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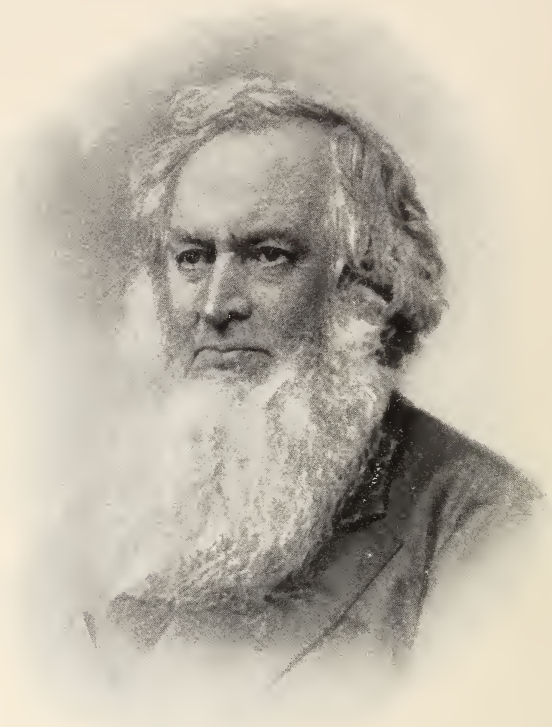




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GERRIT SMITH

The Story of a Noble Man's Life

BY

CHARLES A. HAMMOND

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GERRIT SMITH

CHAPTER I

“His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, ‘This was a man.’”

In this and the few following chapters the writer proposes to give such a sketch of the life, character and influence of a very remarkable and justly distinguished citizen of Central New York as may, he hopes, awaken renewed interest in the study and emulation of the character of one of the noblest and manliest of men. A modern writer says the education of a child must begin two hundred years before it is born. Heredity, doubtless, has very much to do in forming character. Gerrit Smith was fortunate in having a good ancestry. His mother was a member of the Livingston family, distinguished in the early history of the State of New York, she being a second cousin of Chancellor Livingston. Peter Smith, the father of Gerrit Smith, was himself a remarkable man. His ancestors came to this country from Holland at an early period, and his father lived on the farm near Tappan, N. Y., on which John Andre was executed as a spy. Peter Smith was about twelve years old at the time of that historic tragedy. At the age of sixteen he became clerk in the store of an importing merchant in the city of New York, and while there became interested in theatres and himself developed considerable capacity as an actor. He afterward formed a partnership in business with the celebrated John Jacob Astor, whom Washington Irving has immortalized in “Astoria” and who was the ancestor of the Astor family of this generation. Mr. Astor and Peter

Smith were both at that time poor young men with their own fortunes to make. They started a little store and dealt in furs, which they procured direct from the Indian hunters of the North. In summer they would go to Albany, by sloop, thence on foot into the interior of the State, then almost a wilderness, and mostly inhabited by the savage tribes, and, climbing mountains, wading or swimming rivers, visited the Mohawks, the Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, and other tribes, who held till summer the spoils of their winter's hunt which they were ready to exchange for cheap trinkets, beads, shells, bits of glass and other articles, costing little to the traders but dear to savage eyes. Astor and Smith so won the good will of these simple sons of the forest that they not only obtained furs of great value very cheaply, but secured the services of their Indian friends to transport the furs by canoe and on their backs to Albany, whence they were shipped down the Hudson to New York. Those who have read Irving's "Astoria" will remember the wonderful breadth of mind and general capacity for affairs and the management of men shown by Mr. Astor; and his partner, Peter Smith, also proved to be a very shrewd and successful man of business. Astoria, on the Pacific coast, as well as the Astor library in New York are monuments to Mr. Astor, but the life, character and influence of Gerrit Smith are more valuable reminders of Peter Smith.

After the partnership had continued for some time, Peter Smith removed to Utica and opened an Indian trader's store in a part of his house, sending the furs thus obtained to his partner in New York. Mr. Astor bought land on which large portions of New York city now stands, thus becoming immensely rich, and Peter Smith bought lands "up the State." The partnership was dissolved but the friendship of the parties remained, and Gerrit Smith afterwards derived signal advantage in a crisis of his career from this friendship, continued to the

son. Many thousands of acres in the interior of the State became the property of Peter Smith. It is said that at one time he owned more land in New York State than any other person, not only acquiring the Indian titles, such as they were, but deeds from the State as well. He owned large tracts of land in Oneida and Madison counties, and removed from Utica to Whitesboro in 1802 and in 1806 to Peterboro village, town of Smithfield, in Madison county, both town and village being named after himself. He became County Judge of Madison county and was easily its leading citizen.

PETER SMITH AND THE INDIANS.

His friendship with the Indian chief of the Oneida tribe was such that he named his eldest son "Peter Skenandoah," after himself and the chief, and his influence over the red men was so unbounded that at one time the United States government sent an agent to investigate what was feared to be a dangerous ascendancy, but the agent reported no danger, as Peter Smith was a patriotic man and a friend of the government. But the Indians made themselves very much at home in the mansion of Judge Smith at Peterboro, camped in the halls and outhouses and lay loose about the piazza, not always desirable, but still useful visitors.

Peter Smith had married in 1792 Elizabeth, daughter of James Livingston of Montgomery county, N. Y. Her father was a graduate of Columbia College, N. Y., having been born in New York, his ancestor, Robert Livingston, coming to this country in 1674. But James practiced his profession as a lawyer in Montreal, Canada, and his daughter, the mother of Gerrit Smith, was born there. When the war of the revolution broke out, however, he fled to the United States with three hundred men and joined the American army. He was Colonel of a New York regiment, fought against Sir William Johnson at

Johnstown and assisted Montgomery and Arnold in the assault on Quebec, leading the attack on Fort Diamond. He was also at the head of his regiment at the capture of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. Gerrit Smith's mother was worthy such a son and her children cherished an affectionate regard for her memory.

Peter Smith's first wife died in 1818 and two or three years later he married a lady of English birth living in Charleston, S. C. This marriage was not a happy one and the second wife separated from her husband and returned to Charleston, where, at an advanced age, she died, after the close of the Civil War.

Peter Smith was a very devout and religious man in his way. He devoted much time and money to publishing and circulating religious tracts and books, written after the manner of those times. His diary shows him lamenting his sinfulness, seeking mercy through the atonement of Christ and striving to live according to his ideas of religion, a godly life, but his conception of the nature and requirements of true religion was evidently quite different from that which, in later years, made his distinguished son such a power for good in the world. He was regarded by those who had only a casual acquaintance with him as a somewhat "hard, sharp, shrewd man, close at a bargain, selfish and grasping, too much occupied with himself to make others happy or to be genial in intercourse. He was heavy in build, but not tall, with large eyes which had in them a gleam of wildness, which was at times almost fierce." Yet he was a man sensitive and quick in his feelings and his diary shows him to have had a sense of justice and a kind heart, but his ideas of the rewards and punishments ordered by Providence pertained very largely to another state of existence, and not to the present world. Preparation for that world, in his view, was a matter of belief in certain dogmas and being in certain frames of mind, also in complying with certain observances.

GERRIT SMITH'S BIRTH.

Gerrit Smith was born in Utica, March 6th, 1797, and came to Peterboro in 1806. At the age of sixteen he went to Clinton, Oneida county, to attend the academy, afterwards entering Hamilton College, at the same place; and was graduated with honors, delivering the valedictory address in August, 1818. His mother died the day after his graduation.

While in college he was a fine scholar, not a recluse, full of life and mirth and good fellowship, but industrious, painstaking and faithful, an omniverous reader, eagerly devouring the best literature of the period, in prose and poetry, and keeping abreast of the thought and progress of the age in which he lived, as well as fond of the classics of past ages. The letters of Junius, among other celebrated writings, found in him an interested and appreciative reader. He was hospitable in his literary tastes and always enthusiastically in sympathy with all generous sentiment.

Gerrit Smith was a very handsome man, even in his youth; his manners open and cordial and he made friends of all with whom he associated. He took an active part in all games, entertainments and collegiate amusements, was gay and sportive, never vicious nor in the vulgar sense "wild." Yes, he had one vice. He gambled. It must be confessed, for he himself confessed with shame and contrition, he belonged to a card-playing club and played cards for stakes, and sometimes on Sunday. His nick-name among his card-playing friends was "Old Mariner," probably on account of his skilful handling of the bits of pasteboard. On one occasion, while in the middle of a game the tutor rapped on the door. All the others fled out of a rear door, but Gerrit Smith threw himself face downwards on the floor behind a desk. The tutor saw the prostrate form and demanded "Who is it?" "Gerrit Smith, sir," replied the stu-

dent. "What are you about?" "Meditating, sir." Expressing gratification that the young man was so profitably employed the tutor retired.

The fly leaf of a copy of Byron's "Siege of Corinth," given him by a college friend about this time contained the following, "to his sincere, affectionate, sentimental, poetic, ambitious, superior-minded, noble, generous, honest, honorable, jealous, deceitful, hoaxing, partial, epicurean, gambling, Smith as a token of esteem. Hamilton college, July 23rd, 1816." Gerrit Smith had not at that time "professed religion," as the phrase is, and being the son of a rich man, was freely supplied with money, which he spent freely, but not as was said by his mates, in hurtful dissipations of any kind, with the single exception referred to. His impaired health in later years, which was the cause of much pain and uneasiness and seriously interfered with his plans, could not have been the result of "sowing wild oats" in his youth. He detested meanness, selfishness and injustice and always sympathized with the weak and oppressed, against the oppressor, even in those early days before his character was fully formed. He intended, while in college, to enter the profession of the law and devote his life to that calling, but events gave another turn to his career. Many years after, it is true, he was admitted to the bar but never practiced law for money, solely for benevolent purposes.

AFFECTED BY HIS MOTHER'S DEATH.

The death of his mother, following so quickly after his graduation seems to have produced a decisive effect on his whole after life. Forty-one years afterwards, conversing with the writer of this sketch, whose own mother had recently died, he said, with much feeling, "The death of a man's mother is an epoch in his life," and then told me of his mother's death and its effect upon him.

From that time he was a changed man. The lightness and

frivolity of youth were gone, and he grappled earnestly and manfully with the stern problems of a manly life. After his mother's death his father became melancholy and disinclined to business, and in October, 1819, turned over to Gerrit Smith, in whom he reposed wonderful confidence, the bulk of his property, valued at about \$400,000, on condition that his debts, amounting to about \$75,000 should be paid, that he should himself receive the income of \$125,000, and that half of the remainder should be divided equally among the children of his other son, and the children of his daughter. The father then left the family mansion at Peterboro, and in 1825 went to live in Schenectady, where previous to his death in 1837, he accumulated another fortune and died leaving \$800,000 to be divided among his children and grandchildren, Gerrit Smith sharing with the rest. John Cochrane of New York city, at one time Attorney General of the State of New York, after the war, was a son of the sister of Gerrit Smith; and it seems that Mr. Smith exercised some supervision over his education, as I heard him say, in a campaign speech when John was a candidate, "I know he was well brought up, for I brought him up myself."

On January 11th, 1819, Gerrit Smith married Wealthy Ann, only daughter of the Rev. Dr. Azel Backus, the first president of Hamilton College. President Backus had died two years before Mr. Smith's graduation, but his only daughter was one of the prizes Gerrit Smith won at Hamilton College. But alas! for the vanity of human hopes! The young and accomplished bride died of dropsy of the brain in August following, only seven months after her marriage, leaving her husband again a mourner less than a year after the death of his mother. In January, 1822, he married Ann Carroll Fitzhugh of Livingston county, N. Y., who was born in Maryland, the Fitzhughs being related to the Generals Robert E. Lee and Fitzhugh Lee. In November, 1819, while yet a widower, he had commenced

house-keeping in the family mansion at Peterboro. His mother-in-law, Mrs. Backus, and her son, Robert, then a clerk in Mr. Smith's office, were then members of his family; also Miss Laura Bosworth, a trusted employe, who remained in his family more than twenty years, and whom the writer well knew as a dear friend of Mr. Smith's family many years afterwards.

Thus early in life began his great responsibilities in the midst of overwhelming sorrows. But he proved himself able to bear his troubles with manly fortitude and to discharge all his duties with honor to himself and fidelity to all concerned. His vast business prevented his becoming a practising lawyer. Few men at the age of twenty-one years could have managed successfully such a vast estate. But he soon became one of the ablest and most successful financiers in the State or nation. He confined himself to his work and threw into it his great powers. He had not the same passion to acquire land as his father, but in early life he made vast purchases and showed remarkable tact and foresight in his selections. Six thousand acres of land bought by him in Michigan at \$6 per acre and held ten years brought \$32 an acre. Of course, taxes were to be paid for ten years, but still the profit was very large. This deal was on behalf of William Backus, a nephew of his first wife.

While still very young, he bought eighteen thousand acres of land in Florence, Oneida county, N. Y. In 1827, he bought of the State a large part of the land on which the city of Oswego now stands. Oswego was then a village of seven or eight hundred people, but the completion of the Welland and Oswego canals about that time indicated what afterwards became a fact, and Oswego was long since a flourishing port of entry, with its custom house and lucrative business. Gerrit Smith paid \$14,000 for his Oswego purchase, and a few years later it was worth half a million. Of course, he invested much more money in improvements and additional purchases, and then commenced selling lots at moderate rates and on easy terms to purchasers.

CHAPTER II.

The great financial crash of 1837 caused Gerrit Smith great embarrassment. Much of the property he had sold was unpaid for, the stringency of the times made collections impracticable and the land came back on his hands, with an accumulation of unpaid taxes to be looked after, in addition to the interest constantly accruing on his enormous indebtedness. Many men went into bankruptcy. In that year he had taken, in part payment of a debt of \$175,000 owed him by a relative, an interest in the steamboat St. Lawrence, not a valuable piece of property, and the cause of much annoyance to its new owner. The village of Sacketts Harbor was nearly destroyed by fire soon after the steamboat had left its port, and an owner of burned property, claiming that the fire caught from the steamer, sued Gerrit Smith, with the other owners, for damages. With all these financial troubles upon him, his counsel, to whom he had intrusted his defense in the suit, advised an assignment of his property for the benefit of creditors. But Gerrit Smith was a man of great courage and of great resources. The suit against him miserably failed. He resolved to make an effort to raise a very large amount of money, for in no other way could he keep his head above water in those terrible times.

His indebtedness then amounted to more than \$600,000, much of his obligations being due the State, and he needed a full quarter of a million dollars to pay interest and taxes and to tide him over the crisis in money matters. He resolved to apply to his friend and his father's friend, John Jacob Astor of New York city, and made known his wishes by letter. Mr. Astor replied, inviting his young friend to dine with him, and the invitation was accepted. After the cloth was removed and the

men were alone, the visitor stated his difficulties. It was a time of panic, banks had suspended specie payment and could give little relief, business was at a standstill, land was unsalable and unproductive, and the legal adviser and brother-in-law of Peter Smith, who was the son's counsel, had advised an assignment. "How much do you need?" asked Mr. Astor.

"Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars," was the answer.

"Do you need it all at once?"

"I do," said the guest.

Mr. Astor looked grave, but after a moment's thought responded, "You shall have it."

Mr. Smith returned home and in a few days the check of Mr. Astor came, and the following entry in his journal showed his appreciation of the favor: "August 10th, 1837—I this week received a letter from my friend and my father's friend, John Jacob Astor, in which he consents to loan me for a long period the large sum of money which I had applied for to him. This money will enable me to rid myself of pecuniary embarrassments, and to extend important assistance to others, and especially to extend indulgence to those who owe me. This is a great mercy of God to me. It relieves my mind of a great burden of anxiety. My pecuniary embarrassments growing out of my liabilities for——, and out of my liabilities and advances to——, have often, and for hours together, filled me with painful concern." No security had yet been given; a quarter of a million dollars had been loaned trusting the integrity of Gerrit Smith, but in due time mortgages were executed on the Oswego property, duly acknowledged and recorded in the County Clerk's office, and after some time forwarded to Mr. Astor at New York, the shrewd and successful financier safely trusting all the details to his debtor, and his confidence was amply justified and the enormous loan paid to the uttermost, with interest.

It is easy to see that to one owning such a vast amount of unproductive land, taxes are a heavy burden, and Mr. Astor's timely loan was soon exhausted. Gerrit Smith toiled very severely in those days and suffered greatly from care and anxiety. He cut down his living expenses and retrenched in every possible manner to avoid going into bankruptcy. In a letter to his wife, then in Philadelphia, with their daughter, dated December 11th, 1839, he says: "Never, my dear wife, have I been reduced to such straits in money matters. I have some fifteen hundred debtors, but I receive almost literally nothing, and I can borrow nothing. I shall find it difficult to keep you and Libby in Philadelphia;—difficult even to get money enough to visit you." His daughter was named Elizabeth, after his mother.

But the times gradually changed, lands became salable, he realized \$30,000 or \$40,000 from the debt of \$175,000 by taking an interest in a steamboat to secure which debt, he had been harassed with a vexatious law suit and had to pay fees to lawyers. Through his influence at Washington a custom house was established at Oswego and needed, but costly improvements greatly enhanced the value of his property there. Thus, by degrees, his business interests centered so largely in Oswego that he depended largely on the income from his property there for his supply of money.

OSWEGO PROPERTY WAS VALUABLE.

