearly vindicated the Constitution from any design to support

### toms of hurtful character could formerly

fence themselves in, and do their evil work with social impunity. Knowledge was then confined and enjoyed by the privileged few, and the multitude walked on in mental darkness. But a change has now come over the face of mankind. Wailed cities and empires have become unfashionable. The arm of commerce has borne away the gates of the strong city. Intelligence is penetrating the darkest corners of the globe. It makes its pathway over and under the sea, as well as on the earth. Wind, steam and lightning are its chartered agents. Oceans no longer divide, but link nations together. From Boston to London is now a holiday excursion.

tinctly heard on the other. The far off, and almost fabulous Pacific rolls in grandeur at our feet. The Celestial Scott, Fillmore, or any other Whig, or Empire, the mystery of ages, is being solved. The flat of the Almighty, " Let there be light," has not yet spent its force. No abuse, no distinctly pledged to obey all their other outrage, whether in taste, sport, or avarice, commands, as well as to enforce the information light. The iron shoe, and crippled loot of China must be seen, in contrast with nature. Africa must rise and put on her yet unwoven who can no longer stay in a party, which of William Lloyd Garrison, I say,

God speed the year of jubilee

The wide world o'er! When from their galling chains set free, Th' oppress'd shall vilely bend the knee, And wear the yoke of tyranny Like brutes no more.

That year will come, and freedom's reign. To man his plundered rights again Restore.

God speed the day when human blood Shall cease to flow ! In every clime be understood, The claims of human brotherhood. And each return for evil, good, Not blow for blow That day will come, all feuds to end,

And change into a faithful triend Each foe. God speed the hour, the glorions hour,

When none on earth Shall exercise a lordly power. Nor in a tyrant's presence cower, But all to manhood's stature tower. By equal birth ! THAT HOUR WILL COME, to each, to all, And from his prison-house, the thrall Go forth.

Until that year, day, hour, arrive. With head, and heart, and hand, I'll strive To break the rod, and rend the gyve, The spoiler of his prey deprive-So witness Heaven ! And never from my chosen post,

Whate'er the peril or the cost. Be driven.

When the speaker sat down, there was a BLOSS, Esq., rose and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Douglass, for the learned and eloquent address to which they had just lis- manufacture of paupers and madmen. quest was also made, that the Address be pub- political truths, and goes impartially for men lished in pamphlet form, and seven hundred should not every just man go for it copies of it were subscribed for on the spot.

OSWEGO COUNTY A. S. CONVENTION.

#### TO THE FUBLIC.

We see the Call for a Convention of the iberty Party to be held in Buffalo, the first lay of next Settember, to rominate candiates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. We are glad to see it : for never was there more need than now of maintaining the organration of the Liberty Party; never more need than now of inculcating its doctrines --This guiltiest of all guilty nations is perish ing for lack of the knowledge, and love, and practice of those doctrines, which the Liberty Party is so well adapted to teach, illustrate, nd commend.

We hope that the proposed Convention will be a large one. We hope that not a few Whigs, and Democrats, and Free Soilers will attend it, and identify themselves with it --There are many Whigs and Democrats, who Space is comparatively annihilated. Thoughts love the anti-slavery cause, and who are, at expressed on one side the Atlantic, are dis- last, convinced, that the leaders of the White and Democratic parties have soid these

parties to the slave-power. Wi ether the President elected next fall be Webster whether he be Cass, Buchanan, Douglass, or any other Democra:, he will be the shameless servant of the slaveholders, and openly and can now hide itself from the all-pervading Fugitive Slave Law. Hence, there are many Whigs and Democrats, who, ere the approac ing election, will quit their parties. there are members of the Free Soil Party, garment. " Ethiopia shall stretch out her shrinks from taking the ground, that there hand unto God." In the fervent aspirations can be no taw, he man or divine, for slavery -no possible legalization of the highest crime against the body and soul of man-The Free Soil Party is, we confess, a great improvement upon the Whig and Democratic parties. Some of its doctrines, and many of its members, are good. Nevertheless, it must have a different creed, a radically different creed, ere it can accomplish much for humanity. It must, in a word, "be been again, ere it can be an extensively useful anti-slavery

organization. Then, too, there are many Whics and Democrats who have become earnest Land Reformers, and many Whigs and Democrats who have become such carne-t friends of Temperance, as to go for the "Maine Law," and to go for it note. But, such Whigs and Democrats are fast discerning that parties, constituted as are the Whig and Democratic parties-political parties in the vulgar sense -cannot be relied on to promote, but must stand in the way of, both Land Reform and Temperance; and, therefore, such Whigs and Democrats must be fast quitting their

parties. . Where shall these disaffected Whigs and Democrats and Free Soilers go but to the Liberty Party ? Its truth will attract them, in spite of the smallness of its numbersfor they are lovers of truth more than lovers of numbers. In that party, which holds (and no other political party holds it) that Civil Government is bound to be just in all directions and at all times, they will feel themselves at home. That party, which holds, that Government is bound to protect its subjects, as well from dram she land-monopoly, as from slavery, they will find to be their own party.

The Liberty Party holds, not only, that every enactment and provision for slavery in null and void ; but that the right to the soil miversal burst of applause, and WILLIAM C. is as natural and equal as the right to the light and the air ; and that there is no clearer obligation resting on Civil Government than to protect its subjects from the dram-thop tened. It was unanimously carried. A re- The Liberty Party, in a word, espouses all

of all classes and conditions. Why, then,

JAMES G. BIRNEY. GERRIT SMITH WILLIAM GOODELI May 12, 1852.

penetrate. In speaking of the American slavery for an hour. church, Lowever, let it be distinctly under-

Fellow-citizens! there is no matter in ligious organizations of our land. There respect to which the people of the North are exceptions, and I thank God that there have allowed themselves to be so ruinously are. Noble men may be found, scattered all imposed upon as that of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution. In that instrument I hold there is neither warrant, license, nor sanction of the hateful thing : of Syracuse, and my esteemed friend on the platform are shining examples; and, let me but interpreted, as it ought to be interpreted, say further, that, upon these men lies the the Constitution is a GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCU-MENT. Read its preamble, consider its purduty to inspire our ranks with high religious poses. Is slavery among them? Is it at the gateway? or is it in the temple? it is

neither. While I do not intend to argue One is struck with the difference between this question on the present occasion, let me the attitude of the American church towards ask, if it be not somewhat singular that, if the and Fillmore would have no more quarter the anti-slavery movement, and that occu- Constitution were intended to be, by its frathan was shown, by Knox, to the beautiful, pied by the churches in England towards a mers and adopters, a slaveholding instrument, why neither slavery, slaveholding, nor slave can anywhere be found in it. What would be (with fractional exceptions.) does not esteem ing, eleveting, and improving the condition thought of an instrument, drawn up, legally drawn up, for the purpose of entitling the city of Rochester to a track of land, in which no mention of land was made ? Now, there are certain rules of interpretation, for the not a vital principle, requiring active benevo- ious question. It was demanded, in the proper understanding of all legal instruments. These rules are well established .-They are plain, common-sense rules, such as psalm-singing above right doing; solemn the Wilberforces, the Buxtons, the Burchelis you and I, and all of us, can understand and meetings above practical righteousness. A and the Knibbs were alike famous for their apply, wthout having passed years in the study of law. I scout the idea that the question of refuse to give shelter to the houseless, to give slavery movement there, was not an anti-church the constitutionality, or unconstitutionality of slavery, is not a question for the people .and who enjoin obedience to a law forbidding took its full share in prosecuting that move- I hold that every American citizen has a right these acts of mercy, is a curse, not a blessing menc; and the anti-slavery movement in this to form an opinion of the constitution, and to propagate that opinion, and to use all honorable means to make his opinion the who pay tithe of mint, anise and cummin, and shall assume a favorable, instead of a hostile prevailing one. Without this right, the literty of an American citizen would be as in-

secure as that of a Frenchman. Ex-Vice-Americans! your republican politics, not President Dallas tells us that the constituless than your republican religion, is flagranttion is an object to which no American mind ly inconsistent. You boast of your love of can be too attentive, and no American heart liberty, your superior civilization, and your too devoted. He further says, the constitupure christianity, while the whole political tion, in its words, is plain and intelligible, power of the nation, as embodied in the two and is meant for the home-bred, unsophisgreat political parties, is solemnly pledged to ticated understandings of our fellow-citizens. Senator Berrien tells us that the constitution is the fundamental law, that which controls learl your anathemas at the crowned headall others. The charter of our liberties, ed tyrants of Russia and Austria, and pride which every citizen has a personal interest yourselves on your Democratic institutions, in understanding thoroughly. The testiwhile you yourselves consent to be the mere mony of Senator Breese, Lewis Cass, and tools and body-guards of the tyrants of Virmany others that might be named, who are ginia and Carolina. You invite to your every there esteemed as sound lawyers, so regards the constitution. I take it, therefore, honor them with banquets, greet them with that it is not presumption in a private citizen ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, to form an opinion of that instrument. protect them, and pour out your money to

