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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

CONVICTS SOLD FOR A TERM OF YEARS.

Dr. SNODGRASS:—In your last paper, in commenting on the "kidnapping case," you ask: "Will some one tell us what becomes, finally, of 'convicts,' such as are named above, when sold for only a term of years? When taken to the South by these dealers in the bodies of their fellow-creatures, are they brought back, or allowed to come of their own accord, at the end of their term of servitude?" You justly add, "This is a question to which Humanity and Justice demand an answer."

The topic, thus introduced, is important to the honor of Maryland, whose good name is constantly sacrificed by these soul-dealers. Look, then,

First, At the number of persons who are held in slavery for a "term of years." There are probably from six to eight thousand, chiefly in the Northern, Eastern, and Western counties, in this condition. Most of them were left free at a certain age, by the wills of deceased persons, whose consciences, the visions of death and judgment enlightened in regard to their slaves. The number of such persons, is very rapidly increasing. It is very difficult to keep slaves, in the Northern counties, without promising them their Freedom, at the end of a certain term. A very large number of free-born apprentices, ignorant of their own age, and destitute of friends, are retained in the same condition till they are from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age. The writer knows several such cases. Both of these classes are frequently "sold out of the State," for those petty offences for which free persons are punished by fines or brief imprisonments.

Secondly, In every case of such sale, it is the duty of the sheriff to require bonds of the purchaser, with sufficient security, for the return of the person sold. But this is seldom done; and when it is, it is deemed a mere form.

The very object of the sale "out of the State," is to banish them for life, as dangerous persons. This was openly confessed in my hearing, in a debate in the Legislature, in 1842. A man near Hagerstown, was suspected (not even indicted, but suspected only) of murdering his master. He fled. His wife and children were to have been free in twelve years. Their *quasi* owner petitioned for leave to "sell them out of the State," as the near relatives of a suspected person! It was urged by Mr. Prestman, of our city, in his eloquent defence of the rights of these innocent persons, that it would inevitably doom them to slavery for life. This was conceded on the other side, and justified! The bill to grant leave passed, after a warm debate. Here was a sale of innocent persons, neither charged with nor suspected of crime, by the high authority of our Legislature!

The sales by sheriffs, for petty crimes, are of daily occurrence. Still more frequently are the sales made by individual masters, for their own profit, without any pretence of crime. If the slave claims a right to freedom in a term of years, who is to look into his case? Who even knows that he is sold? The master sells him to the trader quietly. The agents of the trader seize him in the night, load him with fetters, and bring him to their prisons in a close carriage. He generally finds no one to hear his complaint, till he reaches the New Orleans Calaboose. A few dozen well laid on, silence his complaints there, and forever. Persons who are slaves for life, in order to escape being sold, frequently claim to be servants for a "term of years," in virtue of some verbal promise of a master or mistress. This causes many to disregard the complaints of persons who are really entitled to freedom.

Thirdly, Now, in all these various classes of cases, there is no remedy. A "sale out of the State," is a sale for life. It is nobody's business to look after these poor creatures. In a few very rare cases, I have known a man of high standing, take pains to keep the track of a favorite servant thus sold, and try to free him, at the expiration of the time. I have never known but one case in which the effort succeeded. It was in Louisiana, whose *higher* courts are proverbial for their equity, in slave cases.

In most cases, the utter impossibility of tracing these persons, renders the bond required, a mere ceremony. When the attempt is made, they are sure to be reported "dead," or "sold to Texas."

A friend of the writer, by great effort, secured the liberty of a man who was entitled to be free in 1846. His master, a planter on the Eastern Shore, had bargained him away to a trader in this city, for life, after carefully destroying the evidence of the man's prospective title to liberty! All these points I could readily illustrate by a score of cases of recent occurrence in this city. But that would involve a discussion, instead of a reply to your questions.

Fourthly, There can be no *complete* remedy while slavery continues to exist. Even the sale of freemen, not charged with crime, into slavery, cannot be effectually prevented, while the testimony of free persons of color is refused in Southern courts of law,—much less the perpetual enslavement of criminals sold out of the State for a term of years. This point, however, I do not profess to decide, as

A LAWYER.

Baltimore, June, 1844.

From the New Orleans Picayune, June 30.

DISTRICT COURT.—FRANCIS VARION vs. J. F. C. BARTHELEMY.

This singular and somewhat important case was brought to a close at 8 o'clock, A. M. yesterday, after having occupied the court and jury since Monday last. The plaintiff, who is a native of St. Domingo, came to Louisiana in 1809, and since that time, until recently, enjoyed all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. In 1836 he sued Thomas Byrne, Thomas Hassam, and others, in the District Court, for asserting, in a communication published in the Louisiana Advertiser, that he was a colored man, laying his damages at ten thousand dollars.

The jury awarded him one hundred dollars, he (Varion) paying the costs of court. From that time until April, 1843, it appears, his claim to being a white man has never been tangibly disputed. In that month he offered himself as a candidate for alderman of the 1st ward, Third Municipality, and was elected, but on presenting his credentials, the Council refused to admit him, assigning as their reason, in general terms, that he had not the proper qualifications. He again offered himself as a candidate, and was elected; the council refusing to admit him to a seat as before. He was elected the third time, and refused admission; the Council, in this instance, stating to him explicitly that they refused to admit him, believing him to be a colored man.

At a general election, held in July following, J. F. Barthelemy, the defendant in this case, being one of the inspectors of the 1st ward, Third Municipality, refused to admit Varion's vote, asserting that he (Varion) was not a white man, and, therefore, not entitled to the privelege of the elective franchise—hence the present action for damages for being deprived of the rights of an American citizen, which he laid at *three thousand dollars*. The jury, after having been closeted for seven hours, returned their verdict in the following words:

We, the jury, are of opinion, that the evidence is not sufficient to establish the plaintiff a colored man, and believe that defendant was not actuated by malice in refusing his vote, and therefore find no damages. L. A. FINDLEY, *Foreman*.

In the Criminal Court, L. C. Hornsby was sentenced to five year's hard labor in the penitentiary, and a fine of $50 and costs of prosecution, for the manslaughter of D. H. Twogood.

James Bruce, a free man of color, for remaining in the State in contravention of law, to one year's imprisonment at hard labor.

From the Herkimer Freeman.

IS IT RIGHT?

"He finds his fellow guilty of a skin
Not colored like his own."

Coming up the North River from New-York, on board the steamboat South America, the day after the Methodist General Conference adjourned, we observed several of the Methodist clergy among our fellow passengers, and were informed that through the politeness of the captain, not less than sixty or seventy members of the conference were receiving a free passage to Albany that day. Well, we thought that was rather handsome on the part of the captain, and so expressed ourself to those of whom we learned the circumstance.

But what was our mortification—and, we will add, our indignation—to learn, as we casually did, shortly after, that an elderly *colored* Methodist preacher from Ithaca, who had been six weeks absent from his family, attending the colored conferences held in New-York and Philadelphia, had been required to pay a dollar and a half for his passage to Albany on board that very boat! The fare was two dollars; but on his representing himself a preacher, the captain had graciously remitted the enormous sum of *fifty cents!* Magnanimous, wasn't it? to carry sixty white men *gratis*, and make a poor old African pay *a dollar and a half!* Why this distinction? Unquestionably the old man needed a free ticket more than any of them; and yet he alone was required to pay!

This is rather a favorable specimen of the comparative kindness with which the poor colored race are treated here at the North; and yet people will have the hardihood to say that they are used as well as the whites!

INTELLIGENCE AT THE SOUTH.

It was rumored at Mobile, a few nights since, that a negro, while splitting wood that day near Three Mile Creek, and blaspheming terribly, was seized with paralysis. On Monday, the story grew more marvellous. According to this, the earth opened, and swallowed the man up to the neck. The passers by gathered together, brought pickaxes and spades, and attempted to dig him out. But it was useless. As fast as the dirt was thrown out, it settled back, and there the poor fellow stuck, without relief. Strange as it may seem, this story was believed by one-half the population, and probably some two or three hundred persons tramped many miles to witness the extraordinary miracle.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Essex County Washingtonian.

SPEECH

Of Ezra Stiles Gannet, at the late meeting of the Unitarian Association.

I am opposed for two reasons to any action on this subject.

1st. This Association was not formed for any action of this sort. If we allow Slavery to come in and disturb our meetings, we must let all other moral topics come in—and discuss every philanthropic measure which presents itself. This will not answer; for our whole time would then be occupied to the exclusion and neglect of our great object, which is to inculcate our views of Gospel truth.

2d. No good, but harm, can come from any action. I look upon such action as a private matter entirely. The Anti-Slavery agitation of the last ten years tends to put off the day of emancipation, and aggravate the sufferings of the slave.

If the result of the Association is unsatisfactory, the blame be upon those who have introduced this new element of Anti-Slavery, which we have been saved from thus far for nineteen years! But it has been said that we shall, if we don't act, be considered hostile to the Anti-Slavery movement. Suppose we are. Shall this keep us from inaction. No. Let us submit. * * * * *

If we intermeddle with a subject so foreign to our purposes, we shall be considered, and justly, as throwing ourselves into the great Anti-Slavery *mêlée*, which is got up concerning that political, moral, social (or whatever) institution.

I cannot consent to identify myself with the Anti-Slavery movement, especially at this time. Why, what is that movement? It is a movement against the institutions of civil and religious government. Last night, as I was going along to my church, I saw a placard of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention notifying its annual meeting. And what did I see in large flaming capitals on that placard; why that the DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION would be a prominent subject for discussion!

Now, I ask, are we willing to give countenance to any such movement?

Again, this movement has taken a decided turn against the American Church. Now is it for this Association to encourage such a movement? Is it desirable that the Christian Institutions of New England, under which our infancy has been sheltered, and which we trust will sooth us in our old age, is it desirable that these institutions should be defamed?

I will read from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to show what I mean. At the late meeting in New-York, that Society passed the following resolutions.

(Here Mr. G. read several of the resolutions passed at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, repudiating the American Union and the American Church.)

Now, sir, I say if this Association takes any action against Slavery, it must, of necessity, identify itself with this radical movement. If we *begin* to take Anti-Slavery action, Sir, where shall *we* stop?

Again, I think, seriously, that the spirit of denunciation at the North, is worse than sympathy with Slavery at the South. (This atrocious sentiment was loudly applauded.)

* * * * * * * * *

I do not think Slavery, is always a sin—instance case of J. G. Palfrey. * * * * *

Sir, silence is our mission, inaction the solemn duty which God has entrusted to us, and from which we must not shrink.

ABOLITIONISM.

At the recent anniversary meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New-York, the real design of that organization was distinctly set forth. Mr. Wendell Phillips, of Boston, offered a series of resolutions, declaring that the Abolition cause can make no progress until the *American Union*, and the *Churches shall be broken up*. The Abolition crusade is not so much against Slavery, as against law, and the influence of religion. The resolutions declaring that fact were received with cheers. When civil government, and ecclesiastical organization shall be destroyed, then abolitionism can make progress. What progress? When anarchy shall be spread through society; when civil and religious order shall be overthrown; one would think that abolitionism had finished its work. But the resolutions declare that then abolitionism will make progress. What progress?—*Broome Republican*.

Selections.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER

To Deacon Moses Grant, of Boston, on the Dangers threatened to the "Civil and Religious Institutions of the Commonwealth," by the progress and present advocacy of the Temperance Cause. By R. HILDRETH.

It must be apparent to every reflecting man that the clergy, and the "religious institutions of the Commonwealth," are very fast losing that hold upon the public mind which heretofore gave them in New England so omnipotent an authority. You may not have remarked it—for a change which takes place by imperceptible gradations does not so much strike those before whose eyes it goes on. But to a person returning, as I lately did, from a four years' absence in a foreign country, the change which has taken place in this Commonwealth during those four years, is most striking. I find ideas openly circulating through the community, opinions emphatically expressed, and received with applause at every public gathering, whatever its object, which only four years ago were apparently confined to a very limited number, who either kept a perfect silence, or whispered their opinions only to particular friends and chosen confidants.

The clergy once so reverenced are fast falling into contempt; and those "religious institutions" which used to be regarded as the very salt that kept society from putrefaction, are thought by multitudes of those who do not yet think it expedient as yet publicly to express that opinion, to have lost their savor, and to be good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot. Whence came this change? Is it the "disorganizers" who have made it? Is it those persons so elegantly and courteously described in the Temperance Journal as "come-outers, *alias* infidels, *alias* wolves in sheep's clothing, who have connected themselves with recent movements, especially the Washingtonian, and have taken advantage of their position upon the temperance platform to attack the institutions and ministers of religion?

If the ministers of religion, or the scribes who write in their behalf, lay any such flattering unction to their souls, they greatly deceive themselves. It is not the "disorganizers," it is not the "infidels," who have done this,—it is the clergy and the church-members themselves!

It is not a mere dead belief in the supernatural origin, or the supernatural power of a religion, that ever did or ever can give it a hold upon the popular mind; but the moral energy, the moral greatness of those who preach it, and who claim to be its priests, prophets, and professors. Christianity owed its propagation not to the idea that its founder and His principles possessed supernatural power. They were believed because they appeared to preach the truth, and gave evidence of professing a depth of thought and feeling, an energy of purpose, an exaltation of soul far above the common level; because they spoke as those having authority and not as the scribes. People believed them not because they were thought to work miracles, or to be inspired,—but seeing how much they surpassed other men in energy of soul, and loftiness of character, the people gratuitously endowed them with supernatural power. Thus Father Mathew cannot, by all his protestations, convince the Irish populace that he does not possess the power of performing supernatural cures. They see that he has moral energy, moral greatness, moral self-devotion, and it is impossible to make an ignorant and superstitious populace believe that such a man cannot work miracles.

If it is these means by which religions are propagated, it is these means, too, by which religions are sustained. It is only so long as the clergy are morally and intellectually the superiors of the rest of the community, that people can be made to believe in their divine call and appointment. It is only so long as church members show themselves to be something more than ordinary men, that the people will believe them to be anything more than ordinary men; it is only so long as "religious institutions" do really produce an admirable course of conduct, or a course of conduct thought to be admirable, that people care a fig for religious institutions.

These great truths, though not very palatable perhaps to a priesthood and a church accustomed to rely exclusively not on their own merits but on the merits of their founder, are yet demonstrated beyond all question by the whole tenor of ecclesiastical history. How many times has the Romish Church been brought to the brink of destruction by the wealth and worldly-mindedness, the luxury, the moral weakness of popes, bishops, monks, and clergy; how many times has she been saved and re-established by a revival commencing in her own bosom; by the zeal, the labors, the wonderful works of charity, the unsurpassed, the unequalled self-devotion of barefooted friars and pious women, who have vowed themselves to poverty, chastity, and incessant labor for the good of others, and who have built up the church by sacrificing themselves.

And has not the same thing happened among the Protestants? In England, a hundred years ago, the priesthood of all denominations had become little better than mere hirelings who did not live to preach, but who preached to live. Free thinking was the prevailing fashion; and religion was fast coming to be regarded by all educated and intelligent men only as a convenient humbug to keep the poor and ignorant in order. And where now would have been the influence of the clergy, or the regard for religious institutions in England, had not Wesley and Whitfield set on foot a revival, which, so far from being confined to the sects which they founded, penetrated into all the sects,—even the proud and luxurious Church of England itself—and which is equally the mother of the evangelical and the Puseyite branches into which that church is now divided? That same revival spread also to this side of the Atlantic; and it is Whitfield's labors which upholds at the present moment the New England churches. But the spirit of Whitfield has departed, and the churches are beginning to fall; and they will fall, unless there is speedily kindled in their midst a new revival. Let them read and apply to themselves the message to the church of the Laodiceans:

"I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would that thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy gold tried in the fire that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve that thou mayest see."

So long as the church remains what it now undeniably is, a mere appendix to, and instrument of the rich man, the conservative party, the would-be-aristocracy of the country, who hire the churches, pay the salaries, and own the pews—and that aristocracy a slaveholding, rumselling, grogshop-letting aristocracy—just so long the church will continue to sink in public estimation, and the disorganizers and infidels to gain ground. And do not think that this revival which the church needs is a mere revival of forms, or of puritanical austerities. The day for those things has gone by. You cannot re-establish the church by prosecutions for selling newspapers or cabbages on a Sunday, nor by declarations against theatres, ball-rooms, and breaches of the Sabbath. Religion is not to be revived by the revival of that puritanical idea, not yet quite extinct in this community, that the only lawful occupations of man are making money, going to church, and drinking grog, an idea which leaves to the people of this Commonwealth as a relaxation from their daily and weekly toils, only the choice between the religious meeting and the grog-shop—and which has done as much perhaps to diffuse and keep up habits of intemperance, as any other single cause;—for what wonder that young men take to drinking, when the bar-room is the only place of recreation to which they can resort?

It is not by the revival of these narrow notions, these harsh and antiquated austerities; it is not by ostentatious fasts, nor by family prayers; it is not by four-day's-meetings, nor by frightening young girls into hysterics by lively descriptions of hell-fire; it is not by the denunciations, the jokes, or the fooleries of your Dr. Beechers, your Parson Knapps, or your Elder Swans; nor yet by the scrupulous decorum of those more elegant ministers, who have a horror at anything like passion or excitement, who never make a mistake in grammar nor pronunciation, and whose prayers and preachments are such admirable specimens of a faultless common-place; nor yet by the dry husks of a wordy, pompous transcendentalism, at which "the sheep look up, but are not fed;" it is not by such means that the re-establishment of the church is to be accomplished. It is not any tithe of mint, or rue that can suffice in these times, to restore to the church a sweet savor; but Justice and Mercy—those weightier matters of the law.

If the ministers, the deacons, the church-members, wish to re-establish themselves in the hearts and souls of this community, they must touch hearts, they must move souls. And this is not to be done by lingering in the rear, by hanging upon the skirts, and hindering, under pretence of helping, the great humanities of the day. It was among the religious portions of the community that the Temperance movement, and the Anti-Slavery movement had their origin. It was ministers, and deacons, and church-members who ushered them into life, and nursed their infancy. But they presently outgrew the compass of clerical embraces; and it is now several years since the clergy deserted, if they did not even attempt to destroy them. That office which the clergy and the church-members had not the courage, the self-devotion, the noble energy, and enduring love to sustain, has been undertaken, and *has been performed* by others. Drunkards long given up as entirely lost, have been rescued—and by whom? By those who lately themselves were drunkards! Within ten years the ferocious prejudice against the colored races—a cruel and unjust feeling which the greater part of the clergy declared to be no prejudice, but a decree of God, and a law of nature—has been dispelled in a degree that is perfectly wonderful; and by whom? By those whom the clergy now denounce as "disorganizers" and "infidels." True miracles have been wrought in this community, unquestionable miracles of moral power; the morally dead have been restored to life, evil spirits have been cast out, the lame, the blind, the dumb, have been made to walk, to see, to speak; and the clergy, and the church-members, the high-priests, the scribes, and the pharisees of our day, have stood by and scoffed, and blasphemed, and are now ready to stigmatize and destroy those who have done these wonderful works, as hostile to the "established institutions of Church and State," "disorganizers," "come-outers," "infidels," who cast out devils by Beelzebub the Prince of devils.

