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*National Museum of African American History and Culture*

### **The Liberator, Vol. XXVI, No. 26**

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print newspaper with title in center and two columns of text on top and six columns of text on bottom

picture logo surrounding title

decorative title in center top THE LIBERATOR decorative title in center top

top left column  
THE LIBERATOR  
IS PUBLISHED  
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,  
AT THE  
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.

dividing line

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

dividing line

image: hand pointing right TERMS--Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

image: hand pointing right Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

image: hand pointing right All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

image: hand pointing right Advertisements making less than one square inserted three times for 75 cents--one square for \$1 00.

image: hand pointing right The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

image: hand pointing right The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz. :-FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

image: hand pointing right In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

top right column  
decorative font No Union with Slaveholders! decorative font

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN



AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

[[image: hand pointing right]] 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED--the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES--an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES--for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons..... in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed!... To call government thus constituted a democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'--[[italics]] John Quincy Adams. [[/italics]]

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. [[decorative font]] Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. [[/decorative font]] J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.  
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VOL. XXVI. NO. 26. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1147.  
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[[arranged in six columns of text]]  
[[column 1]]  
REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.  
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MORE OF SOUTHERN CHIVALRY.

At a meeting at Martine's depot, S. C., the following resolution was adopted among others:--

Resolved. If Northern fanatics will persist in meddling with our private institutions, we deem it expedient that Southern members should reply to them by the use of gutta percha.

At a meeting in Clinton, S. C., the following were adopted by acclamation:--

Resolved, That we, as a portion of the constituents of the Hon. Preston S. Brooks, do heartily agree with him in chastising, coolly and deliberately, the vile and lawless Sumner of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That in using arguments stronger than words, he has convinced our Northern brethren of the true spirit of Southern chivalry

and patriotism, and has expressed the undivided sentiments of his constituency; and, whenever it is necessary, we feel it to be the bounden duty of all true to the Constitution to do like Brooks.

Resolved, That for the high respect and full appreciation of Col. Brooks's conduct, we present him a cane from the soil of his own Congressional District, with this inscription:--'Use knock down arguments'--feeling that none other can be effectual on a perverted mind and degenerate race.

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From the Charleston Mercury.

PUBLIC MEETING IN LAURENS.

Pursuant to a call previously made upon the constituents of Hon. P. S. Brooks, a large concourse of the citizens of the District assembled at the Court House on Monday last, for the purpose of expressing their most hearty approval of the chastisement which that gentleman, as the immediate Representative of an insulted people, had felt it his duty to inflict upon Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts.

At the appointed hour, on motion of Col. Beaufort T. Watts, Col. James H. Irby was called to the Chair, and H. P. Farrow requested to act as Secretary.

The Chairman, on taking his seat, explained the object of the meeting in a few pointed and appropriate remarks; whereupon Dr. John A. Metts moved that a committee of seven be appointed to draft suitable resolutions for the occasion. The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee:--Dr. J. A. Metts, Col. Beaufort T. Watts, Capt. G. W. Sullivan, W. R. Farley, Esq., Mr. Z. L. Holmes, Dr. M. M. Hunter and W. D. Simpson, Esq.

The committee having retired, Dr. John P. Watts was called on to address the meeting. He heartily approved of the object of the meeting, fully sustained Mr. Brooks in the course he had pursued, and expressed a desire that the proceedings of the meeting might be of a dignified character, and that their beauty and effect might not be marred by anything that savored of rashness. He having concluded his remarks, and the committee having not yet returned, Mr. C. O. Lamotte was called on, who, though not a constituent of Hon. P. S. Brooks, fully agreed with the gentleman who had just taken his seat, that our faithful Representative has nobly and justly performed his duty in defending his constituency, and his absent and aged friend and relation, against the foul abuses of an Abolition Senator.