For twenty-five years his income from Oswego averaged \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year, and during the last ten years of his life it equalled \$80,000 annually. He owned a hotel, the Fitzhugh House, in that city, but he never allowed intoxicating drinks sold in it, though that restriction caused lower rent to be received than he might have obtained had he allowed a bar in the house. With the care of his great landed estate in other

localities, taking the active interest he always did in public affairs and in many benevolent and reformatory causes, it is easy to see that he was always a very busy man, and that his cares and responsibilities were burdensome. He spent in the labors of his office, with his clerks and books, nine hours daily and sometimes ten, twelve, and even fifteen hours was he thus engaged. He not only superintended everything but did much work with his own hand. He was a model of minuteness and exactness; a model too, of fairness and consideration. His business agent in Oswego, John B. Edwards, with whom the writer formed a very pleasant acquaintance, and who was one of Oswego's first citizens, being president of a bank, and very highly esteemed, declared that while in Mr. Smith's service forty-three years, not an unkind word was either spoken or written to him by his great hearted employer.

MAGNIFICENT SPECIMEN OF MANHOOD.

Gerrit Smith grew to be, in his prime, a splendid specimen of manhood; physically, as well as morally and intellectually. He was six feet high and well proportioned. His head was large, his forehead high and broad, his eye bright, sparkling and expressive, his voice deep and musical, with great volume and power when he was roused, but always finely modulated; his hair was brown and glossy and sometimes covered his broad linen collar, and any intelligent stranger would at first glance set him down as a man of mark and a natural leader of men. But he had some bodily infirmities which seriously impaired his efficiency and on one memorable occasion later in life, caused a complete collapse of his magnificent physical powers, and the temporary overthrow of his splendid reasoning faculties. As early as 1832, we find him regulating his diet with reference to the preservation of his health, abjuring at one time, not only spices and condiments, but flesh, fish and gravies. His occu-

pation being largely sedentary, it was his opinion that these articles of food were not needed by him, though later in life that view seems to have been somewhat modified. At one time he thought flesh food unnecessary for anyone, and that, were it generally discarded, more people could be subsisted upon the earth and all have enough, than could be under existing arrangements. That opinion he afterwards abandoned or modified. Gerrit Smith early became a believer in human progress, and that progress implies change; hence he became willing to be called inconsistent with his former self provided always the change was for the better.

He inherited much of his father's emotional religion, and his conceptions of the Divine character and requirements in his early life seem not to have varied greatly from the ideas common in those days. He and his wife joined the Presbyterian church at Peterboro, March 17th, 1828. He had been superintendent of the Sunday school one year before he united with the church. His journal at that time was largely devoted to sermon texts: remarks on the sermons he had heard, names of the preachers, and so on, to the exclusion of other subjects. On his thirty-seventh birthday he records that his wife and himself, under a sense of their sins, resolved to spend the following day in "fasting and prayer and searching of heart."

As late as 1836, he laments his lack of relish for the Bible, but records that since his dear baby died he had allowed himself to read no other book on the Sabbath excepting sermons in church, or occasionally and unavoidably a few paragraphs. He had been brought up to regard the Bible as the infallible word of God, and he earnestly desired to know and obey the Divine will.

But his religion entered into every relation and every act of his life, and was not reserved for Sabbath use only. He early learned to see in every man a brother, in every woman a sister.

Yes his philanthropy was even more vital than that. He saw in each member of the human family, another self; and it seems to me that if ever any man loved his neighbor as himself, and did unto others as he would have them do to him, Gerrit Smith was that man. Yet, I have heard him, in his great humility, say, "I want to be a Christian, I strive to be a Christian, but I dare not say I am a Christian, for a Christian is one who loves his neighbor as himself, and I am afraid I do not love my neighbor as myself." He was a remarkably conscientious man. Every question, public or private, was decided by him in the light of absolute right and justice.

He abhorred every compromise of principle, but he was ever ready and willing to come to an agreement with his fellow men in matters involving no sacrifice of his convictions of right. He became interested in political reform when less than 30 years of age. He wrote an address to the voters of Madison county in the winter of 1823-4, which was an earnest and able plea for popularizing the government by making officers elective by the people instead of having so many appointed. He argued that party names at that time were without meaning, the party issues obsolete, that the machinery of caucus nominations and political conventions should be abolished, and that candidates should be judged solely by their merits and should be self-nominated. But self-seeking office-seekers and demagogues were his detestation.

His first nomination to office was for State Senator on the Anti-Masonic ticket in 1827. He was not elected, but his opposition to the influence of secret societies lasted all his life. About this time he became much interested in the temperance reformation and soon became earnestly opposed to all use of drinks that can intoxicate. In 1834 he wrote to Edward C. Delevan, a leading temperance reformer, taking very decided ground for total abstinence from all such drinks. But he did

not lay all the blame upon either the drinker or the seller of such drinks. He regarded intemperance as a sin against God, and even moderate drinking as wrong, as setting a bad example to the weak and those lacking self-control; but the business of selling such drinks he regarded as a crime to be suppressed by the strong arm of the law. He also condemned the sale of barley to brewers, the raising of hops for beer, and consistently carried his principles into practical application; also using only unfermented juice of the grape at the communion table, when his little church was almost alone in that particular.

CHAPTER III.

As Negro slavery existed in the state of New York till about 1827, though the Act of Emancipation was passed in 1799, yet the law being gradual in its effects, the father of Gerrit Smith, like most wealthy men of that day, was a slave-holder, during Gerrit's early years. The son soon learned to sympathize with and feel for the subject race, though many of the most revolting features of Southern slavery (especially after the invention of the cotton gin had made slavery profitable and created much domestic slave trade, separation of families and the like), were unknown at the North.

The agitation against slavery, begun by the Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, in the Northern slave States, and afterwards taken up by William Lloyd Garrison, did not at first reach Peterboro. In June, 1828, Mr. Smith was a member of a State convention held to nominate Electors of President and Vice-President, and he wrote the address adopted by the convention. Slavery was

not noticed in that address as a source of national danger although allusion was made to "the merciful efforts that are making to colonize our emancipated blacks on the coasts of Africa, and to kindle up those fires of civil and religious liberty which are soon to blaze over this benighted land," and Andrew Jackson, then a candidate for President, was condemned as the incarnation of the violent, military spirit, so radically inconsistent with republican institutions. Gerrit Smith was then a firm believer in the colonization society, which aimed not to set the slaves free, but to plant the free negroes on the coast of Africa. Daniel Webster came to distrust that society, of which the great Henry Clay of Kentucky was President while yet Gerrit Smith confided in it and gave largely to its funds. One of its strongest claims to the support of the churches was its promise to Christianize Africa.

Even W. L. Garrison, in 1829, delivered an address before this society, which did not criticise either its aims or methods though he spoke feelingly of the wrongs of the slaves. Gerrit Smith at that time still held to the Calvinistic creed, and thought sending "the gospel" to Africa by free negroes a good scheme to promote the salvation of the world. But he soon began to see the nature of that society and after holding aloof for a time from taking sides in the conflict between it and the newly organized Anti-Slavery society, at length abandoned the old and cast in his lot with the new organization.

As early as 1831, a few friends of the slaves undertook to hold an Abolition meeting in the First Baptist church in Syracuse, but they were assailed by a mob before they reached the place of meeting and went to Fayetteville instead and passed resolutions denouncing the outrage. It is said that neither the press nor any prominent citizen of the then village of Syracuse condemned the attack on free speech, but public sentiment upheld the mob.

DARK DAYS FOR ABOLITIONISTS.

October 21st, 1835, was an important epoch in the history of the anti-slavery struggle. On that day a mob, said to be composed of "gentlemen of property and standing," broke up an anti-slavery prayer meeting of women in the city of Boston, Mass., and dragged William Lloyd Garrison through Boston common with a rope around his body, threatening his life, and the same day another mob, inspired if not led by persons of influence in the community, broke up an abolition convention in the city of Utica, N. Y., and pursued the abolitionists out of the city as if they were wild beasts instead of quiet, inoffensive citizens simply seeking to obey the apostolic injunction to "Remember those in bonds as bound with them." Gerrit Smith, though dissatisfied with the attitude of the Colonization society had not yet called himself an abolitionist and only attended the convention as an interested spectator, having started with his wife to visit his father at Schenectady and stopped at Utica on their journey. But when a howling mob interrupted the proceedings of the meeting and drowned the voices of the speakers, his love of free speech led him to arise and make indignant protest as a citizen and not an abolitionist. But his protests were unavailing. Then he invited the convention to adjourn its sessions and meet at Peterboro next day, assuring the anti-slavery men protection and a fair hearing. The offer was gladly accepted, and from that hour Gerrit Smith became to the cause of the wronged bondmen "as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

At 10 o'clock that evening the master and mistress of the hospitable mansion at Peterboro returned, to the surprise of the household and at once set all hands at work preparing a royal welcome for the hunted abolitionists on the morrow. All night long necessary preparations for numerous guests were going on

and at 3 o'clock in the morning Gerrit Smith appeared in the kitchen, got writing materials and a light and commenced preparing a speech and resolutions for the day's session of the convention. About thirty of his guests arrived to breakfast, bearing marks of the rough treatment they had met with from the pitiless elements and more pitiless mob. Some of the younger men made light of their hardships, but many older ones found the experience a trying one. The day was fine, seventy or eighty dined with Mr. Smith, a hundred or more supped with him and as many as forty were lodged by him over night.

Those who heard the great speech, made by this great man that memorable day, never forgot the powerful impetus then given the cause of emancipation.

“ Then to side with truth is noble, when we share her wretched crust,
 Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just,
 Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
 Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
 And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.”

Gerrit Smith was emphatically a brave man. When, as now, he saw what was the right side no terrors could daunt his heroic spirit and he threw himself into the cause of deliverance to the slaves with all his vast powers of mind, body and estate.

But his entry in his journal at that time shows his deep religious spirit as well as his magnificent courage.

Next Sunday, October 25th, he writes in his journal, “ The Lord carry much instruction to my mind and heart from the scenes of the past week and may he lead me and enable me to rely on himself for protection in all the perils that surround and threaten me. The Lord inspire my heart with holy courage. The Lord make me his humble, confiding, holy, little child and profit greatly my dear wife by the instructive providences through which we are passing.”

LEAVES COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Soon after identifying himself with the abolitionists, Mr. Smith wrote to the secretary of the Colonization society stating that he should cease to work with that organization on account, as he stated, of its abandoning its original purpose, and becoming an anti-abolition society, but he sent his check for \$3,000, the full amount of his subscriptions, though they were not yet due, and he thought himself legally absolved from all his promises to pay money to that society on the ground that the society had not kept its part of the contract. He expressed much regret at being compelled to part company with his late fellow laborers, and intimated that he might aid them again if they returned to their former purposes and methods.

Having now chosen his part in the great moral warfare of his time, he placed himself in the front rank and did manful battle against the powerful enemy he had assailed.

He would hear to no compromise and no cessation of hostilities, but waged constant and unrelenting war against what he regarded as the great enemy of God and man. His voice, his pen, his purse, his whole being was consecrated to the cause of immediate emancipation. His labors at this time were, indeed, immense. Besides his vast business affairs he took up the work of an apostle of a vastly unpopular and much hated and persecuted cause. But for the self-denying and self-sacrificing labors of Gerrit Smith and other agitators of those critical times, anyone can see that the whole subsequent history of this country, and perhaps that of the civilized world, would have been different from what it has been. They aroused the great free North to the danger to the whole nation caused by Southern slavery. They awakened the public conscience and created an anti-slavery sentiment, which enabled the North to not only elect an anti-slavery president in 1860, but gave Abra-

ham Lincoln a people behind him to sustain him in killing the pro-slavery rebellion and slavery itself in the same war. Before the battle of cannon and musketry must ever come the conflict of ideas and principles. Gerrit Smith and Garrison made possible Sumner and Seward and later Grant, Sherman and Sheridan.

“GOD WINNOWED THE NATION.”

It seemed almost special Providence that at this trying time in anti-slavery history, such a man as Gerrit Smith, with his great wealth and his magnificent mental and moral equipment, should have been added to the ranks of the few struggling, persecuted and despised Abolitionists. I once heard Wm. L. Garrison say, “God has winnowed this nation to obtain the few who shall lead this mighty crusade for human freedom,” and though the speaker was, himself, one of those few, it did seem that he spoke the simple truth. Garrison was the leader in New England, but Gerrit Smith was easily chief among the Abolitionists of the Middle and Western States. His contributions to the anti-slavery press were constant and inspiring. He wrote, and had printed at his own expense, letters, arguments and appeals covering every branch of the work, and the mails were continually carrying his forceful and eloquent writings into all parts of the country, except in the South, where such documents were excluded as dangerous and incendiary. A reward of \$20,000. for his head was offered by some fire-eating defender of slavery in those terrible times. Yet the proscribed and hated Apostle of Freedom traveled freely everywhere at the North, and his assassination was not attempted notwithstanding the temptation. He hired halls, where churches were closed against him, paid his own expenses, paid poorer brethren for their time in getting up his meetings, and addressed the multitudes who crowded to hear him with an earnestness, a power of argument,

a pathos of appeal, and an overwhelming torrent of eloquence which seemed almost irresistible. I once heard a rough man in Broome county say to another of the same class, "You would go ten miles to hear him speak if you didn't believe a word he said;" such was the attraction and magnetism of the man. The Bible was at his tongue's end and he quoted its denunciations of the oppressor with terrific power. He thundered and lightened, and his appeals for sympathy for the sufferings and sorrows of the crushed slaves would move, it seemed, even the hardest heart.

The people had unbounded faith and confidence in the man himself, and in his perfect honesty and disinterestedness. They saw he could be actuated by only the noblest motives, and they opened their hearts to him, and were swayed and aroused to action by his eloquence and his sublime example. In addition to this, he expended large sums of money in purchasing the freedom of individual slaves. He sent James C. Fuller of Skaneateles on a mission into the slave States to find and redeem from slavery a woman who had been a slave in the family of Mrs. Smith's father in Maryland. She was found and ransomed with her husband and five children, came to Peterboro to live, and many years after gave two stalwart sons as soldiers to help put down the Rebellion and slavery. They followed Colonel Shaw in the successful assault on Fort Wagner, when the cultured and heroic leader of colored troops laid down his life that his country might live.

Amid his incessant labors against slavery and the care of his vast private business, Gerrit Smith found time to make a thorough study of the relations sustained by that institution to the Constitution of the United States. He did not, on careful examination of the Constitution, and the history of its framing and adoption, find, with Garrison and his associates and followers, that it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with

hell." Neither did he find, with Chief Justice Taney and the United States Supreme court, that the people who adopted that Constitution believed, "negroes had no rights which white men were bound to respect." But he found that the statesmen who framed that memorable and wise document carefully and intentionally excluded the words "slave" and "slavery" from the organic law, that they substituted the word "service" instead of the word "servitude" for the avowed reason that the former related to freemen, the latter to slaves, and that the Constitution as interpreted by all recognized rules of interpretation was an anti-slavery instrument, though not prohibiting slavery in express terms. He took issue with the Supreme Court of the nation, as well as with the Garrison Abolitionists, and planted himself squarely upon the highest human law of the land, as well as the divine law, and declared chattel slavery not only in opposition to the law of nature and of God, but to the organic law, as well. He found Blackstone, Hooker and other great writers, enunciating the doctrine that acts of Parliament or of Congress when manifestly against natural justice and human rights were not simply bad law, but are really no law, null and void, and to be trampled contemptuously under foot. Hence he declared slavery and the dram shop to be inherently and necessarily illegal and outlaws.

In this seemingly novel and radical doctrine he was supported by able and sound minds. General Granger, Member of Congress from Syracuse, in an able speech in the House, held the existence of slavery in the Southern States, to be in defiance of the Constitution of the United States, and Horace Greeley, in an editorial in the *New York Tribune* approved the speech. Of course, this was years after Gerrit Smith had first vindicated the Constitution from the slanders of pro-slavery men. It is worthy of remark in this connection that when after the Civil war, the amendment forbidding

slavery was adopted, no one suggested the necessity of striking out any part of the old Constitution, as in conflict with the Abolition amendment, it being conceded that no direct sanction of slavery was contained in the original document.

VIEWS OF GARRISONIAN ABOLITIONISTS.

One of the leaders of the Garrisonian Abolitionists said : "There is no deliverance to the American slave without rushing over the ruins of the American church and the American Union." The followers of Garrison were disunionists ; they sought to get the Northern free States to secede from the slave States, thinking that, without the aid of the North, the South could not keep the slaves in bondage. But Gerrit Smith and the political abolitionists proposed to get control of the general government by the ballot and abolish slavery by law. It is true that the Liberty party, which first had a candidate for President in 1840, when James G. Birney, a brother-in-law of Gerrit Smith, polled a few thousand votes, did not at first demand direct abolition by the national government, but it did announce its purpose to use all constitutional means to abolish it, and in future years, while the Free Soil and afterward the Republican party, admitted constitutional protection to slavery in the slave States, the little Liberty party persistently declared slavery an outlaw in the land. Even in 1860 a national convention of that party in Syracuse refused to act with the Republican party as not being an abolition party and nominated Gerrit Smith for President. But in 1864 the Republican party then being an abolition party, nearly all abolitionists gave it an enthusiastic support.

Until the outbreak of the Civil war Garrison and his coadjutors steadily and consistently refused to vote or hold office, but after that, Mr. Garrison said, as "Death and hell had seceded," he and his associates could support the government.