Are not the laws of human nature always and everywhere the same? Is there not a moral necessity that the people should no longer ascribe supernatural gift and authority to those who, so far from performing moral wonders, only mock at, and persecute those who do? It is surprising, that men and women, in whom imagination predominates over judgment—and it is only such who ever do wonders—reading, as they have from their childhood, and taught literally to believe in, the miracles and inspirations of former ages—should be ready to think themselves too inspired, supernaturally impelled, to denounce as formalists and hypocrites all those who set themselves in array against the regeneration of society, and to drive with whips out of the temple those who have made it a market-place, and den of thieves?

This is an unbelieving age, and these enthusiasts may not succeed in founding a new religion: but if there be any truth in history, they will succeed in overturning the old one, except that old one regenerate itself, and commences to work moral miracles of its own. I do not wonder that the clergy are alarmed; I do not wonder that the churches are alarmed. They have reason; they are in danger, great danger; and it is nothing but great efforts, and great sacrifices, that can save them. If they wish to preserve the church they must be willing to cast away themselves; they must be prepared to emulate the zeal and self-sacrifice of the Franciscans and the Jesuits: they must prove their divine mission by showing their moral superiority to other men; on behalf of suffering humanity they must be prepared to give up everything, to defy poverty, pain, disgrace, and even death. Do they shrink from this proof of their call and their authority? It is they then, who are the betrayers, it is they who will be the destroyers of the church! The root of the church strikes deep, and its trunk is tall and strong; but it is sapless; it has upon it neither leaf, bud, nor blossom; and the ground in which it grows is a parched, stony desert, refreshed by no dew from heaven, softened by no genial rain. Would you make it put forth buds of promise, blossoms of faith, and fruits of works, you must dig laboriously about its roots, you must water it with your sweat and your tears,—it may be your blood;—otherwise the church continuing leafless, fruitless and uncomely, as it now is, the cry will go forth, "cut it down why cumbereth it the ground."

From the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRANCE.

An important and interesting debate in the French Chamber of Deputies has arisen out of the petitions of the artisans of Paris for the abolition of Slavery. The presentation of these petitions we have already recorded. They were, according to the usual form, referred to a committee to report a recommendation thereon; and the report was brought up on the 4th instant. The following account of the proceedings is abridged from the *Moniteur* of the following day:

M. DENIS brought up the report of the committee on the petitions of the artisans of Paris, for the immediate abolition of Slavery in the French colonies. The report, at much length, recommended that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day.

He was followed by M. DE GASPARIN, who made an animated and eloquent speech on the other side, which evidently produced a lively sensation in the Chamber.

Admiral DE MACKAU, Minister of Marine and the colonies, then rose, and, in the course of his speech, referring to the Duke of Broglie's Commission, he said: The Government have given the most serious attention to that report. They have often deliberated on it; and they are of opinion that the time is not come for proposing to the Chambers either of the schemes detailed by the Commission. At the same time, the Government are convinced that they ought to do everything possible to ameliorate the condition of the slaves—(ironical cheers from the left)—and to prepare them for entering, hereafter, on a condition of well-regulated freedom. For this end the Government have determined on carrying out the beneficial arrangements of the ordinances of January 5, 1840, and September 16, 1841, on patronage, on schools, on moral and religious education, and on the management of estates. Gentlemen, we shall proceed with firmness and constancy in this path, because we are persuaded that it is the only one which, at this moment, can lead to salutary results. The Government do not object to the petition being referred to them—(ironical cheers from the left.)

M. LEDRU ROLLIN, succeeded the Minister of Marine, in a powerful speech on the side of abolition; and after him came M. JOLLIVET, the ignoble receiver of 25,000 francs a year from the Colonists for being the advocate of Slavery.

M. GUIZOT, Minister of Foreign Affairs: Gentlemen—after this discussion there must not remain, either among ourselves, or in the colonies, any doubt as to the intentions of the King's Government. No one must be able to say that to-day the question has been thrown back, instead of advancing. (Cheers.) The King's Government are firmly resolved to effect the abolition of Slavery in the colonies. (Cheers.) The King's Government are not called upon, at present, to discuss the different modes of abolition. That which the petitions now reported on recommend, actual immediate abolition, in mass, is so impracticable that I do not believe any one in this Chamber would venture to propose it. If it were practicable, it ought to be demanded; and I myself would be the first to propose it. If the King's Government do not propose it, it is because they are convinced that, both for the colonists, for the slaves, and for the mother-country, measures must be taken in order to prepare for emancipation—to lead to it—and to insure its success. Several of these measures have already been taken; considerable progress has already been made; it is not correct to say, as has been said in this tribune, that no ground has been gained. Yes, gentlemen; in the colonies, both for the moral and religious instruction of the slaves, for the formation of family ties, for the physical welfare of the slave, for his connection with his master, already many salutary measures have been adopted; and we have found in one class of colonists, the magistrates charged with the administration of the colonies, useful assistants.

It is true that we have encountered, and that we shall always encounter, great obstacles. Who can be surprised at it? Can such a change be effected without serious resistance? With time and vigorous measures we shall overcome this opposition; partly by such measures as it may be competent to the King's Goverment to adopt, and partly by asking of you (which we shall shortly do) the necessary powers. (Cheers.)

This is what I call the preparation. It is not by doing nothing that we intend to play our part, or by waiting for the abolition of Slavery to be brought about by Providence alone. No; it is necessary that our whole strength, both at home and in the colonies, should be exerted—and exerted effectually. I have the satisfaction of informing the Chamber that much is already done, that much remains to be done; and that we shall shortly demand the powers necessary to accomplish what remains; among other things, to give to the authority of the magistrates more practical efficacy than it has at present. We hope that by such measures, earnestly and sincerely followed out, we shall arrive at an end, which is—and I repeat it aloud, that no one may doubt it—the abolition of Slavery in our colonies. And we hope, also, that if we are firmly supported by the Chambers, with the determination which we ourselves cherish, we shall reach a better conclusion than the English Government. That country has obtained an immense result; yet it leaves much to be desired; and, although no one admires more than I do the greatness of the work, and the noble spirit in which it has been accomplished, I think it important to our national welfare to avoid the errors which have been committed. We shall profit by the experience of England, and shall attain the same result—(cheers, and "question.")

M. DE TRACY: If the time were not so far advanced, I should ask leave of the Chamber to refute some of the objections, so often adduced and so often answered, in which the Minister of Marine wrapped up his dilatory propositions. As I think that in a Government there ought to be unity of sentiments in all circumstances, and, as on so important a question unanimity is indispensable, I am not afraid to say, I confess, that I have heard, with pleasure, the Minister of Foreign Affairs proclaim that the question had not retrograded. And when I recollect that hither, to this tribune, all the organs of the Government have come to declare that emancipation in our colonies was a determined question; when I recollect that the instructions sent to all the Governors—and we have had sufficient communications with them, in the colonial commission of which I had the honor of being a member, for more than two years—when, I say, all the instructions sent to the Governors and the colonial councils have implied that the measure was determined on by the Government; when it has been said to the colonists, and the colonial councils, that they had only to inquire into the best means of effecting it, it would have seemed strange to me, had it been possible to draw back from such a position.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, has told us, (and I take particular notice of his words,) that the arrangements are not altered; and, further, that in a short time, (and I beg to observe, that, as the session is far advanced, he has not much time to lose,) he will demand of the Chamber, sufficient powers, so far to mature this great measure, that no one (if I understand him) can make it void, in one or two months; but thenceforward to await the effect of certain preparatory measures which do not now exist in the colonies, although it may be said there is room for them.

I pause, then, upon this cheering and gratifying thought, that all my friends may enter into it, and that the honor of the whole Chamber may be committed to it; for, in truth, after having said in the face of Europe, and in the name of the Chamber, that this project had been irrevocably adopted, it would be incredible that, by dilatory measures, its execution should be interminably delayed.

I accept the assurance which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has just given us in the name of the Government, and I support the reference of the petition.

M. DE LA ROCHEJAQUELIN said a few words amidst cries of question. The recommendation of the committee that the Chamber should pass to the order of the day, was then put and negatived, and the petition was referred to the Government.

Communications.

REPORT OF THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

(Continued.)

CHARLES LENOX REMOND.—I do not intend, Sir, even to attempt an answer to the respected friend who has just taken his seat. My point of view is too distant from his to leave me the vantage-ground for doing so. But I feel a deep interest in the question, and the present moment is perhaps the most fitting one for the expression of my humble views. I cannot expect them to make much impression upon the many—upon the body of this nation, for whose benefit the Constitution was made; but they will meet a response from the few whom it entirely overlooks, or sees but to trample upon, and the fewer still, who identify themselves with the outcast, by occupying this position, of a dissolution of their union with Slaveholders.

It does very well for nine-tenths of the people of the United States, to speak of the awe and reverence they feel as they contemplate the Constitution, but there are those who look upon it with a very different feeling, for they are in a very different position. What is it to *them* that it talks about peace—tranquillity—domestic enjoyments—civil rights? To them it is no such union; and resting, as it does, upon all their dearest and holiest rights, I cannot but express surprise that there are so many to wonder that they, and those who feel with them, should look upon this Union as one that ought to be dissolved. Oh, Sir! look at them as they are falling, generation after generation, beneath the sway of the Union,—sinking into their ignominious graves unwept, uncared for, unprayed for, enslaved, and say what has the Union been to them that they should look upon it with filial reverence! There was McIntosh, of St. Louis. He raised his dark, fettered hand, in defence of the chastity of his wife, as it is claimed that a *white* man ought to do, and he was burned in a slow fire! What was the Union to him? What was it to Turner, of Southampton, than whom a nobler soul has never risen upon the human race in all the long line of its prophets and its heroes! The Union does not even preserve his name. *He* had no place in life under its protecting ægis—in history he is only Nat Turner, the miserable negro. Sir, *I* will never contemptuously call him *Nat* Turner, for had he been a white man, Massachusetts and Virginia would have united to glorify his name and to build his monument; and is it strange, seeing all these things, that I should feel them too, and act upon the feeling? Yet, when such thoughts as these get such imperfect utterance as I am able to give them, men say to me, "Remond! you're wild! Remond! you're mad! Remond! you're a revolutionist!" Sir, in view of all these things, ought not this whole assembly—this whole nation to be revolutionists too?

I belong to that class of persons called women's rights men; and I look upon this matter in the light of my principles on that subject. Do you not all recollect the case of the woman in Maryland, which went the round of the papers not long since? She was endeavoring to make her escape to the land of Victoria—she was pursued and overtaken, and was about to be returned to her home of whips, and chains, and fetters, and of the American Constitution:—She sprung into the Potomac, and sunk from the clutch of her pursuers. As her condition was, then, stands that of one million of American women to-day! And when she was seized, I well remember that it was pleaded in favor of her savage pursuers, that, by the provisions of the American Constitution, she must be returned!—that all their proceedings were legal!

What if the word "slave" is not in it? It does not matter to me nor mine. Slavery was in the understanding that framed it,—Slavery is in the will that administers it. If there were nothing but Liberty in it, would there be two and a half millions ground to the dust beneath it this day?

If any authority besides this fact were needed, I might cite the words of John Quincy Adams to the people of color, when we applied to him in the case of Latimer. He said his opinion should be forthcoming, *subject to the provisions of the American Constitution.*

With all my knowledge of the origin and the progress, and my experience of the present practical workings of the American Constitution, shall I be found here advocating it as a glorious means to a glorious end! No! my fellow-countrymen; I am here to register my testimony against it! Not because I do not feel how valuable it might be, were its provisions secured to the few as they are to the many:—not because I wish to claim anything more for the few than an equality of privileges—not because I am not ready to "yield everything to the Union *but* Truth—Honor—Liberty;" [*pointing to a banner inscribed with those words of Dr. Channing*]—but because (and I regret to say it) we have, as a people, yielded even these; and with such a people, I feel that I must not, as an individual, be numbered.

I have spoken of particular instances in illustration of the nullity of the Union. How is it with every colored man and woman in Boston? Can one of you plead its provisions at the South? No! It will be with you there even as it was with Nat. Turner, and the Fugitive of the Potomac. If I am wronged, I may appeal, and I may go on appealing and appealing till I am grey-headed—in vain! Go the rounds of the Union, and tell me at what tribunal the man of color can have justice? Court, Judge, Jury—all are against him; and to what is it owing? Why, as an honest Buckeye (for he was fond of calling himself so) told me in Cincinnati, "it is this everlasting yielding to Slavery," which always must take place, when Freedom yields the first step, by coming into union with it. If the Union had been formed upon the supposition that the colored man was a *man*, a man he would have been considered, whether in New Hampshire or Kentucky. But under the Union as it was, and as it is, he is kicked, stoned, insulted, enslaved, and the public sentiment that does it, falls back upon the Constitution for support, and will turn its back upon you, wherever you may be, if you deny that instrument to be obligatory as the paramount law.

I need not say how greatly I am troubled whenever a difference of opinion exists in the minds of those who love the cause of Freedom. I have tried in my own mind to make out a case for those who do not see eye to eye with us in this matter. But the more I have labored at it, the stronger becomes my conviction of duty in calling for a dissolution of the union between Freedom and Slavery. I speak after long thought, free and full discussion, and the clearest view of all the consequences and all the obstacles. I have taken all things into consideration; and in view of each and of all, I say here, as I did in New-York, that if I can only sustain the Constitution, by sustaining Slavery, then—"live or die—sink or swim—survive or perish," I give my voice for the dissolution of the Union.

MR. GARRISON.—Before I proceed, Mr. President, to the consideration of the resolution now before the Convention, I will read a notice which I have been requested to give; and the rather, because it goes far to illustrate the value of the American Union. I hold in my hand the legal documents which give to a man, born in this country, liberty to travel through the Union to collect money to buy his child. [Mr. Garrison here read the documents.]

ABIGAIL FOLSOM.—I'll pay a dollar towards it.

DR. WALTER CHANNING expressed his deep and indignant feeling at the existence of such a fact, and hoped that the Convention would take immediate measures for raising the requisite sum, pledging himself, in that case, to pay ten dollars of the amount necessary.

ABIGAIL FOLSOM.—*I'll* pay ten dollars to help this man buy his child, but not a cent to any of your committees.

MR. GARRISON.—Not only this document, but the man himself, proves the value of the American Union! Here he stands before you—a chattel! and on American soil; his back gashed with the American Stripes! He bears for the occasion, the honored and somewhat distinguished name of John Smith. I appeal to you all to say whether he does not "give the world assurance of a man," wronged as he has been by the denial of all his rights.

ABIGAIL FOLSON.—He has been wronged just as much as I have, and no more.

MR. GARRISON.—A question of so much moment as that involved in the resolutions, should be met with the utmost gravity and deliberation; not rashly or impulsively. It is a question which nearly concerns every one of you, for you are all component parts of the American people.

And what are the American people! my first charge against them is, that they are a nation of Idolaters, who know not God, neither regard the rights of man. They justify all manner of fraud and force—they sanctify all manner of knavery and outrage. They say as Pharaoh of old—"Who is the Lord that we should obey his voice to let Israel go. We know not the Lord, neither will we let Israel go." I charge, it upon them that they have exalted an idol in the place of the Lord, and that they have worshipped a false God. This idol is the American Constitution—this false God the American Union. They have made it paramount to all else in the land. A man may more safely pour contempt on the name of the Father—crucify afresh the Son—and blaspheme the Holy Ghost, than he may deny the sacredness of the American Constitution and Union. To blaspheme God is tolerated by

the American people. [illegible] tion in [illegible] tion.

[illegible] will [illegible] the effect on the minds of [illegible] will be at first [illegible] which will be followed by [illegible] at the smallness of our numbers. What folly and fanaticism, it will be said, to build a wall like this, so slight, that "if a fox do but go up upon it, it shall fall." So they said at the beginning, upon the first announcement of our principles, and so they will continue to say at every fresh application of them. But when they find the new application to be but the prelude of new victory, then we shall see them moving Heaven and Earth, (or rather all Earth and all Hell, for with Heaven they are not in alliance,) to stop our hated proceedings. Already may we see indications of their feelings, and hear the first faint whisperings of their opposition. We have made so much progress in former applications of the principles of Anti-Slavery that we could advertise our meetings, and put up our placards, without exciting a storm of popular commotion against us. But how is it with the placards announcing this New-England Convention? In walking hither from my house, (and I live at a considerable distance,) I observed that every one of them has been defaced and torn down. Why was this? It has not been so of late years, until now. It was because the placards this year ran, "No Slavery—*No Union with Slaveholders.* I hail the opposition of those whose union with slaveholders, makes them feel afresh their antagonism with abolitionists, as a token of encouragement. The religious presses, too, have taken good care to say nothing which could give the city the information that this great meeting was in session this week; though they are bitterly opposed to the new ground the American Society has taken. I place them along side of those who deface our placards.

[A voice: except "the Christian World."]

Mr. GARRISON: except "the Christian World." I have thus glanced at the effect on our enemies. I will now look at the effect on our friends. Such of them as are not quite prepared to take this ground, will consider it so bold, so daring, so calculated to deprive us of popular sympathy, so sure to cut off our chance of aid from the worshippers of the Union, that they will shrink back in alarm, even farther toward the rear than they have hitherto stood. They will in their great apprehension of mind, at the consequences which they anticipate, manifest a strong desire to find a middle or neutral ground, which no one shall object to. Some will be greatly chafed and troubled, that others go forward confidently in the light of their own convictions. I warn them in season, lest out of their ranks should come instances of desertion from the cause. This question will be to some a greater trial of their Anti-Slavery faith than anything they have yet undergone. The same thing does not try all alike, and at every advance we shall see derestions in one quarter or another. But if this position be a right position—if it be an Anti-Slavery position—then they who oppose it will but war against their own souls. If they do not go forward, they can but go back or do nothing. It may be that our ranks will be greatly thinned by our unhesitating advance, even down to Gideon's three hundred, who advanced alone with light and trumpet against opposing hosts. But truth is not made mighty by the multitude. It is strong in its own inherent power.