The committee on resolutions having returned, Dr. John A. Metts, Chairman of said Committee, made the following report:

Whereas, it has become the practice of Northern Abolitionists, in the Halls of Congress, and elsewhere, to stigmatize Southern men and Southern institutions, on all occasions, and when called upon to atone for their calumny and detraction, they intrench themselves behind parliamentary usage,--which, as they understand it, permits them to cast

their venom in all directions with impunity,--thus compelling Southern men to sit still and hear themselves denounced, and their States slandered and insulted, or take the matter in their own hands and chastise the insolent perpetrators of the offence. In our opinion, this insolence has been borne long enough by Southern men--forbearance has ceased to be a virtue; and we stand prepared to sustain our Representatives in punishing offenders wherever and whenever the occasion demands it; and we pledge ourselves to sustain not only Hon. Preston S. Brooks in what he has done, but every other Representative who may pursue the same course.--And if blood spilled at Washington be followed by the spilling of blood throughout the Confederacy, we are willing to take our share of the responsibility. Therefore,

Resolved, that in the opinion of this meeting, the attack of Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, upon the State of South Carolina, recently made in the Senate, was false and malignant. That upon our Senator, Judge Butler, base and cowardly, and well deserving chastisement.

Resolved, That we heartily approve and endorse the conduct of Hon. Preston S. Brooks, in chastising Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and hereby tender to him our thanks, and pledge ourselves to sustain him by all means 'God and nature have given us.'

The report of the committee having been read, the Chairman announced that it was before the House for consideration.

W. D. Simpson, Esq., being then called upon, endorsed the resolutions, and addressed the meeting in truly an eloquent and happy manner.

W. R. Farley, Esq., was then called on, and amid frequent applause, heartily concurred with those who had preceded him, in supporting and commending the course of conduct which our Representative had, by a sense of duty, felt constrained to pursue.

There being no other remarks, on motion, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Mr. C. O. LaMotte then moved that a copy of the resolutions be forwarded to Hon. P. S. Brooks, which was so ordered.

Preparatory for adjourning, Capt. G. W. Sullivan moved that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the Laurensville Herald.

On motion of W. R. Farley, Esq., the meeting then adjourned.

JAMES H. IRBY, Chairman.  
H. P. FARROW, Secretary.

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From the Charleston Mercury.

BROOKS MEETING.

A meeting of the citizens of Newberry was held on this Monday morning, in the Court House. On motion of Dr. J. N. Herndon, Gen. J. H. Williams was called to the Chair, and J. S. Reid appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting being explained by Col. R. Moorman, he moved that a Committee of five be appointed to prepare business for the meeting.

The following gentlemen were appointed that Committee:--Col. R. Moorman, A. C. Garlington, C. H. Suber, Dr. J. N. Herndon, and Drayton

[[column 2]]

Nance. After a short absence, the Committee returned and made the following report:--

Be it unanimously Resolved, That the citizens of Newberry here assembled, do cordially respond to the sentiments expressed in the preamble and resolutions adopted at a meeting of the citizens of the town of Newberry on the 24th ult., and that they heartily join in approving the conduct of the Hon. P. S. Brooks in chastising Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, who had been guilty of a gross and insulting libel upon the State of South Carolina, uttered in the Senate of the United States.

In submitting the report, Col. Moorman made a few remarks, urging the duty of adopting it.

Mr. C. H. Suber being called upon, addressed the meeting in advocacy of the resolution, and complimentary to the conduct of our gallant Representative, Hon. P. S. Brooks.

On motion of Silas Johnston, Esq., it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the papers in this town, and that copies be forwarded to our Representative and other members of the delegation in Congress.

J. H. WILLIAMS, Chairman.  
J. S. REID, Secretary.

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From the Richmond Enquirer.

THE SUMNER ASSAULT---EVERETT AN ACTOR IN THE FARCE.

It is not denied by Sumner's friends that he uttered piteous cries of distress, instead of exhibiting some effort, no matter how feeble, to resent the outrage upon his person. He offered not the least demonstration of fight.