Now, take the constitution according to its them like water ; but the fugitives from your plain reading, and I defy the presentation of own land, you advertise, hunt, arrest shoot and kill. You glory in your refinement, and existence of slavery.

> I have detained my audience entirely too long already. At some future period I will this subject a full and fair discussion.

Allow me to say, in conclusion, notwith-

The meeting was well represented by true

and tried men, with hearts as large as the world. The call for the meeting was for all honest-hearted abolitionists; consequently, To the Editors of the Cleveland True Demthe meeting was represented by Liberty aestness and kindness. The speakers from abroad, were Stebins, of Rochester, Loguen, in August next. of Syracuse, (that chattel from Tennessee,

Ephraim Beardsley was chosen President. G. G. Case, Vice President, Jacob Kendall, Secretary. Prayer by J. C. Harrington.

A Business Committee of five reported a series of resolutions.

1. Resolved, That Christianity is the remedy provided for by Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, for all the sins and sorrows of our lost world 2. Resolved, That the Charch of God has

this divine remedy to all forms of sin. 3. Resolved, That slaveholding is, under all circumstances. a heinous sin against God,

rights of human nature. 4. Resolved, That a church which receives slaveholders, pro-slavery voters, and those who justify slaveholding to her communion, is false to the mission of a true church of

Christ. 5. Reserved, That those ecclesiastical ing them in their communion, do not repre- of August next, at 1 P. M. sent the religion of the Bible, and should no longer by recognised in any manner as their connection, and those who remain in tember. ecclesiastical bodies, fellowshipping slave-

holders, after light has been diffused, and remonstrance tried in vain. 6. Resolved, That immediate and uncon-

ditional emancipation is the duty of the master and right of the slave. 7. Resolved, That to support any man for office, without good evidence that he will refuse to execute and labor to repeal the Fugi-

tive Slave Law, gives evidence that he is destitute of christian principle. 8. Resolved, That free trade is a Democratic doctrine, and the interest of the slave demands its adoption by our government. 9. Resolved, That it is impossible to legal-

ize slavery. 10. Resolved, That it the duty of every man to vote, who believes in the Elective Franchise.

disposition of its proceedings, I send this July, at 10 o'clock. A. M. Eld. A. Kenyon account of it upon my own responsibility, not of Ohio will deliver the Annual Discourse giving a full report of its proceedings, and not writing twelve other resolutions, which a single pro-slavery clause in it. On the were passed by the Convention, touching other hand, it will be found to cortain prin- upon the Whig and Democratic parties; ciples and purposes, entirely hostile to the the duty of Congress to divorce the National Government from slavery ; the public lands ; election of officers by the people; disbandment of the army; reduction of the navy, river, and harbor improvements; commerce of nations; slave states; the Fugitive

> Slave Act ; temperance, &c. JACOB KENDALL Oswego, June 27th, 1852.

> > ANOTHER CAUTION.

religion" which is from above, and which is would enforce the strictest silence, and would forces in operation, which must, inevitably, "first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated," hail him as an enemy of the nation who work the downfall of slavery. "The arm of FRIEND DOUGLASS :- It is highly probable R. 1 full of mercy, and good fruits, without par- dares to make those wrongs the subject of the Lord is not shortened," and the doom of that a colored young man, about eighteen tiality, and without hyprocrisy." But a re- public discourse! You are all on fire at the slavery is certain. I, therefore, leave off years old, calling himself "George," is an ligion which favors the rich against the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; where I began, with hope. While drawing enimposter, so far as his professed desire to poor; which exalts the proud above the but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought couragement from "the Declaration of Inhasten to Canada is concerned. I arrive at By an act of the American Congress, not humble; which devides mankind in'o two of liberty for the enslaved of America. - Adependence," the great principles it contains, this conclusion by comparing contradictory classes, tyrants and slaves; which says to You discourse eloquently on the dignity of and the genius of American Institutions, my reports which he has given of himself, in the man in chains, stay there; and to the op- labor; yet, you sustain a system which, in its spirit is also cheered by the obvious tenden-Livonia, Richmond, East Bloomfield, &c. W. G. Barke nation, and you will say with me, that for re- ized in its most horrible and revolting form. pressor, oppress on ; it is a religion which very essence, casts a stigma upon labor. You cies of the age. Nations do not now stand Nelson A. Frost J. R. JOHNSON. Yours, P. S. Pond R. Richards James Parker Anson Wolcott Lawton Wilcox volting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been may be professed and enjoyed by all the can bear your bosom to the storm of British in the same relation to each other that they SYRACUSE, June 28th, 1852. America reigns without a rival. obliterated ; New York has become as Virrobbers and enslavers of mankind; it makes artillery, to throw off a threepenny tax on did ages ago. No nation can now shut itself Take the American slave-trade, which we ginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and sell God a respecter of persons, denies His tea; and yet wring the last hard earned up, from the surrounding world, and trot New HAVEN. - A congregation of colored aro told by the papers, is especially pros- men, women and children, as slaves, remains Alex. Salisbury Ralph Moore Mrs. Heeps Moses Dickson John Matthews fatherhood of the race, and tramples in the farthing from the grasp of the black laborers round in the same old path of its fathers, people of the Protestant Episcopal Church perous just now. Mr. Benton tells us no longer a mere state institution, but is now have organized in New Haven, have purthat the price of men was never higher an institution of the whole United States. - dust the great truth of the brotherhood of of your country. "You profess to believe without interference. The time was when chased a commodious church edifice, and than now. This trade is one of the pe- The power is co-extensive with the star-span- man. All this we affirm to be true of the "that, of one blood, God made all nations of such could be done. Long established cus- what is better, have nearly paid for it.

FREE SOIL NATIONAL CONVENTION.

GENTLEMEN :--- Will you give notice that Party, Garrisonian, and Free Soil abolition- the Free Soil National Convention for non ists. The discussion was marked with ear- inating candidates for President and View President of the United States, will be held at Cleveland, Ohio, on the first Wednesday

The time cannot, under the instructions Canada.) with immortality stamped upon his of a majority of the committee, be fixed be fore harvest, and it would be doing great wrong to fix a day during the hurry of that

> The day named is, therefore, the earliest, under all circumstances, that could be appointed, and the place designated by the onimittee is very easy of access, at that season, of the year, since all the delegates

can leave home, spend two days at the Con vention, and return the same week. The regular call, in full, will be prepared

and issued hereafter. We hope editors friendly to the liberty been organized for the purpose of applying and prosperity of the people and country, will aid in circulating the notice.

SAMUEL LEWIS, Chairman Of Free Soil National Committee to name and a gross violation of the most sacred a time and place for holding the Convention CINCINNATI, May 1, 1852.

MADISON COUNTY.