Having once put behind him all selfish motives and devoted his life to the service of God and his fellow men, Gerrit Smith found much that seemed to him to be wrong and contrary to true religion in the present state of human society. He found himself the possessor of immense tracts of land. But he came to the conclusion that all men have as much right to the soil as to the air and sunlight, as being alike essential to their existence and welfare. Hence he sought to use the control which he legally held over land which others had a right to use, in such a manner as to put into occupancy and possession those for whom, in his belief, the creator designed it, viz., the poor and landless. He thought colored men the poorest of the poor, because the existing prejudice against them, even at the North, stood in the way of their rising in society, by acquiring either wealth or education, and acting on his principle to help those most needy and most neglected, he planned to give farms to several thousand black men, then residents of New York State. To enable him to make a wise selection, he asked three representative colored men in the city of New York to select the fit persons to receive deeds of lands in twelve southeastern counties, and persons in whose judgment and integrity he had confidence were chosen to select proper recipients of his bounty in the other counties. He designed to give, and did give, in all about 3,000 small farms to black men, hoping thus to encourage them to leave menial employments in cities and become independent farmers, and he asked his New York city committee to choose more than half of the persons to be thus favored. He also proposed with each deed of land to give \$10 in money to enable the recipient of the deed to visit his farm. His letter to the New York committee shows great anxiety to benefit the free colored people of his own State. At that time no black man not an owner of real estate or a certain amount of taxable personal property could vote, and as Mr. Smith was going to make them

voters, he was careful that those who received deeds should be as far as practicable worthy citizens. He insisted that no drunkard be placed upon the list to be submitted to him, and, as far as possible no one addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks, but all must be poor and landless. He also requested the city committee to issue an address to the new freeholders, giving good counsel and especially warning them against intoxicating drinks.

GAVE AWAY FARMS.

The gifts to these colored men were made late in the year 1846, and conveyed lands in Franklin, Essex, Hamilton, Fulton, Oneida, Delaware, Madison and Ulster counties. Each deed conveyed from forty to sixty acres. Though he ardently desired the grantees to become farmers, the deeds were unconditional, and the owner of a farm might sell it, if he chose. Many of the farms were chiefly valuable for the timber growing upon them. He himself paid all debts and incumbrances, so as to give a clear title in each case, and the deeds were all made and acknowledged at his own expense, leaving to the receiver only the expense of recording. He was still heavily in debt, but having made extensive sales of land he was able, without injustice to creditors, to make these magnificent donations. In May, 1849, he wrote a letter to five leading citizens of New York city, the eminent Quaker philanthropist, Isaac T. Hopper, being one of them, proposing to give farms to a thousand white persons, and asking them to select one hundred and fifty of the thousand from their county. At first the plan was to give the deeds to men and women in equal numbers, but later he concluded to give land to the men and money to the women.

The persons selected must be residents of the State, must be virtuous, landless and poor, and "entirely clear of the vice of drinking intoxicating liquors." Ten dollars in money went

with each deed to help to move on the land or pay taxes. Each man selected was to receive from thirty to sixty acres of land or, if there should not be enough land, \$50.00 in money. In a few instances, he said, the acres might exceed sixty, and in a few where the land was more valuable, might be less than thirty. Each woman selected was to receive \$50.00 in money instead of land.

But his donations of land, large as they were, were but a small part of his immense benefactions. He gave thirty thousand dollars to found a free library in the city of Oswego, where he had much property. Hamilton College received twenty thousand dollars from Gerrit Smith. At one time he gave two thousand dollars to relieve the sufferers from a famine in Ireland. At another one thousand dollars to poor in England. The Poles got another one thousand dollars, the Greeks as much more. Those who suffered from a fire at Canastota, nine miles from Peterboro, got next morning one thousand dollars from Gerrit Smith. The losers from the grasshopper pest in Kansas and Nebraska got from him one thousand dollars. His private benefactions were immense. He used to say that he meant to die poor. But he was far from being careless or indiscriminate in his bounties.

The impudence of some of the petitions for assistance that came to him was not simply ridiculous, but disgusting. Some people seemed to think the injunction, "Give to him that asketh," was literally obeyed by him. I saw a letter sent to him by a lady, evidently of considerable intelligence, telling of trouble she had with her relatives near Peterboro, about property matters, and making the modest request that Gerrit Smith buy her a farm, in place of one she had lost, and let it be located near her relatives, that they might see that he "had a heart." In one year he paid five thousand dollars to rescue and aid fugitives from slavery. In one year, after the war, he

gave Hampton school for colored pupils two thousand dollars. It must be remembered that compared with the multi-millionaires of the present day, Gerrit Smith was not a rich man, and that his manner of life was simple and unostentatious, giving to others what many men in his circumstances would have spent in vulgar show. Among his neighbors at Peterboro, he was known as everybody's friend, and he looked after the poor and destitute with the care of a father toward his children. He had a smile and a cordial greeting for the most humble and despised. As early as 1842 an obscure and it seems disreputable man in Peterboro, believed to have been guilty of disgraceful conduct, which the law did not punish, was assaulted by a mob and shamefully abused. The diary of Mr. Smith shows how deeply he felt the wrong done the pitiable victim and the disgrace to the village, whose good name he highly valued. At first, it seems, the principal men of the place, excepting himself, seemed inclined to apologize for if not to justify the outrage. It seems the mob broke into the house of their victim in the night time—a felony—and seized him and rode him on a rail, or board in place of a rail. Gerrit Smith wrote a letter to the District Attorney of the county asking that the matter be brought before the Grand jury, but no indictments were found. But he labored persistently with his friends and neighbors till he secured from a public meeting of the villagers, the unanimous adoption of resolutions offered by himself denouncing the outrage, though at first almost all but he seemed to approve it.

CHAPTER IV.

While Gerrit Smith would not tolerate mob law for the punishment of unchastity, even though its victim was poor and despised, few men ever had a higher regard for moral purity in both men and women than he. No knight of the olden time was more brave and chivalrous in defence of the "weaker sex" than he. His domestic relations were a model, and I know from eight years' residence as his neighbor in Peterboro, that he was always held in the highest esteem by all classes and conditions of his neighbors.

At an early period he embraced the doctrine of the equality of the sexes, and held that men and women should be equally protected in the right to acquire and hold property, and also in the right to vote. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the foremost champion of the equal rights of women is a grand-daughter, as Gerrit Smith was a grandson, of the noble James Livingston, who left his law practice in Montreal and collecting 300 brave men to help him, rushed to the rescue of the cause of freedom in his native colony of New York. Since writing my first paper I learn from another worthy descendant of Colonel Livingston, that at that critical period of the revolutionary war when the treason of Benedict Arnold seemed on the point of success, it was that brave officer who gave the order to fire on the Vulture, the British vessel that was to take Major Andre on board and carry him back to Sir Henry Clinton at New York. The Vulture being driven down the river, Andre was captured, treason exposed and the plot frustrated. Who knows how different American history might have been but for Colonel Livingston's timely order to fire. It seems too, that he acted without orders from Washington and risked censure and punishment in thus firing on the British vessel.

But while an earnest advocate of the political and civil equality of the sexes, Mr. Smith believed that women must qualify themselves to wisely use the equal opportunities he demanded for them. He insisted that the distinction of sex is physical only, neither mental nor moral ; and that strength, courage and other so-called masculine qualities should be feminine also, while purity of thought, word and act, modesty, gentleness, tenderness and sympathy should adorn the characters of men as well as of women. He insisted, however, that the passion of most women for dress and their persistency in wearing a dress that condemned them to a life of display instead of usefulness, was at the root of the evils complained of. Hence the reform in regard to women, which most interested him was dress reform.

ON DRESS REFORM.

To Mrs. Stanton's inquiry why, with his opinions concerning the equality of the sexes, he had no more faith in the movement for the rights of women, he frankly answered. "It is not in the proper hands ; the proper hands are not to be found. * * * Only let woman attire her person fitly for the whole battle of life—that great and often rough battle, which she is as much bound to fight as man is, and the common sense expressed in the change will put to flight all the nonsensical fancies about her inferiority to man. No more will then be heard of her being made of a finer material than man is made of, and, on the contrary, no more will then be heard of her being but the complement of man, and of its taking both a man and a woman (the woman of course but a small part of it), to make up a unit. No more will it then be said that there is sex in mind, an original, sexual difference in intellect." Again, in the same letter he writes, "I hazard nothing in saying that the relation between the dress and the degradation of the American woman is as vital

as that between the cramped foot and degradation of a Chinese woman, as vital as that between the uses of the inmate of the harem, and the apparel and training provided for her.

“Women are holding their meetings and with great ability do they urge their claims to the rights of property and suffrage. But, as in the case of the colored man, the great needed change is in himself, so also in the case of woman, the great needed change is in herself. Of what comparative avail would be her exercise of the right of suffrage if she is still to remain the victim of her present false notions of herself, and of her relations to the other sex?”

Of course, such language was not pleasing to the fanatical advocates of woman suffrage; neither was it satisfactory to those holding ancient ideas of the relations of the sexes. But he expressed what he deemed important truth, believing truth will ultimately prevail.

PREACHED “BIBLE POLITICS.”

His religion was so intensely practical that he made comparatively little account of creeds and dogmas or of church organization except as they promoted human welfare and the advancement of righteousness. He found most of the clergy of that day indifferent to or hostile to reforms, anti-slavery and temperance—in which he took so deep an interest; and in order to preach a more practical religion as well as to purify politics, he commenced preaching what he called “Bible Politics” on Sunday. Great crowds of people thronged to hear him; the meetings being usually in the open air, as the weather was favorable. His audiences were greatly moved and morally quickened. Soon he began to see the evil influences of sectarian prejudices in preventing the adoption of anti-slavery and temperance principles among the religious denominations. The Presbyterian church to which he at first belonged was divided into two parts

—“Old School” and “New School.” The “Old School” adopted resolutions which Gerrit Smith considered favoring slavery and the “New School” refused to denounce slavery as a sin. Even the local church at Peterboro connected with the “New School” following the example of the General Assembly, refused to adopt anti-slavery resolutions or to commit itself against intemperance, as he wished it to do. He also regarded its leading members as apologizing for, if not justifying the mob that had disgraced the little village. After persistent labors to bring his fellow church members to stand with him for freedom, temperance and righteousness and without success, he, with others, late in 1843, left the “old church,” in which he had been a member seventeen years, and its leading member as well—both spiritually and financially—and after mature deliberation and much prayer for divine direction, started “the Church of Peterboro,” or, as Mr. Smith would have phrased it, undertook to get the Church of Peterboro, composed of all true Christians of Peterboro, to come together on the simple basis of their common Christian character; each having for himself his own views of dogmas and creeds, but not making them a test for his brethren. Assemblies on like foundations were afterwards gathered in contiguous towns and villages, at Cazenovia, Canastota, Georgetown and other places. Thus Gerrit Smith became a pioneer in the cause of Christian union, on the only practical basis, character not creeds.

His profound reverence of and devotion to justice and truth, and his magnificent courage and heroism led him to refuse to be bound by any authority plainly in conflict with right and justice. He loved and venerated the Bible, but as Jesus said of Moses’ freedom of divorce “For the hardness of your hearts he gave you this precept,” so Gerrit Smith refused to be bound by any so-called “thus saith the Lord” when his own moral instincts, his heart and conscience as well as his reason plainly

testified to him that the Lord never said so, but had said the contrary. He would not disbelieve the testimony of modern science and of centuries of human experience which teach that intoxicating drinks are hurtful, simply because it is written in the book of proverbs, "Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish and wine to him that is of a heavy heart; let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more." If Jesus did make intoxicating wine for drink at Cana of Galilee, which he did not believe, if he did, Jesus must have made a mistake and could not have been the deity himself, who makes no mistakes.

HIS VIEWS ON THE BIBLE.

When the Old Testament speaks of a bond servant as his master's "money" Gerrit Smith could not believe that passage "infallible." He used to say "The Bible is the best book in the world, if rightly used. But if used to suppress free search after truth and to promote unrighteousness, it becomes the worst book in the world." His faith in God as the father and lover of men, would not permit him to believe God sanctions any wrong. He knew the Bible comes to us on human testimony, and from human hands, and though he believed much of it divinely inspired, like Martin Luther, he would use the reason and conscience God had given to him for that purpose, to find out how far that inspiration went, and distinguish between the divine and the human. Martin Luther thought the book of James ought not to be in the Bible. Gerrit Smith loved James' epistle, but he thought the Bible, though full of saving truths contained a few errors. At first the church people were shocked at what some stigmatized as infidel opinions, but those who knew him best came to feel that if he erred it was only the head and not the heart that went astray. Many others stood ready to bless and thank the strong, brave man who had the moral courage to

speak his inmost convictions of truth unmoved by church anathema or unpopularity. It grieved the tender heart of Mr. Smith to be obliged to shock the prejudices and even the religious faith of many life-long friends, some of whom had borne with him the heat and burden of the anti-slavery warfare, but truth was to him paramount to all else.

HIS PART IN THE JERRY RESCUE.

Gerrit Smith was attending an anti-slavery State convention in Syracuse when the slave Jerry was arrested in 1851, about one year after the fugitive slave law was enacted. Daniel Webster, once considered an enemy of slavery, in his speech in the United States Senate March 7th, 1850, had made such a bid for the support of the slave power for next President that Whittier wrote the poem "Ichabod," in lamentation over his fall. In a speech in Syracuse not long before the seizure of Jerry, Webster had denounced those who refused obedience to that law as "traitors," and threatened its enforcement in Syracuse in the midst of the next anti-slavery convention. The attempt was made, at such a time, too, but the "god-like" Daniel proved a false prophet. Gerrit Smith seemed on that memorable occasion more than a match for Daniel Webster. In harmony with the plans laid by Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, Charles A. Wheaton (once President of the Board of Education of Syracuse, and who built the Wheaton Block, where the Wieting block now stands) and others, the hunted slave was forcibly rescued from the United States officers who had him in custody, the marshal getting only a broken arm in the struggle, as he then concluded "discretion the better part of valor" and Jerry was sent to Canada, to the care of the British Lion.

The next morning, Mr. Smith introduced into the convention resolutions denouncing Daniel Webster and his prediction

and exulting that the people of Syracuse had trampled the tyrants' law under their feet. I quote from the preamble and resolutions :

“WHEREAS, Daniel Webster, that base and infamous enemy of the human race, did in a speech of which he delivered himself, in Syracuse last spring, exultingly and insultingly predict that fugitive slaves would yet be taken away from Syracuse and even from anti-slavery conventions in Syracuse, and whereas the attempt to fulfill this prediction was delayed until the first day of October, 1851, when the Liberty party of the State of New York were holding their annual convention in Syracuse; and whereas the attempt was defeated by the mighty uprising of 2,500 brave men, before whom the half-dozen kidnapers were ‘as tow,’ therefore,

“*Resolved*, That we rejoice that the City of Syracuse—the anti-slavery city of Syracuse—the city of anti-slavery conventions, our beloved and glorious city of Syracuse—still remains undisgraced by the fulfillment of the satanic prediction of the satanic Daniel Webster.”

Other resolves follow, and for several years thereafter the rescue of Jerry was celebrated each year on the anniversary, October 1st. In 1852, I was present at that celebration, in the round house of the Central railroad then just built, and W. L. Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott and many other leading spirits were present. Gerrit Smith and Samuel J. May each publicly acknowledged himself responsible for the “rescue,” and Mr. Smith said: “Now if I am indicted I hope you will go my bail.” Indictments of some rescuers were found in United States court and Gerrit Smith was admitted to the bar as a lawyer that he might defend the accused, but I believe the few poor men who were indicted, some of them colored, were never punished under the law, though harassed with prosecutions. Some of them had to go to Auburn to give bail, before Judge Conkling, whose famous son, Roscoe, afterwards became a leading figure in national politics. William H. Seward signed their bail bonds, remarking that his action would not probably be construed as an endorsement of the law.

ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

In November, 1852, Gerrit Smith was elected as an independent candidate for Congress from the Madison and Oswego district, getting more than 8,000 votes, the Democratic candidate 6,206 and the Whig candidate 5,620. His election was, under the circumstances, a wonderful testimony to the personal regard in which he was held by those who knew him best. In both those counties he had been well known from his youth and a large part of the voters had heard his burning and eloquent appeals for freedom and purity. But it cannot be supposed that all who voted for him agreed with all his views on public questions. They thought, however, such a strong, brave, true man was needed in Congress, and they burst the trammels of party allegiance and elected him.

It is interesting at this distance of time to read how his election was regarded. *The New York Times*, then edited by its founder, Henry J. Raymond, scouted the idea of such a Congressman; but Horace Greeley, a much greater editor, as well as man, wrote in his *Tribune*: "We are heartily glad that Gerrit Smith is going to Washington. He is an honest, brave, kind-hearted Christian philanthropist, whose religion is not put aside with his Sunday cloak, but lasts him clear through the week. We think him wrong in some of his notions of political economy * * * but we heartily wish more such great, pure, loving souls could find their way into Congress. He will find his seat anything but comfortable, but his presence there will do good, and the country will know him better and esteem him more highly than it has yet done."

William Jay, of Revolutionary ancestry, himself a personal friend to Mr. Smith, was delighted and sent his warmest congratulations. William H. Seward wrote that he could not congratulate him on defeating his (Seward's) party's candidate, but

he looked with confidence to the effect of his election as he did to Gerrit Smith's "action in the House as full of hope and promise for the cause of liberty and humanity." After his election he issued a circular letter to the voters of his district, in which he distinctly avowed his most radical views of slavery and its relations to law and the Constitution; declared that his inclinations would lead him to resign the office which duty required him to accept, and expressed his deep gratitude for the confidence shown by them in voting for one with such unpopular opinions.