"Why did not we *begin* here?" it is asked. I will ask the questioner another question. Why do we not *always* strike the *last* blow *first?* Why must we ever labor to *establish* our principles before we begin to *apply* them? We had the colonization battle to fight, and it occupied us till it was won. Then we had slanders to battle down; we were amalgamationists—incendiaries—cut-throats. Then we had hostile legislation to contend with. Then we saw that the fountain-head of morals was corrupt, and that the churches must be proved to be, as they are, pro-slavery, and we have not yet finished our warfare with them. This comes in the right place, and in the right time. We have long seen it in the path. There is nothing impulsive—nothing rash, in bringing it forward here to-day. What *is* the American Union? Is it one which the tyrant delights to strengthen, and the slave contemplates with despair? Is it one which exalts the master, and degrades the bondman? Is it one which the oligarchy of the South would perpetuate, and the bleeding, suffering, oppressed people of the South would annul? Is it one, by the strength of which, the slave is held powerless in the grasp of the master, and his very soul is wrung out for the joint benefit? Then, I ask, in the name of Freedom and of Freedom's God, what have Abolitionists to do with it?

I know that Slaveholders have pretended in past times to wish a dissolution of the Union; but I know also that this was not sincere with them. You are all familiar with the prodigious excitement that was raised in Congress by the Haverhill petition. Though the question had not then come before the American Society;—though Abolitionists had not, to any great extent entertained it, yet the entire South trembled before that handwriting like Belshazzar. Now, if this American Union be one that tyrants love and kidnappers cling to, *I* want to see it destroyed: and I'll help to destroy it with all my strength. I ask if the Union be not the horror of the American slaves! (*It is! It is!*) Where are they! buried and crushed under it; and their blood streams up and pours over it. I ask if Abolitionists should be there! He who is with the slave indeed, will be with him always, even in his utter despair: he will not be hand in hand with the oppressors, making public protestations, while he suffers himself to be dragged along by them.

But if slavery were abolished, it is said, there would be no occasion to change the language of the Constitution. I care not if it were so; but I cannot help thinking that some of its language will sound strangely in the ears of a free and Republican people. "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned * * * * * * by adding to the whole number of *Free* persons, three-fifths of all *other* persons." Who are these *other* persons, who, after Slavery shall have been abolished, will *not* be free? But all this criticism of the *phraseology* of the Constitution is only sinful and laborious trifling, when the question is, what has dominion over us in *reality?*

But it is said that the framers of the Constitution only recognized Slavery *temporarily:* they really hoped, we are told, that it would cease at some time or other, which they left indefinite. I deny it. They agreed to have Slavery as long as the Constitution shall stand as it is!—and so do we, if we accept it as it is.

A friend has asked, from what quarter we can expect aid;—where our recruits are to come from? I only ask, is this my duty? If it be, that is enough. I care not whether I shall be accompanied by few or many. If I must be alone, let it be so. But I shall not be alone! I shall have God and all the truest [illegible] he has created with me? I believe this is to be a [illegible] question, unwilling as some are to have it [illegible] considered. It will not fail to show us for a season, who loves the world and its praises, and its gains and its gifts, and who loves the cause of God, and of bleeding humanity.

The Latimer case, it is claimed, has cleared Massachusetts of all responsibility for Slavery; and it was conceded that it had done so in part. In *part?* Not at all! I say it, not in the spirit of contradiction, and I only ask you to look at it, each one for himself. Is not the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg, versus Pennsylvania, still the one which decides for Massachusetts what are her responsibilities? Is she not constitutionally bound not to molest the kidnapper? are we not, every one of us, *liable* to be seized and carried to Washington as slaves by the officers of the United States, and is not Massachusetts one of those United States? One friend said that in ten years we should proclaim our absolution of Slavery as complete, if not anticipated by insurrection. Sir, I believe Massachusetts men are farther advanced than he gives them credit for. I believe they'll say it in half that time; at least such of them as are not mere pieces of dough, that submit to be moulded by the Slaveholder as it pleases him.

That friend spoke also of the construction of the Constitution with regard to the putting down of insurrections. If the slaves are things they can't rise—if they are cattle we are not bound to put them down—if they are men, they ought to be free. Because here is a paradox, shall we try to slip from under the plain meaning? Are we to wait till an insurrection, and then to leave the things and the masters to settle it? Not I for one! It is fair, it is open, and the only course that is fair and open, to deny the obligation at once, and to refuse to assume it. Slavery itself is a paradox. It is full of all deceivableness of unrighteousness, and it will not fail, by fraud and force combined, to foil those who venture into an alliance with it.

"But it is not treating the Slaveholders fairly to turn them out of the Union." *I* don't think it was right or fair to Freedom to let them in, on such terms; and the Union I am in favor of, is one which they cannot possibly, as tyrants, live under. It is claimed here that we are to promise them all that they demand of us, and then to falsify our word, and meet them with an ingenious interpretation. This is to be fraudulent and unmanly; and if it is attempted in the final resort to carry out the interpretation by force of arms, the result is civil war; and one too, in which the Slaveholder is justified.

What did the Slaveholder mean? When he said white, did he mean black, or by black, did he mean white—or did both words mean black? If we know what was meant, then I say he who interprets to suit himself, does take a dishonest course, in my judgment, and is not to be sustained in it.

But, Sir, we know what was meant by our forefathers. They were not great men in the highest, truest sense of the word. They fought *our* battles and defended *our* rights, but they were all the while Slaveholders and Slave-traffickers. Emancipation *should* have been proclaimed by their declaration throughout all the land; but we know it was not so.

"Migration and importation of persons shall not be prohibited prior to 1808." Now, how shall any one stand up here and say they did not mean the African slave-trade, and *only* the African slave-trade? I pronounce it the most bloody—the most execrable deed ever perpetrated by a people, since God said "let there be light!" First they acknowledged its existence, and then they sanctioned it for twenty long years! This was a solemn national agreement: the sacred covenant of a whole people with each other for the support of Slavery. It was from hearts that could consent to this, that the whole instrument proceeded. Talk not of the pure love of liberty which flamed up in their bosoms. There existed not a spark. When they spoke of Liberty, they thought only of being free themselves, and they thought not of the principle of universal freedom? I stand not here to traduce *them,* but to ward off from our country, the contagion of their fatal example. I know here is not a word of slave-trading, but yet I *know* they meant the slave-trade. Can any doubt it? Let me read to them what Luther Martin, of Maryland, says. [Mr. Garrison here read the extract from Mr. Martin.] You hear *his* testimony respecting the meaning and intention of our fathers. He voted against these provisions of the Constitution in the committee, and he registered his name against them in the Convention: and yet he accepted the whole at last as it is!

Why, Mr. Chairman, I don't see slavery here in words, I admit. The Devil is not here as a roaring lion; but he is here as a glistening angel to deceive the nations! and oh! thou subtle Devil! I see thee there—I feel thee there, and [*pointing with an indescribable gesture of concentrated energy, to the Constitution before him*] there will I destroy thee! (Thunders of applause.) Mr. Garrison then went through the Constitution, taking the pro-slavery provisions, clause by clause, and reading from Hamilton, Madison, and the various contemporaneous writers, who were parties in its adoption.

Some persons argue as if the Constitution were an old homily, which they might interpret as they pleased. But it is not a chapter of that kind. It is not a Bible but a bargain. I have no quarrel with those who say that it is not obligatory because it is immoral, but I say that if the other party has understood our oath to support it, as implying the support of Slavery, then we may not push aside his claim by our new interpretations. No! the honest manly course is, to acknowledge our sin, and repent of it. Why should I go through the formality of an oath with you, when I mean to act in opposition to your known understanding of it? No! down with your hellish slave-system, is all I can have to say to you.

Some people seem to think that the Constitution was framed as an exponent of the will of God. No such thing. It was established in defiance of the will of God, and the American people know no higher law; they recognize no more binding obligation. Christianity is preached throughout the Union under this paramount authority, and whatever transcends it is branded as infidelity.

"But we ought to treat the South, as the Washingtonians treat the drunkard." Am I then pleading for the exercise of a bad temper, and a bad spirit, when I plead for a dissolution of the Union? To make the analogy good, and to prove any pertinency in it as an illustration, those who point to it, should be able to prove to us that the Washingtonian is drinking with the drunkard, selling the intoxicating liquid to the drunkard, and pledging himself not to total abstinence, but to a continuance with the drunkard in his evil habits until such a time as the drunkard shall release him from the obligation. Is it hatred, is it force, is it an insane fanaticism, then, that prompts our action in these premises? No! but it is "the spirit of love, and of power, and of a sound mind." I am astonished and grieved to see Abolitionists, esteeming themselves to be such, standing up here pleading for the continuance of this infamous connection with slaveholding. In vain do they tell me, if I am drowning, what firm earth there is somewhere at the bottom of the waves. In vain do they talk to me of the protection of the King, and the sanctity of the throne, if the power behind the throne is stronger than both for my destruction. I must consent to be lacerated and imbruted, and have my every feeling outraged, and my every right denied, and then be told we've got a glorious Constitution! It is a lie! We have *not* got a glorious Constitution! Why I should like to know, how our fathers felt when their land was filled with hostile troops, about Magna Charta? Did they plead its excellence as a reason for submitting to the tyranny of the mother country? No, Sir! bad as they were, they were men of better stuff. They felt that the way to assert Liberty is, always to abjure Slavery. They cut the connection? (great applause,) and who shall say that it was not a glorious act, to come out from their oppressors! I say not now how much I deprecate the weapons of their warfare. We would fain think that we are worthy to be their descendants. But it is not true if we are in union with Slaveholders.

It is certain that we are all equally dear to the God and Father of all, and we have always been proud to think that all were equally precious in the eye of the State. Had some kidnapper carried off from old Massachusetts her Webster or her Briggs, how would she thunder forth her indignation as in the times that tried mens souls! Men would gather breathless in the highways, and at the corners of the streets. But here are her colored citizens, just as dear in the eyes of the State as they—what is to be done with them? What becomes of these mariners when they navigate our vessels to Southern ports? they are dragged to loathsome cells and dungeons, and there kept all the while the vessel lies in port, and our merchants must foot the bills, or if they are not settled, the unfortunate sufferers of the wrong must be sold into Slavery to defray them! I say the spirit that will not flame at it, is dead to Humanity and Freedom. What is next to be done? When we no longer bow ourselves to the yoke of the Union—when we say it shall no longer exist upon such terms, these wrongs will cease to be. But Massachusetts has been traitorous to her own citizens. She has betrayed those who have skins not colored like her own. Yet we are the people to talk about free-trade and sailor's rights! Again, let a colored citizen go to the ten miles square; let him dare but to go as a traveller, and he will be thrown into prison. I say let us not be any longer deceived by a sham and an imposture. We have not, in fact, a Constitution to look to—only a slaveholding oligarchy. I say down with it, and let us stand up free indeed, having cast off the chain that has so long bound us to the support of Slavery. As to the principles by which we should be governed, need I (*pointing to the banners,*) look beyond these walls, or seek for others than those which have always guided us? "Shall a republic be less true than a monarchy? Shall the free United States cradle the bondage that a king has abolished?" "The Union. We will yield all to it but Truth, Honor, and Freedom. These, never!" "Proclaim liberty through *all* the land, to *all* the inhabitants thereof." "Immediate Emancipation." "We may be defeated," but our principles never? "Great is Truth! Great is Liberty! Great is Humanity, and they must and will prevail!"

Mr. Garrison left the platform amid the strongest demonstrations of satisfaction and applause, and this second session was then closed.

Third Session.—Evening.

Mr. WM. A. WHITE.—I feel, Mr. President, the disadvantages under which I rise to advocate the amendment, in reply to my friend, Mr. Garrison; but abolitionists never stop to count these, when they feel the call of duty. We know no embarrassments when acting under such a call.

Mr. Garrison has said that the ground taken by the American Society excites general attention. He has told us that the newspapers have declined to give information of this meeting, and that the placards announcing it have been torn down.

Sir, I can tell him that the Liberty party placards have been torn down time after time, and that not by boys, but by old politicians, who have hankered to put a stop to the progress of that cause.

I do not think this new position has touched the people at all. If ever I saw a proposition fall still-born, it was that of the American Society at New-York. Hardly any notice was taken of it. Politicians indeed may rejoice at it, for it is calculated to remove their troublesome Anti-Slavery opponents out of their way. None of the religious papers, he says, have noticed it. I would have my friend Garrison to know that they did not notice it last year either, and I can tell him one good reason why. Other meetings and anniversaries take great pains to get their hours of meeting thoroughly advertised; but I happened to go into the bookseller's shop where the notice cards of the week are got out, and asked, by chance, to see one; and there I found that we had done nothing of the sort. I immediately asked to have a notice of this meeting inserted, which was readily complied with; and I have seen a great many of the men who use that card, here, in consequence.

But it was said, when Slaveholders and Freemen come in contact, the Slaveholders rule. I deny the assertion. When Slaveholders have met your bastard Freemen, who cared for nothing but self, it may have been so; but when true Freemen meet them, Slavery will be put down. It cannot, then, stand a day. This the Slaveholders feel. They know the day of its downfall is at hand, and they want to draw some line of defence.

The question of a dissolution of the Union comes before us, first as a question of right, and second as a question of measures. Prove it right, and *then,* as Davy Crockett says, we may go ahead. Is it that Constitution which supports Slavery? I tell you, my friends, it has no more power to do so than the bird that flies over our heads. It is the people, the press, the pulpit—all dumb for the last fifty years—by which Slavery is sustained, and not by that miserable blurred parchment. Try to bind down this people with that Constitution, and you will see it break as the dried leaf breaks in autumn, before the blast. We are not governed by the Constitution, but by the spirit of the people. If it were indeed such an instrument as I could not conscientiously take an oath to support, I might be affected by the arguments of my friend. But it is not so. It is but a new invention of modern times, by which we supply the place of the oath of allegiance, which was taken in old times, when we had no Constitution. That oath bound not to any and every law made in the land, nor am I bound by my oath to every tittle of the Constitution. What is its main scope? Why, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure Liberty. I am willing to take the oath to this, pass by and forget all the rest. Shall we, Mr. Garrison has asked, falsify the bond? No! I will take one consistent construction and carry it out. It has a general meaning, and that is to protect the people. I don't stand here as a very ardent defender of the Constitution, because I believe it to be but as chaff before the people; but I find good as well as bad in it; and shall I sweep both alike away? I will, on the contrary, save the good, while I reject the bad. My friend Garrison does not understand the new system of engineering. He would grade down the mountain-top to the level of his projected track; while we should tunnel it through. It will take too much time to level the whole mighty pile.

He asks if the Union be not honored by the Slaveholder. Turn to South Carolina. There, and in other parts of the South, too, they don't care a brass farthing for it. Calhoun stands as ready to nullify as himself. There's no novelty in the idea. I have heard it all my life, long before I heard it here, for I am ashamed to say I have not been all my life an Abolitionist. My friend tells me if I take an oath to the Constitution, I'm in an unhallowed alliance with Slaveholders. I ask *them* if, standing as I do beside him here, with their price of five thousand dollars upon his head, I show much unity of spirit with them? He has never had this union with Slaveholders; but the South will understand equally well where we both are. We can all let them see that, Constitution or no Constitution. Is it the written law that binds the people? No! it is the spirit that interprets the written law; and there is a spirit laboring against Slavery, which will prevail; which will assert its supremacy over that doomed institution throughout the land, as it did in Ohio, where I spoke to thousands of the people, and found their hearts responding to my own. No! it is not the Constitution that binds us to the support of Slavery. It is your bowing of the knee to party nominations, putting the Slaveholders into seats of power;—it is your clergymen walking in Whig processions, and taking the pro-slavery badge with the rest. (Tremendous applause, mingled with some hissing.) I would that sound might reach Henry Clay! I say I was shocked that two clergymen of Boston were seen doing honor to a man whose business it is to buy and sell men and women. I am glad, though, to have them do openly, what they feel inclined to do. I do not blame their honesty, but their inclinations.

This Constitution is in fact a ridiculous thing. Why should it not be treated like a piece of dough in the hands of the people? let them take it, and let it be crushed in their strong hands, till every particle claimed in support of Slavery, shall yield beneath the grasp of a free people! It is possible to free the slave under it, and while it lets me labor for the extinction of the Slave-trade between the States—for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the amendment of anything in its provisions, which is claimed by the Slaveholder, I shall not be debarred from the exercise of my rights under it.

I ask you, Mr. President, whether the dissolution of the Union must, necessarily, abolish Slavery. It will not be asserted. The mistake has been in arguing as if the Union and Slavery were identical. It exists in the Union, but it is not the only or the constituent principle of the Union. It exists, but as the ivy clings round the noble oak, and we are not, for the sake of destroying the noxious parasite, to cut down the magnificent tree.

Allusion has been made to the Slave-Trade. It is a thing of by-gone days—it is wiped from the Constitution now; and so let us go on, removing its blots, one after another, from the instrument. Let all the provisions claimed by the South be made a dead letter, as Henry A. Wise has declared they are, already, by Massachusetts. I thank God for this encouragement. Let us go on in its strength, till these provisions all stand like the negro pew of the Church at Townsend,—as monuments of departed iniquity.

Considered as a measure simply, I am convinced that Slavery can be more quickly abolished *under* the Constitution, and I am not one to take a circuitous route. It is of no use, except in metaphysics, to take out fifty or a hundred abolitionists from a field that they could quickly fertilize and subdue, and set them to pommelling the Constitution till they are tired. If we told the people the sufferings of the slave, we should secure their sympathy. Why has the temperance cause taken such a start? Is it because its advocates have attacked the Constitution under which license-laws are made? No; it is because they have shown the misery of the drunkard and his family, and have called for sympathy and aid in that behalf. Let, then, the friends of this cause go from town to town, telling the people of the sufferings of the plantation slaves, and I will assure them of hearers and helpers. Why, Sir, I have seen the women of our land shed bitter tears over some fictitious tale of distress, knowing it to be such; and will they not respond to the tale of real suffering? They will move to the rescue when they hear these things, and the way that they move, that way they always carry us.

Let us not go forward with a creed, as we did at New-York, narrowing down the platform, and driving out the friends: Mr. Garrison tells me that if that was a creed, then all the action of the American Society, from the beginning, has been a creed. Then I say, let the American Society go back and wipe out these creeds, and get on to the broad platform. My friend Garrison denies that the action of the American Society has abridged the platform, or driven away the friends. Sir, I can see no difference between what it has done, and what New Organization attempted to do in years past. My friend wishes to explain; let me first say that the course of the Society has been like that of the old woman who would not drive a mouse out of her oven. She said she'd build a fire there, and then he would be obliged to jump out.

Mr. GARRISON.—Now that that mouse is disposed of, I will, with my friend's permission, demonstrate the difference between the disposition and course of New Organizationists and Abolitionists. New Organizationists said, It is your duty to vote, because Government is divine; and if you do not believe it is, you can't belong to the Society." Abolitionists proclaim that it is a duty to abstain from voting, because we thereby become component parts of a *pro-slavery* Government; and we do *not* make it a test of membership. We do not raise the question of the divinity of human Governments. Our resolution is based solely on Anti-Slavery grounds.