The men and women in the County of Madison, who love the principles of the Libbodies which per-ist against remonstrance erty Party, and desire to have the world blogs and petitions, to the contrary, in receiving with Righteous Civil Government, are invited slaveholders, pro-slavery voters, and retain- to meet in Morrisville, the first Wednesday

A part of the business of this meeting will branches of the Christian Church; and we be to appoint delegates to the National Libearnestly exhort all christians, and local or- erty Party Convention, which is to be held ganizations connected with them to dissolve in Buffalo, on the first day of next Sep-

> WASHINGTON STICENEY. YOUNG LEWIS. STAFFORD GREEN, FORDYCE RICE. GERRIT SMITH. ABISHAI SCOPIELD. OTIS SIMMONS.

TIMOTHY STOW. June 25th, 1852. NOTICE

The Commencement Exercises of New York Central College will take place or Wednesday, July 14th, commencing at 10

o'clock, A. M. It is expected Hon Gerrit Smith will be present and give an address. The next annual meeting of the New York C-ntral College Association will be held at As the Convention took no vote of the the College Chapel on Tuesday, the 13th of The Board will hold an adjourned meeting on the same day, and at the same pl B. F. REMINGTON.

> **RECEIPTS** For FREDERICK DUUGLASS' PAPER, from the 1st to the of 3th July. M. H. Ruggles, Esq. Rev. S. Ottman Louisa P. Clemens

P. 1

Kev

a a construction	
E. Hitchcock	2.00
e A. Schermerhorn	2.00
Bowen	2.00
mour King	2.00
. Talbot	1.00
n Hogarth & friends	6.00
. H P. McChakin	1.60
n R. Hubbard & friends	5.00
I. Reeves	2.00
a. Sweet	1,00
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h Hunt	1,00
Kenyon	1.00
n Reynolds	2.00
eph Seekins	1.50
anel Parigo	1.50
ding Room Society	2,00
uel Price	2.00
ert Hill	1,00
D Dickenson	1,00
i Hogan	2.00
vland Saunders	1,00

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your universal education ; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful, as ever stained the character of a nation-a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her gladly avail myself of an opportunity to give wrougs the theme of your poets, statesmen. and orators, till your gallant sons are ready huge, horrible, repulsive form. It is a relig- to fly to arms, to vindicate her cause against standing the dark picture I have this day ion for oppressors, tyrants, man-stealers, and her oppressors; but, in regard to the ten presented, of the state of the nation, I do thugs. It is not that "pure and undefiled thousand wrongs of the American slave, you not despair of this country. There are

# FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

### From the Los Angelos (Cal.) Star. THE LEAGUE OF FREEDOM.

When thunder-clouds are gathering forth, O'er mountain, hill and plain, Th' artilleries of heaven and earth Join in the storming train, Who then so vainly proud as boast ? To stand before the fearful host? So when the FREE Of earth agree In such a brotherhood to form, Who shall endure the mighty storm ? The Fyrants in their league have kept For centuries the rod :

And nations groaned, and people wept And trembled at their nod. And wealth, and life, and all such things Have been the sport of foolish kings ; The time is past ! The die is cast ! The FREE shall league their countless host To hold the day, whate'er it cost !

The star of Waterloo has set In all its gloomy pride ; There thrones for the last time have met, And with each other vied. It was a bloody struggle, sooth, And kings have learnt important truth ; They'll never make Another stake Nor martial legions from afar, To join in regicidal war.

There's yet to be another field, And for another prize ; The freedom of the world shall yield, In one last sperifice. Of life, and hope, and truth, and right, Or thrones shall sink beneath her might, When brave Magyar And Enn there,

Frank, German, Pole, and Saxon twain, United, sweep the battle plain ? Oh, Freedom ! ever from her lair

Shall Austriar leopard bound Upon her prey ? "The Russian bear Forth from his frozen ground And polar snows, to sinughter rush, Mad where he finds no more to crush ? Is there no friend Has nid to lend. Nor power on earth, nor arm of might,

To give thy bleeding cause respite ? No truce ! if Freedom c'er despairs,

"Tis not to suppliants given ; The mountain oak by summer air Has never yet been riven. The for is proud , about his throne Nor mercy breathes, nor truth is known, By dark intrigue, He forms his league, To merge the liberties of all,

In one self-will, the tyrant's thrall.

Ye spirits of the sainted dead ! Our dearest hopes defend, And to the cause for which ye bled Your unseen presence lend. The exiles from their banishment Are envoys from the people sent, Whose words are more Than classic lore, Lo link the thousand conquering hands

Of freedom in their distant lands. As heaves old occan's rising wave,

To thunder on the shore, No shall the columns of the brave Swell the battle's roar, When all that's dear in human life, Shall struggle in the moral strife And while there's scope, Or ground to cope, For Freedom in each other's cause,

ence to the rejected witness in a corner. That graceless creature only knows that the dead man (whom he recognized just now by his yellow face and black hair) was sometimes hooted and pursued about the streets. That one cold winter night, when he, the boy, was shivering in a doorway near his crossing. the man turned to look at him, and came back, and, having questioned him and found that he had not a friend in the world, said, "Neither have I. . Not one !" and gave him the price of a supper and a night's lodging .--That the man had often spoken to him since, and asked him whether he slept sound at night, how he bore cold and hunger, and whether he ever wished to die; and similar strange questions. That when the man had no money, he would say in passing, "I am as poor as you to-day, Jo;" but that when he had any he had always (as the boy most heartily believes) been glad to give him

"He was very good to me," says the boy, wiping his eyes with his wretched sleeve,-"Wen' I see him a lyin' so stritched out just now, I wished he could have heard me tell him so. He was wery good to me, he was !" As he shuffles down stairs, Mr. Snagsby, lying in wait for him, puts a half-crown in his hand. "If ever you see me coming past your crossing with my little woman-I mean a lady-" says Mr. Snagsby, with his finger on his nose, "don't allude to it." For some little time the Jurymen hang

about Sol's Arms colloquially. In the sequel half a dozen are caught up in a cloud of pipe-smoke that pervades the parlor of the Sol's Arms; two stroll to Hampstead; and four engage to go half price to the play at night, and top up with oysters. Little Swills is treated on several hands. Being asked what he thinks of the proceedings, characterizes them (his strength lying in a slangular direction) as "a rummy smart." The landlord of the Sol's Arms, finding Little Swills so popular, commends him highly to the Jurymen and public; observing that, for a song in character, he don't know his equal, and that that man's character-wardrobe would fill a cart.

Thus, gradually the Sol's Arms melts into the shadowy night, and then flares out of it strong in gas. The Harmonic Meeting hour arriving, the gentleman of professional celebrity takes the chair ; is faced (red-faced) by little Swills; their friends rally round them, and support first-rate talent. In the zenith of the evening, little Swills says, "Gentlemen, if you permit me, I'll attempt a short description of a scene of real life that came off here to-day." Is much applauded and encouraged ; goes out of the room as Swills ; comes in as the Coroner (not the least in the world like-him :) describes the Inquest with recreative intervals of piano-forte accompaniment to the refrain-With his (the Coroner's) tippy tol li doll, tippy tol lo doll, tippy tol li doll, Dee !

The jingling piano at last is silent, and the Harmonic friends rally round their pillows. Then there is rest around the lonely figure. now laid in its last earthly habitation; and it is watched by the gaunt eyes in the shutters through some quiet hours of the night. If this forlorn man could have been prophetically seen lying here by the mother at whose breast he nestled, a little child, with eyes upraised to her loving face, and soft hand searcely knowing how to close upon the neck to which it crept, what an impossibility the vision would have seemed ! O, if, in brighter days, the now extinguished fire within him ever burned for one woman who held him in her heart, where is she, while those ashes are above the ground !