When he started for Washington in the fall of 1853 his health was not good and he went by slow stages, and though he arrived prior to the opening of the session in December, he was not able to take his seat until December 12th. Yet he made his first speech in Congress on the 20th of the same month. That speech was made on a resolution of the chairman of the committee on ways and means to distribute the message of President Pierce among different committees, and referred to that part of the message which told of and endorsed the action of Captain Ingraham, of our navy, in defense of Martin Kosta, an American subject who had been seized by Austrian officers in a foreign port and restrained of his liberty.

William L. Marcy, of New York, was then Secretary of State, and Mr. Smith, while commending the general attitude of the administration, in this matter, took occasion to criticise the Secretary, for, as he said, making an interpolation in the golden rule, viz., by inserting the words, "When not acting under legal restraint," thus qualifying a command which admits of no qualification. Thus, at the outset, he demanded absolute righteousness.

AN "ABOLITION SPEECH."

When Mr. Sollers, of Maryland, rose to a question of order and said "The gentleman from New York is making an aboli-

tion speech, and I do not see its relevancy to the question before the house," the chairman, Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, promptly ruled that the gentleman from New York was in order and was entitled to the floor. Then the great Abolitionist said he was making an abolition speech and he hoped the gentleman from Maryland would be patient under it, adding "I, in my turn, will be patient under an anti-abolition speech." He proceeded to speak of what he called the atheistic doctrine of the administration, and did make an eloquent and forcible anti-slavery speech without further interruption, though he severely censured the administration of the party in power in the House.

Two days later, Mr. Wright, in a reply to Mr. Smith's speech, put a question to Mr. Smith, and the new member was ready to answer on the spot. The question related to the clause in the Constitution which speaks of "persons held to service" and Gerrit Smith cited the Madison papers to prove that "service" was inserted instead of "servitude" for the stated reason that the former related to freemen, the latter to slaves. Again January 5th, 1854, Mr. Smith made a very happy and appropriate speech in favor of thanking Captain Ingraham for delivering Kosta. On January 16th he offered a preamble and resolutions in regard to the public lands, in which he declared against land monopoly and in favor of the equal rights of all to a share of the soil. On a motion to lay the resolutions on the table, Joshua R. Giddings called for the yeas and nays, but they were not ordered, and the motion was carried. The object of the resolutions thus laid on the table was to prevent the sale or gift of public lands except to actual settlers—an object afterward partially attained by the enactment of the homestead law. The 18th of January, the House having before it a bill making the annual appropriation to support the Military Academy at West Point, Gerrit Smith was to make some remarks upon it. Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, and Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina,

sought to prevent him on the ground that the previous question had been called, which Mr. Smith denied, and the Speaker said the Clerk informed him it had not been called, and Mr. Smith proceeded to make an able and impressive speech against war. Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, soon rose to a question of order, claiming that the speech was not confined to the question before the House. Mr. Smith asked what would become of the Military Academy were war abandoned? The Speaker decided the gentleman from New York was in order and Mr. Smith said: "I presumed the Speaker would so decide," and went on speaking of the great loss of human life in war, and also the burdensome debts laid on the people from the same cause. Again Mr. Orr interrupted and again the Speaker sustained Gerrit Smith, who then made, without being interrupted again, a very able and interesting argument against war, as being a foolish, unwise and wicked method of settling national differences.

On the 7th of February, the question of distributing seeds by the government being under consideration, Mr. Smith made a brief speech against the government engaging in any work except simply protecting the people in their rights. February 21st the House being in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Gerrit Smith made a speech on the Homestead bill, his motto being "Homes for all." At the outset he earnestly but kindly protested against the discourtesy with which his land reform resolutions had been treated the previous month, and made a dignified and manly plea for kind and gentlemanly treatment of each other by all members of the body. Then he made an exhaustive, able and forcible argument against land monopoly and in favor of each man's right to a share of the soil. But when the bill was finally voted upon he voted against it, because it had been amended so as to give homes only to white persons, and in a letter to Frederick Douglass he says he was a man before he was a land reformer; and therefore he could not consent to ignore the manhood of the black man.

CHAPTER V.

In addition to beginning thus early to find his proper position as an orator and debator in the House, Gerrit Smith soon made for himself a social position in Washington such as new members do not usually attain. His family went with him and he not only "kept house," but gave numerous dinners to which every member of the House was invited at different times. His dignified and gentlemanly bearing, his brilliant powers of conversation, his respect for other men's opinions, soon made his house attractive to members of the most opposite opinions from his own. Many leading Southern men, when they came to know the great-hearted champion of immediate emancipation, found him no bigoted and gloomy fanatic, dealing "damnation round the land," but a genial, good-natured, cultivated Christian gentlemen, willing to make all reasonable allowances for differences in birth and education, but perfectly frank and fearless in testifying against oppression and wrong. During the years when the writer of these papers was honored with the friendship and confidence of Gerrit Smith he told me of some of his pleasant experiences with leading men of the South, most, if not all of them, slaveholders. He was invited to dine with ex-Governor Aiken of South Carolina, one of the largest, if not the largest, slaveholder in all the South, and was treated with the utmost cordiality, notwithstanding his radical anti-slavery speeches in Congress and his faithful testimony against wrong in the freedom of social intercourse.

But no wine nor any kind of intoxicating drink was ever found on Mr. Smith's table, and he offered no cigars afterwards. On one occasion, many Southern members being present, slavery was discussed, and though no Southerner at that time

openly admitted himself in sympathy with abolition, a young and generous-hearted member said to Mr. Smith in private : " I hate slavery."

Even John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, afterwards Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, became so attached to the distinguished leader of anti-slavery men that he invited Mr. Smith to visit him at his home in Lexington and make a speech upon any subject he chose and said he would guarantee him protection and a hearing. Mr. Smith told me he believed the Kentuckian would have kept his word had he put him to the test. But Gerrit Smith was the soul of chivalry and honor, and would not take advantage of like chivalry at the great risk of getting his friend into trouble. Neither was he a cheap sensationalist to seek notoriety in that way.

A MAN OF MANY IDEAS.

Those who suppose Gerrit Smith a man of but one idea would be quickly undeceived would they read the published volume of his speeches in Congress. On the 7th of March he made a brief speech against a bill to aid the Territory of Minnesota in constructing a railroad. He opposed it partly because it proposed to appropriate public lands, which he wanted given to settlers only. He admitted that the road would benefit the territory, but he insisted that government was only to protect the people in providing for themselves, not to provide for them ; and that if government faithfully protected the people it would have enough to do without undertaking to provide railroads or canals or churches or even schools for them, so narrow did he make the legitimate sphere of government. As Mr. Smith referred to the Homestead bill, and approved of giving lands to the landless in this speech, a member from Illinois raised the point of order that he was not confining himself to the question before the House, but the

chair as usual, held Mr. Smith to be in order, and he continued to speak till his own sense of propriety led him to close lest he prevent others from speaking.

March 16th, the second deficiency bill being under consideration, and members having proposed various amendments for the completion of custom houses and marine hospitals and to add to the appropriation, Mr. Smith remarked that, though he was in favor of absolute free trade and the abolition of every custom house in the world as a matter of abstract principle, yet under existing circumstances, he favored the proposed custom house and hospital appropriations. Still he opposed tacking them onto the deficiency bill lest they might so load down that necessary bill as to cause it to fail. Such failure would seriously embarrass the administration, and he protested against any unreasonable or unjust hindrances being put in its way. He spoke not as a partisan but a patriot, and insisted Congress should furnish the executive department with means to pay its debts and carry on its proper work. One deficiency bill had failed through the jealousies of Whigs and Democrats. He hoped this would pass and the appropriation bill also.

HIS TEMPERANCE PRINCIPLES.

March 31st, in a discussion on the bill for building steamships, Mr. Smith sought to amend it by inserting the words "No intoxicating liquors shall ever be kept in said ships," but the chairman ruled his amendment not in order. Mr. Smith appealed, but the House sustained the chair.

April 5th, 1854, Gerrit Smith made the great speech of his Congressional career on the bill to repeal what is called the Missouri compromise of 1820, by which compromise slavery should never go north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The bill allowed the white people of the territories to say whether or not black people should be held as slaves.

“Squatter sovereignty” was the name given the doctrine of the bill, and, in a long and exhaustive speech Gerrit Smith dissected all the specious pleas put forth in its behalf and held up its absurdities to the ridicule and its enormities to the indignant gaze of the civilized world. He condemned the first compromise as guilty of tolerating oppression south of a certain line and denounced all compromise with wrong, and took for his motto “No slavery in Nebraska; no slavery in the nation; slavery an outlaw.”

Did space permit liberal quotations might be made from this truly great and very eloquent speech. It occupies more than 100 pages in the published volume of his speeches in Congress and it seems he had but one interruption. When Gerrit Smith expressed his joy that the pro-slavery party was responsible for the present agitation a member said: “I do not admit that it is.”

“Strange!” exclaimed Mr. Smith, “Here is a movement for the immense extension of slavery. Of course it is not the work of the anti-slavery party. And if the honorable member who has just interrupted me is authorized to speak for the pro-slavery party it is not the work of that party either. I took it for granted that the pro-slavery party did it. But it seems it did not. It puts on the innocent air of a Macbeth, and looks me in the face, and exclaims: ‘Thou canst not say I did it.’ (Laughter.) Well, if neither the anti-slavery party nor the pro-slavery party did it, who was it then, did it? It follows necessarily that it must be the work of the Lord or the devil. (Laughter). But it cannot be the work of the Lord for the good book tells us where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, liberty not slavery. So this Nebraska business must be the work of the devil.” (Great Laughter.)

Naturally there were no more interruptions. In this great speech Mr. Smith showed not only the inherent injustice and

therefore the inherent lawlessness of slavery, but from history that it had never been legally established in this country, but simply tolerated, in defiance of both common and constitutional law, and vigorously demanded instead of its extension into Kansas and Nebraska, its complete and entire abolition in every State. Such doctrine seemed fanaticism then! But after the bloody baptism of war, the South being devastated, a precious life taken from almost every family, North and South, and an enormous national debt saddled upon the nation, under which it will continue to struggle for many years to come, the nation gladly accepted eleven years later the measure of justice which, could it have been adopted in 1854 even by the North sharing the loss with the South, would have saved the blood, the treasure and the demoralization of one of the great wars of history.

DEMANDED COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

Gerrit Smith demanded compensated emancipation, and with Elihu Burritt held a convention in the city of Cleveland, O., in favor of that remedy for slavery, but neither North nor South would hear of it, till the North and South were baptized in blood. Mr. Smith usually went home and to bed at 9 o'clock as he had done in his country home, rising at 5 in the morning. But when the Nebraska bill, to allow slavery to spread itself over the virgin soils of the territories was coming to a vote, he remained in his seat till after 11 o'clock and voted against it. Nevertheless, although he had made one of the great speeches of the session against it,—the most radical and thorough—many got the impression that he did not vote against it, but went home to bed as usual. He had, on principle, refused to "filibuster" against taking a vote on the bill, believing under the circumstances, such methods not only wrong in principle, but useless in practice.

Certain communications in the *New York Tribune* having assumed that Mr. Smith did not vote against this bad bill, he took his friend, Horace Greeley, to task and a lively discussion ensued in the columns of that paper, the editor admitting that Mr. Smith's vote was duly recorded against it, but taking Gerrit Smith to task for his habit of leaving his seat at 9 o'clock, when, he urged, duty might require his presence at a later hour, stating, among other things, that many of the great crimes of the world were committed after 9 o'clock at night. Gerrit Smith insisted, with much force, that night sessions of Congress were unnecessary and hurtful, members being under the influence of strong drink oftener at night than in the daytime, and that care of his health required him to retire early.

Besides the speeches I have noticed, he also made two speeches on the Meade claims, one against limiting grants of land to white persons, a strong speech against polygamy in Utah, a speech against government aid to the Pacific railroad, a speech in favor of the abolition of the postal system, a speech against Congress supplying the city of Washington with water, an elaborate speech on the Mexican treaty and the Monroe doctrine, a speech for the harbor of Oswego, a speech in favor of prohibiting the liquor traffic in the city of Washington, a speech against providing intoxicating drinks in the navy, and other speeches of minor importance.

As early as June he announced in a letter to his constituents his intention to resign his seat at the end of that session, and he did so resign. One important reason for resigning after the passage of the Nebraska bill, was that he might devote himself more thoroughly to making Kansas a free State. That Territory at once became the battle ground, the coveted prize, for the possession of which freedom and slavery then engaged in a life and death conflict. The settlers, under the new law, were to decide whether Kansas should become a free or a slave State.

Both North and South aided people to become residents of the territory. Anti-slavery speeches and anti-slavery songs fired the hearts of the hardy sons of the free States to save the virgin soil from the contamination of slave labor, and southern men rushed in multitudes across the border from the slave State of Missouri, some to live there, and many, called "Border Ruffians," went there to force slavery upon the territory by criminal means. Bloodshed and actual war now existed. Gerrit Smith, with other men of means and influence, notably the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, did what he could to send stalwart men with strong arms and brave hearts to defend by force when needful, the right of actual settlers to control the elections and prevent the "Border Ruffians" from setting up the reign of mob law and general lawlessness in which they seemed to delight.

AIDED JOHN BROWN.

John Brown and his brave sons first came to the front in the Kansas struggle. Gerrit Smith aided him to make Kansas a free State, as he had before aided him to settle in the Adirondack mountains, and help the colored grantees of farms from Mr. Smith to become independent farmers. He knew John Brown well and trusted him heartily. But for the aid and encouragement of Gerrit Smith, John Brown and the free State men of Kansas would have had a harder task than they did have in successfully beating back the barbarous hordes that strove by all means, fair or foul, to blight with the curse of slave labor that fair land. After the fight was virtually won there, John Brown, having liberated and taken to Canada a company of slaves from Missouri, conceived the bold scheme of establishing a rendezvous for runaway slaves in the fastnesses of the Alleghany mountains in Maryland and Virginia, putting arms into their hands with which to defend their liberty and

their lives, thus making slavery insecure and running his freedmen through to Canada as occasion might serve. The world knows how, with seventeen brave men, he seized the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, terrorized the whole South, who dreaded servile insurrections with Brown for a leader, though he himself did not mean that, but rather rescue and deliverance, intending no harm to the masters unless they sought to stop his proteges in their path to freedom.

It is also known how writings found in possession of John Brown included letters from Gerrit Smith, as well as from many other leading anti-slavery men of the North, and in the frenzied state of public sentiment in Virginia at that time, Henry A. Wise, an extreme pro-slavery man, being Governor, how impossible it would have been for any northern friend of Brown, if accused of conspiracy with the brave revolutionist, as he was deemed, to have a semblance of a fair trial. Several leading abolitionists, who knew more about Brown's plans than they cared to have shown in a Virginia court, temporarily went to Canada till the storm should be overpast. Gerrit Smith did not flee, though it was thought probable that he would be indicted by a Virginia grand jury, as an accomplice with Brown. The next Sunday after Brown was captured in the fall of 1859, I was at Mr. Smith's house at Peterboro, and met, at the dinner table, Charles B. Sedgwick, of Syracuse, a leading lawyer and friend of Mr. Smith, and he was consulted by me as to the probable action of Governor Morgan of this State, in the event of a requisition being made upon him by Governor Wise to surrender Gerrit Smith for trial in Virginia. His opinion was that such a requisition would not be complied with. But the people of Peterboro, and, indeed, of Madison county, were in no mood to risk the liberty and life of their beloved friend, and neighbor, and most distinguished citizen, to the tender mercies of a court and jury in Virginia. A military company was

organized at Peterboro and another at Oneida to protect Gerrit Smith against extradition for such a cause. Assassination by some fanatic or southern emissary was also feared by the friends of Mr. Smith, and his house was guarded. But no indictment was found. Vengeance, to the utmost, was wreaked upon John Brown and his men, but others were unmolested.

But the sympathetic nature of Gerrit Smith suffered a terrible strain. He deeply loved Brown and his companions, and the horrible fate staring them in the face seemed to grieve Mr. Smith more than it did Brown himself. Besides, it was largely believed that John Brown sought to incite the slaves to murder their masters and commit all the nameless outrages which were popularly associated with servile insurrections and many sought to connect Gerrit Smith with such horrors. A committee of wealthy and aristocratic enemies of the anti-slavery cause published what claimed to be a history of the John Brown movement, in which they charged Mr. Smith with aiding violent and revolutionary measures, in connection with Brown. The health of Gerrit Smith had been poor for some time previous, and all these troubles, combined with his patriotic anxieties for his country drove sleep from him, so that for two weeks his nurse said he did not sleep more than one hour in the twenty-four, on an average.

CHAPTER VI.

But one result was possible, Gerrit Smith became temporarily insane. He afterwards told me of the hallucinations that possessed him. He thought himself the wickedest man in the world. He thought he had indeed been guilty of seeking to

incite the slaves to servile insurrection, to murder their masters and outrage southern women, as the aristocratic fifth avenue committee had charged. He imagined himself responsible for the attack on the Harper's Ferry government arsenal by John Brown, and the consequent arrest, imprisonment and certain death of his old and dear friend, and his noble sons and comrades.