Mr. W. A. WHITE.—My friend Garrison's explanation is very shrewd, but if I am driven out, I don't care whether he strikes me accidentally or on purpose. The ground taken in the resolution is non-resistant ground, for the argument carried out, would make us all non-resistants.

Mr. GARRISON.—I do not bring up the consideration of non-resistance;—I ask if it be legitimate *Anti-Slavery* ground on which we stand?

Mr. W. A. WHITE.—I have a perfect right to assert it to be non-resistant ground, for there I find William Lloyd Garrison, and the non-resistants.

I regret to find him with Slaveholders, like Calhoun, on this question of a dissolution of the Union: for why do they take that ground? Because they see that what they call the meddling spirit here at the North is up; and those shrewd, long-headed men would fain get away from the incursions it makes upon their system, by means of the facilities it receives from the Union. Let us hold fast by these advantages till our object is attained. Freedom's waves are surging higher and higher;—her floods are swelling stronger and stronger: let us turn them through and through the Union, as the Augean stable was swept by Hercules; and let the tide batter against the Constitution, till every vestige of Slavery shall be forever swept away! (Applause.)

THE ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Essex County Anti-Slavery Society held its tenth annual meeting in the Univeralist meeting-house, Methuen, commencing on Friday, June 28th, 1844, at eleven o'clock, A. M.

In the absence of the President, C. Lenox Remond, of Salem, the meeting was called to order by Wm. Jenkins, of Andover. Stephen Barker, of Methuen, was chosen President pro tem. and H. R. Nye, of Methuen, Secretary pro tem.

Remarks from Wm. Lloyd Garrison on the objects of the meeting.

Wm. L. Garrison, James Herrick, and L. W. Daggett, were chosen a business committee.

Voted, That all persons present, or who may be present during the session, be invited to take part in the proceedings of the meeting.

Adjourned to two o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—Met according to adjourment. Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the first thing for each individual to do toward abolishing slavery, is, to eradicate from his breast every vestige of prejudice against the complexion of those who are pining in bondage—to regard them as equal members of the human family—to make their distressing case one of personal application to himself, his wife, his children, his parents, and friends—and to make all other matters subordinate to the great question of liberty for the whole human family.

The President then having arrived, entered upon the duties of the chair. The resolution was discussed by the mover, and Dr. Scribner, of Lowell.

Wm. L. Garrison offered the following, which was accepted for consideration, in connection with that before the meeting:

Resolved, That the enterprise, and the friends of the enterprise, against which the chief priests, scribes, and pharisees,—the profane, the lewd, the mobocratic, the drunken, the ambitious, the proud, the revengeful,—the traders in slaves and the souls of men,—are fiercely arrayed, must receive the smile of God, and be worthy of the cordial support of all the friends of man; therefore, as the Abolitionists and their cause are treated in this manner by the classes alluded to, it is demonstrated that they are in the right, and deserving of universal applause.

A song. The discussion was continued by Joseph L. Noyes, of Georgetown, C. L. Remond, and James D. Herrick, of Methuen.

Wm. L. Garrison presented the following:

Resolved, That the course pursued by the Whig party, in delighting to honor, and to elevate to the highest office in their gift, a gambler, a duellist, a slaveholder, the author of the Missouri compromise, HENRY CLAY, proves that they are ready to sacrifice all the principles of justice, humanity, and true religion, for an imaginary good, and therefore cannot be safely trusted with the honor or the interests of the country.

Resolved, That the nomination of James K. Polk, for President of the United States, by the Democratic party, on the sole ground that he is in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas, come what may, whether the extension and perpetuity of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, whether a foreign or a civil and servile war, whether the violation of the most sacred treaties, or the ruin of the nation,—indicates a blackness and desperation of depravity, unsurpassed in the criminal history of mankind, and makes that party actively responsible for all the crimes committed by the land-stealing, swindling, piratical, refugee Texans, raises over it the bloody flag of rapine and slavery, and stains with pollution and crime every man who gives any countenance or support to the miscalled "democracy" of the United States.

Whereas, it is by the physical support given to the slave system by the American Union, that nearly three millions of people are kept securely in their chains; and whereas, the Constitution of the United States was adopted by a guilty compromise between the North and the South, involving the sacrifice of the rights and liberties of the colored population; and whereas, the land is ruled as with a rod of iron by a slaveholding oligarchy: and whereas, it is absurd and insane to suppose that bloodthirsty tyrants and true-hearted freemen can unite together in one just and equal compact; therefore,

Resolved, That the ground assumed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, that there should be "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS," that the friends of the slave should secede from the Government, and that the banner of a moral and peaceful revolution should be unfurled, as the true and final issue with the slaveholding power, is one that should be occupied by all faithful Abolitionists, not only as a matter of principle and sound expediency, but as tending mightily to hasten the downfall of the accursed slave system.

Adjourned to meet at half-past seven o'clock.

Evening Session.—Convened pursuant to adjournment.

After a song, the resolutions before the meeting at the time of adjournment were further considered by Mr. ——, of Methuen, C. L. Remond, Dr. Scribner, and W. L. Garrison. A song.

Adjourned to half-past nine o'clock, A. M.

Morning Session.—Met agreeably to adjournment.

The following were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, viz:

Addison Davis, Mercy T. Buffum, of Lynn; Ignatius Sargent, of Georgetown; Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem; and Thomas Clarke, of Andover.

James D. Herrick, Ignatius Sargent, and Dr. Scribner, were appointed a committee on finance. Singing.

Mr. Garrison read accounts relating to slavery in Cuba; after which the Corresponding Secretary, Addison Davis, presented the Tenth Annual Report of the Society. The report was accepted, and the portion referring to the dissolution of the Union was discussed in connection with the preamble and resolution upon that subject, by Scribner, Herrick, and Garrison, who offered the following:

Resolved, That as it still remains an undeniable fact, that the American churches are the "bulwarks of Slavery," they should be denied the Christian name and character, and vigorously assailed by the friends of Christianity as the most dangerous foes of God and man.

Resolved, That the manner in which the American clergy have treated the Anti-Slavery movement proves them to be, as a body, a brotherhood of thieves and adulterers.

Adjourned to two o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—Convened according to adjournment. Meeting opened by singing.

The chairman of the nominating committee reported the following list, and the persons therein named were constituted the officers for the year ensuing, viz:

For President.—CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem.

For Vice-Presidents.—Eliza J. Kenny, Salem; Nathan Webster, Haverhill; William Jenkins, Andover; Christopher Robinson, Lynn; Thomas Haskell, Gloucester; Joseph L. Noyes, Georgetown; Thomas Wooldridge, Marblehead; Larkin Woodbury, Manchester; Charles Butler, Newburyport; William Ashby, Jr. Newburyport; David Merritt, Salem; Richard Hood, Danvers; Alonzo P. Jaques, West Newbury.

Recording Secretary.—Mary P. Kenny, Salem.

Corresponding Secretary—Addison Davis, Lynn.

Treasurer.—James N. Buffum, Lynn.

Auditors.—Ignatius Sargent, Georgetown; Jonathan Buffum, Lynn; William Endicott, Danvers.

Executive Committee.—Frederick Douglass, Lynn; Abner Sanger, Danvers; Parker Richardson, Danvers; Henry Clapp, Jr. Lynn; Jesse Hutchinson, Jr. Lynn; Mary F. Jenkins, Andover.

The annual report, preamble, and resolution, touching the dissolution of the Union, were then discussed by C. L. Remond, Garrison, Jenkins, and Davis, in favor, and Nye, and Herrick, in opposition.

Adjourned to half-past seven o'clock, P. M.

Evening Session.—Met pursuant to adjournment. Meeting opened with singing.

Voted, That a committee of two be appointed to ascertain if any house may be procured for the use of this Society on the morrow.

J. D. Herrick, and James G. Boynton, of Haverhill, were appointed said committee.

The subject under consideration at time of adjournment was further considered by Remond and Davis in favor, and Nye in opposition.

Voted, That all persons present, whether members of the Society, or otherwise, be invited to vote upon this question, and that the sense of the Society be afterwards called for.

The question was then put, and negatived.

Voted, That the subject lay over for further consideration to the next meeting of the Society.

Addison Davis offered the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented the committee of this house for the use of the same on this occasion.

Voted, That the time and place for the next meeting of this Society be referred to the Board for decision.

Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the Anti-Slavery papers for publication. A song. Adjourned *sine die.*

C. LENOX REMOND, *President.*

MARY P. KENNY, *Secretary.*

MOSES AND JESUS CHRIST ON SLAVERY.

The scriptures are still perverted to sanction American Slavery! The Jewish law, it is said, recognized Slavery, and Jesus Christ said nothing against it. Why do not those who go back to the old Jewish dispensation to uphold American oppression, put in practice some such injunctions as the following, found in the Mosaic laws, viz:—"Ye shall have one manner of law as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country." "Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant who hath escaped from his master to thee." "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants."

But although we do not admit that such bondage as American Slavery was sanctioned by the Mosaic laws, still, if it was, we are now under the teachings of a greater than Moses: Jesus Christ is the great expounder of truth: Him shall ye hear.

But it is affirmed that Jesus Christ said nothing against Slavery. How can this be proved? Admitting, (what we do not believe,) that there is nothing in the "New Testament" scriptures against Slavery; what would it amount to? Does that book contain all that Jesus *said?* In the book of John, we are given to understand that not *all* that Jesus did was *written.* It is said by the writer of that book, "If they [the things which Jesus did] should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that would be written." It cannot be affirmed, then, that Jesus Christ said nothing against Slavery, because not all of his sayings are written. Here is where many err, in supposing that all Christ's will is written on the perishable paper of our "Testaments." It is Christ within us, the spirit of truth, that guides into *all* the truth. *The* New Testament is written, not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not on tables of stone, but on fleshly tables of the heart. Does this spirit bear witness that Slavery is right? Has it not rather come a swift witness, not only against those that oppress the hireling (whether white or black) in wages, the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from right, but also against all sinners. Let none then wonder at the breaking up of the professedly Christian Churches, and Governments of blood and oppression; for "who may abide the day of His coming? and who shall stand when He appeareth? for He is like a refiner's fire." The "*tests*" of the gold and silver are being applied, and the dross purged out.—S.

The following document has been forwarded to me for publication in the Standard. It is with some reluctance that I comply with the request of the writer, but having no right to withhold it, I now hand it to the Editor for that purpose. I always feel regret when I hear of any of my friends relinquishing their right of membership in the Society of Friends, believing they could be of more service by remaining in it; and it weakens the hands of the sincere-hearted who cannot conscientiously adopt the same course. The causes which have operated to bring about this event, in this case, have arisen through the same individual that has caused such melancholy effects in this city and in Indiana Yearly Meeting. Very many now consider the right of membership in the Society of very little account. The unjust and arbitrary proceeding of the monthly meeting in this city and elsewhere have loosened the affections of hundreds, who were once much attached to it. Within a short period, six persons have resigned their membership in the monthly meeting, one of whom, was, a few years ago, recommended as a minister, and was in that station when he relinquished his connection with the Society.—I. T. H.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Having had a birthright in the Society of Friends, and strictly adhered to its rules, I wish the world to know why I have severed that connection, and placed myself on that platform, which is as *broad* as the universe—where all that bears the impress of Jehovah may stand erect in the dignity of *man.* I read the subjoined reasons in the Monthly meeting, and furnished it with a copy thereof. It appointed a committee to visit me, as I understood, "*in love—to see what she does mean.*" But when they came, lo! the *love* was manifest only by acting as inquisitors; not a word was said like trying to convince me I was in error, or that I had taken a wrong view of things. I gave them to understand that I did not acknowledge their authority; that by that act I had entirely dissolved all connection with the Meeting, and did not consider it had anything more to do with me than if I had never been a member. And whatever action might be taken in the case would only be usurpation; except minuting my article which, however, was entirely optional with the meeting. Though it appointed a committee to visit me, it had not the moral courage to enter my reasons upon its records either briefly or at length. As regards myself that is a matter of no importance; but it adds another to the many evidences that justice has fled from those organizations which have turned a deaf ear to the cry of *Humanity.*

To Shortcreek, Monthly Meeting of (Hicksite.) Friends.*

From all my early impressions of Friends, I was naturally and unavoidably led, when my feelings first became enlisted in the cause of the crushed and bleeding slave, to look upon it as a matter of course, that *they* would come up to his rescue, one and all, without turning to the right hand or the left. When I found such was not the case, I stood aghast, unwilling to believe the fact; still thinking the heart was right, and when the judgment became more enlightened, their whole energies would be enlisted in his behalf, and promptly exerted for his deliverance, in which I stood ready, and waiting to join them heart and hand; but I waited in vain.

As time rolled on, developing their true position, to my unspeakable grief and astonishment, it found their energies directed against those, who, for the sake of the slave, were willing to become of no reputation, consequently they had none to devote to *his* redemption. They refused, to "cry aloud and spare not—to lift up their voice like a trumpet;" except to denounce and condemn those who, like the good Samaritan, are trying to "relieve the oppressed, to bind up the broken-hearted," while they, like the Priest and Levite, pass by on the other side utterly, regardless of the groans and cries of millions of our brethren and sisters in bonds. It also proved them recreant to their professed principles of Peace, aiding and abetting, supporting and sustaining a Government cemented with human gore, upheld by the sword, and enforced at the point of the bayonet. Still, unwilling to believe such was, the real position of the Society which had been my idol, and from the deep reverence I bore it, and the intense and ever-burning desire that its mighty influence might be peacefully exerted in favor of human life—Liberty, and every other subject which related to the happiness of man—believing that influence, if rightly directed, sufficient to make the citadel of blood and oppression reel and rock to its very centre. Knowing there can be no neutral ground, that they who are not *for,* are *against,* I have been induced, again and again to become a fool in your eyes, by bringing these subjects (human life and liberty,) before our Meetings, hoping my feeble influence might do something to arouse them from their slumbers, and induce them to consider the claims of suffering, outraged, and worse than brutalized humanity, and apply to it the "golden rule," and if not, that I might wash my hands from all participation in the guilt. But they have been treated with silent contempt, or manifest hostility, save by a *few noble spirits.*

It is evident the Society has forsaken first principles—that it has fallen from its once elevated and commanding position, when it was foremost in each deed of mercy and benevolence—each work of philanthropy; that its original design is perverted; that it is crushing out and blunting those finer feelings and sensibilities of the human soul which should be continually cultivated, and which it was instituted to foster and improve; that it dries up the sympathies—narrows up the heart within the confines of its idol, the sect, and prevents it from gushing out in generous and loving emotions toward all mankind. They join with the world for mercenary and selfish purposes; strike hands with thieves, robbers, adulterers, and those who sell the image of God to get gain; (witness the campaign of 1840, &c.); while they dissuade from remembering "those in bonds as bound with them," by the cry of "*peace,*" when God hath not spoken peace; "keep in the quiet;" keep out of the mixture," and cut off and close their meeting-houses against those who would "relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." While such is their position, I am persuaded that a great part of their meeting-going is as offensive to Him, who is all righteousness, as were the burnt-offerings and sacrifices of the Jews. "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord." "When you come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand." "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moon and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting."

Not wishing to do the least injustice to the Society which has possessed so large a share of my affections, and which it might still *have* retained by a firm and unwavering advocacy of Human Rights, I have pictured the lorn and stricken slave sitting in our Meetings, and could there find little or nothing to make his heart *leap for joy.* On the other hand, were the soul-driver to find his way into their midst, he would there meet no rebuke, no remonstrance, or entreaty to strike conviction to his guilty conscience; but much to *cheer him on* in the perpetration of his vile deeds, in the continued and determined apathy and indifference to the wrongs of the slave, not to say an occasional opposition to *the bare presentation of his claims.*

I have long had it under consideration, and believe the time has now fully come, that I should "come out from among them," "and be separate, that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." *I therefore disown Shortcreek Monthly Meeting,* disclaiming all further connection therewith as an organized body. And request that this act, with my reasons for it, be placed upon its records.

ELIZABETH ROBINSON.

9th month, 21st, 1843.

I call upon the advocates of the slave, of every denomination, to examine well the ground on which they stand; can you be *true to his cause* while clinging to these rotten barks in the vain hope of reforming them; for vain it is—while lending the weight of your influence to support the "Bulwarks of Slavery," those synagogues of Satan, falsely called Churches of Christ. If they continue to crush in the dust, with the iron heel of authority, this holy cause, and every other which has for its object the redemption of mankind, let their existence be prolonged without your aid. By all the love you bear for imbruted, down-trodden, and oppressed humanity, come out from among them, though it should be like plucking out the right eye, or cutting off the right hand.

Cast your eyes around you, and observe how many who, in the morn of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, with feelings warmed, and sympathies awakened, enlisted under its banner, possessing genuine philanthropy enough to have carried them to the end of the warfare; but being bound hand and foot by the tramels of sect, the place in the Anti-Slavery reform which once knew them, now knows them no more. Though most of you may possess sufficient firmness and energy of character, not to be swallowed up in the vortex of sect, yet, while sustaining organizations which thus sacrifice the Anti-Slavery life of

* HICKSITE is a name given to Friends as a term of reproach, Friends, and Orthodox Friends, sufficiently distinguishes the two societies. J. T. H.

its victims, are you not, necessarily and unavoidably, shorn of a part of your strength. Judge ye. E. R.

MOUNT PLEASANT, Jefferson co., O.,
5th month, 25th 1844.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1844.



TESTS.

A Test is generally an odious thing. And justly so, when it is intended to exclude any one from privileges and advantages for opinion's sake. Being thus generally odious, an undue degree of sensitiveness sometimes leads men to see tests where no such thing exists. Ever since the Anti-Slavery movement commenced, men have thought they discerned tests in almost every step its organized bodies have taken. This has sometimes sprung from a genuine, if not a wise jealousy for freedom of thought and action, and sometimes from a spirit of disaffection and malignancy. The latest test which has been detected in Anti-Slavery action, was the position assumed by the American Society at its last annual meeting with regard to the Union. That action has been pronounced by those who disapproved of it to be *a test*. Is it one or not?