Mr. Brooks's coolness and courage, (!) as attested by all the witnesses, present the most striking contrast to the cowardice of the craven-hearted

wretch from Massachusetts. Throughout the affair, his conduct was characterized by equal spirit and delicacy of sentiment. (!)

The testimony of Sumner's physician confirms the popular suspicion, that the fellow is feigning an illness which he does not really suffer. It is manifest that his hurt is not at all serious, and that he might have resumed his seat in the Senate the next day, if he had not been utterly prostrated and unmanned by fright. Yet the New York Tribune, of Wednesday, gravely speaks of Sumner's being beaten to death in the Senate Chamber!

There is no circumstance of this affair which so mortifies and humiliates respectable people as the conduct of Edward Everett. What sacrilege to associate the sufferings of Sumner with the memory of Washington!--to preface a eulogy on the Father of his Country with a whining cry of sympathy with an infamous traitor! It is just like Edward Everett. He has no sincerity, and no power of resistance to the frenzy of the moment. His hatred of Sumner is notorious; yet he pretends to weep over the misfortunes, and to partake the indignation of the beaten Abolitionist. And to think that all this hypocrisy is attached as an exordium to a eulogy on the character of George Washington! The tongue that can utter a wail over the prostrate body of an infamous Abolitionist is not worthy to name the name of George Washington. Mr. Everett should accept the offer of the professional rhetorician, and henceforth have his polished periods declaimed by a substitute. He is unfit to speak in the name of the ladies of Virginia, and we trust the managers of the Mount Vernon enterprise will dispense with his services. Everett a mourner at Sumner's fictitious funeral! In the end, the most pompous plausibilities will be stripped of their disguise, and exposed to the contempt and ridicule of the world.

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LETTER FROM ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

BOSTON, Monday evening, June 2, 1856.

S. G. HOWE, Esq.,--DEAR SIR--I thank you for your polite invitation of this afternoon. I have just returned home--much earlier than I could have wished--from a short journey which the state of my health required, in order to fulfil special engagements which could not be postponed, and which occupy the whole of my time at this moment. Without any reference, therefore, to the precise purposes of the meeting to-morrow evening, I am compelled to say at once, that it is out of my power to attend. I must beg you to excuse me, also, from being named as one of the Vice Presidents of the meeting--having long since resolved not to render myself responsible for the doings or sayings of any meeting, at which there was no chance of my being personally present.

I trust that it is not necessary for me to go to Faneuil Hall, in order to be believed when I say, that no one deplores more deeply than myself the distressing occurrences which have already taken place both in Kansas and at Washington, and that no one would more gladly assist in relieving the personal sufferings and redressing the public wrongs which have resulted from them. Especially would I co-operate with the utmost eagerness with those who may be ready to propose and to sustain any just, practicable and constitutional measures for arresting the progress of civil war in Kansas, and for restoring to the sons and daughters of

Massachusetts, and of every other State, in that devoted territory, the security, peace and freedom which they are entitled to enjoy. I must be perfectly frank in saying, however, that I have no great hope that violent speeches, angry resolutions, or inflammatory appeals, will do anything towards accomplishing such a result. It is no time, in my humble judgment, for indulging in sweeping denunciations, indiscriminate and insulting reproaches, or clamorous challenges and defiances towards other sections of the Union.

On the contrary, beyond almost all other periods in our history, since we had a history as a united nation--unless we are willing to see that history brought to a bloody close, and the volume shut forever--it is a time for the calmest, wisest, most collected and best considered words of which any man is capable. But, unfortunately, though by no means unnaturally, after the agitating events which have so recently occurred, and which are still in progress, we are hardly in a condition either to utter anything, or to listen to anything which is not angry, violent and vindictive. I am not sorry, under these circumstances, that it has not been in my power to speak at all in relation to them. There may be a time for juster views and wiser utterances; while as to any taunts to which silence may have subjected me, they pass me like the idle wind, of which they are composed.