The fact was, as I had it from his own lips both before and after his sickness and insane delusions, that he had not the least suspicion that Brown designed to attack the arsenal or any government property, till the news came in the papers, and no one was more surprised than he. Captain Brown had always shown practical judgment in his military operations up to that time. Mr. Smith told me he had known that John Brown designed securing a position in the mountain fastnesses of the border slave states to which he could invite slaves escaping from bondage and from which "city of refuge" he could lead them safely to Canada as he had led one such company from Missouri. Mr. Smith also told me before he became insane as well as afterwards that for several years he had given John Brown all the money he had asked for, not requiring him to either tell what he wanted it for or to afterwards report what use he had made of it. Thus perfect was his confidence in both the integrity and wisdom of the hero and martyr.

Now he became persuaded that he ought to go to Virginia and deliver himself up to die, if possible, in the place of Brown, and if his dear friend could not be saved by such vicarious sacrifice to take his place by the side of the brave man, and die with him. Relief came to his tortured soul, after he had come to this decision. His family seemed to consent to his determination and he started as he supposed, for Virginia, but was persuaded to call on Dr. J. P. Gray at Utica, whom he knew, and he became at once a patient in the State Hospital for the Insane,

of which Dr. Gray was Superintendent. At first he violently protested, but under treatment, sleep was induced and he became sane in a short time. Dr. Gray removed him into his own family, where he regained strength and in a few weeks returned to his home, though still unable to bear excitement, or to give his mind to either public or private affairs. His first published document after his recovery was a touching and beautiful letter to his old abolition and Christian friend Rev. William Goodell. In that letter he spoke of his insanity, praised the treatment he had received at Utica, and protested against the old superstitious conception of mental disorder and endorsed the modern scientific idea that it is simply disease of the brain.

Not long after his restoration to health, he demanded a retraction of their libelous charges from the New York Committee who had accused him of conspiring to excite insurrection of slaves and not getting a satisfactory reply he commenced an action for libel for large pecuniary damages. This brought the libelers to terms, and they were constrained to not only retract but to pay a handsome sum as costs, which he generously turned over to his counsel, the famous champion of the Unconstitutionality of Slavery, Lysander Spooner. Not long after, *The Chicago Tribune*, a Republican paper, published an article charging or insinuating that Gerrit Smith feigned insanity to avoid prosecution for criminal complicity with John Brown. A libel suit in United States Court was the answer to this base attack. A commission to take testimony took the evidence of Dr. Gray, and other physicians at the Utica Hospital. Then the newspapers men asked terms of settlement and gladly published a full retraction, besides paying several thousand dollars, which again went to Mr. Smith's Anti-Slavery lawyer. This, I think was the end of such libels, and not only was truth vindicated, but would-be libelers taught a wholesome lesson.

Though he studied for the bar, in his youth, Gerrit Smith never practiced law for money. But his work in Court in a murder trial in his own county, where he defended a poor German whom he thought unjustly accused and in which trial he secured the acquittal of his client, though circumstances seemed very adverse, and the prosecuting attorney, David J. Mitchell, was a very able and successful criminal lawyer, showed what his standing at the bar might have been, had his life been devoted to the legal profession. On another occasion he received a dispatch from Toronto, Canada, asking him to come to defend an escaped slave named Anderson whose return to Slavery was sought through a requisition from the Governor of Kentucky, on the ground that he was a fugitive from justice; as in defending himself from recapture when his master pursued the escaped bondsman to Ohio, he had killed the master and fled to Canada. At once Gerrit Smith ordered his horses, drove nine miles to Canastota, where he sent a dispatch urging that proceedings be stayed till his arrival, pushed on as rapidly as possible from Buffalo and arrived in Toronto in time to make one of the greatest speeches of his life against the granting of the requisition. The case of course came under English law, and slavery had no standing under the British flag. The crime of murder if it had been committed, was committed in Ohio not Kentucky and the Governor of Ohio had made no requisition. The requisition from Kentucky, the home of the master, indicated an attempt to prostitute the criminal process to subserve the ends of slavery instead of to punish crime. But the advocate of Anderson urged that the treaty under which extradition was sought, did not require the extradition of slaves, but only of criminals, and Mr. Smith urged that the killing of one who sought to enslave Anderson, when as in this case, it was necessary in self defense, was not a crime, but justifiable homicide. He urged also that the Constitution of the United States did

not recognize the legality of slavery or require any one to submit to it. Though hastily prepared, the argument, as well as the terrible earnestness and the overwhelming eloquence with which it was enforced, was perfectly irresistible and Gerrit Smith gained his cause triumphantly.

The speech made a great impression on the public mind as well as on the tribunal to which it was addressed. It was not only widely circulated in Canada and in the United States, but made a sensation in England. *The London Times* in its comments on it, approved the Canadian decision, as being according to law, and styled Gerrit Smith the Robert Peel of America.

In 1860 came a turning point in American history. Slavery had been beaten back in Kansas, at the point of the bayonet as it were, as the slaveholders and their allies had sought to over-ride by brute force the honest expression of the legal voters, and, thanks to John Brown and his associates in Kansas, and to their resolute backing by the anti-slavery men and women of the North, they had been met and beaten with their own weapons of war. Then came the great political contest, the presidential election of 1860.

Most anti-slavery men voted for Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of the Republican party, while the opposition was divided between Breckenridge the candidate of the extreme pro-slavery men, Douglass, the "Squatter Sovereignty" champion, and Bell who sought to ignore the great issues of the day, and to be elected President on the platform, "The Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of the Laws." Gerrit Smith and a few abolitionists could not, consistently with their views of duty, act with any of these parties. The Republican party recognized slavery as having a legal existence in the slave states. It did not, in the National platform that year, demand its abolition in the District of Columbia, or the repeal of the infamous fugitive slave law. Gerrit

Smith and those who agreed with him, hoped for the election of Lincoln, but, with their views of the Constitution, and the duty of the government towards slavery, they felt that they could not vote for him. A National Abolition Convention, at which but few states were represented, was held in Convention Hall, on East Genesee Street, in Syracuse, N. Y., the last of August 1860, at which Gerrit Smith, though not present was nominated for President, as he had been in 1856, by the same party. But though its proceedings were reported in the papers, they caused little excitement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frederick Douglass were on the platform committee, also a President of a College in Ohio. Stephen S. Foster of Massachusetts took part in the proceedings. Little effort to get votes was put forth, and the vote was too small to affect the result.

But Gerrit Smith and the few who stood with him insisted on the unconstitutionality of slavery everywhere in the country, and their votes were cast mainly as a protest against any compromise with such an outrage on all just conceptions of law and government. I was one of the platform committee at the Syracuse Convention and had the honor of writing the platform, and also of being chairman of the finance committee, and in that capacity sent printed ballots to leading Abolitionists in all parts of New York State. Soon after that convention I was chosen pastor of the Peterboro church, of which Gerrit Smith was the leading member, and lived more than eight years as his neighbor and much of the time on terms of almost daily intercourse and intimacy.

It is said "no man is a hero to his valet." But Gerrit Smith was to those in his employ and to those most closely associated with him, a model man; great, noble and good in his common everyday life. He "was a father to the poor, and the cause that he knew not he searched out." The first winter of my

residence in Peterboro I went with him to a County Temperance Convention at Hamilton, the seat of Colgate University as it is now called, and also of a Baptist Theological Seminary.

A Justice of the Supreme Court also lived in the village, and the magnates of the place took part in the temperance meeting. A resolution written by me was offered favoring the making of temperance an issue in town meetings, soon to occur, by voting for excise commissioners committed against giving liquor licenses. The large church was filled with all shades of temperance people, but most of them living not far from Hamilton and naturally to be influenced by the local leaders. The judge, a professor in the university, and the president of the university and theological seminary, all made strong and plausible speeches against the resolution, and against "carrying temperance into politics." The meeting seemed to sympathize with the eminent speakers, till the one great man of Madison County took the floor and every ear eagerly listened to hear Gerrit Smith, the people's favorite orator. With quiet, easy, dignified statement of facts and the principles involved, he roused the audience to an appreciation of the great interests at stake, showed the shallowness of the pleas of his opponents, and closed with a thrilling and eloquent appeal to the people of the county to not license the "dram shop"—the center and source of physical and spiritual corruption and disease, misery and death, that was simply irresistible. The opposition was silenced, and the vote for the resolution was almost unanimous.

When the war of the rebellion broke out Gerrit Smith saw, as with prophetic eye, "the beginning of the end." He then believed the downfall of slavery certain, and he at once devoted all his great powers to help the government crush the revolt at the South. He did not, like some anti-slavery men hold back and wait till Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, before he would aid him in putting down

rebellion against rightful authority. He deemed the revolt of the slaveholders utterly groundless and unreasonable, and to be suppressed at all hazards, whether slavery was abolished or not. He wished the National Government to at once strike at slavery, as the tap-root of the rebellion, and as a war measure; but he was not one of those who would not do their own duty unless their views as to the best measures were at once adopted. He made many and effective speeches in aid of enlistments, gave largely of his means in support of war measures, issued earnest and eloquent appeals for a united country to uphold the hands of the great war-president, gave his only son as a soldier, and in every way rallied the people, so far as he had the power, to unite to save the Union and suppress insurrection.

He told me of a very touching interview he had with Mr. Lincoln at the White House, soon after the death of the son of the President. Having himself, lost a promising son, Gerrit Smith could sympathize deeply with the bereaved father, and after giving utterance to his feelings in that regard, he ventured to express his profound sympathy with the sorrowful man in the position of tremendous responsibility in which he was placed. He told Mr. Lincoln no man in the world in his opinion, then sustained equal responsibility. Solemnly bowing his head Mr. Lincoln said "I believe it." Mr. Smith like many thousands at the North, eagerly awaited the issue of that message of "Freedom to the Slave" which all expected, and many thought too long delayed, but Gerrit Smith learned to have great faith not only in the integrity but in the wisdom of the President. Early in the year 1862, Mr. Smith made one of his great war speeches in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, in which speech he laid upon slavery the responsibility of being the cause of the war and showed there could be no lasting peace till it was wiped out. That speech was to be published in full, in the *New York Tribune*, and he wrote

to me from Washington, asking me to meet him in New York, at the home of his nephew and nieces (John Cochrane and his sisters) and aid him in preparing the manuscript and correcting the proofs, as he wrote the speech after its delivery.

I went, and shall never forget the week I passed in the great city largely in his company. It was my first visit to New York ; and my good friend and parishioner took great pains to show me the objects of interest and to make my sojourn pleasant and profitable to me. We went together, on Sunday, to hear Henry Ward Beecher in his own church in Brooklyn, dined after sermon with Lewis Tappan, whom we met in church. He was also an eminent Abolitionist, and at that time Secretary of the American Missionary Association, an anti-slavery organization. We called on several of Mr. Smith's cousins living in the two cities, visited Barnum's museum and the Astor Library, walked through Fifth avenue and Wall street, and parts of Broadway, and thus I saw New York, largely through the eyes of my distinguished friend. As we walked through Wall street, the great financial centre of America, Gerrit Smith was talking to me of the wonderful life, character and achievements of John Brown, the hero and martyr who two years before perished so grandly on a Virginia scaffold, and in Fifth avenue he dwelt on the misery and unhappiness often found in sumptuous palaces when envy, pride and luxury take the places which love, humility, industry and contentment ought to fill in every home. He sent his great-nephew, son of one of his nieces, with me to a first-class theatre, as he wished me to see all innocent phases of life in the great metropolis, and he thought some theatres not only innocent but beneficial.

The town of Smithfield, in which Peterboro is the chief business and social centre, only had about 1,500 people, yet two companies of union soldiers were organized and largely officered there. The first, soon after the commencement of the war,

joined the 12th N. Y. Volunteers, and the second, which left for the front in the fall of 1862, formed a part of the 157th N. Y. Volunteer Regiment. The captain of the first, James Barnet, Jr., son of State Senator James Barnet, a near neighbor and friend of Gerrit Smith, fell, shot in the forehead, while gallantly leading his men to the charge at the battle of Antietam, and his funeral was an event in the quiet little village of Peterboro. Gerrit Smith was the chief speaker, as all classes and conditions of people instinctively turned to him for consolation and help in times of trouble, and his noble eulogy of the dead was only equalled by his words of hope, sympathy and cheer to the living. When the 157th regiment left camp at Hamilton for the seat of war, Gerrit Smith and his friends entertained the whole regiment with a dinner on the village green, the weather being propitious, and after dinner the soldiers were formed in a hollow square and Mr. Smith made a brief address to them sitting on horseback, and placed one thousand dollars in the hands of the Colonel to be used in providing each soldier with necessary conveniences for frequent correspondence with his friends at home.

But, while thus active and energetic in promoting public interests in matters relating to the war and the government, Gerrit Smith continued his labors in behalf of a more practical and spiritual idea of religion. He partly sympathized with the Society of Friends or Quakers. He did not believe a pastor should monopolize all the preaching services of the Church. He thought many conference meetings should be held, that each member of the congregation might speak his or her own view of the subject of the pastor's sermon. He sometimes preached a prepared sermon himself, and on such occasions a large number of people would gather from many miles around and he always courted courteous and honest criticisms. He thought any religious teaching that could not bear criticism not worthy

of acceptance. He thought the Bible like other writings, must stand on its own merits, and he repudiated with scorn, the idea of proving Slavery right by quoting Bible texts. I once heard him asked in church, on Sunday, if he would not admit that slavery was right if convinced that the Bible sanctioned it. I shall never forget the electrifying effect of his reply. "No," said he in thrilling tones "I would see the Bible in hell, before I would consent to such a damnable dogma." Yet, he did not believe that the Bible sanctioned slavery. He used to say "the Bible is the best book in the world, if rightly used. But, if it is used to enslave free thought and to protect great wrongs it then becomes the worst book in the world."

He ridiculed the idea that all the marvelous stories in the Bible are literally true. He believed Jesus of Nazareth to be a perfect man and without sin; that "in Him dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," but he deemed Him the Son of Joseph as well as of Mary and called attention to the fact that the first chapter of the New Testament gives "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham" and traces his genealogy, not through Mary, his mother, but through Joseph, his father. He thought the deification of Jesus had come about because of his transcendent character and wisdom; that men thought He must be more than man on account of his so perfectly reflecting the Divine Nature. Faith in Christ in his view, is evinced solely by its possessor being Christ-like. No selfish, narrow, mean man, he insisted, could be a believer in Jesus. If he believed in Christ he would have the Christ spirit, live the Christ life; a life of love and devotion to human welfare as did Jesus himself. The Church of Peterboro used to gather around a literal table to celebrate the death of Christ, by partaking of the bread and unfermented "fruit of the vine" as Jesus himself celebrated the passover with his disciples. The pastor, or in his absence some one else, broke and

passed the bread at one end of the table and some brother or sister poured and passed the "cup" at the other.

Joshua R. Giddings, the stalwart champion of freedom in Congress for so many years, spoke from our pulpit one Sunday morning and came with us around the communion table in the afternoon. "In remembrance of me" was the subject of the conversation around the table and it seemed to us following the example of Jesus and his first disciples.

CHAPTER VII.

Gerrit Smith thought it entirely proper that women as well as men should become religious teachers. Hence in the early fifties he went to South Butler, in Wayne Co., N. Y. to take part in the ordination exercises, when Antoinette Brown became pastor of the Congregational Church of that place. I attended that meeting as an interested spectator. Rev. Luther Lee, D. D., probably the leading minister of the Wesleyan denomination at that time, also took part in those exercises. While I was pastor at Peterboro, Mr. Lee took occasion, in the Wesleyan paper at Syracuse where he resided, to criticise, quite pointedly, some of the published discourses of Gerrit Smith on "The Religion of Reason," taking the usual ground that the Bible was the infallible Word of God, and that human beings have no right to reject any part of that book because in their view repugnant to reason. In other words, that reason might be used in determining the right interpretation of the Bible, but never in deciding whether or not any teaching of the Bible is true or false. Mr. Smith wrote to Mr. Lee stating that he had

read Mr. Lee's criticisms ; that many people at Peterboro and in the vicinity agreed with his (Mr. Smith's) views, that he wished to be set right if he was in error, and only desired that truth should prevail, and therefore invited the reverend doctor to come to Peterboro, when most convenient to himself, and preach morning and evening on Sunday at our church, to show us our errors if he could do so, at the same time informing him that an opportunity would be given, as was the custom in our meetings, for comments by the hearers, upon Mr. Lee's sermons. He also stated that he would pay Mr. Lee twenty dollars. The invitation was accepted and Mr. Charles Merrick, an Abolition brother of both Mr. Lee and Mr. Smith, came with Mr. Lee, and both were entertained by Gerrit Smith. The sermons and the reviews of them attracted large audiences, and resulted in a better understanding of the points of difference, and of agreement. But the friendship and confidence so long existing between the two honest and earnest men, was in no wise diminished. Mr. Lee after Mr. Smith's review of the evening sermon, was led to acknowledge that his belief in the infallibility of the Bible was the result of a process of reasoning, and Mr. Smith then said his disbelief in such infallibility was because his reasoning demanded such a conclusion. Therefore, he urged difference of opinion on that point must not be a reason for disfellowshipping one another as Christian men, and this position the reverend doctor seemed to assent to. Discussions of differences of religious belief in our church very rarely led to any unkind words or feelings. This result was due, very largely, to the influence of Gerrit Smith. He was so filled with Christian love and sympathy himself, that his example influenced others.