When men apply opprobrious epithets to the conduct of others they should be very clear in their definition of terms, and make it very plain that they are rightfully applied. I apprehend that many make use of the word "*test*," to describe a thing they do not like, without considering what a test is. Now, what is a test? It is not the simple expression of opinion. Not even if the practical effect of that expression should be to exclude certain persons from co-operation with those who utter it. Every man and every body of men, have a right to express their opinions, whatever may be the consequences. I have no right to refuse to receive the assistance of a man in any work of humanity in which I am engaged, because his opinions differ from mine; but I have a perfect right to express my opinions of his character and of his method. I have no right to refuse to allow a man to go with me to put out a fire, unless he will assent to certain doctrines, but I have a perfect right to express my opinion that his mode of action is likely to do more harm than good, and to recommend my own. So in case of a man whose honesty I have good reason to doubt. I have a perfect right to express my opinion of his character and real designs, and to say that I believe (I being responsible for the sufficiency of the grounds of my opinion) that his object is not to put out the fire, but to pick the pockets of the firemen, or to plunder the burning house. The expression of these opinions is not the imposition of a test—even though the effect should be to drive the man away in either case. What is the right and duty of an individual is the right and duty of an organized body of individuals, combined for the accomplishment of some good end. It is the right and duty of the one as of the other freely to express their opinions on all subjects connected with their common purpose. And they who differ from them have no reason to complain as long as their equal right to the utterance of opposite opinions is fully recognized.

A Test is a doctrine, or set of doctrines, assent to which is indispensable to admission to certain privileges and advantages possessed by those who impose it. The American Anti-Slavery Society is a body of individuals united together for the extinction of American Slavery. At its formation no test was adopted—unless the exclusion of Slaveholders may be considered such. It has never since adopted any test of membership. Every person in the world, not a slaveholder, may freely join it—no one being entitled to decide on his fitness but himself. The object of the Society is to abolish Slavery by the use of such means as seem to it best adapted to the end. To ascertain these its members meet at stated times and interchange their opinions. Those measures which seem to the majority of the Society to be the most effectual constitute, for the time being, the policy of the Society. Those who disapprove of these measures are not expelled from the Society by their adoption, but remain in full standing and with the perfect right of changing the policy they disapprove by fair argument. It is hard to conceive how men can act together on any other terms, or how any mode of doing business more perfectly liberal and fair could be devised. Now this is all that the American Anti-Slavery Society has ever done. It has declared its aggregate opinion that such and such courses of conduct were not consistent with Anti-Slavery duty; it has never declared that those who do not agree with the majority should not belong to it. They have said that, in their opinion, an Abolitionist could not consistently sustain a *pro-slavery* church or minister. But if a man does not see with the Society, but thinks he can do one or both of these things, and can endure the testimony of the Society, he is a member in full fellowship. They have said that in their opinion, an Abolitionist could not consistently act with either of the three political parties, as long as they maintain their present position towards the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But if Mr. Child sees his way clear to vote for Mr. Clay, or Mr. Walker to vote for Mr. Polk, or Mr. Bradburn to vote for Mr. Birney, and they are so fully persuaded in their own minds that the censures of their Anti-Slavery brethren fall harmless upon them, they are as fully members of the Society as those who differ from them. So with regard to the Dissolution Question. The majority of the Society have pronounced their opinion that an Abolitionist could not consistently take office or vote under the existing Slaveholding Constitution. Those who differ from the majority have not their rights of membership affected. If they think that they can consistently act under the Constitution they are at perfect liberty to do so, and still to remain members of the Society in full standing. Therefore this measure of the Society is no TEST any more than any former measure. It is the expression of the present opinion of the majority of its members at its Annual Meeting. It had no design, and no rational tendency, to infringe upon the rights of the minority. It is a morbid sensitiveness that suspects any such design or tendency,

It is the privilege of minorities to be captious. But minorities should remember that majorities have rights as well as themselves. They may be well allowed to be annoyed that their own opinions do not prevail, but they should not allow the vexation of their disappointment to make them forgetful of the respect due to the right of opinion in others. Because the majority of the Society thought that it could not honestly refrain from expressing their conscientious belief as to the duty of Abolitionists touching the Constitution, one would think, from some things that have been said, that they had been guilty of some high-handed act of despotism, and had ostracised, if not exterminated the minority. This simple act has been described as "intolerant," "presumptuous," "proscriptive," "a creed," "a test," "an annulling of the constitution of the Society," "a narrowing of the platform," "assuming to be an ecclesiastical tribunal," "an attack on the conscientious convictions of the minority," "meriting the same censure as the New Organization of 1840," "an exclusion from the Society of all but non-resistants," &c. &c. &c. "These be bitter words," my masters. What would the minority say, should the majority retort all these epithets upon them? And could they not with equal propriety? The fact that an opinion is expressed by a great majority, certainly does not prove it to be true—neither does it prove it to be false. And if a difference of opinion (admitted to be an honest one) justifies the use of such language on the part of the few, it surely does on that of the many. I make these animadversions upon the tone of the minority on this subject, because I believe it to have been, in general, unintentionally offensive; and because those who have used it are, with perhaps an exception or two, good and true men, without the least spice of new organization in their composition. Such men will take these remarks in good part.

A curious illustration of this whole matter was afforded by the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society at its last Annual Meeting. A proposition was introduced to dissolve its connection with the American Society on account of the action relative to the Union. This proposition was negatived, and a resolution protesting against the sentiments then expressed "because they appear to be issued as tests of Abolitionism, and as they narrow the platform," was finally passed. However much we may regret that our Ohio friends do not see eye to eye with us in this matter, still we have no complaint to make of their expressing their opinion in the premises, unfounded and erroneous as it is. But scarcely had the Society thus given utterance to its horror of tests, than with singular inconsistency it proceeded to do the very thing, in regard to another matter, which it had just censured in the American Society.

"On motion of James C. Marshall the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That no excuse but pure necessity can any longer absolve Abolitionists from their moral obligation, to abstain from the use of slave-grown productions!"

This action of the Ohio Society with regard to slave-grown productions is precisely analagous to that of the American Society with regard to acting under the Constitution. It expressed its aggregate opinion that the use of slave-grown productions is inconsistent with the highest Anti-Slavery fidelity. The American Society did the same with regard to swearing to support Slavery under the Constitution either in person or by proxy. If the latter action was a *test* so is the former. If the members of the American Society who dissent from the opinion of the majority, have reason to feel aggrieved at its utterance, so have the members of the Ohio Society who differ from the body on the free produce question.

It is well known that a wide diversity of opinion prevails among Abolitionists as to the use of slave-grown productions. In New England, and, I believe, in New-York, the great mass of Abolitionists do not regard abstinence from them to be duty. In those regions certainly not one abolitionist in a hundred, probably not one in five hundred, would assent to the doctrine of the Ohio resolution. In Pennsylvania and the Western States a greater proportion of Abolitionists would agree in sentiment with it. Now, suppose that at the next Annual Meeting of the American Society, there should be found a large majority, say three to one, that should express the opinion of the Ohio Society, and declare it to be the moral duty of every Abolitionist to abstain from slave-grown productions, should embody this opinion in resolutions and enforce it in an address, would the Ohio friends regard this as *a test* of Abolitionism, a narrowing of the platform, and as meriting the same censure as the New Organization movement of 1840? And yet it would stand in precisely the same condemnation, as the action of the American Society, which it has condemned. And should the minority protest against its action as a test, and a creed, as intolerant, presumptuous, and proscriptive, and if it should be proposed to discontinue the auxiliaryship of the Massachusetts Society on this account, would they not think it passing strange? But it would be no more strange than what they and others before them, have said and done, or proposed to do. The supposed case is, in principle, precisely parallel to the actual one.

"*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*"
"Change but the name, the tale is told of thee."

Perhaps it would not be difficult to apply most of the arguments and objections urged against the Disunion resolutions to the supposed case. The free produce question might be shown by the minority to be unconstitutional, proscriptive, and impracticable, much as the disunion question has been shown to be such. Indeed, the fearful extremities to which conscientious Abolitionists must be reduced by the faithful carrying out of their free principles, might be set forth by the minority in much the same startling array that has been conjured up before the affrighted eyes of the Disunionists, by those who still swear by the Constitution. It might be shown that they had shut themselves out from all the pleasures of going to law, if the records of the Court were kept on cotton paper, or the Judge used slave-grown sugar, or the jury wore cotton shirts. They could not use bank notes, if cotton entered into the composition of the paper, nor even gold, unless it were proved not to have come from the Brazils or North Carolina, nor to have been coined at New Orleans or at Milledgeville. They could not pay taxes, because they would go to sustain a Slaveholding Government; nor use the Post Office, because it extends its ramifications throughout the South, and because it is on some routes carried by slaves. They would not use railways, nor indeed common roads, because they are used for the transportation of slave produce. For the same reason, they could not embark on the ocean, the highway of nations; nor, indeed, in strict fidelity to their principles, breathe the free and general air of Heaven, because it sustains both slaves and slaveholders. These and other deductions, enough to puzzle the proverbial astuteness even of a Philadelphia Lawyer, might be drawn from the free produce principle, with as much ingenuity and pertinency as some that have been inferred from the Disunion resolutions. I hope, however, that the friends of free produce will not be alarmed by this probable artillery of ratiocination, but will possess their souls in patience, and do what their hands find to do, even as their Disunion brethren endeavor to do.

As to the matter of *a test*, the American Society has never adopted one (unless it be the provision excluding slaveholders, which I for one, should be glad to see abolished,) and until its character is entirely changed, it never will. That its action with respect to acting under the Constitution was a test, or anything like one, is a mere chimera. It was action that bound those that took it, and none other. It created no new obligations, even for them. It was merely the statement of obligations already existing. It was not designed, nor could it reasonably have the effect, to exclude a single individual from the Society. It was the necessary, usual, and parliamentary disposition of a great topic which came up in its natural order for consideration. There is nothing in the Constitution of the Society to forbid its consideration and decision. The Society could not avoid considering it, when it came fairly before it; nor could the majority avoid expressing the opinion about it that they did—simply because it *was* their opinion. There was nothing new in the manner in which this question was discussed, nor in the form in which it was settled. The minority had no more reason to complain in this instance, than in every other case on which there was not an entire unanimity of opinion. The platform is as open to them now as it ever was, and they are free to use it, to bring the Society round to their way of thinking. I am convinced that a little reflection will convince them, that the attempt to excite prejudice against the organization that is the chief earthly hope of the slave, by the cry of "a creed," "a test," is not justified by facts, and, therefore, unworthy of intelligent and single-hearted Abolitionists.—Q.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY.

Believing, as I have since a tour in the Western States, during the last Fall, that Liberty Party there is characterized by a different spirit, as it grew out of different motives, from that in New England, and New-York, it would cause me no little pain to be compelled to change that opinion. I shall be very reluctant to believe, too, that the Anti-Slavery of that country is to be narrowed down to mere political partisanship, and to become so merged in the Liberty Party, as to be entirely lost sight of as a distinct and separate existence. I make this distinction between the two,—which does not exist in Eastern Third Party people,—because taught to do so, by the Western people themselves.

I have been anxious always, and careful in condemning the bigoted and sectarian spirit of Liberty Party here, not to identify it with that of the West. To make such a distinction, I know, and have always felt to be very difficult, for a party, after all, is to be known by its leaders, who stand for all practical purposes for the *party itself*. We should not think of exempting the Whigs of Massachusetts from the guilt of those in Kentucky, when both supported Henry Clay for President, believing such support to be wrong in the latter. But knowing from personal observation and acquaintance with the men, that the members of Liberty Party in Ohio and Indiana, and Western Pennsylvania, were actuated by no sinister motives, in supporting that party, and that they were governed by nothing but the wish to carry their Anti-Slavery principles to the polls, and a strong and sincere desire to act truly in that relation to the slave, I have felt that it would be unjust to place them in the same category of condemnation with men, who, under the pretence of friendship and sympathy for the slave's cause, I have found to be its most deadly foes.

Supposing that there could be any true political action under the existing Constitution of the United States, for Abolitionists, there are certain reasons which would make the establishment of a separate political organization, expedient in the West, which do not exist with us. There too, the party was looked upon simply as a political organization, wherein men who chose to do so, should act politically for the cause of the slave; but who did not consider themselves entitled not to act at all, or to act falsely in every other, and higher relations, only because they were true, or pretended to be, in this. The great hope of the slave was held to be, after all, in the moral movement for his redemption, and this was made with them as with us, the *primum mobile* of the cause, while the other was only held as a subsidiary engine, essential it is true, as they thought, so far as it went, but still of minor importance. Here, then, were the great points of difference between Liberty Party in the West, and Liberty Party in the East. In the one, both the rank and file, with only exceptions enough to prove the general rule, were sincere and true in their Anti-Slavery political effort; while in the other it originated in hostility to the Parent Society,—to the true demands of the cause itself, which, like another Judas, it would betray with a kiss.

I have thought that the Western Abolitionists were as a whole, very much more in unison with the "old organizationists," of the Atlantic States, than with the new, and that whenever the spirit which caused division among us, should show itself among them, it would be at once discovered, under whatever garb it might appear, and be at once denounced. They were, it is true, overreached by the Priests and Pharisees, when the present State Society was declared to be no longer auxiliary to the American, but as "new organization" action stopped there, in Ohio, and has never by any overt act displayed itself in Indiana, I for one have hoped that they would before long see the error of their position as a Liberty Party, and especially as in fellowship with that party here, the offspring of "new organization." While in the West, and on my return home, I was anxious to contribute my feeble efforts to bring about a better understanding between those here, and there, who, I firmly believed, were identical in spirit, though opposed to each other by position. Friends of longer experience, and I fear I may have to acknowledge, of deeper insight, have all along prophecied the failure of any such efforts; and the possibility of any action by which the honest in Liberty Party here and there, could be taken out of the general category of condemnation, without a compromise of principle on our part, I have months ago ceased to hope for. My disappointment, however, will be none the less for this, if the signs which I fear I see now in Ohio, shall prove true signs. I allude of course to the late proceedings of the Ohio American, and the Ohio State Societies, and the course of the Philanthropist.

The Ohio American Society at its late Anniversary made an effort to break up the existing connection between the Parent Society and itself, and passed a resolution condemnatory of the Dissolution movement. Of the last, nobody will complain; but as far off as Boston and New-York, where it can be indulged in with impunity, men will enjoy a laugh at the somewhat ridiculous position in which our good friends have placed themselves by declaring at the same time, that no true Abolitionist, can wear slave-grown cotton, or use slave-grown sugar!—a position liable to precisely the same objection as that urged against the resolution of the American Society. But the movement for a dissolution of the Societies is very much to be regretted, though it resulted in nothing more than the aforesaid protesting Resolution, and regretted, not because any great injury would thereby accrue to the American Society, but because it is doing exactly the thing which it protests against. We stand now on the same ground, and under a common Constitution; but, say the disorganizers, you there at the East have taken upon yourselves a certain duty, declaring that you *believe* the same duty to belong to all Abolitionists, and, therefore, we proscribe you, and will, so far as we can, read you out of the Church! *We* are the true Orthodox disciples, and *you* the heretics! *We* do not recognize *you* as "in good standing." *We* cannot longer act with *you* for the common object! Has the American Society ever pretended to do this? Has she ever said to the Ohio Abolitionists, or even to the New Organizationists here, you shall not be received as members? Which—I submit it to the good sense of my friend Cyrus McNeely, and his coadjutors—which party would be most liable to the charge of establishing a new test, the American Society, whose members have declared, in no matter how strong terms, their sense of duty, touching the Constitution of the American Society, or the Ohio American, in declaring that she will have no fellowship with those holding to, and expressing such opinions? If it were a test—which it is not—to say that we ought to dissolve the Union, it is certainly a much stricter one to say, you *shan't* be auxiliary to a Society which wants to dissolve it. For this the majority of the Ohio American would say to the minority, if the resolutions referred to had been passed. I hail it, however, as a good sign, also, that this disorganizing movement was unsuccessful, for its inevitable result I doubt not would be the destruction of the Ohio American Society.

Many good men in the East have lost their Anti-Slavery usefulness and energy, by their connection with the Third Party. And putting out of the question any other objections which exist against this party, this seems to be the almost necessary result of any connection with partisan politics. Such it has been here, and such it is getting to be at the West. The Ohio State Society, at its late Anniversary, entertained the proposition to dissolve the Society, and use all the funds that may be raised to building up the Liberty Party. Dr. Brisbane was the head of this movement. Fortunately it was successfully opposed, and I cannot but hope that the mad and suicidal effect of such a cause is seen by some of our friends. True, considering the relation which this body has maintained towards the old organized Abolitionists here, not much is to be hoped from it. But it contains many good men, and they, it is to be hoped, will maintain their integrity, and oppose, as they love the cause of the slave, any such attempt to sink it into a mere political scramble.

The Philanthropist in some late number complains of the unfairness with which its party is treated by the Whigs and Democrats, and endeavors at the same time, to create a prejudice against the old organizationists, or, as it pleases to call them, "a small party in and about Boston and New-York." Relying apparently on the lying and blackguard reports from this very partisan press of which it complains—and whose evidence it would hardly take as to whether a constable in a town election had one or two Liberty votes,—by implication and innuendo, the Philanthropist, in the very article referred to, and where it assumes an air of immaculate purity, repeats the base slanders, with which we are assailed here. This is something more than occasional unfairness,—it is deliberate injustice, to use no harsher term. It would be pleasant to indulge, in such a case, in the hope of a mistake, but this does not seem possible, without changing the charge from that of intentional misrepresentation, to one of the most blundering stupidity. It is difficult to conceive, I grant, that a man can, smarting under the injustice of others, make that very injustice the occasion of committing a greater one on a third party, but it is still less easy to believe that a man could commit such an act without knowing it, that is if we suppose him to be gifted with a common share of intelligence.

I know there are some, I hope there are many, of the Ohio Abolitionists, who are on their guard against these various movements to produce misunderstanding and alienation between the West and the East, and the attempts,—which if successful must be by the sacrifice of the morality and integrity of the cause itself,—to turn its whole power and influence into a political channel. The result of the movements in the two Societies, assure us that there are many faithful, and watchful, and true men among them. The Philanthropist will do well to learn in season, that the respect and esteem of all those whose respect and esteem is worth having, may not be gained by misrepresentations of Eastern Anti-Slavery, and captious appeals to the prejudices of those whose means of knowing its character are limited. At least I beg of Dr. Bailey not to so far insult the intelligence of his readers as to suppose that the thin veil of apparent candour is not easily penetrated by which he attempts to cover up, what I had hoped he did not possess, the hostility to old organized Anti-Slavery, and its measures, which characterizes the contemptible, and bigoted spirit of "New Organization" with us.—O.

REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE.

The Philadelphia riots are over, with some killed and wounded on both sides. They ended in a fight between the military and the mob, who claimed, in fact, that they were no mob, but the sovereign people assembled both in their legislative and executive capacity, to shoot down those who, under the old-fashioned, and stupid idea, that there is such a thing as a legal and constituted authority, had been called upon to see that authority enforced. "Things have come to a pretty pass," said a man once, "and this is a mighty free country, where a man can't *wallop* his own *nigger*." The Philadelphians seem to have adopted this philosophy, and claim, as a free people, the right to burn churches, and shoot down foreigners whenever the humor seizes them to do so, and to make war upon the powers that assert the majesty of the laws, and interfere with their favorite pastime.