I am by no means disposed to re-open the issues of other years. But I cannot help thinking, that if the gallant veteran, who ought at this moment to have been at the head of the nation, and who is still at the head of its army,--whose presence has almost as often been the pledge of peace in scenes of strife, as it has been of victory on the field of battle,--could be sent at once to Kansas, with full powers to command and enforce a cessation of lawless violence and conflict, and to put down in the reign of terror in that region, the dangers which now threaten the peace of the whole country might

still be averted. But if nothing is to be attempted but to send more men, and more money, and more munitions of war into that territory, in a heated and furious competition between the North and the South, you and I, my dear sir, may not live to see the termination of a struggle from which nothing but disaster and downfall to republican liberty and to human liberty can result.

But I forbear entering upon topics, on which I have neither time nor heart to enlarge. Let me only express my fervent hope and prayer, that the meeting at Faneuil Hall may not fall short of the exigencies of the occasion in the moderation and wisdom of its counsels; and that a spirit of comprehensive and Christian patriotism, rebuking everything of public violence and person wrong, and bringing us all back into a temper of mutual forbearance, forgiveness and good will, may speedily reassert itself in all quarters of our land.

Believe me, my dear sir, respectfully and truly,  
Your obedient servant,  
ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

SELECTIONS.

SELECTIONS.



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MEETING OF MINISTERS.

At a meeting of some sixty Baptist ministers, held at the Rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, Tremont Temple, Monday, June 17, 1856, Rev. Wm. Howe, of Boston, was chosen Chairman, and Rev. J. W. Olmstead, of Roxbury, Secretary. Prayers were offered by Rev. Messrs. D. W. Phillips, of South Reading, and J. Chaplin, of Dedham. The following resolutions, read by Rev. S. B. Swain, of West Cambridge, Chairman of a committee appointed at a previous meeting, consisting also of Messrs. T. F. Caldicott, D. D., Baron Stow, D. D., of Boston, J. G. Warren, of Newton, and Rev. S. R. Mason, of Cambridge, were passed upon seriatim, and adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That the recent violent assault upon an United States Senator in the Capitol, by a member of the House of Representatives, was an outrage upon the freedom of speech in the face of constitutional guarantees, which demands of the American people, and not least of those of our position and profession, unqualified reprobation.

Resolved, That in the Hon. Charles Sumner, we recognize an able bold and reliable expounder of the Great State of Massachusetts, on the great question of human freedom, with whom we readily share the reproach, though we may not the personal perils incurred, by avowing the true and timely sentiments which distinguish his late offending speech.

Resolved, That we fully approve the course of his colleague, Hon. Henry Wilson, in promptly rebuking the 'brutal, murderous, and cowardly assault' on the spot where it was perpetrated; and not less in rebuking the barbarous code of honor so long in repute among Congressmen, by his manly and Christian refusal to contend in a duel, especially with one who had already proved himself less a gentleman than an assassin.

Resolved, That the connivance of certain honorable parties at the inhuman affair, the failure of the United States Senate to vindicate its dignity, by any censure of it, the strong opposition to the like duty in the House, the farcical show of justice in the cognizance taken by the municipal authorities in the District, the unfeeling criticism of various widely reputed public journals, even in Northern States, and the simultaneous violence on the plains of Kansas, in a course of robberies, massacres, and other atrocities, seldom paralleled among savages,--all being the evident workings of the same spirit of slavery,--serve to show the appalling depravity generated by the slave system, the bold and determined character of the Slave Power, and the fearful success it has already attained in controlling the selfish and the servile, the unprincipled and the timid of every class, in every section of the land.

Resolved, That among the moral wrongs and national sins suitable for themes in the pulpit, American slavery is entitled to greater prominence; and though it may not become a minister of the gospel to enter any political arena, nor to bring its party strifes within walls consecrated to peace and personal godliness, he should not forbear to proclaim the criminalities and corruptions of this giant evil, howsoever connected with Church or State, nor to use any right means of influence in his power to

arrest and remove it.