Hon. George W. Julian of Indiana, a leading member of Congress, visited Mr. Smith during the war, and many prominent gentlemen of Peterboro were invited to breakfast with him and enjoy a visit with the distinguished guest. At another time I

met and conversed with, at Mr. Smith's home, William Lloyd Garrison, who, until the slaveholders seceded, had been the leader of the disunion as Garrisonian Abolitionists; but who now heartily sympathized with Gerrit Smith in upholding Abraham Lincoln in putting down the rebellion and slavery, its cause. In the latter part of the war, Mr. Smith's only son being in the Union army before Petersburg, Va., the commanding officer of the regiment during a hotly contested battle, wished to send a message a mile away, to another officer on the field, and, as the messenger must be exposed to the enemy's fire the whole distance, hardly felt willing to order any one on such a dangerous errand, and called for Volunteers. Green Smith volunteered, ran at full speed the whole distance, delivered his dispatch, and fell down exhausted as soon as his mission was ended; but soon recovered himself as he was a trained athlete and accustomed to hardship.

At the close of the war came the murder of President Lincoln, and a spirit of revenge was aroused in many minds, as they thought southern leaders responsible. But Gerrit Smith was incapable of such suspicions, and his large heart went out in sympathy with the defeated Confederates. He sternly opposed a policy of revenge, went to Virginia with Horace Greeley to sign the bail bonds of Jefferson Davis, that the rebel chief might be at liberty until the government was ready to try him. He was never brought to trial, and Gerrit Smith's contention that, after having treated the rebels as belligerents, we had no right to try any of them for treason, was practically, if not theoretically, admitted by the government. But he insisted on full protection to the emancipated slaves, as well as universal amnesty to those lately in rebellion. Though they were ignorant, and all unused to self-government, he saw no other way but to give the freedmen the ballot for their own protection and also that their friends in the North might have their assist-

ance. He thought, too, the white people of the South would be more interested in the education of the blacks, if the lately enslaved class were voters, than they would otherwise be, and he was anxious for the general elevation of these "wards of the nation."

In 1869, Mr. Smith went to Chicago to unite with other leading temperance men to organize what he wished to call an "Anti-Dramshop" party. With his efficient aid the Republican party had elected General Grant president in the previous year, and he thought the legitimate results of the war substantially secured, and that the next great reform to be effected was the suppression of the saloon system. But he disagreed with the Prohibition party, which took ground not only against the dramshop but against the manufacture, importation and sale of all intoxicating drinks. He came home and organized the Anti-Dramshop party in the state of New York, which, in 1872, perished when he left it to support General Grant again for president. He feared the accession to power of the Democratic party, though it had endorsed the liberal Republican platform, and also its nominations of Horace Greeley for president and B. Gratz Brown for vice-president. Here, again, he was obliged to not only part company with many old friends, Charles Sumner among the rest, and oppose Horace Greeley's nomination, but to give up the infant temperance party which he had recently founded. Still, all who knew him were satisfied that he acted from the most noble motives, and many afterwards approved his judgment, who, at the time, thought him mistaken. He was an honored member of the National Convention of the Republican party that year, which met at Philadelphia, and did what he could to secure the election of its candidates.

But his health would not allow any more severe and exhausting labors. He even gave up holding regular meetings in the little church at Peterboro, in whose success he had always taken

such a lively interest. While I was pastor of that church Mr. Smith aided the Methodist people to build a house of worship in the village, as they had no church edifice until that time, and had been permitted to use our meeting house free of charge occasionally, the greart-hearted Christian saying, "I would be glad to have everybody attend our church. But all will not do so, and I had much rather they would attend a Methodist church than go to a saloon on Sunday." He told me he had given money to aid in building Catholic churches in places where he had landed property, as he considered Catholic churches a benefit to those who attended them. His wife was a believer in what are called spiritual manifestations, and though he could not agree with her views in that respect he always treated them with charity and respect, and made no objection to her being visited by mediums and champions of her faith. On one occasion a celebrated "rapping" medium, one of the original Fox sisters, gave an illustration of her mediumship in the church building, of which Mr. Smith was himself the owner. His love for his wife was to the end of his life, as hearty and beautiful as were all his domestic relations. In the latter years of his life, there being no pastor at the "Free Church," and Mr. Smith not feeling able to conduct conference meetings himself, he attended the Methodist church in the village, and became Superintendent of the Sunday School, though neither uniting with that church, nor giving up any of the ideas which but a few years before some bigoted and narrow-minded people had called "infidel."

While living at Peterboro I had an entirely friendly conversation with a priest of the Catholic Church in a village not far away, in which the priest spoke of Gerrit Smith as being not only a good but a great man ; saying among other things, "Gerrit Smith is too great a man to be a Protestant. He must either be a Catholic or an Infidel."

The Pastor of the M. E. Church at Peterboro at the time Mr. Smith attended that Church and Superintended the Sunday School, took occasion in a highly eulogistic article in the official paper of that church, not long after Mr. Smith's death, to say that in his last days Gerrit Smith had come back to the old faith of his early life. I saw the article, believed the good pastor mistaken, and on a visit to Peterboro the next summer learned from those nearest to the departed saint that the clergyman totally misapprehended Gerrit Smith's position, and the same paper, whose editor was my friend, had the fairness and courtesy to publish my correction. Gerrit Smith believed in God, but he thought the Bible, though full of wisdom and truth, was, like all human productions, not perfect. He believed in Christ, as being "God manifest in the flesh," but not God Himself. He was never a scoffer at Religion, not even at what he deemed distorted and utterly inadequate conceptions of religion.

The last time I saw Gerrit Smith alive was at Syracuse, July 4th, 1874. He delivered an oration on Hanover Square (now Veteran Park), on behalf of Cuba. He had long advocated the peaceful acquisition of that island, even while slavery existed both in this country and in Cuba, foreseeing the speedy end of that "peculiar institution" both here and there. On this occasion, the Mayor of the city, Hon. William J. Wallace, now a Judge of the United States Circuit Court, presided and introduced Mr. Smith to the large audience. The people of Syracuse, its leading and best citizens especially, were proud of Gerrit Smith, whose home for most of his life had been only about thirty miles away, and received him with every mark of attention and respect. But his old power as an orator was gone. His glorious voice, which, earlier in life, rang out in eloquent denunciation of oppression and wrong, and which had great volume and power besides being finely modulated and

full of music, had now lost its best qualities, though it was still capable of being heard to quite a distance, even in the open air. But, for many years before his death, he avoided, as far as practicable, speaking in the evening or indeed any excitement towards bed-time, as he would often lose a night's sleep unless he observed great caution in that regard.

Mr. Smith's death occurred the 27th of December, 1874, in the city of New York. He went to spend the holiday time with his nephew and nieces, and the day after his arrival became suddenly helpless and apparently unconscious, remaining in that state for more than two days and nights before life was extinct. The remains were brought to Peterboro and buried in the village cemetery beside those of his first wife and of his father, mother and two brothers. It was my privilege to be present, with my little ten-year old son, at the funeral in Peterboro, and to witness the heart-felt grief of the many friends and neighbors who gathered, spite of the extremely cold weather, to pay the last tributes of respect and love to a dearly loved friend and benefactor. Ex.-Judge Foster, himself an old man drove many miles, with the mercury many degrees below zero, having ridden in a sleigh from Rome that morning, to be present. Hon. C. B. Sedgwick, from Syracuse, and many others from abroad testified their sense of loss by being in attendance. Rev. S. R. Calthrop of Syracuse was the officiating minister.

About three months later Mrs. Smith, the companion of so many years, followed her noble husband to the grave, and was buried beside him she loved so well in life. I was also present at the simple services at her funeral and at both funerals remarked the absence of the usual wearing of black, and remembered that Gerrit Smith did not entertain the gloomy views in regard to death and a future life which were formerly so common. He did not regard death as simply the penalty of sin.

He thought premature death the result many times of violated physical law, but he believed death at the end of a long and well spent life, entirely natural and in harmony with the divine plan. In speaking at the funerals of young persons it was his custom to call attention to prevalent errors in regard to death, as being a mysterious dispensation of Providence, and to incite his hearers to study the causes of health and sickness, and obey the laws of our being, that we might avoid the penalty of our ignorant infractions of those laws. He hoped for a future life; but he utterly discarded the idea that any of our fellow-beings would be eternally miserable. Such an idea was to him directly in conflict with the conception of God as the father and friend of man. But he scouted the idea that we are to pass judgment upon one another, or that the Heavenly Father will pass judgment upon us, on account of either our belief or disbelief in dogmas of creed and doctrine. He used to say no finite being could know the manner or method of the Divine existence. Whether the Godhead consisted of one person, or three persons was beyond our powers to determine. And he deemed the denial of Christian fellowship to a Christ-like man or woman because of supposed error in creed the result of presumption and intolerance.

Gerrit Smith was a Christian, in that he was like the man Jesus of Nazareth, whom we call the Christ. Andrew D. White our distinguished representative to Germany said, in my hearing at the grave of Samuel J. May, "He was the most Christian man I ever knew." Mr. May was a Unitarian, and Mr. White an Episcopalian. But such a man as A. D. White judges men, not at all by their creeds, but solely by their character, as demonstrated in their lives. Mr. White loved and honored Gerrit Smith also, as I found soon after coming to Syracuse in a conversation with him about the great Abolitionist, but he did not know him as well as he did Mr. May. Gerrit Smith was a

pioneer in the cause of Christian Union. He sought to make character as shown in the life, the sole basis of Church membership. No man in his opinion can say certain dogmas are essential to Christian character. Life, not dogma, determines what is the real character. Jesus would sooner fellowship an "infidel" like Ingersoll, with a loving heart, than the most orthodox believer without such love. A son of Bishop Huntington, himself an honored and devoted minister of the Episcopal Church, once said in my hearing that he could fellowship as "true believers," some who call themselves "Atheists," but who believe in justice, love and truth and earnestly seek to know and do what is right and just.

Gerrit Smith was a truly liberal man. He recognized goodness and virtue among the devotees of all faiths, and those of no faith. Had he been a man of less courage, of more temporizing conscience, had he sought the applause of men, and to gain their votes by catering to their prejudices, and pandering to their low ideas of right and duty, had he, in a word, been less a man, a patriot and a statesman, and more of a time-serving politician, I know of no position in State or National Government to which he might not reasonably have aspired. His brief term in Congress showed his broad and progressive statesmanship, and his capacity to adapt himself to the duties incumbent upon him in an untried vocation. He was pre-eminently a great man. Great in mental powers, and also great in his aims and purposes in life. He lived for great, for high and noble ends. Nothing low, mean or base entered into his composition. He was incapable of a contemptible action. Mistaken he doubtless was, in many things. Who, with his grasp of thought, thinking as he did, for himself, on a great variety of subjects, could always be right? I once heard Henry Ward Beecher, speaking of the great mistake of John Brown say, "If you have a pint cup of milk to carry across the

street, you may be able to do it and not spill a drop. But," spreading out his arms, "if you have a great brimming bowl full, you may spill a little." But it may be said of Gerrit Smith as was said of one of Goldsmith's characters,

"And e'en his failings leaned to virtue's side."

Gerrit Smith had many of the traits of the true martyr. Indeed his life, after he became an Abolitionist, was one long martyrdom. He could say, as did Paul, the apostle, "I die daily." He denied himself the selfish gratifications that wealth, education and social position allowed him, that he might serve his fellow-men and his God. Even William Lloyd Garrison, who at one time seemed to insist that voting Abolitionists, like Gerrit Smith, could not be true to the cause of the slave, wrote, after his decease, words of warm appreciation of the great defender of the Constitution against the charge of being a pro-slavery document. He said, "Truly in the Peterboro philanthropist and reformer was seen

'A combination and a form indeed
Where every god did set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.'

Chicago Times.—Monday, Jan. 11th, 1875.

REV. ROBERT COLLYER pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Gerrit Smith, and holds that if any saints are to be added to the calendar, Gerrit Smith ought to be canonized.

THE PHILANTHROPIST

A EULOGY UPON GERRIT SMITH BY REV. ROBERT COLLYER.

In lieu of a sermon, the Rev. Robert Collyer delivered a eulogy upon Gerrit Smith, the philanthropist, at Unity Church yesterday morning. He took as his text: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."—Ps. 37:37.

I think the time will come when we shall begin to make a calendar of the saints of this world, which will blend naturally with that of our statesmen, patriots, soldiers, inventors, and writers of great books, in our almanacs and histories, and be counted as essential an element in our greatness and glory as the greatest and best besides. I imagine also that when this is done, those who live to see it will find by some sure instinct born of our new life, our calendar will differ widely from that which has gradually come to us out of the old times. It will be a record of those who have won distinction for the breadth as well as for the loftiness of their religious character, who have lived in the world rather than above it, and true to the whole truth, rather than to some special word of it, have made their mark as pure and holy men through their identity with us in all true ways, rather than through isolation from us in any way ;

of whose devoutness we shall hear but little. And while we hear a great deal about their devotion, while their religious services will not be in word, but in deed and truth, we shall find perhaps that they rather grudge the time spent on their own account in communion with heaven, which might be turned to a better account among the stern realities of life, and cared but little about making their own calling and election sure, while there was another man in the world they could pluck as a brand from the burning, and whose holiness was simply and entirely wholeness, according to the measure of their manhood, touch them where you will.

And when that time comes, I think my friend Gerrit Smith will stand as good a chance of canonization in this new order of saints as any man of our generation. For if we are to measure him by such a standard of goodness as this I have pointed out, he has left no better man behind him. So I want to touch some thoughts this morning that have come to me in connection with his life and character as my true latter day saint, to note :

First, His Nature—Second, His Quality—Third, His Word—Fourth, The Conclusion.

I. And to say, first : That, in his nature he seems to have been one of the most fortunate of men, as I suspect they will all be inscribed in the new calendar, for we shall have to see that goodness as certainly as genius is in its primal essence a gift of God, and in this sense is not of works lest any man should boast ; and that, while in the old order of saints the body was of no account, and was steadily treated as a thing to be despised, to be scorched and frozen, to be starved and flogged, trailed through the mire and tortured with hair cloth and spikes, and made to sit up nights when it ought to be asleep, and have all the holy tides of nature damned up, and damned so that the soul might prosper and God might be glorified, my latter day saint was in all things the contradiction

to this ugly and evil conception of the truest life, so far as such a life rises out of the body. Paul speaks of a glorious body as an expectation, Gerrit Smith had one as a possession. I suppose they have something better in heaven, and may have on the earth, in some far future. We have a right to expect that, when we notice what an advance we have made since the Stone age; but in comparison with the great majority of his fellow men, he was far in advance of his age in this respect. Tall, wide, deep, close-knitted, and clean, well-bred, well fed, well-tempered, with all the elements that were akin to it from the first day to the last, honored and revered as the temple of the Holy Ghost. My friend's natural organization was so fine and strong that I never knew a man who would have poured out his own shame more shamefully, had he turned the magnificent organization to vile uses; for in this measure he was predestined and called to be a saint from the foundation of the world, as few men are we can ever meet. He ranks in this respect with Washington and Goethe, and Humboldt, and Thomas Chalmers.

II. But we have to see, secondly, that this is only the first condition of a holy life, or, in other words, that my nature waits on my quality; and singular as this gift of God was, in and to my friend, he was only one of a good many we may have known, or heard of, who have failed after all to be pure and good men, not because God had failed to do his part but because they failed to do theirs. In this second question of quality, indeed I do not know where to draw the line. I do not like to think that in this original endowment of a clean, whole, well-balanced organization, I am much behind Gerrit Smith, and yet I have no idea that I have done as well by comparison, and I know other men of almost or quite an equal endowment who, in all charity and love, I have to say, can lay no such claim to perfection as he might, if his genuine sim-

plicity had permitted him to harbor such a thought. For here is one of the few men I ever knew or heard of, for whom I durst pledge my soul now and forever, that in his youth and early prime, he never sowed a single handful of wild oats. The son of one of the richest men in the first state in the Union, with as keen an appetite for all that seems pleasant and entrancing to our youth and early manhood as any young man that was ever born into this world, and with the singular and terrible temptations that always beset the sons of very rich men, fighting for him on all sides. I venture to say, from what I know of him that there never was a cleaner man and a purer on the American continent than Gerrit Smith. I seriously doubt whether he knew the difference between beer and Burgundy, between whiskey and sauterne, between hash-eesh and tobacco, between champagne and cider, and I had nearly said between tea and coffee; while in the more delicate reaches of his life, where I may not follow him, I still repeat my conviction, founded indeed only on an instinct which I think I possess, but cannot describe, that he was as pure and clean as any saint that ever trod God's earth.

Permit me to say this, for the sake of the young men in my church who may be tempted in all ways as he was, and for the sake of some grand rich natures that hold their own so that the angels bless them clean on to their latter prime, and then they go to the pit, when the shining ones are making out their papers for the skies. Here was a man who had a peerless chance of eating and drinking his way into his grave, of shortening his days by lengthening his nights; but from 17 to 77, Gerrit Smith heard that voice we all hear, "Let thy garments be always white." God whispered to him what he whispers to you and me, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of Life." Do not, I beg you, think it was easy sailing down a placid river for him, and for us a terrible fight

against the rapids. It was a man on duty, guarding a soul, it was a man against a demon, and the man won the day. For Gerrit Smith heard that voice and answered, "I will try," and in real trying he found the secret of his power to be a whole true man. He saw the toad within the exquisite seeming, and needed no angel to touch it with his spear. His appetite for illusions was full and strong and he would have made a marvelous prodigal son.