It is anything but a night of rest at Mr. Snagsby's in Cook's Court; where Guster murders sleep, by going, as Mr. Snagsby himself allows-not to put too fine a point upon it-out of one fit into twenty. The occasion of this seizure is, that Guster has a tender heart, and a susceptible something that possibly might have been imagination, but for Tooting and her patron saint. Be it what it may, now, it was so direfully impressed at tea time by Mr. Snagsby's account of the inquiry at which he had assisted, that at supper time she projected herself into the kitchen, preceded by a flying Dutch cheese, and fell into a fit of manual fell into a fit of manual fell into a fit of manual fit. into a fit of unusual duration ; which she only came out of to go into another, and another, and so on through a chain of fits, with short intervals between, of which she has pathetically availed herself by consuming them in entreaties to Mrs. Snagsby not to give her warning "when she quite comes to:" and also in appeals to the whole establishment to lay down on the stone and to go to bed. Hence, Mr. Snagsby, at last hearing the cock at the little dairy in Cursitor street maker) and it has long been well beknown go into that disinterested eestacy of his on the subject of daylight, says, drawing a long breath, though the most patient of men, "I thought you was dead, I am sure !" What question this enthusiastic fowl supposes he settles when he strains himself to such an extent, or why he should thus crow (so men crow on various triumphant occasions, however) about what cannot be of any moment to him, in his affair. It is enough that daylight comes, morning comes, noon Then the active and intelligent, who has with his pauper company to Mr. Krook's, here departed, to a hemmend-in churchlignant diseases are communicated to the bodies of dear brothers and sisters who have would to Heaven the had departed ! are very shudder at, they bring our dear brother here

cold sunshine glances into the brittle woods, shadows of the clouds, and chases them, but | asks :---never catches them, all day. It looks in at the windows, and touches the ancestral por-

traits with bars and patches of brightness, Rosa. never contemplated by the painters. Ath-Through the same cold sunshine, and the

in their traveling chariot (my Lady's woman and Sir Leicester's man affectionate in the but looks all the prettier. rumble,) start for home. With a considerable amount of jingling and whip-cracking. and many plunging demonstrations on the part of the two bare-backed horses, and the two Centaurs with glazed hats, jack-boots,

sian Fields, and the Gate of the Star, out of general state of mind in the days of Queen Paris.

Sooth to say, they cannot go away too That evening, in the housekeeper's room fast; for, even here, my Lady Dedlock has been bored to death. Concert, assembly, lock's praises. She is so affable, so graceful. opera, theatre, drive, nothing is new to my so beautiful, so elegant; has such a sweet little gridiron-full of gusty little taperswithout the walls, encompassing Paris with more affable. dancing, love-making, wine-drinking, tobac-

co-smoking, tomb-visiting, billiard, card, and domino playing, quack-doctoring, and much in spirits.

She cannot, therefore, go too fast from excellence she wants." Paris. Weariness of soul lies before her, as

it lies behind-her Ariel has put a girdle of it round the whole earth, and it cannot be been home and come back again, he is such a unclasped-but the imperfect remedy is al- good grandson. ways to fly, from the last place where it has been experienced. Fling Paris back into the distance, then, exchanging it for endless avenues and cross-avenues of wintry trees! And, when next beheld, let it be some

eagues away, with the Gate of the Star a angels in Jacob's dream !

ing else to do, he can always contemplate his own greatness. It is considerable advantage views his importance to society.

Has almost read a page in twenty miles.

ever.

fusions, I think ?"

"Ha!" sighs my Lady. "He is the most street the most triumphant reception, she was a GOULD'S BLOCK, State Street, Rochester. with admiration. tiresome of men! "He sends-I really beg your pardon-he The fame of the cantatrice, established at I beg you'll excuse me. He says-"Sir Lei- lence as she pursued a circuitous journey cester is so long in taking out his eye-glass through Germany, and was hailed at the cenand adjusting it, that my Lady looks a little tre of European taste with unqualified ad- viz : irritated. "He says, 'In the matter of the miration. With the exception of occasional right of way-' I beg your pardon, that's not engagements in London, and a recent jourthe place. He says-yes! Here I have it! ney to Brussels, she has made her head-quar-He says, 'I beg my respectful compliments ters at the French capital for the past two to my Lady, who, I hope, has benefitted by years. One of the scenes of her residence Will you do me the favor to in Paris was a grand fete at Versailles, at the change. mention (as it may interest her) that I have which she and the Prince President were the something to tell her on her return, in refer- ruling spirits. ence to the person who copied the affidavit \* Signorini Alboni is not a handsome woman; 300 do in the Chancery suit, which so powerfully but has what is better-an untainted reputa- 200 stimulated her curiosity. I have seen him." tion, and a character for many virtues, among My Lady, leaning forward, looks out of her which liberality is not the least. She brings her train Signors Rovere and Sangoivanni, 275 window. "That's the message," observes Sir Lei- a tenor and baritone, accustomed to support 200° do cester. her admirable voice. "I should like to walk a little," says my Lady still looking out of her window. in musical parlance, contral!o. It is of won-

and approvingly beholds the sharp wind house keeper; and m7 Lady, who has not is, let us teach them eternal hostility to slavery. subdued the quickness of her observation. In the spirit of kindness let us show them It glides over the park after the moving whatever else she may have conquered, the guilt and awful responsibility of those

"Who is that girl ?" "A young scholar of mine, my Lady .- curse of American Slavery. And O, as we

"Come here, Rosa !" Lady Dedlock beckwart the picture of my Lady, over the great ons her with even an appearance of interest. her two fore fingers.

Rose, very much abashed, savs, "No, if same sharp wind, my Lady and Sir Leicester, you please, my Lady !" and glances up, and glances down, and don't know where to look, "How old are you ?"

"Nineteen, my Lady."

"Nineteen," repeats my Lady thoughtfully. "Take care they don't spoil you by flattery." "Yes, my Lady." My Lady taps her dimpled cheek with the

and flowing mapes and tails, they rattle out of the yard of the Hotel Bristol in the Place same delicate gloved fingers, and goes on to Vendome, and canter between the sun and the foot of the oak staircase, where Sir Leishadow-checkered colonade of the Rue de cester pauses for her as her knightly escort. Rivoli and the garden of the palace of the A staring old Dedlock in a panel, as large as ill-fated palace of a headless king and queen, life and as dull, looks as if he didn't know off by the Place of Concord, and the Ely- what to make of it-which was probably his

Elizabeth.

Lady, under the worn-out heavens. On last voice, and such a thrilling touch, that Rosa Sunday, when poor wretches were gay- can feel it yet! Mrs. Rouncewell confirms within the walls, playing with children among all this, not without personal pride, reserving FOR rags, canvass, Kentucky bagging and wood, the clipped trees and the statutes in the only the energiest of affability. Mrs. Rouncethe clipped trees and the statutes in the only the one point of affability. Mrs. Rounce-Palace Garden ; walking, a score abreast, in well is not quite sure as to that. Heaven the Elysian Fields, made more Elysian by forbid that she should say a syllable in disperforming dogs and wooden horses; between praise of any member of that excellent whiles filtering (a few) through the gloomy family; above all, of my Lady, whom the Cathedral of Our Lady, to say a word or two world. admires; but if my lady would only at the base of a piltar, within flare of a rusty be "a little more free," not quite so cold and distant, Mrs. Rouncewell thinks she would be

murderous refuse, animate and inanimate- better than it is, in such an express dispenonly last Sunday, my Lady, in the desolation sation as the Dedlock affairs ; "that my lady of Boredom and the clutch of Giant De-spair, almost hated her own maid for being now, a grown young lady, to interest her. I ticles pertaining to the book and stationary business, spair, almost hated her own maid for being now, a grown young lady, to interest her, I think she would have had the only kind of

> "Might not that have made her still more proud, grandmother ?" says Watt; who has my store.

> > TO BE CONTINUED.

-----MADAME ALBONI.