A fitting time was chosen for this assertion of popular liberty. It was a proper decennial celebration—premature only by a day or two—of the New-York Anti-Slavery riots, which occurred on the 12th of July, 1834. By the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, our neighbors improved upon the example set them here, and in Boston a year later, and were, therefore, entitled to the glory of thus properly commemorating that glorious event in the history of this country, and of proving to a demonstration our rapid advance in the knowledge of popular rights, and our aptitude in making a new application of true principles to new circumstances. Ten years ago, the New-Yorkers demolished the inside of one Church, and carried two others by assault. They have improved decidedly, on the whole, on this, in Philadelphia in ten short years. The Western people, too, are not a whit behind their Eastern brethren, in "the march of mind," and in the murder of Joe Smith and his brother, have made a decided advance on the murder of Lovejoy. But the good public everywhere is very lachrymose at the existing state of things. Do they remember what was the influence of this same public ten year ago?

"The thorns they reap,
Are of the tree they planted; they pierce them and they bleed.
They should have better known what fruit would spring from such a seed."

THE HERALD OF FREEDOM.

The Herald is out again, and I greet its appearance editorially and individually. Reading newspapers isn't the pleasure to me now, that it was before it became an employment; but the Herald is still one of the few that I read, and not merely glance at. I remember enough too of my own feeling when the Liberator, Herald, and Standard, were weekly welcomed, to realize the pleasure with which others will greet the return of this member of the Trinity.

My friend Rogers "*thinks*" he sees the Standard where it ought to be,—somewhere within sight of the Herald and Liberator,—in the fore-front of the battle. I hope it is only because the smoke and dust lie very heavy there in the *thick* of the fight, that he seems not quite sure whether it be our banner or not. We won't ask you to turn your head, brother, to see if we are behind you, and I don't expect you will see us in front of where you are. But if you "think" you can't discover us some where in the line, pass the word, and the "three hands" will bear the Standard higher and farther onward, if they can; and if the fate of the Horatii await us, the last one shall pretend even no flight to conquer.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

We publish in this week's paper the notices for the meetings to be held at Concord and Hingham on the anniversary of Emancipation in the West Indies. Mr. Emerson is to deliver the address at the former place, but who is to be at Hingham? The Philadelphians are making preparations for a great meeting at Norristown; and the colored people of this city intend, also, I understand, to celebrate the day, and are to be addressed by the Rev. Mr. Pennington, of Hartford, and Theodore D. Weld.

THE FLOOD AT THE WEST.

On the 3d instant, the Mississippi, at St. Louis, continued to fall slowly. The Missouri had fallen about six feet, and the other streams in that region were rapidly shrinking to their usual dimensions. The destruction of life and property, however, has been immense; Kaskaskia, the oldest town in the West, has been destroyed, and many smaller villages have met with the same fate. The river in some places has been sixty miles in width, and hundreds of plantations, through a vast extent of country, have been entirely inundated, and every living and valuable thing in many instances, been swept away, including frequently, the people themselves. The loss for Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, alone, is estimated at $12,000,000.

NOTICE.

It is not impossible that mistakes may still occur in mailing the Standard from this office, and when they do, I earnestly request that immediate notice may be given me, by the Postmaster at the office where they should be sent. Our friends will have patience with me for any delinquencies of this kind, remembering that it is difficult, immediately and perfectly, to accustom ourselves to duties, of which we have heretofore had no experience. No complaints have yet been made, and I trust there will be no necessity for them, but should there be, let them be made promptly.

All the errors of the past, whether in the accounts, or in the mailing of the papers, are being corrected, as fast as they are made known to me.

I will thank all persons to whom papers have been heretofore sent gratuitously, by request of some of the agents, in the hope that such persons would ultimately become subscribers, to give immediate notice if they wish the Standard sent to them, on the terms which they will find at the head of the first page.

To delinquent subscribers of long standing, I would announce that a Black List is about to be opened, on which I wish to place as few names as possible, and the owners of these, I trust, will take immediate measures to have them erased.

Those who are in arrears for the last year, I would invite to a speedy settlement, and urge others from whom nothing is due for the past, to send in their subscriptions for the ensuing year.

And finally, I would urge most strongly upon the attention of the friends everywhere, the duty of taking some effective measures whereby the circulation of the Standard may be increased. Let Agents be appointed by local Societies to canvass Town and School Districts, and let every member of the American Society, and its auxiliaries, deem it a peculiar duty to do something to put the organ of the Society into the hands of their neighbors. S. H. GAY.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our friend in Upton, Massachusetts, will observe that his paper is discontinued, as he requests, till further orders. He misunderstands the notice in regard to the "Black List," as I have no intention of publishing it, but have made it for my own information and guidance, and not for that of the world at large. All subscribers to the Standard, I trust, will pay their arrearages, without any such compulsion. As other papers, however, do resort to this means, and as he has "a desire to share a part of the misery inflicted upon (his) fellow-beings for their faults," in this particular, to gratify this laudable desire, I will send his name, if he wishes it, to the Emancipator, for publication, where, if he owes nothing, he can share the misery without the guilt.

Thanks to the friend in Lexington, Massachusetts, for his letter. The information it contained was received before his letter reached me. I trust he will continue to send the news of any event of importance that may transpire.

Several annoymous communications have been received, some of which will be published. But for the future, I beg our friends to understand, that such articles will not be *entitled* to an insertion in the Standard. This rule is founded in common-sense, and will be adhered to, subject of course to the discretion of the resident Editor.

The article from Philadelphia, over the signature of "O," will have a place if possible, next week.

The letter of D. S. G. of New Lisbon, Ohio, is received, and the account corrected. His request shall be complied with.

SUBSCRIBERS IN MASSACHUSETTS

Will receive their bills with this paper for the Standard, for the past and ensuing year. Some of them are in arrears for two or three years, and these, it is hoped, will forward the amount due, *immediately*. All who owe for the year to come, are requested to pay in advance, according to the terms of the paper, as soon as possible.

TO AGENTS AND OTHERS.

Will all the Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, now in the field—all the General Agents of auxiliary State Societies—and all the friends, whether lecturers or not, give to us, *as often as they can*, whatever of general interest may occur during their labors, or in their neighborhoods? We shall be glad to devote a column or two, each week, to such communications, that we may make the paper more useful to them by this exchange of "experiences," more interesting to all the readers, and of more effectual service to the cause.

[COMMUNICATED.]

Died, in Philadelphia, on the 12th of June, NANCY H. SHOVE, of Providence, Rhode Island, aged 23 years.

In her, a deep-souled worshipper of the Beautiful has gone home to the soul of all Beauty—an earnest lover of man, to the Spirit of all Love—a world-wide human heart, to the Infinite Heart of God.

Living, she won the love of all who knew her; dying, she taught them with how great a love she was theirs. Too modest to be forward, yet too true to be faithless, she lived even the *outlawed Right*, and cheerfully laid her Reputation on the altar of Duty. For months before her death, she withheld her presence and support from the Church she once had loved, from a deep sense that its falsehood to Humanity, proves its recreancy to God.

She cherished the cause of the bondman, and sought his deliverance with willing hand, and earnest heart. The last labor of her needle was for the coming Anti-Slavery Fair, to be held in Providence, in September, to which time she looked forward with eager anticipation, when the fruit of the glad task might lessen the bitterness of his agonizing toil.

Though the trials and victories of this life, cheered by Hope and Affection, she has gone up to that higher life—where the *promise* of the *Now*, is the full bliss of the *Then*, and the friendships of Time, are the deep loves of Eternity.

Her friends would acknowledge, with gratitude, the untiring kindness of those with whom her last days were spent, and hold in dear remembrance his delicate act of piety, whose munificence gave her body its beautiful resting-place in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

PROVIDENCE, Tuesday, July 2d, 1844.

LATE FROM MEXICO.

Death of Sentmanat, and Total Failure of his Expedition—Renewal of the War against Texas.

By the arrival yesterday of the Spanish brig Guadelete, we have Vera Cruz dates to the 20th ultimo, and from the city of Mexico to the 16th.

The daring General Sentmanat, of whose departure from this place with a band of followers to revolutionize Tobasco, we have already spoken, has been taken prisoner and shot, and it is supposed his comrades will share the same fate.

It would seem that on nearing the coast of Tobasco, the vessel which had on board Sentmanat, and his men was discovered, chased, and finally driven on shore, by the Mexican man-of-war brig Santa Anna.

The revolutionists, some of whom had arms, while others had nothing to defend themselves, immediately betook themselves to the mountains. After several brushes with the Mexican troops, in which several of his men were taken prisoners, Sentmanat himself was captured with only one follower, and shot at Jalpa, near Tobasco, on the 18th ultimo, after the consolations of religion were administered to him.

What became of the vessel which transported Sentmanat, or her officers and crew, we have been unable to learn.

From our papers and correspondence, it would seem that Santa Anna has sent orders to General Woll to publish a decree at once to the effect that the armistice with Texas is at an end, and that hostilities are to be immediately recommenced with vigor. Report has it that Santa Anna has also ordered General Woll to advance on Texas.

He had called upon Congress to furnish him with 30,000 men, and $4,000,000, wherewith to recommence the war against Texas. General Reyes has been appointed Minister of War and Marine in place of Tornel, and General Gomez de la Cortina first officer of the war bureau. General Valentin Canalizo has been chosen commander of the army destined to operate against Texas.

The new Minister of War has ordered the militia into immediate and active service, and from present appearances it would seem that Santa Anna is determined to make a strong attempt to re-subjugate Texas.

The news of the rejection of the annexation treaty had not reached Mexico when the Gaudelete sailed.

New Orleans paper.

APPOINTMENT BY THE PRESIDENT.

By and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Charles Græbe, of New-York, to be Consul of the U. States, for the Kingdom of Hanover and the Grand Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt.

Moreau Forrest, to be Marshal of the United States for the District of Maryland.

Geo. R. Davis, Deputy Postmaster for the city of Troy.

Isaac L. Todd, to be assayer of the Branch Mint at Dahlonega, in Georgia.

Henderson Willingham, to be Marshal of the United States, for the District of Georgia.

NOTICES.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Chauncy Morse, of Canterbury, Ct. left his home on Wednesday, the 19th of June, under circumstances which lead his friends to think he was partially under mental derangement. He has been traced to Concord, N. H. which place he is supposed to have left on Monday last, in a northerly direction. He is about fifty years of age, with quite dark eyes, partially grey hair, about five feet eight inches high—wore away a drab-colored cassimere frock coat, with straight collar, vest of light cassimere, pantaloons of grey mixed Kentucky jean, plaid gingham handkerchief on his neck, black hat, rather low crown, and broad brim, calf boots, and had no baggage except a mixed, wrapper-made overcoat. He is a member of the Society of Friends, and speaks the language spoken by that sect. Any information from any one who has seen or heard from him, directed to his son, John E. Morse, care of J. R. French, Concord, N. H. will be gratefully received by his afflicted family. Hotel keepers will please examine their registers.

Any one who will detain him, or return him to Concord, will be suitably rewarded. JOHN E. MORSE.

Concord, June 25, 1844.

☞ Mr. Morse has been traced to Newport, and it is probable he has passed into Vermont, and perhaps New-York. Will editors in those States please notice.

UNION CELEBRATION, OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

Members and friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Norfolk and Suffolk counties will unite with the abolitionists of Plymouth county, and the public generally, in a Grand Celebration of the Anniversary of the deliverance of the enslaved in the British West Indies, on the ensuing first of August, at HINGHAM.

On the arrival of the several delegations, a procession will be formed, which will pass through the principal streets of the town, and proceed to TRANQUILLITY GROVE, a beautiful forest sanctuary; where the remainder of the day will be devoted to recreations and employments appropriate to the occasion.

A splendid Pic-Nic Collation will be provided in the Grove, soon after the arrival of the procession.

The intellectual entertainments will consist of addresses by several of the most distinguished and eloquent advocates of the cause of human freedom; music by an instrumental band; and singing by the Hingham Anti-Slavery Choir.

As it is proposed to make this the largest gathering ever witnessed in the history of our enterprise, it is hoped that the abolitionists of the various towns will assemble not by dozens, but by hundreds; not sending a delegation, but appearing in COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE. It is hoped that each town will be provided with an appropriate Banner, and such other emblems as may be deemed suitable; and that at least two Marshals may be selected to accompany every town or parish delegation.

As usual on such occasions, the refreshments will be furnished by general contribution, each person bringing what may be most convenient; or any donations of money may be previously made, for the purpose of supplying the tables, by those who prefer thus to render their aid.

Friends in the different towns are requested to give early notice of their determination to co-operate, either to Jairus Lincoln, Chief Marshal, at Hingham, or at the Anti-Slavery Office, 25 Cornhill, Boston.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN MIDDLESEX AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTIES.

All who feel interested in the slave's welfare, and the progress of human rights, of whatever sect or sex, age or character, are invited to meet at Concord, on the approaching 1st of August, to celebrate the anniversary of the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies—an event the most note-worthy of modern times, one which appeals to the noblest feelings of the heart; which was stained with no blood, and achieved by no physical strife, but accomplished by the wonder-working power of truth and even-handed justice; which has caused no tears to flow but those of joy, unless the tyrant weeps over victims snatched away; which has proved that obedience to the laws of God is for man's best interest; which has raised thousands from the position of brutes to that of men, and carried the light of knowledge and Christianity to the homes of thousands in darkness before; and which is, in fact, the crowning glory of Christianity in this age.

The exercises will commence at 11 o'clock, and will consist of singing by an anti-slavery choir, and an address by *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. At noon, there will be a collation in the woods—tickets 25 cts.—and afterwards, addresses by John Pierpont, S. J. May, F. Douglas, Walter Channing, and other distinguished friends of liberty, whose names will be announced in the Liberator, as well as the place where the meeting is to be held, in Concord.

It is desirable that the friends who propose coming, should send an estimate of the number that will probably attend from their respective towns, that suitable provision may be made. Please address WM. A. WHITE, Watertown, or Mrs. M. M. BROOKS, Concord.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.	
Pot, first sort	4.00 a 4.06¼
Pearl	4.37½ a 4.43
CANDLES.	
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 12
Sperm	29 a 32
Stearic do.	20 a 25
COAL.	
Liverpool, chaldron,	7.75 a 8.62½
Newcastle	7.00 a 8.00
Scotch	6.50 a .
Sidney Pictou	6.37 a 6.50
Anthracite, 2,000lbs.	4.25 a 5.25
COFFEE.	
Java	10 a 11
Sumatra	6¾ a 7
Porto Rico	7½ a 7¾
Laguayra	7 a 7½
Cuba	6½ a 7½
Brazil	6¾ a 7½
St. Domingo	5½ a 5¾
COTTON.	
New Orleans	5 a 10
Alabama	5 a 10
Florida	5½ a 8½
Upland	5½ a 9
Upland, fair	7¾ a 7¾
Upland, good and fair	8½ a 8¾
DOMESTICS.	
Shirtings, brown 3-4	4½ a 6
do. do. 7-8	6 a 7
do. bleached	5 a 8
do. S. I. do.	7 a 11
Sheetings, brown 4-4	7 a 9
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12½
do. bleached 4-4	7 a 12
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15
Calicoes, blue	7 a 12
do. fancy	6 a 14
Plaids	9 a 11
Stripes, fast colors	8 a 10
Satinetts	45 a 75
Checks 4-4	8 a 12
Cotton yarn, 5 a 13	16 a 18
do. 14 a 19	— a 20
do. 20 a 23	22 a 23
DRUGS & DYES.	
Alum, lb.	3¾ a 4
Cochineal	0.00 a 1.35
Copperas	1½ a 1¾
Gum Myrrh	12½ a 15
do. copal washed	35 a 42
do. Arabic	22 a 35
Madder, Dutch	11 a 17
Oil of Anis	1.90 a 2.00
castor, gall.	90 a 1.00
Tartaric acid, lb.	38 a 42
Verdigris	21 a 22
Vitriol, blue	8 a 8½
DYEWOODS.	
Brazilletto, ton	32.50 a 35.00
Camwood	40.00 a 75.00
Fustic, Cuba	26.00 a 27.00
do. Tampico	18.00 a 19.00
Logwood, Cpy.	28.00 a 29.00
FEATHERS.	
Live, foreign lb.	13 a 24½
do. American	27 a 31
FISH.	
Dry cod, cwt.	2.72 a 2.75
Dry scale	1.25 a 1.50
Pickled, bbl.	4.00 a 4.25
do. salmon, tce	15.00 a -.00
Smoked do. lb.	.9 a .10
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	9.50 a 9.75
do. No. 2	8.00 a 8.25
do. No. 3	5.37½ a 5.50
Shad, Ct. hf. bbl.	5.75 a .
Bucksp't. bbl.	6.00 a 7.00
Mass. do.	12.50 a 13.00
Herring, pickled	3.00 a 3.12½
do. scale box,	50 a .60
do. No. 1	30 a .
do. No. 2	20 a .
FLAX.	
Russia, lb.	8 a 11
American	8 a 8½
FLOUR & MEAL.	
Genesee per bbl.	4.37½ a .
Troy	4.37½ a .
Ohio, via canal	4.37½ a 4.50
Michigan	4.12½ a 4.18¾
Philadelphia	4.25 a 0.00
Baltimore	4.25 a
Richmond c. mills	. a 6.00
do. country	4.50 a 4.62½
Brandywine	4.62½ a 4.75
Georgetown	4.50 a 4.62½
Alexandria	4.25 a 4.37½
Fredericksburg	4.25 a 4.37½
Petersburg	4.25 a 4.37½
Rye flour	2.75 a 3.00
Indian meal	2.50 a 2.62½
do. per hhd.	12.00 a .
GRAIN.	
Wheat, Ohio bush.	. a .
do. Genesee	.95 a .96
do. Southern new	.90 a .92
Rye northern	a .61
Corn north'n & Jersey	50 a .52
Southern	44½ a .56
Barley, N.R.	54 a .
Oats, northern	30 a .31
do. southern	24 a .25
do. New-Jersey	
Beans, tce.	6.12 a 7.62½
Peas do.	6.12 a 7.25
HEMP.	
Russia, ton	180.00 a 185.00
Manilla	140.00 a 142.50
American, dew rot	80.00 a 100.00
do. water rot	115.00 a 150.00
HIDES.	
B. A. & Rio Grande, lb.	12 a 13½
California	4 a 11
Orinoco	11½ a 11¾
Mexican	10 a 11½
S. American horse, piece	a
Calcutta, dry	65 a .75
HOPS.	
First sort 1843, lb.	7 a 8
HORNS.	
Ox, hundred	4.00 a 8.25
Cow	1.75 a 2.00