And this quality of purity is the more striking, because it links into another equally remarkable, and that was his independence. He would call no man master in the conduct of his life. A religious man in the very grain of his nature, he was more free from superstition than Voltaire, and for that reason more entirely true in searching for the truth. He found the truth he sought for in no church or creed. He tried in Peterboro to form a sort of church, which would be as large as his idea of religious freedom, but I think, after all, it was very much as if an eagle should try to have a cage as wide and high as his wings could go, and then found that though he might not want to go outside the cage, the trouble lay in the feeling that if he wanted to soar higher he might not be able, but would have to beat his wings against the bars. And I want to emphasize this perfect freedom for two reasons. The first is, that in the old idea of a saint, it has no place, neither has it a place in the modern idea of a saint, so far as we allow canonization in the Protestant communion. Your most holy man is always remarkable for his perfect subjection to his church. He is never a freethinker outside her lines; his grand quality is self-abnegation; he goes where she bids him, and his holiness is in the measure of his wholeness as a churchman. In this respect then, Gerrit Smith was no saint. His grand quality in religious thought and life was not self-abnegation but self-assertion. His nature was so large, so sincere and so free in that

respect, that any mere church or creed of man got lost in it, instead of his getting lost in the church or creed. And the second reason why I mention with emphasis this free mind of my saint is, that we may see how it was an intimate element in that pure life I have noted, as the first quality of his manhood. For it is always the implied, and now and then the outspoken, reproach of those who stand by the older, and shall I say, the narrower faith, that these freethinkers are free livers, that being a law unto themselves they become lawless, and make their liberty sooner or later a cloak for licentiousness, and finding themselves in no respect bound by the feeling of the notable young man, who said he should have had a splendid time in Paris if he had not got religion before he left home. The inference is, that as the freethinker has not got what they are pleased to call religion, he has what he calls a splendid time. I think it is time to call this charge into court; and it can never be done to a surer purpose than by bringing it face to face with a man like Gerrit Smith, and shaming it down in that high, pure presence standing now fast by the throne of God. Here is a man who will challenge the world at once as a freethinker and a pure liver, who had only a regard to a commandment written on his own heart, and on the heart of the universe, who could only receive the very Sermon on the Mount in a free spirit; who had no other purpose in this world as a religious thinker than,

“To search through all he felt and saw,
The springs of life, the depths of awe,
And reach the law within the law.”

And this was the fruit of it, as pure and clean a piece of manhood as ever trod the earth. Now, I say this was the legitimate result of his freedom, and that a like freedom in a man of this make will always give you this result. We may differ in minor things; my meat may be Gerrit Smith's poison, but

within the grand lines of essential integrity that the Christ himself would have observed, the true freethinker, if he is also a religious thinker, lives and moves and has his being. I do not question the worth of other ways to those who need them, and I think vast numbers do need them. When we cannot keep the peace of God which passeth understanding without giving bonds, why then, we must give bonds; but do not mistake this for something better than that service of God which is perfect freedom.

For this was the last secret of Gerrit Smith's purity and truth as a man, that with his perfect freedom there was blended a perfect reverence and devoutness of heart, like that of Governor Andrew. Before any man and all men he was Gerrit Smith; before God he was a little child. Holding himself free to read his Bible as he would any other book, he found in its pages what no other book in the world could give him. It was God's spell to him; he had it not in his lips but in his heart. Scorning all prayer by rote and rule, he was a man of prayer who spoke with God as a man speaketh with his friend, and as he prayed he sang, because some great throb of thanksgiving could only find an adequate utterance in a psalm. It was father and child with him down to sunrise on the 27th of December, 1874, when the angel of death came to bear him into the rest that remains, and found him thanking God for a good night's rest.

III. Here it is again, in the third place, that we touch the secret of his work. A man of no special genius, as a thinker, his heart was so large and so true that its quality got into his brain, and created through his deed that which some men bring with them. A Presbyterian by education, and early preference, he found that great church on the side of the slaveholder against the slave, and then, mother church as she was to him, he left his home for the prison where the poor image of

Christ lay helpless, and never left him until he had done what one man might do to set him free. A peaceful man, and easy to be entreated in all matters that did not involve a principle, for the sake of one principle after another he plunged into such perpetual warfare that use became a second nature; so that it was one of the things I could always count on, when any great question was up before the Nation, to receive a long envelope addressed in the well-known hand, out of which I would pull his quick words, the last of which on the present political outbreak came to me within a week of his death. A peace man, as well as a peaceable, when he found there was no help for us any longer but in the awful ordeal of battle, battle it was, and all his theories went down the wind, to be collected and rearranged when the storm was over. Yet so sad was the havoc, the slaughter made with nature, that it is hard to say whether like good Mr. Greeley, he would not have taken less than the full price of peace, for this white soul had its limitations on the side of pity and relenting.

Inheriting a fortune in land, larger I presume than that of any other man in our day in America, and so placed in his interests on the side of a most baleful and dangerous monopoly, he saw the danger and denounced it, giving it no quarter, and as a pledge of his sincerity gave away more than 200,000 acres in homesteads of 50 acres each, giving those the first chance to whom we were in the habit of giving the last. Recognizing the almost immortal worth to a Nation like ours of the higher ranges of education, he poured out his wealth on such schools as he thought most worthy, with what it would be an insult to his memory to call a princely generosity, as princes go now-a-days, and still seemed to be watching for a good place to hide some more. Always open to a tender pity, sometimes, I fear, even to a fault, it was still a piece of his religion to challenge the best there was left in a man, and help him to help himself. He

would not undermine a manhood, if he could help it, by his bounty ; and so if there was any hope left, he said to the poor man who came to ask his bounty, "Go work in my vineyard, and I will give you that slice in fee simple for doing it ; just as much as you can use well you shall possess." There is where I find his genius. That is the clear original stroke. He set men to work his land on shares, and his share was the satisfaction of seeing them self-supporting and self-respecting heads of families.

This is Gerrit Smith's epic, the word which will never die while America has a name and a place in the world. It is the final element in my saint of the new order. The good men of the old kind were perpetually saying to impotent folk, "What can I do for you? I will give you my coat, my crust, my life, asking for nothing again, except your promise that you will try to get into heaven," but this good man of the new time said, "Stretch out thine hand ; take up thy bed and walk ; go to thine own house and say nothing more about it, but take right hold ; don't even stop to say thank you, Master ; I will take that in straight furrows and children going to school ; in snug homesteads and clean door yards, in a drink of the water from your well and a cart-house apple when I happen round."

That such a man should see John Brown and take his measure before any other man in the world, and cleave to him as Jonathan to David, and minister to him and sorrow for him with such heart-breaking anguish that his very soul for a season passed into a total eclipse, is but the perfect culmination of a life so singularly noble and true.

Looking over this nature through the century, it is hard to find another man worthy of that great place, of the glory of it, and the sorrow, the momentary condemnation, and then the applause which must deepen and widen through the centuries. It is one of the proudest recollections of my life that I was one

of no great crowd which met in this city on the night when John Brown was hung, to say my poor word of thanks that such a man should have come forth at such a crisis to make the blood of the martyr the seed of the church. I cannot after all these years lay a tribute on the grave of his good and dear friend with this white blossom to his memory plucked out.

IV. And now, last of all, what is the conclusion? Is there not a story in our annals of two men, who were among the foremost in the Declaration of Independence, living full fifty years more, clear on to the year of Jubilee, and then on that very day being caught up to God? It is in some such harmony my great, good friend, great because of his goodness, dies, 77 years of age, his three score years and ten, and a Sabbath of years over; with his work done up to date, with the Christmas gladness in his heart, with thousands of poor folk in this world to whom it was a happier Christmas than it could have been but for his vast bounty, reaching back through so many years. In the metropolis of the land he loved with his whole heart, in the morning light, while he was thanking God for a good night's rest, true wife and true husband together to the last in their perfect moments, the angel of death came, and as such a man would love to die, he died in perfect peace and satisfied.

Now and then we do seem to hear the bells of heaven chiming audibly through the turmoil of this lower life; there is such a sound to me in this blending of life into death, and of death into life. It was of all things fitting that Gerrit Smith should depart at holytide when the year was in the fresh morning, free from pain, and with the faithful tender hands to close his eyes. We can none of us hope to match his bounty. We may match his generosity, for that is in the measure of our means. Some of us may feel, perhaps, that we have no such a manhood before us, but if we will but have faith that we have such a manhood before us, we need not despair. I urge upon you young men

especially his grand example. You can each in your degree touch an equal purity and nobility. His Father is your Father, his God your God, that Christ he followed with steadfast steps, still walks the world, watching for such men to come to Him that they may sit down with Him on His throne. Your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost. You also can be free and simple and devout as he was, and self-forgetful, while still you hold your own against the world, and then, whether sooner or later death may come, you will have human hearts to love you and to cherish your memory long after you have passed into the everlasting life.

Gerrit Smith

By Charles A. Hammond

THE MOOR AND THE MAN. A CAUTIONER PAPER. Published Daily (excepted.)

By GEO. W. CLARK, at the BEAVER STREET, ALBANY, N. Y.

PROLOGUE. THE HOUSE AND THE MAN.

It is devoted to the cause of TEMPERANCE and FREEDOM, and the abolition of HON. GERRIT SMITH for Governor.

It will be independent, and out-speak on all subjects. It will be neither the Organ, nor the Tool, of any party, nor of any man.

It will maintain the Right and oppose the Wrong, without fear or favor.

It will condemn wrongs and vices, whether in the Past, or the Present.

It will not only attack the wrongs of the day, but also the abuses of the past, and as a high moral and constitutional, of Freedom.

It will hold slavery to be not only unconstitutional, but as much an abuse, and as a high moral and constitutional, of Freedom.

It will call upon the friends of Justice and humanity in this State to rally around the most perfect embodiment of their Principles—the abolition of Slavery.

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This plea was plausible; he might be honest in making it; I did not see in what respect it was fallacious. I felt that it would not do to retreat from my position and suffer the offender to escape, and yet, then I thought to a great injustice by compelling a boy to do a thing, if he really believed it to be wrong.

"Who," I asked, "are the persons to whom, as members of this school, you sought to do as you would be done to? Your parents who report and send you here? Your schoolmates who are engaged in the same work with you? The citizens of the town, who, by taxing them, pay the money to pay the expenses of the school? The school committee, who take so great an interest in your welfare? Your teacher? Or, the scholar who carelessly or fully committs some offence against good order?"

A hearty "Yes" was responded to every question.

Then, addressing George, I said: "Yesterday I asked you who had committed certain offences. You refused to tell me, because you thought it would not be doing as you would like to be done by. I now wish you to reconsider the subject. On the one side are your parents, your schoolmates, the citizens of this town, the school committee, and your teacher, all deeply interested in everything affecting the prosperity of this school. On the other side is the boy who, by this act, has thrown himself ready to injure all these. To which party will you do as you would be done by?"

After a moment's pause he said: "To do that which would injure the school, and to do that which would bring me into disrepute, is not my wish. My triumph, or rather the triumph of principle, was complete, and the lesson was as deeply felt by the other members of the school as by him for whom it was specially designed."

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LECTION NOTICE.—Sheriff's Office, Albany, N. Y., August 24, 1858. Notice is hereby given that the State of New York, by the Sheriff of the County of Albany, will hold a Court of Sessions on the 10th day of October, 1858, at the Court House in the City of Albany, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, for the trial of the following cases to be called to trial, to-wit: In the case of John A. King, Lieutenant Governor, in the case of Henry B. Selden, a Justice of the Peace, in the case of Wm. A. B. Bratton, Sheriff Albany Co.

STATE OF NEW YORK. Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, August 24, 1858. Notice is hereby given that the State of New York, by the Sheriff of the County of Albany, will hold a Court of Sessions on the 10th day of October, 1858, at the Court House in the City of Albany, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, for the trial of the following cases to be called to trial, to-wit: In the case of John A. King, Lieutenant Governor, in the case of Henry B. Selden, a Justice of the Peace, in the case of Wm. A. B. Bratton, Sheriff Albany Co.

THE LATEST STYLES. SUMMER GOODS. A. J. C. BROWN, 112 Broadway.

SINCLAIR'S EMPORIUM OF FASHION. The subscriber has just returned from the city of New York with the most complete stock of clothing, comprising the latest styles, and of the most durable and beautiful quality.

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of the Republican leaders and himself.
If this petty persecution, co-operating with the sentiment of outraged Justice so fervently excited by it, does not tell largely in favor of Mr. SIMON and against the fusionists in Orleans, then the prophets are mistaken. Gentlemen, you made a blunder this time. You have sown dragons teeth, and you will find it so ere you see the end of that day's work.

PURCHASE OF MT. VERNON.

Mrs. LUCY C. MAYO has been appointed one of the lady managers of the "Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union," for the purchase of the estate of WASHINGTON, and is prepared to receive contributions for this purpose. "The payment of one dollar constitutes any person a member of this Association, and the payment of the further sum of one dollar, on or before the 22d of February, in any year, shall entitle a member to attend and vote at the annual Association of that year."

Subscriptions in small sums from children will be gladly accepted.

Address LUCY C. MAYO, No. 30 Hudson st. Albany.

The rescue of Mount Vernon from the rapacious hand which now holds it, and its restoration to the beauty and the care which once controlled it, and which should characterize the resting place of the immortal WASHINGTON, is an object which must commend itself to the patriotism of every true lover of his country. Beauty and taste are nowhere more appropriate than at the resting place of the dead; and the former home and the grave of WASHINGTON should not at any cost be left in hands where it is inflicting a stain upon the good name of America both at home and abroad. No monument can be more appropriate to the memory of the departed Chief-tain and Sage to whom we owe so much, than the careful preservation of his former home, and of the sacred tomb where his ashes repose. To the credit of our country, we trust the call of the "Mount Vernon Ladies' Association" will receive a hearty response, and that Albany, never behind other communities in her liberality, will do her share towards the consummation of so honorable and patriotic an undertaking.

News Summary.

Judge Johnson, of the Sixth Judicial District, has refused Ira Stout a stay of proceedings in order to apply for a new trial. He is to be hung on the 22d of October.

They are a very polite set of chaps over in Canada—especially during an election. Mr. Lemmon, editor of the Bratford Courier, was attacked by two brothers, named McBride, a few days ago, and beaten with a cowhide, for some political offence. The assailants were arrested and fined heavily for the act.

The New Albany (Ind.) Journal of Thursday states that there is much excitement in that city, in relation to the alleged delinquencies of the Rev. Mr. Admire, pastor of Roberts Chapel. In consequence of his too devoted attention to Miss Green, a member of his flock, her father had given him a horsewhipping, in which procedure he was justified

Ritchie have declined the public demonstration of a matinee or soiree, which several papers have announced they were to be complimented by their literary friends.

—Mr. Simeon Draper, of New York, nearly lost his life some days since by an explosion of gas in the basement of his counting room.—His eye-brows, whiskers, and the fur on his hat were all singed, and his escape very narrow.

—An actress, Alice Gray, tried to play "Lady Teazle" at the Buffalo Theatre, some days since, but was hissed from the stage, cause not stated. Alice tried next to make an appeal to the gallant public, but they wouldn't hear her. So the play came to an untimely end.

—A Democratic paper states that "E. D. Morgan's vacillating course in not voting while in the Senate, gave rise to the initials E. D. M., which stood for Everlastingly Dodging Morgan."

Fusion.

The N. Y. Daily Advertiser, formerly American, takes down its colors and runs up MORGAN. The Palladium, Franklin Co., does likewise.—Dropping its Americanism and putting on Republicanism, it says:—

We do not desire to disguise our regrets at the failure of the Republican and American State Conventions to unite on a ticket that might have been supported by all opposed to the present miserable and corrupt Administration. These Conventions having, in the outset, agreed upon a basis of union, presented in the form of Resolutions, which met the approbation of both bodies, it seems, to us, the height of folly to have divided on the question of men.

HOME MATTERS.

None can observe the thin and pale children who now occupy desks at our school rooms, without shuddering at the degeneracy of our scholars, from those who with robust forms and ruddy countenances, used to occupy the country school houses in their earlier days.

The causes of this degeneracy are obvious to all who will reflect upon the subject. Now-a-days, especially in our cities, both men and women lead an almost unbroken sedentary life. City employments require this in a large proportion of the male sex, and the females engaged in stores and at work at trades are also confined to sedentary occupations. Besides, fashion demands that those women who are not obliged to work for a living shall be able to boast that they do no house work, and sillier still, they must train up their daughters in indolence for fear, if they do otherwise, their claims to being considered ladies will be jeopardized.

Thus a generation of foolish mothers has produced a generation of useless daughters, and it is not difficult to predict what the effect of such training upon the next generation will be. The criterion of fashion, at the present moment, seems to be, the incapacity of being useful to anybody or to one's self; and judged by this criterion, no one will deny that in this generation there are vast numbers of fashionable people, of both sexes. But the incapacity for usefulness is not the only characteristic of this generation.

POETRY

THE COMET BY OLIVE WAREHAM HOLMES. The comet! He is on his way, And singing as he flies...

The Hour & The Man

FOR GOVERNOR. HON. GERRIT SMITH, OF FERRISBURGH, N. Y.

LOOK HERE! NEW TERMS! GREAT INDUCEMENTS.

THE HOUR AND THE MAN is devoted to the cause of the people. GERRIT SMITH, Governor of the State of New York, will be published daily (Sundays excepted) after election on the following new and favorable terms...

GERRIT SMITH IN ALBANY AND THE EASTERN TOWN.

We are glad to be able to announce that Mr. Smith will speak in Albany, at the request of the N. Y. State Association, on MONDAY NEXT, Oct. 1, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

STATE TEMPERANCE TICKET.