We have already announced the arrival in this country of Madame Alboni, the famous white speck glittering in the sun, and the European songstress, who is to fill a promicity a mere mound in the plain; two dark nent place in musical comments and critiquare towers rising out of it, and a light cism, in America for the next few months .-and shadow descending on it aslant, like the Our reader will be glad to learn who she is, what she has done, and what are her preten-

Sir Leicester is generally in a complacent sions; and we copy for their benefit the fol-state, and rarely bored. When he has noth- lowing from the New York Times: Marietta Alboni was born in Cesena, in

1826, of respectable parentage. Her scholto a man to have so inexhaustable a subject. astic education was necessarily limited, as at ioli, one of the first musicians of the day.

"You have an unusual amount of corres- from whom she acquired the rudiments of pondence this morning ?" says my Lady, after her art. For some time she enjoyed the in-

The voice of this celebrated cantatrice is.

But Rosa is in the distance, behind the sons how vile, how dreadful a thing slavery

who, in any way, sustain this withering, blighting, heart-rending, soul-destroying

value all the sacred endearments of home, as we love our husbands, as we cherish our babes and watch with jealous care lest some chimney-piece, it throws a broad bend-sinis-ter of light that strikes down crookedly into child i" she says, touching her shoulder with us feel for those mothers, with affections as deen, as strong, as hely as ours, whose little deep, as strong, as holy as ours, whose little ones are snatched from them, not only by the tyrant Death, but by a more cruel, more dreadful tyrant Slavery, sustained by the laws of our free country. " O, these are noble laws-just laws-most equitable laws."

How solemn the thought that from thousands of souls enslaved, is daily going up into the ear of Avenging Justice the cry, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our cause ?" Why did Queen Mary "fear the prayers of John Knox more than an army of her enemies?" Can we not do something? Has the Christian power to prevail with God? Let our cry ascend before "the God of the earth," not for judgment on the oppressor, but that God would give him a better heart, that he would "let the oppressed go free."

Advertisements.

CASH PAID

October 30th, 1851.

PAPER HANGINGS AND BORDERS .---

Wholesale and Retail. I KEEP, at all times, a large and desirable selec-tion of Room Papers, Borders, Window Curtains, Fire Board Prints, &c., &c. The attention of wholesale purchasers, farmers, and others, is "Tis almost a pity," Mrs. Rouncewell adds—only "almost," because it borders on of the latest and most desirable styles, from 6 cents implety to suppose that anything could be ber roll, to \$?. Also, Gold Velvet and Common better than it is in such an express dispen-

constantly being recieved. School Books Fine Stationary, Cap and Letter may be found at my store at a small advance from Wholesale dealers are invited to call and excost. amine at No. 6 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y.

TP Rags taken in exchange for anything from G. W. FISHER,

Bookseller and Stationer.

### DAGUERREOTYPES.

THE SUBSCRIBER, I. N. BLOODGOOD, I would respectfully inform the citizens of Rechester, and surrounding country, that he has recently ENLARGED HIS ROOMS, and now occupies Nos. 7 and 8, in addition to his room No. 9, in GOULD'S BLOCK, and has every facility for taking Daguer-reotypes of every size and description, on the most reasonable terms; prices varying from One Dollar to Ten, according to the value of the case. SATISFACTION GIVEN, OR NO CHARGE.

The value of these Keepsakes is not appreciated until we are deprived of the society of How many have lost Father, or Mother, or a little child, without a shadow of resemblance to recall their features. After the separation, some little toy, or trifling article of apparel is often pre-served and cherished for years as a token of remem-After reading his letters, he leans back in his the age of eleven she was placed under the well-executed Daguerreotype of the loved and lost ! well-executed Daguerreotype of the loved and lost ! Should you reach the years of maturity, what would you not give for a true likeness of yourself, taken when a child? It would show the effects of time, and call up many pleasant recollections. This condence this morning :" says my Lady, after her art. For some time she enjoyed the in-satisfaction you can now afford your children. And should they be snatched from your embrace by the as almost read a page in twenty miles. "Nothing in it, though. Nothing what-er." and eventually made her debut, about ten years since, at the great Theatre of La Scala, in Milan. Her success was brilliant. Scala, in Milan. Her success was brilliant, afford sweet consolation And it one future per tunity is improved, you may, at some future per "I saw one of Mr. Tulkinghorn's long ef- and was conformed by a run of four suc- have reason to feel grateful for these gentle hints usions, I think?" cessive seasons. Following the usual path from I. N. BLOODGOOD, Daguerrean, who may of artistic merit, she next commenced a always be found at his Rooms, where the public

few weeks. To produce this almost instantaneous THE DEMOCRACY OF CHRISTIANITY: alief the patient is subject to no pain or inconven-

This work is in two volumes. The list was extreme unnary difficulties, and many with that inability to stand upon the feet, or be raise I from a horizontal position, which is peculiar to these diseases, have been brought here on beds hundreds of miles, attended by their physicians or friends; and these suffering and helpless women have in every instance been miled from their beds and effort a was a washed to see the set of the set of

weeks.

ANNA.

dies, to ladies or ly. Those who have gone through long corress of treatment under different systems, and have tried Homapathy and Water Cure combined from one to three years without material benefit, have been en- you have conferred a great benefit on the public tirely restored by our vitalizing treatment in a few I am, very sincerely, yours,

No stays, pessaries, or supporters are used in this Institution. We consider them all very injurious, and immediately throw them off-the organs are From Professor Hum

these cases water is only used as an aid, not as a breaths, are all on the side of freedom. The B necessity—as an auxiliary, not as a cure. It is unnecessary to mention the various grades of diseases successfully treated here. Suffice it to, say, Mortopathy cures Prolapsus Uteri, Retrover-sion, partial Inversion, Antiversion, Indunation, Hardness, Enlargement. Tumefact on, Congestion, Ulcerations, Scorfulous Tumors, Tubercular Form a tions, Lucerrhær, Amennorrhæn or oniful costruc-tions Universion, Description of the substantial and independent thought. tions, Urinary difficulties, Dyspepsia, Costiveness, deed nearly five thousand cases of Uterine diseases have been cured without a failure. Mortopatha does not admit of a failure, if the patient stays a sufficient length of time to regain her general

strength. We have a register with a history of every case, 1850

The severe test we have been put to in curing the worst protracted and rejected cases of PROLAPSUS UTERI, makes us feel so entirely confident of suc-cess in every case, that we are willing to deposit in any Bank the sum of \$1,000 against the equal amount, that we can cure, under ordinary dir um-stances, any case of PROLAASUS UTERI, if put un-stances any case of PROLAASUS UTERI, if put under our care.

Motorpathy is a sure cure in all cases of incipient ous diseases. We have two male and one female phy sician.

Dr. Hamilton's Analytic Institution. AND COLLEGE OF HEALTH, No. 217 Ex-change Street, Rochester,-The Treatment in dom of our forefathers, but the wisdom of Gad, and A change Street, Rochester.—The Treatment in this Institution is particularly adapted to all diseases incidental to Females. Prolapsus Uteri is cured in a short time, without the use of any external or ina short time, without the use of any external of mi-ternal supporters, and the patient made able to run up and down stairs with ease, carry weights from volume, copies a portion of the preceding comenda-0 to 100 lbs. ten rods at a time, walk from ten to tion of Dr. Aydelott,

hirty miles in a day, and endure much labor and ease, and had not been able to walk three steps alone at once during that time, recovered so rapidly as to walk ten miles on the tenth day of treatment. very able one, and well adapted, as Cobbett used And here I would warn the invalid against the use of every kind of pessary, such as gold, silver, intelligent reader can rise from a perusaal of it wi always dangerous, and often times renders the case of true democratic principles. enturely incurable. Other diseases are cured with

equal success; such as Weakness and Falling of the equal success; such as weakness and railing of the Bowels; Pain in the Back, Side, Shoulders and Head; Spinal Disenses, Kidney Affection, Liver which the writer need not be ashamed."" He strikes Complaint, Sinking sensation of the Stomach, Pal-pitation of the Heart, Dyspepsia, Piles, Costiveness, Difficulty of Making Water, Suppression of the Menses, Excessive Menstruation, Whites, St. An-clearest manner. His analysis of the tendency and thony's Dance, Neuralgia, Consumption in its fast stages, General Weakness and Debility, Congestion, able. He discovers a degree of wisdom and ben inflamation, Ulceration and Enlargement of the location in the base provisions but little understood. We have never seen the political bearings and scope of the location in the second Uterus, &c.