IRON.	
Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	35.00 a .
do. American	27.50 a 30.00
Bar do. rolled	75.00 a 80.00
do. Russia P,S,I,	100.00 a 102.50
do. do. new do.	75.00 a .
do. Swedes	. a 80.00
do. Eng. com.	62.50 a 65.00
do. do. refined	75. a 75.50
Sheet E. & Am. lb.	5½ a 5¾
Hoop do. do. cwt.	5.00 a 5.50
LEAD.	
Pig, 100 lbs.	3.35 a 3.40
Bar, lb.	4 a 4½
Sheet	4½ a
LEATHER.	
Oak lb. (sole,)	19 a 24
Hemlock, light	16 a 16½
do. middle	15 a 16
do. heavy	13½ a 14½
do. damaged	12½ a 13
LUMBER.	
Boards, N. R. M. ft.	30.00 a 35.00
do. east pine	10.00 a 11.00
do. Albany, piece	7 a .17
Plank Ga. pine, M. ft.	22.00 a 30.00
Scantling pine	14.00 a 16.00
do. oak	30.00 a 35.00
Timber oak, cu. ft.	.25 a .37
do. Ga. yel. pine	.35 a .40
Shingles, cy. M.	10.00 a 13.00
Staves w. o. pipe M.	50.00 a 55.00
do. do. hhd.	35.00 a 36.00
do. do. bbl.	28.00 a 30.00
do. r. oak hhd.	23.00 a 23.00
Heading, w. o.	40.00 a 45.00
Hoops	25.00 a 30.00
MOLASSES.	
New-Orleans, gall.	28 a 30
Porto Rico	27 a 30
St. Croix	28 a 30
Trinidad, Cuba	27 a 28
Martinique & Guadaloupe	a 25
Havana & Matanzas	22 a 25
Neuvitas	28 a 30
NAILS.	
Cut, 4d a 40d	4½ a 4¾
(3d 1 cent and 2d 2 cents more.)	
Wrought, 6d a 20d	10 a 12½
Horseshoe, No. 7 a 9	18 a 20
NAVAL STORES.	
Tar, bbl.	1.56¼ a 1.68¾
Pitch	1.12½ a 1.25
Rosin	.60 a .78
Turp. Wil'ton soft	2.25 a 2.37½
do. N. C. soft	2.37½ a .
Spirits turp'tine gal.	33 a —
OILS.	
Olive, gall.	93 a 95
Linseed, American	74 a 75
Whale refined	48 a 50
Sperm, fall	90 a 92
do. winter	96 a 97
Lard oil	60 a 62½
PROVISIONS.	
Beef mess bbl.	5.00 a 5.50
do. prime	3.00 a 3.25
Butter, prime dairy	8 a 10
do. Orange county	12½ a 14
do. common	7 a
Hog's lard	5 a 6½
Pork, mess bbl.	8.43¾ a 8.50
do. prime	6.31¼ a 6.37½
do. cargo	a
Cheese, Am. lb.	5 a 5½
Hams smoked	3½ a 7
RICE.	
100 lbs.	3.12½ a 3.43
SALT.	
Turkish Isl. bushel	23½ a 24
Bonaire	a
Curacoa	a
Ivica	
Cadiz	25 a
St. Kitts	a
Lisbon	27 a
Liverpool, ground	23 a 24
do. do. sack	1.00 a 1.05
do. do. fine	1.35 a 1.45
SOAP.	
New-York, brown lb.	3½ a 7
Castile	9¾ a 10
STEEL.	
German lb.	10½ a 13
English, hoop L.	13 a 13½
Trieste, in boxes	6½ a 7
American	5 a
Spring	5¾ a 6
SUGARS.	
St. Croix, lb.	7¾ a 8
New-Orleans	5¾ a 7
Cuba, Muscovado	6 a 6¾
Porto Rico	6 a 8
Havana, white	8½ a 9½
do. brown	6½ a 8
Cuba, white	8½ a 9½
do. brown	6½ a 8
Brazil, white	a
do brown	a
Manilla, brown	6½ a 6¾
Lump	
Loaf	11 a 11½
TALLOW.	
Foreign, lb.	
American	6½ a 7
TEAS.	
Imperial, lb.	30 a 95
Gunpowder	30 a 95
Hyson	40 a 90
Young Hyson	35 a 85
Hyson skin	20 a 55
Souchong	21 a 57
Bohea	
TIN.	
Block, South Am. lb.	a
do. East India	16½ a 17
In plates ¼ bx box	9.00 a 9.25
WOOL.	
Am. Sax'y. fleece, lb.	40 a 44
do. merino	40 a 42
Pulled, superfine	35 a 36
No. 1	31 a 32
No. 2	24 a 25

"VISIT TO THE WEST INDIES."

This is the title of a neat little volume, just published, which is said, by those who have read it, to be very interesting, and calculated to do much good. It is the narrative of a visit made to the British West Indies, in the winter of 1841, by George Truman, John Jackson, and Thomas B. Longstreth; and contains the testimony of these Friends to the happy effects of emancipation in those islands. It may be had at Baker & Crane's, 158 Pearl street, N. Y.; of E. P. Willis, Rochester; Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket; and Joseph Post, Long Island.

May 16th, 1844.

Poetry.

LADY CLARA VERE DE VERE.

BY ALFRED TENNYSON.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
Of me you shall not win renown;
You thought to break a country heart
For pastime, ere you went to town.
At me you smiled, but unbeguiled
I saw the snare, and I retired:
The daughter of a hundred Earls—
You are not one to be desired.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
I know you proud to bear your name,
Your pride is yet no mate for mine,
Too proud to care from whence I came.
Nor would I break for your sweet sake
A heart that doats on truer charms.
A simple maiden in her flower
Is worth a hundred coat-of-arms.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
Some meeker pupil you must find,
For were you queen of all that is,
I could not stoop to such a mind.
You sought to prove how I could love,
And my disdain is my reply.
The lion on your old stone gates
Is not more cold to you than I.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
You put strange memories in my head.
Not thrice your branching limes have blown
Since I beheld young Laurence dead.
Oh your sweet eyes, your low replies:
A great enchantress you may be:
But there was that across his throat
Which you had hardly cared to see.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
When thus he met his mother's view,
She had the passions of her kind,
She spake some certain truths of you.
Indeed I heard one bitter word
That scarce is fit for you to hear.
Her manners had not that repose
Which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere.

Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
There stands a spectre in your hall:
The guilt of blood is at your door.
You changed a wholesome heart to gall.
You held your course without remorse,
To make him trust his modest worth,
And, last, you fixed a vacant stare,
And slew him with your noble birth.

Trust me, Clara Vere de Vere,
From yon blue heavens above us bent
The gardner Adam and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent.
Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good.
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

I know you Clara Vere de Vere,
You pine among your halls and towers;
The languid light of your proud eyes
Is wearied of the rolling hours.
In glowing health, with boundless wealth,
But sickening of a vague disease,
You know so ill to deal with Time,
You needs must play such pranks as these.

Clara, Clara Vere de Vere,
If Time be heavy on your hands,
Are there no beggars at your gate,
Nor any poor about your lands?
Oh! teach the orphan boy to read,
Or teach the orphan girl to sew,
Pray Heaven for a human heart,
And let the foolish yeoman go.

A PARABLE.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Worn and footsore was the Prophet,
When he gained the holy hill;
"God has left the earth," he murmured,
"Here his presence lingers still.

"God of all the olden prophets,
Wilt thou speak with men no more?
Have I not as truly served thee,
As thy chosen ones of yore?

"Here me, guider of my fathers,
Lo! a humble heart is mine;
By thy mercy I beseech thee,
Grant thy servant but a sign!"

Bowing then his head, he listened
For an answer to his prayer;
No loud boast of thunder followed,
Not a murmur stirred the air:—

But the tuft of moss before him
Opened, while he waited yet,
And, from out the rock's hard bosom,
Sprang a tender violet.

"God! I thank thee," said the Prophet;
"Hard of heart and blind was I,
Looking to the holy mountain
For the gift of prophecy.

"Still thou speakest with thy children
Freely as in eld sublime;
Humbleness, and love, and patience
Still give empire over time.

"Had I trusted in my nature,
And had faith in lowly things,
Thou thyself wouldst then have sought me,
And set free my spirit's wings.

"But I looked for signs and wonders,
That o'er men should give me sway,
Thirsting to be more than mortal,
I was even less than clay.

"Ere I entered on my journey,
As I girt my loins to start,
Ran to me my little daughter,
The beloved of my heart;—

"In her hand she held a flower,
Like to this as like may be,
Which, beside my very threshold,
She had plucked and brought to me."

AFFECTION.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

What I most prize in Woman
Is her Affection—not her Intellect.
Compare me with the great men of the earth—
What am I? Why, a pigmy among giants!
But if thou lovest—mark me, I say lovest—
The greatest of thy sex excels thee not!
The world of the Affections is thy world—
Not that of Man's Ambition. In that stillness
Which most becomes a Woman—calm and holy—
Thou sittest by the fireside of the Heart,
Feeding its flame. The element of fire
Is pure. It cannot change its nature;
But burns as brightly in a gypsy camp
As in a palace hall.

Miscellany.

This story is taken from the Political Magazine of 1789, and was published at the time of the earliest Anti-Slavery excitement in England, and when efforts were being made for the regulation of the Foreign Slave Trade. It will, I doubt not, interest the readers of the Standard, for its associations, if nothing more. The sequel will be given next week.

REMONSTRANCE OF AN OLD OFFICER.

[*What follows is so masterly an appeal to the feelings, that it cannot fail to give pleasure to the indiscriminate. We are the more led to insert it from some recent transactions, in the hope that the perusal may be found not unprofitable.*]

Zeluco possessed not the generous ardor of a soldier; his impatience for promotion was excited by the hopes of emolument more than a thirst for military glory; and if he was willing to suffer fatigue and incur danger, it was because, in his present situation, they were necessary for his obtaining some lucrative command, that might speedily furnish him with the means of pleasure and luxurious enjoyment, which he considered as the only sensible pursuits in life.

Having heard that the commander-in-chief was a very strict and attentive officer, and Zeluco's views being now centered in military promotion, he was impatient to acquire favor and recommendation by distinguishing himself as a disciplinarian; naturally selfish and unfeeling, he was not checked in the prosecution of this plan by any sentiment of justice or compassion; provided he could make the men under his command more dextrous in their exercise, or more smart in their appearance, than others, he regarded not the inconvenience or torture he occasioned to them; nor did he care whether this was of use to the service or not; he was convinced it might be of use to himself, and that was sufficient. Without temper to make allowance for the awkwardness of recruits, or equity in proportioning punishments to crimes, his orders were often dictated by caprice, and enforced by cruelty; he exacted from the private men such a degree of precision in the manual exercise, and in the minutiæ of their dress, as was almost out of the power of the most dextrous and best disposed to observe.

Provoked and irritated on finding that the soldiers did not arrive at that degree of perfection which his vanity required, and becoming daily more unreasonable and unrelenting by the exercise of power, he exhibited many instances of cruelty on a detachment from the garrison of Havana, of which he had for some time the command.

His conduct on that and other occasions came to the knowledge of the commander-in-chief by the following incident:

A soldier having committed some slight mistake in the exercise, Zeluco treated him with great severity, which the man endured with all the passiveness which military discipline exacts; till Zeluco, swelling with the insolence of power, expressed himself in this barbarous and absurd manner: "If you are not more alert for the future, you scoundrel, I will cut you to pieces, and send your soul to hell."

To this the man replied with tranquillity: "Your honor may cut me to pieces, if you please; but I thank God it is not in your power to send my soul to hell."

This very sedate answer, while it raised a smile in others, who heard it, augmented the rage of Zeluco.

"Do you mutiny, villain?" cried Zeluco.

"I do not, indeed," said the soldier.

"I'll let you know in due time," said Zeluco, "whether you do or not."

He ordered the man to be carried to the guard prison, and put in irons.

Zeluco had been long disliked by all his fellow officers. On talking over this matter with some of them, in order to prepossess them with the opinion, that what the soldier had said amounted to mutiny, he found them little disposed to consider it in that light; he was in no haste, therefore, to bring the man to a court martial, being convinced he would be acquitted: but he had it insinuated to the soldier himself, that if he would acknowledge a mutinous intention, and implore mercy, he should be liberated without a trial; whereas, if he were tried, he would certainly be severely punished.

But the soldier, secretly encouraged by those of the officers who most detested Zeluco, refused to make any such avowal, and remained in irons.

Meanwhile the chaplain of the regiment having visited the soldier, approved of his conduct, declaring he could not justly be punished for an answer so orthodox. He next day informed the commander-in-chief of the whole transaction.

This gentleman, unwilling to rely entirely on the account he had received, sent for some of the officers belonging to the detachment, and obtained from them the same information which he had already received from the chaplain.

In the meantime Zeluco, having got a hint of what was going on, freed the soldier from confinement. But the indignation of the commanding officer being roused by what he had heard, he made inquiries into Zeluco's conduct to the soldiers on other occasions; and soon discovered, with astonishment, and some degree of self-condemnation, that many acts of unnecessary severity and oppression had been committed by Zeluco. Having blamed some officers, whose duty he thought it was to have informed him of those transactions sooner, he sent for Zeluco, and in the presence of all the officers of the battalion to which he belonged, he addressed him to the following effect:

"Signor Zeluco,

"I think it my duty to deliver my sentiments to you before these gentleman, on a subject that ought to be well understood by every officer; but of which it appears, by your conduct, you have formed very erroneous notions.

"Strict discipline is essentially requisite for the well being of an army; without which it degenerates into a lawless mob, more formidable to their friends than enemies; the ravagers, not the defenders of their country.

"But it is equally essential that discipline be exercised with temper and with justice; a capricious and cruel exertion of power in officers depresses the spirits of the private men, and extinguishes that daring ardor which glows in the breast of a real soldier.

"Is it possible that a man of a generous mind can treat with wanton cruelty those who are not permitted to resist, or even to expostulate, however brave they may be!

"I believe, Sir, you have not as yet served in time of war; but I will inform you, that, in the course of my services, I have seen common soldiers gallantly face the enemy, when some officers, who had been in the habit of using them with insult and cruelty, shrunk from the danger.

"You are sufficiently acquainted with the condition of private soldiers to know, that when they are treated with all the lenity consistent with proper discipline, still their condition is surrounded with such a variety of hardships, that every person of humanity must wish it were possible to alleviate it.

"Only reflect, Sir, on the smallness of their pay; how inadequate to the duty required of them, and how far beneath the intrinsic value it bore when it was first fixed; yet this grievance remains unremedied in some of the wealthiest countries of Europe, even in those where the greatest attention is paid in other particulars, to the rights of mankind. But weak as the impression may be which the soldier's hardships make on the cold heart of the politician, one would naturally expect they should meet with sympathy in the breasts of their own officers; the men best acquainted with their situation, whom they are constantly serving and obeying, who are acting in the same cause, and exposed to the same dangers, though not to the same hardships, with themselves. It is natural to imagine that, independent of more generous motives, their own interest, and the idea of self-preservation, would prompt officers to behave with mildness, at least with equity, to the soldiers under their command. How many officers have been rescued from death or captivity by the grateful attachment and intrepidity of the soldiers? I myself, Sir, once lay on the field severely wounded, when, in the midst of general confusion, officers and men flying promiscuously, I was carried to a place of security by two soldiers, at the infinite hazard of their own lives. From one of those, indeed, I might naturally have expected some exertion in my favor; he was a Castilian, born on my own estate; but I had no claim on the other, except as an officer who had always behaved equitably to him in common with the rest of my company—he was an Irishman.

"Had I treated him with caprice or ill nature, would this foreigner, or even would my own countryman, have made such a generous exertion to preserve my life? No, Sir; if they had refrained from giving me a fresh wound as they fled past me, which soldiers are not unapt to do to cruel officers, the certainly would, at least, have consulted their own safety by continuing their flight, and left me to be trampled to death by the enemy's cavalry, as I certainly must have been, had not these two soldiers removed me from the spot on which I lay.

"But waving every consideration derived from the ideas of personal safety, there is another kind of selfishness which might induce officers to behave well to soldiers; that is, the pleasure of alleviating in many respects, the unavoidable hardships of our fellow creatures, and the consciousness of being loved by those around us."

At this part of the General's remonstrance Zeluco raised his eyes mechanically with that kind of stare which a man gives when he hears what he thinks a very extraordinary proposition.

"It is true, Sir, I assure you," continued the Castilian; "next to the approbation of his own conscience, nothing is so grateful to the heart of man as the love and esteem of mankind. In my mind, he is an object of compassion, in whatever situation of life he may be placed, who is not sensible of this from his own experience; and surely no man can be tolerably happy, who thinks himself the object of their hatred.

"We all know, gentlemen," continued he, turning a moment from Zeluco to the other officers, "that the love of soldiers, important as it is to those who command them, may be acquired on easier terms than that of any other set of men; because the habit of obedience, in which *they* are bred, inclines them to *respect* their officers; unbiassed equity in the midst of the strictest discipline commands their *esteem*, and the smallest marks of kindness secures their *gratitude* and attachment. I have ever endeavored to preserve a steady and regular discipline among the troops I have had the honor of commanding; yet I have the happiness to believe, that I am more loved than feared by those among them who have had the best opportunity of knowing me. One of the greatest pleasures I ever enjoyed (I see some here who were with me on that occasion) was, in overhearing an advanced guard of soldiers talk affectionately of me, when they knew not I was near them; I will own to you, Sir, it came over my heart like the sweetest music; and if I thought myself the object of the secret execrations of the men under my command it would spoil the harmony of my life, and jar my whole soul out of tune.

"Signor Zeluco, what I have heard of your behaviour to the soldiers, I am willing to impute to a misplaced zeal for the service. It is difficult to believe, that a man of birth and education could have been prompted to the severities you have exercised, by other motives.

"This consideration, joined to the regard I have for the recommendation of my old friend, your uncle, have weighed with me, in not subjecting certain parts of your conduct to the judgment of a court martial.

"With respect to the soldier whom you confined so long and so improperly in irons, you certainly treated him from the beginning with too much severity. The natural awkwardness of a recruit is to be corrected gradually, and with gentleness; severity confounds him, and increases the evil that is to be remedied. To give way to anger and passion on such an occasion is inconsistent with the dignity which an officer ought to preserve before the men, and is always attended with injustice. As for this man's answer to your very intemperate menace, although a soldier under arms ought not to make any reply to an officer, yet, all the circumstances being weighed, what he said was excusable; to endeavor to torture it into mutiny would be absurd.