At a State Temperance Nominating Convention held at Syracuse, the following nominations were made: GERRIT SMITH, for Governor. STEWART A. BURR, for Lieut. Governor. JOHN C. HARRINGTON, for Civil Commissioner.

RAILROADS AND CANALS.

The effort of the parties now in the party capital of these great State enterprises. They are the conceptions of great minds, and the result of amazing enterprise and credit. The Erie Canal, conceived in the mind of DEWITT CLIXTON, ere it could be ultimate, struggled and almost strangled in the second a fold of party. And now, not the canal only, but the Railroads are involved in the onerous and unprofitable condition of affairs. There is nothing to be done but to correct the error of their ways, and corrupt in their conduct.

It is not our purpose in this article to opine on these two rivals. We can only say that both are of unequal value to the State, and claim that they shall be equally protected and perfected by the public arm, from individual or Governmental encroachment.

And now we put it to those interested in the Rail Road and Canal, to say whether those interests are most safe to the hands of GERRIT SMITH, whose integrity is open and transparent as day, and who is without a competitor in financial skill and wisdom and policy, in the hands of PARKER, MORROW or BURROWS, who dare not appear before the people and make known their views, who have no character but party character, and who are non-committal on this subject, only in their help at the ballot box.

Whoever patronizes may say, we think we can say with certainty, that the people of the State would decide to commit the Rail Road and the Canal to the honesty and wisdom and disinterestedness of Mr. SMITH, rather than the selfishness and dishonesty and limited capacities of the other two. No one doubts the judgment and ability of Mr. SMITH to manage great affairs. He has been used as business character, such as a pecuniary and crash to the earth the ablest of our country, and managing them with a wisdom and economy that is unrivaled—doing it up to accumulation, funds to be expended for the good of his country and mankind.

AN EDITOR IN A TIGHT PLACE

We deeply sympathize with the General Free Press—but we feel (being it quite as free as it can be)...

GERRIT SMITH FOR GOVERNOR.

Mr. Editor:—I cordially approve of Gerrit Smith's nomination for Governor. In common with all true friends of Temperance and Freedom throughout the State I shall most fully vote for that great and good man. I have known him "long and well," and I am very confident that he would do honor to himself and the office, retaining to this day, in distinction more dignified than will be shown to any other candidate, his high estimation of the rights of the oppressed who are struggling to be free, and his election would be the purest triumph over all the days of the immortal Washington. It is beyond the power of the imagination to realize the blessings which would flow from his election to the holy cause of humanity. His unbounded philanthropy, his...

STATE FAIR AT SYRACUSE.

Excellent accommodations for strangers at the State Fair, Syracuse, may be had at the Danforth House, South Salina Street, a very excellent parlors, bath, chambers, and a number of cheap accommodations.

Two Thousand for Gerrit Smith in Cortland County.

LETTER VALLER (CATTARAUGUS CO.)

Editor of the Hour & The Man.

The Republicans in our section are somewhat distrustful of their leaders. They reason as follows:—That the principles of Gerrit Smith were the germ of the Republican party up to the last year of Congress. That the spirit of the territory was not in the hands of the Republicans, but in the hands of the Democrats. That the people of the territories were justly entitled to the privileges and immunities of the several States—except the Government of the same by the Executive and Judicial power which are appointed to govern the territories, and the provision of the Constitution is founded in the hands of the Democrats. That the people of the territories are entitled to the same rights as the people of the States. That the people of the territories are entitled to the same rights as the people of the States.

The merit of Gerrit Smith is so diffused that all will feel the justice of his election. It will, moreover, bring foreign countries to acknowledge that our great State is not content with the services of the world-wide, respected philanthropist, orator and statesman. The merit of Gerrit Smith is so diffused that all will feel the justice of his election. It will, moreover, bring foreign countries to acknowledge that our great State is not content with the services of the world-wide, respected philanthropist, orator and statesman.

Mr. Smith will also take the Moloch of slavery by the horns, and the Empire State will stand erect and free. When Fordyce asked Alcott, in an occasional hour, how he would best begeth the empire of the world, the Emperor's answer was "to the most worthy." It was saying, among the ancient Greeks, that "Emulation hath a hundred worthings."

SMUEL N. SWEET, FERRISBURGH, N. Y.

WHERE SHALL I GO?

Thousands of eyes are turned towards two very important questions in this State. We refer to Hon. DANIEL S. DICKSON and Hon. W. W. WEAVER. This the Fusion Party have no doubt of their determination, and we have no doubt of their determination, and we have no doubt of their determination.

With the present infatuation of our party and convention nominations and misapprehensions, there is no security for the people's interests, and we are in a state of confusion, and we are in a state of confusion.

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Mr. Smith's Whereabouts

On the 28th, Mr. Smith was at Albion, Orleans Co., and here was the first open demonstration of his political views. At no other place has it dared show publicly its impudently free. Fearing Mr. Smith's courage and eloquence, the Republicans here determined to shut him out, and prevent the people from hearing him, speak, lest they be drawn in him. In pursuit of these thoughts they shut up the Court House and all the churches, and left him surrounded by more than a thousand citizens in the street.

They dare not trust their voters in the search of Mr. Smith, and therefore they attacked him. They would not have served a mountebank as meanly.

In addition to his cold and hoarseness, Mr. Smith was deeply disgusted, and in answer to the urgent request of the great multitude who came some of them far to hear him, he told them he could not speak in the open air, and he left the Court House, and he followed by a great crowd, he begged him to leave them, but to say something to them. He finally yielded to their entreaties and returned to the Court House steps, and talked to them in the open air two hours and a half.

Although these men could give him no shelter when they found him speaking, they joined the crowd to hear him. There stood Burrows, the American candidate for Governor, and there were the Judges, lawyers and ministers. One word from Burrows and the Court House would have fallen open. But he had no honor, civility, and sense enough to manage the canvass against a noble rival candidate, and he had no sense enough to manage the canvass against a noble rival candidate, and he had no sense enough to manage the canvass against a noble rival candidate.

Mr. LEO C. MAYO has been appointed one of the judges of the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association of the United States, for the purpose of the district of Mt. Vernon, and it is proposed to receive contributions for this purpose.

The Rev. Mr. W. H. VANNOY from the same place has been appointed one of the judges of the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association of the United States, for the purpose of the district of Mt. Vernon, and it is proposed to receive contributions for this purpose.

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HOME MATTERS

At a sale of slaves at auction in Richmond on the 15th inst. a negro boy, aged about ten years, and inquiring in the grand name of "Searator Douglas," for the \$2000.

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General News

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gorged her dose by running her finger down her throat, but the other was unable to do so, and will, in all probability, die in a day or two—poisoned by corrosive sublimate.

—The Saugerties Telegraph states that Richard Dubois, of Glasco, in that town, who is naturally of a degraded and quarrelsome disposition, got deranged in mind one day last week by the too frequent use of liquor, and attempted to kill his wife by shooting her with a gun. The gun was loaded with shot, the bulk of which took effect upon the hip. Dubois is now being provided for in the Kingston jail. The wife is considerably injured, but is considered out of danger.

—The constitutionality of the Maine Liquor Law is to be tested in the U. S. Court. Some four years ago Constable D. Nott attached a quantity of liquor in the store of David Clark in Hartford, Ct., under the Maine Law, and that attachment has been followed by several trials in the Hartford Courts, in which the juries failed to agree. A. L. Clark, son of David, and doing business in New York, claimed the liquor, and contested the suits. They now sue the constable in the United States Court, for illegally seizing their liquor, and the constitutionality of the Maine Law will be tried in the above Court.—The Clarks claim damages to the amount of ten thousand dollars.

Political.

—The Democrats of Erie County have nominated Israel T. Hatch, for Congress; Levi J. Ham for Senator, and James Wadsworth for Sheriff. It will be remembered that Mr. Wadsworth resigned his seat in the Senate some time since which was said to have been done for the purpose of securing this nomination.

—F. W. Kellogg, the celebrated temperance lecturer, has been nominated for Congress in one of the Michigan districts.

—There is a rumor among political men that Fernando Wood's name is mentioned in connection with the Governorship of Nebraska, in place of Col. Richardson, who sympathizing with his friend Douglas, is looking to his old home in Illinois.

HOME MATTERS.

Season for Contemplation.

No thoughtful mind can contemplate or reflect on these words of truth and soberness, "The summer is ended," without feelings of sadness. Meditations upon such words of import will stir the deep springs of emotion, which lie far beneath the surface of the mind's ordinary themes of thought. It is no matter how cheerful one may really be by nature and education, yet even such will now betray feelings of sorrow.

The beautiful flowers that blossomed everywhere over hill and dale, upon the mountain side and in the deep vale, have faded and perished, leaving, however, behind the hopeful germs of a future life. The summer birds that made every hedge, orchard, grove and woodside, not excepting even the deep and almost impenetrable forest, vocal with their varied and tuneful songs,

This is a beautiful world whose denizens were, notwithstanding sin and sorrow and sighing, have entered it, for grace doth so much more abound. There is so much more occasion for joy, than sadness, that the mingling of the latter rather serves to sweeten the former. It is said, had it not been for the introduction of sin into the world, the minor key of music would never have been heard. So of the revolving seasons; were it not for autumn and winter, spring and summer would lose half their charms. So let each successive season be improved, that we may ever be able to say it has been the pleasantest and happiest ever enjoyed. Then will life be crowned with joy and rejoicing.

THE COMPETING ENGINES—THE PRIZES.

The following is a list of the competing engines, with their several scores, as reported by and decided upon by the Judges:

FIRST CLASS.

1.....107 feet.....	No. 4 of Brooklyn.
2.....118 ".....	31 of New York.
3.....149 ".....	6 of Detroit.
4.....131 ".....	3 of Springfield.
5.....124 ".....	5 of Utica.
6.....141 ".....	7 of Troy.
7.....149 ".....	2 of Stamford.
8.....133 ".....	4 of Lansingburgh.
9.....120 ".....	2 of Lee, Mass.
10.....152 ".....	3 of Brooklyn.
11.....157 ".....	5 of Buffalo.
12.....120 ".....	3 of Little Falls.

The First Prize was awarded to No. 3 of Brooklyn, and the Second to No. 2 of Stamford.

SECOND CLASS.

1.....194 feet.....	No. 5 of Newark.
2.....156 ".....	5 of Brooklyn.
3.....142 ".....	3 of Hartford.
4.....150 ".....	1 of West Troy.
5.....157 ".....	1 of Waterford.
6.....138 ".....	3 of Green' ush.
7.....165 ".....	1 of Whitehall.
8.....141 ".....	2 of Waterford.
9.....137 ".....	1 of Lee, Mass.
10.....136 ".....	5 of Norwich, Ct.
11.....148 ".....	5 of Troy.
12.....147 ".....	15 of New York.
13.....000 ".....	7
14.....137 ".....	3 of Newark.
15.....141 ".....	10 of Troy.
16.....131 ".....	51 of New York.
17.....109 ".....	2 of Yonkers.
18.....147 ".....	1 of Williamsburgh.

The first second class prize was awarded to the Whitehall engine; and the second to No. 2, of Waterford.

THIRD CLASS.

1.....142 feet.....	No. 1 of Troy.
2.....154 ".....	5 of New Haven.
3.....141 ".....	7 of Providence.
4.....144 ".....	1 of Morrisiana.
5.....156 ".....	18 of New York.
6.....154 ".....	23 of New York.

The first third class prize was awarded to No. 18 of New York. For the second there was a tie between No. 23 of New York, and No. 5 of New Haven. A second trial was had by these contestants, on which occasion the former threw 136 feet, and the latter 129 feet; so No 23 carried off the prize.

The Dudley Observatory seems to be becoming more and more entangled by the dispute and dispartants. Mrs. DUDLEY, in a letter to Mr. OLCOTT, threatens to revoke her \$50, donation. A bill of Complaint is threatened against OLCOTT before the Courts. The Trustees, too, are threatening with personal liability

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- E S Coleman
- A R Avery
- Win Cranston
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- E J Partridge
- J W Billings
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- D B Dorset
- E T Skinner
- Jeremiah Warner

meanness of endeavoring to vamp up coalitions with factions with whom they could not even confer without a sacrifice of the principles they had blazoned forth on their political birth—when they, who draw a great element of their strength from the ranks of adopted citizens, are ready to shake hands with the deadliest enemies of those citizens, the sworn foes of freedom of conscience, for the purpose of watering their charges in the Potomac, or stabling them at Albany—when others, denying the inscription so long displayed on their banner, do homage to civil and religious freedom by their professions, but mock it by their official acts, and exhaust the store-house of Federal pabulum to feed the enemies of the principles and men they represent—it is criminal for a citizen to tie his faith with any but a running knot to any party whatsoever. Our adopted fellow-citizens must calmly and seriously judge for themselves. If the contending parties contain each a portion of evil, they must choose that which contains the least. Their duty as citizens forbids inactivity, and a policy of abstention, while imbecile in itself, would, besides, accomplish the very desire of the anti-Liberal or Dark-Lantern party. The citizen who pursues it is like the man who, because he has been slighted by an old acquaintance, instead of making common cause with him, allows him to be despatched by their mutual foe, and thus leaves himself at the mercy of an implacable enemy. Let them ask not who offers the most patronage, but who gives the most guarantees of civil and religious liberty, and record their votes according to their conscience.

News Summary.

—The N. Y. Times says the bills for the cable celebration foot up twenty thousand dollars.—The leading item of expenditure is the grand dinner given at the Metropolitan Hotel, each guest being charged ten dollars per head. The livery bills for carriages driven in the procession, present a mammoth array of charges, nearly as long as the procession itself.

—A company has been formed among the merchants of Boston, for the purpose of engaging in the whale fishery in the North Pacific, by means of small vessels, of from one to two hundred tons burthen. The leader of the project is Mr. James S. Swan, who will leave on the steamer of the 20th of October, for Port Townsend.

—No less than seventeen divorce cases, fourteen of which are from other States, will come up at the next term of the Tippecanoe (Ind.) Circuit Court.

—A bold robbery of the Bank of Upper Canada was committed on Saturday last. The Custom House messenger was sent to deposit \$4000 in the bank, and after the money had been counted it was abstracted from the counter by some unknown person. There is no clue to the robber.

—The Police Commissioners met again yesterday, to decide upon the case of Superintendent Tallmadge. They passed two resolutions, one of which censures Gen. Tallmadge for not sending men to Quarantine on the morning of the 2d of September; the other rescinds their former resolution of suspension, and reinstates the Superintendent in his office.

Saturday Night!

What blessed things are Saturday nights, and what would the world do without them?—those

the public.

It seems, however, that the course pursued by this Bank, though entirely to all parties, does not suit the Metropolitan Bank in New York, which appears to claim the right to regulate their rules of redemption. The Bank of Saratoga Springs applied with the law requiring it to be an agent in New York, Albany, there to redeem its notes at 4 per cent discount. It has also always redeemed at par at its own counter, and is bound to redeem them elsewhere.

The Metropolitan Bank now attempts to force it to redeem its notes also at New York at 4 per cent discount, and in order to bring its officers into this arrangement, it has been engaged for several months in hoarding the notes of the recusant bank, intending to "make an example of it."

It would be quite desirable that the country banking interest should endeavor to ascertain through the next Legislature whether the Metropolitan Bank has any right to usurp legislative authority, and to use its privileges of organization in a warfare upon the currency of this State.

The Assorting House in Albany fortunately having the confidence and cooperation of the Country Banks, has so far diminished the Country Bank Note receipts of the Metropolitan that the power of accumulation is a slow one, perhaps about two or three hundred dollars a day, and the Bank of Saratoga Springs is fortunately prepared to redeem its whole circulation on demand, and the threats of the Metropolitan intimidate nobody.

The only harm done by this New York interference is, that it deprives the Bank of the privilege of paying out its own notes, and our community of the use of a local currency known to it, and possessing its confidence.

Double Elopement—Two Brothers Run Away with Two Sisters.

From the Cleveland Plaindealer, Sept. 29.

Mr. Lloyd, a highly respectable farmer in Wickliffe, arrived in this city last evening in an excited state of mind. He sought out Marshal Gallagher, and told him that his two daughters had eloped on Monday night with two hired men, brothers, and named respectively Chauncey Lewis and Watson Lewis. Mr. Lloyd said he thought they were in this city. The Marshal put on his seven league boots and commenced walking rapidly around the city. He found the enterprising parties at last at the Franklin House on Pearl street. Watson Lewis had already married one of the sisters and retired for the night. Chauncey Lewis was making arrangements to marry the other sister, when the Marshal appeared and took him and his intended to the police station. Locking Chauncey Lewis up in the watchhouse, Mr. Lloyd took his daughter to the Commercial House and locked her up in a room.

Mr. Lloyd, in addition to being an extensive and flourishing farmer, keeps a tavern in Wickliffe, which is very favorably known through this section. Mr. L. owns some 450 acres of land in Wickliffe and is quite wealthy. His daughters are named Mary and Laura. Mary is about twenty years old, and Laura about sixteen. They are splendid looking girls, and are fashionably and richly dressed. They are both well educated, having enjoyed superior advantages in this respect.

The Lewis brothers are uncouth, uneducated and over grown specimens of humanity, and neither read nor write. They hired out to Mr. Lloyd some six months ago. He paid Watson the eldest one, \$13, and Chauncey \$19 a month. Chauncey Lewis, the young man who did not marry and who passed the night in the