the accumulations of unhealthy flesh were reduced

from 20 to 60 lbs., the crooked became straight, the contracted chest enlarged from one to five inches,

son restored; and all that have gone through a

which the Analytic Remedies operate to effect so speedy and effectual a restoration in so short a time,

We have made the above propositions to give uffering invalids who have spent hundreds a

usands of dollars without much or any benefit, to

est by which they can distinguish the mere medical oretender whose cures exist only in newspaper puffs, ireulars and handbills from those who have a system

practice that is successful, and upon which they an depend with certainty, and therefore will in-

making a trial to recover health, because they know they can cure. For the mere boasting empiric dare not and will not indemnify the patients against the

oss of their money and injury they may sustain if insuccessful, because he has no confidence in his

own treatment, and cares not, any further than to obtain their money, whether the cure is effected or not. Invalids who see the above test, and still al-low themselves to be deceived by the mere medical

mnify the invalid against the loss of money in

During the last year more than fifty invalids, afcted with almost every disease incident to the hu- volume respects only the doctrines of the Old To and system, were brought to this Institution on eds. from 100 to 400 miles, in a helpless condition unable to stand alone or walk without assistance.— But every patient improved beyond their expectation. The emaciated increased from 10 to 30 lbs. in flesh,

For the removal of other Uterine weaknesser this system is equally efficient. Many of the mott inveterate and extraordinary cases of from one to trenty-two years' standing, some accompanied with

these suffering and helpless women have in the instance been mised from their beds, and after a short treatment been enabled to walk from one to be been enabled to walk from The wives of some of our most distinguished men, as Clergymen, Members of Legislature, State and United Senators, &c., have been successfully treated by Motorphy after every other system had proved worse than useless. We are permitted to re-fer to, and give the names and addresses of these ha-dies to hadies or had "Democracy of Christianity" meets my desires .

AMASA WALKER

and immediately throw them off-the organs are made to assume their natural position-the votient is immediately put upon her feet, and no e orts of her's can produce displacement. All that is then reduired is statumination and the use of cold water, exercise, &c., to regain her general health. In these cases water is only used as an aid not are a local to the spint which these cases water is only used as an aid not are a local to the spint which these cases water is only used as an aid not are a local to the spint which these cases water is only used as an aid not are a local to the spint which these cases water is only used as an aid not are a local to the spint which

T. B. Herson

From Rev. B. P. AYDELOTT, D.D. late President same,-published in the Cincinnati Gazette, June 8

We have a register with a history of every case, address, &c., which enables us to prove every as-sertion we make, and stand ready at all times to do so. The severe test we have been put to in curing the forbids all oppression, guards the inalienable rights given God's ancient people Israel. He exam-Motorpathy is a sure cure in all cases of inciplent Consumption, Bronchial, Spinal, Billious, and Nerv-both in its provisions and its practical workings. was the purest democracy that the world ever we nessed. "Tocqueville had demonstrated with rare abilit

free movements, and that Christianity, perfect obeyed, is itself perfect, Democracy. As American

sustaining our political institutions, and pledged

From the New York Tribune. ly, and can bear testimony to its great ability, unit the soundness of its principles." "The essay is a glass, gum-elastic, sponge, &c., as the application is out a higher appreciation of the Mosaic code, and

From the New York Evangelist.

Their serviced columns shall not pause. L. G. ----BLEAK HOUSE. BY CHARLES DICKENS. PART IV. CHAPTER XL OUR DEAR BROTHER.

Apestasia Piper, gentleman. Married woman. Now, Mrs. Piper-what have you got to say about this ?

Why, Mrs. Piper has a good deal to say, chiefly in parenthesis and without punctuation, but not much to tell. Mrs. Piper lives in the court (which her husband is a cabinet among the neighbors (counting from the day next but one before the half-baptizing of Alexander James Piper aged eighteen months and four days old on accounts of not being expected to live such was the sufferings intlemen of that child in his gums) as the Plaintive-so Mrs. Piper insists on calling the deceased-was reported to have sold himself. Thinks it was the Plaintive's air in which that report origination. See the Plaintive often, and considered as his air was comes. feariocious, and not to be allowed to go about some children being timid and if doubted got into the morning papers as such, comes Loping Mrs. Perkins may be brought forard for she is here and will do credit to her hus- and bears off the body of our dear brother band and herself and family. Has seen the Plaintive wexed and worritted by the chil- yard, pestiferous and obscene, whence madren (for children they will ever be and you cannot expect them, specially if of playful dispositions to be Methoozellers which you not departed ; while our dear brothers and was not yourself.) On accounts of this and sisters who hang about official back stairshis dark looks has often dreamed as she see. him take a pick-axe from his pocket and scraphic complacent and agreeable. Into a beastly split Johnny's head (which the child knows) scrap of ground which a Turk would reject not fear and has repeatually called after him as a savage abemination, and a Coffre would Never however see the closes at his cols.) Plaintive take a pick-axe or any other wep- departed, to receive Christian burial. ping far from it. Has seen him hurry away child nor grown person at any time (except-

been seen a speaking to him frequent.) Says the Coroner, is that boy here ? Says ing ghost at many a sick bed-side ; a shamesence of the active and intelligent, the Cor- together. oner converses with Mr. Tulkinghorn.

O ! here's the boy, gentlemen ! Here he is, very muddy, very hoarse, very a place as this. Come straggling lights into ragged. No, boy! But stop a minute - the windows of the ugly houses; and you Caution. This boy must be put through a who do iniquity therein, do it at least with few preliminary paces.

Name, Jo. on. Don't know that everybody has two on which the poisoned air deposits its witch names. Never heard of such a thing. Don't know that Jo is short for a longer name .--Thinks it long enough for him. He don't here!" find no fault with it. Spell it ? No. He friends. home? Knows a broom's a broom, and knows it's wicked to tell a lie. Don't recol-ing in for a little while. leet who told him about the broom, or about the lie, but knows both. Can't exactly say sweeps the step, and makes the archway what'll be done to him after he's dead if he clean. It does so very busily and trimly; tells a lie to the gentlemen here, but believes it'll be something wery bad to punish him. Parts. and serve him right-and so he'll tell the truth.

oner, with a melancholy shake of the head. men's, thou art not quite in outer darkness. "Don't you think you can receive his evidence, sir ?" asks an attentive Juryman.

"Out of the question," says the Coroner. "You have heard the boy. 'Can't exactly say' won't do, you know. 'We can't take that, "Can't exactly in a Court of Justice, gentlemen. It's terrible depravity. Put the boy aside."

Boy put aside; to the great edification of shire, at last, and Chesney Wold has taken

With houses looking on, on every side, ben run and called after as if not partial to save where a recking little tunnel of a court children and never see him speak to neither gives access to the iron gate-with every villainy of life in action closes on death, and ing the boy that sweeps the crossing down the lane over the way round the corner which close on life-here they lower our dear brothif he was here would tell you that he has er down a foot or two; here sow him in corruption, to be raised in corruption ; an aveng-

the beadle, no, sir, he is not here. Says the Coroner, go and fetch him, then. In the ab-Come night, come darkness, for you can-

not come too soon, or stay too long, by such this dread scene shut out. Come, flame of Nothing else that he knows gas, burning so sullenly above the iron gate, you should call to every passer-by " Look

With the night, comes a slouching figure can't spell it. No father, no mother, no through the tunnel court, to the outside of Never been to school. What's the iron gate. It holds the gate in its hands,

> It then, with an old broom it carries, softly tooks in again a little while; and then de-

Jo, it is thou ! Well, well ! Though a rejected witness, who "can't exactly say" what "This won't do, gentlemen !" says the Cor. | will be done to him in greater hands than There is something like a distant ray of light in thy muttered reason for this : "He was wery good to me, he was !"