"You ought to remember, gentlemen, that as military discipline looks to the general tendency and remote consequences of things, more than to their intrinsic criminality, many actions are treated as crimes by the military laws which in themselves are innocent or frivolous. And when a soldier, irritated by undeserved insult, overleaps subordination, and repels the wanton tyranny of an officer, however he may be condemned by the unrelenting laws of discipline, he will be absolved by the natural feelings of the human heart, which revolts at oppression; nor will he appear, even in the eyes of those who think his punishment expedient, an object either of contempt or aversion. But when an officer, armed with the power, and intrenched within the lines of discipline, indulges unmanly passion, or private hatred, against an unprotected and unresisting soldier, in what light can this officer appear, either in his own eyes, or in those of others?

"Signor Zeluco, I have thought proper to explain my sentiments to you thus fully before these gentlemen, who have been witnesses to your conduct since you first joined the regiment, and who I do not think entirely free from blame for not making me acquainted with it. I have only to add, that the considerations which prevent my laying the whole before a court martial, cannot operate a second time. I hope, Sir, that for your own sake you will keep this in your remembrance, that while I [illegible] upon all the troops under my command performing their duty with punctuality, I will not permit the poorest sentinel to be treated with injustice.

"The soldier whom you used so harshly may still appeal, if he pleases, to a court martial; it will be prudent in you to find means to prevent him."

From the Journal of Commerce.

LETTER FROM IRELAND.

From a Lady of New-York to her Friend.

DUBLIN, June 15th, 1844.
No. 1, Dominic street.

I sit holding my pen without one definite subject, or even general plan that might interest you, not for paucity of matter, but, from such a variety, to select the most important; for, should I tell you of the more than beautiful scenery in Ireland, *that* has become stale; should specimens of Irish wit be presented, *these* you may have, every time you see a company of these originals sweeping street, carrying a hod, or even begging at your door; and *politics* I was strictly forbidden to touch, because, forsooth, they sit so awkwardly upon woman.

Well, then, as our wise men tell us,—"First thoughts are best," suppose you have a sketch of O'Connell in his prison, with some of its preliminaries? You probably may know that he has the privilege of seeing his friends in prison, and that thousands are in attendance daily. Through the kindness of a man, into whose hotel one evening I stepped to make an inquiry, and on whose door was the gladdening word Temperance, I was conveyed to Richmond Bridewell, where is incarcerated the untiring friend of freedom. O'Connell preferred this spot to the castle, for its retirement and the salubrity of the air. A garden blooming with all that is delightful in fruit and flowers encloses three sides of it, and a summer-house, on the hillock, to which he has access.

Our driver left us at the gate, a few yards from the crowd, who were in waiting, and we made our way to the steps of the prison. The police was at the door, and my card was demanded by a surly voice from within, saying, "You must wait awhile." When N. Y. was seen upon it, in an instant I was asked, "Did you come from New-York; and for what, and are you Irish?" When told, "to see O'Connell and the Irish, and the curiosities of Ireland,"—"And did you come for that, and alone too? Ah! you are a wonderful woman, indeed, and you shall get in, if we all stay out." A police officer said, "Be patient, madam, we are sorry to keep you out one moment, but there are so many inside, you could not speak to him till the passage is cleared."

While standing for nearly half an hour, a good opportunity was granted of seeing the throng, who were gathering in carriages and on foot, and the long line that were seated on an opposite bank. The latter were the peasantry and beggars; and the first mentioned, the aristocracy. And among all this vast multitude, not a loud laugh was heard, nor a voice scarcely above a whisper. A funeral silence reigned. Like the sympathizing friends around the door of a departed neighbor, all seemed patiently waiting to pay some tribute of respect to him they loved. The door was opened. I was instantly pushed along by the police, telling me to pass through into a yard, at the same time pointing to O'Connell, "*there, there* stands the man, with a cap on, surrounded by ladies; press your way and give him your hand." My card was in possession of the surly turnkey, and I could only reach him my letters through the crowd, saying, "Mrs.——, from New-York." I thank you kindly, he said, in a subdued voice, then gave his arm to an aged lady, and turning to a little girl, who was eager to salute him, he stooped down, saying, "I must give *you* a kiss, my little substitute." Then followed little boys, with their repeal buttons, giving their hand. He kissed them all. And then the procession began. He led through the garden on every side, then to the summer-house, then back to the door leading to his apartments, and gave each his hand, with a kind adieu. Reserving me to the last, he paused, and looking significantly, said, "Your papers shall be duly attended to." The crowd were again pressing to salute him, and I hurried out. "*Have you seen him, have you seen him!*" was the question, "and did you talk with him, and tell him who you are?"

Do you ask, how did O'Connell look? *I confess myself disappointed.* It is well known that there is impressed on his very cheeks a kind of constitutional laugh, which seems not only to say, there is peace within, but that this laugh is upon the verge of bursting forth into some merry joke, or witty repartee. But now there seemed a chastened struggling within, which said, "the archers had sorely grieved him," and his country's woes, in despite of all effort, like a mighty incubus, might soon be too weighty for his kind heart and mighty intellect. I *may* misjudge. His friends say otherwise, and God grant it may be so! But *Ireland! Ireland!* who can see her woes and not weep over her; and the wonder of the whole is, with all her warmth of heart, with all her fiery impetuosity, she seems "like a sheep dumb before her shearers;" but this death-like silence has a deep under-current, which, like the stealthy footsteps of the cat, when her prey is in view, tells you the fated leap is at hand.

Madam Victoria is pulling her cords a little tighter. A deputation of thirteen counties, in the persons of Aldermen and Mayors, were sent on the 13th, to the prison, in their official robes, but an order from her Majesty, through his excellency, De Grey, at the Castle, prohibited admission. O'Connell and the traversers are prohibited sending any communications out of the prisons in their own name. So much to-day for O'Connell. I am to visit him again.

Through the politeness of an Irishman, who sent his son to give me an introduction, I have had an admission into the annual exhibition of the Dublin Society of Manufactures. In the suburbs of the show, were displayed farming, kitchen, and domestic utensils of all kinds. And surely, I thought, here is *Paddy, fully embodied.* Had all the bog-trotters, and turf-diggers in Ireland, congregated to make up frightfuls of churns, ploughs, and cooking utensils, to drive away the enemy, they could not have hit on a better expedient. The bungling finish might have been improved by a jack-knife, in the hands of an inventive Yankee. Mechanics' Fair at New-York arose to view; and, while boasting, said, "look at your country," I could not but pity; for these were inventions of the peasantry, without any effort at polish, merely as models. But when the specimens of marble chimney-pieces, laces, needle-work, centre-tables, harps, music-boxes, linens, broadcloths, wardrobes and bog-oak* chairs, breast-pins, beads, &c. of the same material, were presented, where was boasting then? The process of weaving Brussels carpets, poplins, silks of all kinds, and velvets, was going on, and, to an American eye, they amounted to a wonder, if not to a miracle. But the crowning of the whole was a statue of Father Mathew, in marble, in the act of giving the pledge to a peasant on his knees, with his hands together before his face, and his eyes closed as in prayer. A female sits at his left reading her prayers, and altogether it is a highly interesting group.

Dr. H. a talented Irishman, gives lectures on Irish manufactures, each day, through the continuance of the exhibition, admission free.

* This bog oak is found deeply imbedded in the earth, in the bogs, and in a state of preservation, retaining all the appearance of wood, but capable of receiving a high polish, like that of black marble. The most beautiful specimens of chairs are made of it.

From the New-York Tribune.

EXTRAORDINARY MODE OF REFORM.

Among the Institutions of Prussia and Saxony there is one most extraordinary class, called "*Redemption Institutes.*" The object of these is one of the most benevolent ever devised, and the results show the omnipotent power of love, of genuine sympathy, in melting the heart, and reforming the character of the most degraded and vicious.

The following example from the eloquent Report of HORACE MANN, Esq. shows how much good may be accomplished by the persevering, unremitting labors of a single individual, stimulated by a pure and elevated philanthropy, combined with sound judgment, and habits of careful discrimination, and may well excite the attention of those who have influence with our public authorities:

"The Redemption Institute of Mr. J. H. Wirhern is situated four or five miles out of the City of Hamburgh. It was opened for children of the very lowest class—children brought up in the abodes of infamy, and taught not only by example but precept, the vices of sensuality, thieving and vagabondry—children who had never known the family ties, or who had known it only to see it violated. The thoughts of Mr. Wirhern were strongly turned toward this subject while yet a student at the University, but want of means deterred him from engaging in it, until a legacy, left by a Mr. Jercken, enabled him to make a beginning in 1833. He has since devoted his life, and all his wordly goods to the work. It is his first aim that the abandoned children whom he seeks out on the highway, and in the haunts of vice, shall know and feel the blessings of domestic life—that they shall be introduced into the bosom of a family—for this he regards as a Divine institution, and, therefore, the birthright of every human being, and the only atmosphere in which the human affections can be adequately cultivated. His house, then, must not be a prison, or place of confinement. The site chosen for his experiment was one enclosed within high, strong walls and fences. His first act was to break down these barriers, and to take all bolts and bars from the doors and windows. He began with three boys of the worst description; and within three months the number increased to twelve. They were taken into the bosom of his family—his mother was their mother, and his sister their sister. They were not punished for any past offences, but told that all should be forgiven, if they tried to do well in future. The defenceless condition of the premises was referred to, and they were assured that no walls or bolts were to detain them—that one cord only should bind them, and that, the cord of Love. The effect attested the all but omnipotent power of generosity and affection. Children from seven or eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, in many of whom, early and loathsome vices had nearly obliterated the stamp of humanity, were transformed not only into useful members of society, but into characters that endeared themselves to all within their sphere of acquaintance. The education given by Mr. W. has not been a literary one. The children were told in the beginning, that labor was the price of living, and that they must earn their own bread, if they would secure a comfortable home. He did not point them to ease and affluence, but to an honorable poverty, which they were taught was not itself an evil. Here were means and materials for learning to support themselves; but there was no rich fund, or other resources, for their maintenance. Charity had supplied the home to which they were invited, their own industry must supply the rest. Mr. Wirhern placed great reliance upon religious training; but this did not consist in giving them dry and unintelligible dogmas. He spoke to them of Christ, as the benefactor of mankind, who proved, by deeds of love, his interest in the race—who sought out the worst of men, to give them instruction and relief, and who left it in charge of those who came after Him, and wished to be called His disciples, to do likewise. Is it strange, that, enforced by such a practical exemplification of Christian love as their benefactor gave them in his every-day life, the story of Christ's words and deeds should have sunk deeply into their hearts, and melted them into tenderness and docility? Such was the effect. The most rapid improvement ensued in the great majority of the children; and even those whom long habits of idleness and vagabondry made it difficult to keep in the straight path, had long seasons of obedience and gratitude, to which any aberration from duty was only an exception.

As the number of pupils increased, Mr. Wirhern, saw that the size of the family would seriously impair its domestic character. To obviate this, he divided his company into families of twelve, and he has erected nine separate buildings, situated in a semi-circle around his own, and near to it, in each of which dwells a family of twelve boys or of twelve girls, under the care of a House-Father, or House-Mother, as the assistants are respectively called. Each of these, is, to some extent, an independent community, having an individuality of its own. They eat and sleep in their own dwellings, and the children belonging to each, look up to their own particular father or mother as home-bred children to a parent. The general-meeting every morning, at first in the chamber of Mr. Wirhern's mother, but afterward, when the numbers increased, in the chapel, and their frequent meetings at work or in the playgrounds form a sufficient, and in fact a very close bond of union in the community.

Instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and drawing,—and in some instances, in higher branches. Music is used as one of the most efficient means for softening stubborn wills, and calling forth tender feelings; and its deprivation is one of the punishments for delinquency. An affecting narrative is recorded of a boy who ran away, but whom Mr. W. pursued, found, and persuaded to return. He was brought back on Christmas eve, which was always celebrated in the mother's chamber. The children were engaged in singing the Christmas hymns, when he entered the room. At first, they manifested strong disapprobation of his conduct; for he was a boy to whose faults special forbearance had been previously shown. They were then told to decide among themselves how he should be punished. This brought them all to perfect silence; and after some whispering and consulting together, one who had formerly been guilty of the same fault of ingratitude, under still less excusable circumstances, burst out into a petition for forgiveness. All united in it, reached out to him a friendly hand, and the festival of Christmas Eve was turned into rejoicing over the brother that was lost and was found. The pardon was not in words, merely, but in deeds. No reference to the fact was afterward made. A day or two after, he was sent away on an errand to the distance of half a mile. He was surprised and affected by this mark of confidence; and from that time never abused his freedom, though entrusted to execute commissions at great distances.

One of the most interesting effects of this charity, is the charity which it reproduces in its objects; and thus it is shown that, in the order of nature, the actions of good men, provided they are always wise, not less than good seed, will produce thirty, sixty, or a hundred fold of beneficent fruit.

Mr. Wirhern, when asked in what manner he had produced these transforming effects upon his charge, answered, "By active occupations, music, and Christian love."

As he could find no persons in all respects qualified to share in the work to which his life is devoted, he was driven to the expedient of preparing a class of teachers to become his auxiliaries. For this end, he has superadded to his original plan, a school for the preparation of teachers: first to support himself, then to send abroad to open other institutions similar to his own, and thirdly, to become superintendents of prisons.

During the ten years of the existence of this institution, there have been four hundred and thirty-two children received into it. Of these, about eighty were there on the 1st of July, 1843. Only two had run away who had not either voluntarily returned, or being brought back, had voluntarily remained."

If our Legislatures, in their wisdom, would make provisions for similar institutions for reclaiming and educating the juvenile delinquents in our large cities and towns, it would be a most important means of saving our country from the vices which degrade so large a portion of the population of Europe, as well as of saving the immense sums now expended in the prosecution of crime in our Courts of Justice, in addition to the still more important object of raising immortal beings from pollution and wretchedness, to respectability, usefulness, and permanent happiness.

MR. GOUGH AT THE AUBURN PRISON.

A letter from a gentleman in Auburn, dated July 1st, says, "Yesterday Rev. Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Gough paid a visit to our village. I went with them to the State prison at 9 o'clock, which is the Chaplain's hour on Sunday morning. The prisoners, more than eight hundred in number, densely filled the large chapel. A large choir sang with much propriety the hymn, "*Another six days' work is done,*" when the throne of grace was fervently addressed by the Rev. Mr. Marsh. Mr. Gough then spoke for an hour, giving the prisoners both his own, and their experience, in his graphic, touching style. It was a deeply interesting hour. The hard features of the prisoners were soon softened; the tear started and flowed freely down many a rough cheek, as he carried them back to the days of childhood, when a mother's soft hand came over their forehead, and a mother taught them to pray, and they passed from innocence to crime, and were separated, many of them, perhaps, from pleasant homes, to taste here, the bitterness of crime. The grog-shops were arrayed before them as their greatest enemy, spread as so many snares and traps all over the country, ready to allure and destroy them the moment they should again go out into the world; and when asked to declare their determination never to enter them again, and never to taste of the intoxicating cup, a forest of hands went up, and a bright gleam of hope seemed to shine forth from every countenance. Mr. Gough spent the remainder of the forenoon in conversing with prisoners in their cells, gathering facts for future use; and in the evening he addressed an immense assembly at the first Presbyterian church. It is believed that the visit of these gentlemen will give a new impetus to the temperance cause here."

HAND-BOOK OF ETIQUETTE FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

We have been favored with a sight of the above work, which is in the press, and will shortly be published. The subjoined, which is a specimen page of it, will be interesting to our Transatlantic subscribers:

"When you go to Congress, provide yourself with a thick stick. Also, take a dirk with you, which conceal under your waistcoat; and put a brace of horse-pistols, with half-a-dozen slugs in each of them, in your hinder pockets. For America is the land of unlimited discussion; to attack each other just as they please is the privilege of her unfettered Senators; and weapons may be useful to you in debate.

"Having taken your seat with your hat on, square your arms, and extend your knees, so as to push the member on your right and left away, and make room for yourself. The American citizen is born free, and therefore ought always to sit easy. If there is a convenient resting-place before you—a gentleman's shoulders, for instance—put your legs up, and set your heels thereon. In this position, combining comfort with elegance, sit and chew tobacco; dispose of the results of mastication, right, left, straightforward, anyhow, as may best suit your convenience, which it is your birthright to prefer to that of anybody else: or smoke a quiet cigar, if you like that better, till you become excited, and wish to speak. Whereupon, jump up instantly, and begin. Stand on no ceremony—interrupt any member's speech, or that of the President himself, without scruple. The slave who cares a cent for anybody, is unworthy the name of American. Make yourself heard if you can, by dint of clamor, and keep obstinately on your legs till somebody pulls you down. Struggle, cuff, and vociferate, some time after that—in fact, till you are fairly overpowered; and be not prevailed upon to hold your tongue till the gentlemen around you stop your mouth by force.

"Remember, in preparing yourself for a set speech, whom you are about to address; and be ready for consequences. Button up your coat to the chin, or take it off, and fling it, with your neckcloth after it, into your neighbor's lap; then break forth into a violent strain of abuse, accompanied by the most frantic gesticulation, against the party opposed to you. From this you are to modulate into a scurrilous personal invective against some individual present, calling him all sort of names, and concluding by an offer to fight him. The American orator should combine the ferocity of the wild-cat with the fire of lightning.

"It is more than probable that you will be interrupted in the course of your harangue. The object of it will very likely make a rush at you. If he does, do you spring forward to meet him. Collar him; wrestle with him: that is the way to grapple with a political opponent. Beat him, bite him, scratch him, kick his shins, tear his clothes off his back, try and gouge him. Never leave him till you are torn asunder. The british Bull-dog may be ugly; but the true-born American, when aroused, is considerably uglier.

"Your dirk is to be employed when you are in danger of being throttled by an adversary. Your pistols are to be used in a paroxysm of hate and rancor, which the speech, expression, or appearance of some member whom you detest, may suddenly excite in your bosom. Fire straight at him; if he presents a fair mark all the better: if not, never mind. Were you to warn those around him to clear off, you might be stopped. You shoot two or three others through the body; what then? What are consequences to patriotic enthusiasm?

"You may not, perhaps, wish to take a prominent part in debate. In that case shout, yell, screech, and whistle, (after the fashion of gentlemen in another place,) when any one is speaking whom you do not like. Or, if you had rather be quiet, take out your piece of hickory, and your whittling knife, which, as a genuine American, you will of course have about you, and whittle. Never think of attending to what is going on, unless it suits you. Your opinions should be like your country; let them not be enthralled by another's. Talk, behave, and do in Congress as elsewhere, just as you please. Restraint and obligation are the shackles of the slave. The nigger may control his inclinations: but the will of the American citizen should be his only law."

This little book is quite an American Chesterfield. It should be in the pocket of every Senator in the Union.—*Punch.*

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor.* Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster;* and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search,* on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations,* in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

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

Education and Industry!

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

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

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

No. 31, North Fifth street.

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

TERMS—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

$10,00 in advance will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

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

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

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