Resolved, That, next to words of Christian truth and pray to Him who 'buildeth the house and keepeth the city,' the most effective and hopeful means of so doing is in the choice of civil rulers; and as present appearances indicate a persistent aim for the nationality of slavery, contrary to all the hopes and compacts of our revolutionary fathers, and to former protests from all Northern parties, as well as to the prayers and toils of the pious for the progress of true religion, and as the approaching national election indicates a CRISIS for freedom such as never has been, if again can be--we do here, at the close of this hour of prayer, earnestly entreat all Christian people--the patriotic and the humane of all parties and sections--to subordinate all mere political preferences to this paramount claim of FREEDOM against further encroachments, and with the unanimity and zeal which have ever marked the opposition, to unite in maintaining it by uniting in such measures and men as will be most likely to ensure success.

Voted, That these resolutions be printed in the Christian Watchman and Reflector, and daily newspapers, signed officially.

WILLIAM HOWE, Chairman.  
J. W. OLMSTEAD, Secretary.

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From the New York Independent.

LETTER TO MR. SUMNER.

CLINTON, June 6, 1856.

MESSRS EDITORS:--Will you please to give the following copy of a letter to Hon. Charles Sumner an insertion in your paper, at the request of those whose names are appended to it, viz., James Kilbourn, Edgar J. Doolittle, James D. Moore, S. D. Jewett, Nathaniel Miner, E. B. Hillard, S. A. Loper, Hiram Bell, D. S. Brainerd, S. McCall, G. W. Cormitt, James A. Gallup, and oblige yours, truly, J. D. M.

TO THE HON . CHARLES SUMNER:

HONORED AND DEAR SIR:--We, the undersigned, ministers of the Gospel belonging to the Congregational Association of Middlesex, Conn., beg to present you our cordial sympathy in your labors and sufferings for the cause of freedom in this land, and freedom of speech in the Congress of these United States, together with an approbation of your late admirable speech in this behalf.

Dear Sir, we bid you God-speed in your efforts, and pray that He will bless you and all others engaged with you in this cause, and that he will be your defence and shield.

Signed by all the members of Association present at their annual meeting in Hadlyme, June 4, 1856.  
[[/column 3]]

[[column 4]]  
From the National Era.

#### WHERE RESTS THE RESPONSIBILITY?

We record in another place the doings of the Cincinnati Convention. Have our readers considered the strange spectacle presented by that assemblage? Three years ago, the whole of the vast region originally known as Louisiana Territory, above the line of 36 deg. 30 min., reposed secure, under the sanction of a solemn compact, against the intrusion of Slavery, destined to become the nursery of freemen. The whole of the Pacific coast embraced within our empire was shut against Slavery. Central America was at peace, left unmolested by us, to work out her own destinies. On every side, it seemed as if the Oligarchy, although still powerful, were under restraint, effectually held in check, while the operation of natural causes promised to secure the ultimate and unquestioned tendency of Freedom.

Three years have gone by, and behold the change! That solemn compact has been annulled, and every safeguard against the extension of Slavery utterly broken down, by a President elected by the Democratic Party. Slavery now is recognized in New Mexico, and exists in Utah, the people of which have just formed a State Constitution which tolerates the evil. The vast Territory above 36 deg. 30 min. once consecrated to freedom, has been divided, and Kansas, the great majority of the People having decided in favor of Freedom, has been overrun by armed invaders from South Carolina, Georgia, and Missouri; its actual settlers have been driven from the ballot-box, plundered, maltreated, murdered, their printing presses destroyed, their houses sacked, by Pro-Slavery men, supplied with United States arms, taken into United States service, led on by United States officers -- the whole power of the Federal Executive in Washington being employed to plant Slavery in the Territory, and drive Free State men out of it. Should the Propaganda succeed, backed as they are by Presidential power, Nebraska, into which already slaves have been carried by Judges appointed by the President, will next fall a victim to their tyranny.