CHAPTER XIL

ON THE PROPERTY.

It has left off raining down in Lincoln-

um in large quantities for a year and a brilliant and distinguished circle of the elite ceives Sir Leicester's customary shake of the not a power back of this? Was not Hannibalf, found dead of too much opium. If you of the beau monde (the fashionable intelli-Orders for Goods, or letters desiring inform may be addressed to J. Miller McKim, 31 Normal a remark a contribute accordingly. Accidental death-Nor doubt. Continue propert limits proper limits proper limits and anis spanned gracefully, makes a figure in the prospect from the house. The clear Mr. Turkinghorn and he give private andi-Mr. Turkinghorn and he give private andihave remained to try his remedies, but not being

"Walk ?" repeats Sir Leicester, in a tone derful compass, embracing, with perfect ease, of surprise. "I should like to walk a little," says my

Lady, with unmistakable distinctness .--"Please to stop the carriage." The carriage is stopped, the affectionate jesty's Theatre, during the great season of

man alights from the rumble, opens the door, the World's Exhibition, she was the reigning and lets down the steps, obedient to an impatient motion of my Lady's hand. My ady alights so quickly, and walks away so AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN EUROPE .- " I canquickly, that Sir Leicester, for all his scru- not help taking a very warm and eager inpulous politeness, is unable to assist her, and terest in the fortunes of your people. There is left behind. A space of a minute or two is nothing, and there never was anything so has elapsed before he comes up with her.- | grand and so promising as the condition and She smiles, looks very handsome, takes his prospects of your country; and nothing I arm, lounges with him for a quarter of a conceive more certain than that in seventy mile, is very much bored, and resumes her years after this its condition will be by far the most important element in the history of

seat in the carriage. The rattle and clatter continue through the greater part of three days, with more or less not live to see it; but it is very plain to me of bell jingling and whip-cracking, and more that the French revolution, or rather perhaps or less of plunging Centaurs and bare-backed the continued operation of the causes which horses. Their courtly politeness to each produced that revolution, has laid the founother, at the hotels where they tarry, is the dations all over Europe, of an inextinguishatheme of general admiration Though my ble and fatal struggle between popular rights Lord is a little aged for my Lady, says Madame, the hostess of the Golden Ape, and tho' cracy and tyranny-between legitimacy and he might be her amiable father, one can see representative government, which may inat a glance they love each other. One ob- volve the world in sanguinary conflicts for serves my Lord with his white hair, standing, fifty years, and may also end, after all, in the hat in hand, to help my lady to and from the establishment of a brutal and military descarriage. One observes my Lady, how re-cognizant of my Lord's politeness, with an think, ip the triumph of reason over prejuinclination of her gracious head and the dice and the infinite amelioration of all poli-

concession of her so-genteel figures ! It is tics, and the elevation of all national characravishing! The sea has no appreciation of great men, example of America, and the influence and but knocks them about like the small fry. It power which she will every year be more is habitually hard upon Sir Leicester, whose and more able to exert, will have a most countenance it greenly-mottles in the man- potent and incalculably beneficial effect, both ner of sage cheese, and in whose aristocratic in shortening this conflict, in rendering it fit; and he goes on with my Lady for Ches- many states, will always remain free, and

Through the same cold sunlight—colder as the day declines—and through the same while her growing power and means of compulsion will intimidate its opponents, the example not only of the practicability, but of the practicability, but of the eminent advantages, of a system of perwestern corner by a pile of fire in the sky, fect freedom, and a disdain and objuration of

resigns itself to coming night-they drive all prejudices, cannot fail to incline the great nto the Park. The Rooks, swinging in their body of all intelligent communities for its ofty houses in the elm-tree avenue, seem to voluntary adoption."-Lord Jeffery. discuss the question of the occupancy of the carriage as it passes underneath; some agree- that is in their power to give an almost im- ROCHESTER, N. Y .- We have a manunoth esliscuss the question of the occupancy of the It is surprising our statesmen do not see, ing that Sir Leicester and my Lady are come measurable increase to the power of our nadown; some arguing with malcontents who tion in Europe by simply establishing Cheap won't admit it; now, all consenting to con- Postage on the Ocean .- Independent. sider the question disposed of; now, all breaking out again in violent debate, incited by one obstinate and drowsy bird, who will

persist in putting in a last contradictory croak. Leaving them to swing and caw, the

carried off to St. Petersburg by the Czar .--

Boot, Shoe and Rubber Warehouse. sends," says Sir Leicester, selecting the let-ter and unfolding it "a massing to un ter, and unfolding it, "a message to you - capital, and given to Europe as a fixed fact. I Largest, Best, Handsomest and Cheapest stock Our stopping to change horses, as I came to She turned her face Praiseward, giving con- of BOOTS and SHOES, in the city, and he pled his postscript, drove it out of my memory. certs and entertainments of the rarest excel-I beg you'll excuse me. He says—"Sir Lei-lence as she pursued a circuitous journey it of Shoes can be bought for at any other House in this or any other city.

500 do

His stock consists in part of the following articles, 10 cases Gentlemens' French Calf sewed Boots.

do do do imit. sewed do. do do do pegged Boots. do heavy calf do do do do 20 do 15 do do heavy water proof sewed boots. do Thick and Kip Boots. do Congress Boots, different styles.

do Oxford Ties do Jenny Lind Congress Boots. 150 do do Ladies Fine French Kid Buskins 800 do do do do Slippers. do Jenny Lind Pat. Lea. Buskins. do bronzed Buskins Pat. Lea. Tips do Satin Gaiter Boots, pat. lea. foxed. 300 do do Lasting Gaitor Boots, kid foxed. do Kid Polka Boots.

do Satin Congress Boots, all prices. do Messes' blue, black, bronzed and Lola Montez Boots.

Childrens' Gaiter Boots, Lace Boots, 8000 do Ankle Ties, &c. all kinds and colors. Bubbers, by the case, dozen, or single pair, at the extreme upper and lower notes, and is factory prices. managed with a skill and grace only surpass- All of his goods are made to his own order, of the

managed with a skill and grace only surpassed by its rich melody and power. Though very best of Eastern Tanned Leather, and warassigned to the contralto parts, at Her Ma-

ranted the best in the market. Purchasers are respectfully invited to examine his goods before purchasing elsewhere, as he is confident that he can make it decided to their advantage to do so, as he is determined to sell a better article, attraction of that aristocratic establishment. and at a less price, than any one in the trade.

E. T. JATLEY, No. 4. State St. Rochester.

THE NAPOLEON DYNASTY ; OR THE HIS-TORY OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

BY THE BERKELEY MEN.

CONTENTS:

1-ORIGIN OF THE BONAPARTES. 2-ITALY- CORSICA. 3-CARLO AND LETITIA.

4---NAPOLEON---EMPEROR.

5--JOSEPHINE, 6--MARIA LOUISA, } EMPRESSES. 7-JOSEPH-KING OF NAPLES AND SPAIN,

AND JULIA CLARY. 8-LUCIEN-THE SCHOLAR AND PRINCE, CHRISTINE BOYER AND MADAME JU-

BERTHON. 9-LOUIS-KING OF HOLLAND AND HOR-TENSE BEAUHARNAIS.

10-JEROME--KING OF WESTPHALIA, FRE-DERICA OF WURTEMBURG. 11--ELIZA BONAPARTE--DUTCESS OF TUS-

GAEY-PASCAL BACCHIOCHI. 12--PAULINE--PRINCESS BORGHESE AND

THE PRINCE BORGHESE. 13-CAROLINE-QUEEN OF NAPLES AND

MARSHAL MURAM. 14-CARDINAL FESCH-BROTHER OF MADAME LETITIA.

ter. Now I cannot help thinking that the 15--EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS--VICEROY OF ITALY.

16-YOUNG NAPOLEON-KING OF ROME. 17-LOUIS NAPOLEON-PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

History of this wonderful family has ever been written, until this work, which is intended to suprope, exclusively for this work. It is prepared by several literary men of ability and taste, and en ncy Wold, laying only one night in London consequently prosperous and powerful. She bellished by eighteen fine portraits of the Bona on the way to Lincolnshire. Through the same cold sunlight-colder as fore, in the great European context-and life of LOUIS NAPOLEON, PRINCE PRESS

## TORPATHIC INSTITUTE.

scription of, therefore we will mention only a few items, that strangers may have some idea of our ac commodations. We have 28 bathing-rooms ; twelve large rooms with wardrebes and bathing-rooms at-tached ; a large sitting saloon where all congregate at pleasure ; a large exercising hall for gymnastics and calisthenics ; a trotting railroad ; bowling alley "Have you read Uncle Tom's Cabin ?" and many other sources of amusement. One hundred and one bathing conveniences, as-

From the American Satesman.

"The writer has given some beautiful illustrations, drawn from scripture showing that it abounds with democratic sentiment."——"It is a work that should attract the attention of the thinking portion of society. the ribs reduced to their natural position, the con-tracted limbs become elastic and useful, the derange-ment of the mind relieved, the symmetry of the per-one. The style is attractive, and the subject an interesting

son restored; and all that have gone through a course of treatment have walked from 2 to 8 miles at a time, and from 10 to 20 miles in a day, and en-dured as much physical labor before they left the In-stitution as persons considering themselves healthy, and but four or five of that number still remain, who is the sector to the united states where the sector of the united states where the may be--deserves a hearing. He is a strong thinker and able writer--indeed he must be a man of great experience with the pen."---Sweeping have been treated but a short time, but are in a fair way of recovering their health. A great number him which cau be constraid into the dawning way of recovering their health. A great number less feeble and only able to walk but a few rods and less feeble and only able to walk but a few rods and set up a short time in a day, being confirmed inva-lids for years, had so far recovered before they left the Institution as to walk from ten to thirty-two miles in a day, and endure as much labor and fatigue as persons enjoying good health and working every day for a living. ay for a living. The Proprietor of this Institution would have it

directly understood, that drugging the system is en-tirely thrown aside, and that Water, Diet and Exercise are not his reliable remedies, as the most difficult cases are cured without the use of water, any further than to sponge over once or twice a day, and a great number have been cured here after they had been under a most right right and the batter between the batter is bable the been the batter is bable to be bable to bable to be bable to bable to be bable to been under a most rigid course of water, diet and ex-ercise from four months to three years, in regular water-cure establishments, and were then brought here in a helpless condition, unable to sit up withhere in a helpless condition, unable to sit up withremoved by a better understanding of the Mossie thanting or suffering severe pain. We cannot give in a short circular the manner in institues."

From the Democratic Review been we know they are entirely different from those of any other public institution or private practice in this country; and we also know that their effects of the observation of the reader."

are so certain that we wish every individual who has any doubts of being benefited would put us to the severest and surest test, and not submit them-

I iseves to our treatment until we had advanced the money to pay their expenses in coming and returning from the Institution, giving them a writen contract to board and doctor them for nothing, make them able to walk from 5 to 20 miles a day, and be able to endure as much physical labor as persons of ordi-nary health, and to pay them any reasonable sum that they might think proper, from \$100 to \$500, for their trouble and time, if they should not be cured according to the contract. We have made the above propositions to give lseves to our treatment until we had advanced the Extract from the New York Tribune

RECOMMENDATION OF BOTH THE VOLUMES. "They are by far the most valuable booss on Civil Government that I have ever read ! GERRAT NAITH.

BOOKS TO THE PEOPLE.

D. M. DEWEY, Arcade Hall, Rochester N. M. b. Wholesale and Retail dealer in new Miser laneous Books, American and English Period Sc. A. All the new Miscellaneous Books pu-lished, may be found on my counter. Any loss advertised can be confered from my by mode advertised can be ordered from me by much as books sent by mail in close wrappers. Posta

must be prepaid. The following is a list of good new books. I sho be happy to answer orders by mail or otherwise

Uncle Tom's Log Cabin, Paper Bound, Price, \$1,00 Postage, 25 Cits Uncle Tom's Log Cabin, pretender, have no reason to complain if they lose their money without recovering their health, as the proprietor of the Analytic Institution will issure Musiin Bound, Price \$1,50 . 37 them against the former, while he restores the latter. But he does not wish to undervalue any system of practice, and only asks to be tested according to the Barrys' Fruit Garden, Maslin Bound, Price \$1,25 at 25 Sut he does not wish to be tested according to the practice, and only asks to be tested according to the above propositions by that class of individuals who have been abandoned as incurable by all other sys-have been abandoned as incurable by all other sys-have been abandoned as incurable by all other sys-base propositions for the diseases incurable by all of the diseases incurable by all other sys-tratice based of the diseases incurable by all of the diseases incurable by all of the diseases incurable by all of the diseases incurable based of the disease of the disea lescribed in this circular, and whether they have been confined to their beds one or twenty years. Invalids coming to the Institution on the state-fourney to Iceland, Price 25 (2010) . . Journey to Tartery, Ching and Thibet, Muslin Bound, Price \$1,00 Layard's Nineveb. Invalids coming to the Institution on the state-ments on this circular, and inding them to be un-true or exaggerated, I will pay all their expenses for coming and returning home again, and One Hun dred Dollars besides for their time and trouble--may mesponsibility can be ascertained by directing a let-crity Bank. Any one wishing further information can receive a book containing the particulars of the Iastitution class of patients treated, hat of cases cured, and th lass of patients treated, hat of cases cured, and the could one of the establishment. Muslin Bound, Price 50 "

Hydrogathie Encyclopedia, Muslin Bound, Price, \$2,50 \*\* 56 All letters of inquiry must be post paid and di-rected to DE. THOMAS HAMILTON, 217 Exchange street, Rochester, N. Y. Dr. Hamilton is the pro-prietor of the Analytic Institution, and is in no way connected with Halsted Hail, neither is the practice the same, as Dr. Halsted knows nothing about the Analytic treatment. Let all invalids to come to Rochester for treatment satisfy themseives where the now and greatest cures are effected. But some have been so mistaken as to direct letters to Dr.

The most and greatest cures are effected. But some have been so mistaken as to direct letters to Dr. Hamilton, Halsted Hall, Others have corresponded with the proprietor of Halsted Hall, supposing Dr. Hamilton was the attending physician, as his name was always associated with the numerous cures and long walks that had been performed by the persons cured in Rochester: and others who have been to Halsted Hall, through mistake, have remained a short time, in consequence of the proprietor s repro-bleached and unbleached, of various curdities and Boy put aside to the great edification of the audience, especially of Little Swills, the Comic Vocalist. Noh. Is there any other witness? No other witness. Very well, gentlemen? Here's a man un-known, proved to be in the habit of taking opum in large quantities for a year and a Halsted Hall, through mistake, have remained a short time, in consequence of the proprietor's repre-santing that he had treated certain cases that had been cured in the Analytic Institution, but finding those representations untrue, left the "Hall" and came to this establishment for treatment; while some have remained to try his repre-tave remained to try his repre-tation of the try his repre-tation of

From the Independent.

I WISH I COULD DO SOMETHING.

A Bonaparte again rules France. No complete the Radical of Nature to him. Nevertheless his dignity gets over it, after stopping to re-fit: and he goes on with my Lady for Ches.

PUBLISHERS, 8 Park Place New YORK, April 22, 1852.

## HALSTED'S WATER CURE AND 3.0-