Meantime, the struggle is watched with profound solicitude by Slavery-Conspirators in Southern California, who have thus far been defeated in their attempts to divide that State, or smuggle Slavery into its lower half, only by the force of the Native vote. But, this vote is decreasing--the American settlers, chiefly from the South, subject the native population to every species of harassment and indignity--and the result is, that a large portion of it has been driven to take refuge in Mexico.

Let this process go on, and let the struggle in Kansas terminate in the triumph of the Slave-Interest, and these California-Slavery-Conspirators will attempt to carry out their schemes by the same instrumentalities as are now employed for the subjugation of that ill-fated Territory.

While thus circumscribing the sphere of freemen and labor in the North and West, drawing the lines more and more closely around the Free States, they have at least broken out on the South, and nothing less than Central America, and as much of Mexico as may suit them, will satiate their demands. Walker, the adventurer, whose revolutionary Government has just been recognized by the President, will prove an apostle of Slavery. He may not propose, as his chief object, the

propagation of the system, but he knows that every foot of land he subjugates is laid open to Slavery. This is why the filibusters of the South are so eager to join his standard--this is why New Orleans is all the while sending him men and money--this is why he prefers Southern to Northern recruits--this is why the Costa Ricans, more enlightened than their neighbors, have been attempting to drive him out. His establishment in Central America is the establishment of Slavery, and Slavery pays no respect to the missed race of Negroes, Indians, and Spaniards, which inhabits that country--a race which trembles with apprehension of enslavement or extermination whenever it comes in contact with Slaveholding Americans. Central America subjugated, then follows the seizure of Cuba, with the ultimate annexation of that island and Walker's conquests, establishing at once a continental and insular empire of Slavery.

With these gloomy facts, and still gloomier prospects before us, look at that Cincinnati Convention. It meets in a free State -- a majority of its members is from the Free States -- it is in the power of that majority to put an end to Slaveholding rule, to undo all the mischief that has been done in three years, to dissipate the gloom that hangs over our Future, to save Kansas to Freedom, to save our other Territories, to put an end to Slavery conspiracies in California, to baffle the detestable plot to plant Slavery in Central America, and add to this Union an indefinite extent of slave territory for the purpose of securing perpetual ascendancy to the Slave Interest. Aye -- all this is in its power -- it has the weight of talent - the numerical force -- it would have the backing of seventeen millions of freemen, against an Oligarchy of four hundred thousand. But, mark its conduct! It betrays the free States -- it attempts to hand over the seventeen millions of freemen bound hand and feet, to the Oligarchy. It approves and confirms all the usurpations of Slavery. It approves of the annulment of the compact by which Slavery was excluded from Kansas and Nebraska. It ignores even the principle of popular sovereignty, in virtue of which it was claimed that Slavery could be more effectually excluded, than by Congressional enactment. It stigmatizes as guilty of treason our fellow-citizens in Kansas, who have been trampled upon by a brutal mob of Slavery Propagandists. It can find no cause for disapprobation in the destruction of printing presses, the sacking of houses, the plundering of private property, the indictments of peaceable citizens for high treason and constructive treason, by a Pro-Slavery Judge, and in the general subjection of the Territory by a regiment of armed invaders from the South. On the contrary, its voice is heard, stigmatizing as sectionalists and abettors of treason, all who have the manliness to condemn those atrocities. And, as if in love with the masterdom of Slavery, it engrafts upon the platform of the Party, new articles of faith, practically committing its candidate, if chosen to the Presidency, to the support of Filibustering and Propagandism in Central America and the West Indies.

Recollect -- the Power thus guilty, is Free State Power. Men from the Free States, representing a Party which at this moment claims to control the majority of their voters, constitute the majority in that Cincinnati Convention, and it is by their votes that all these iniquities are done. They, the auxiliaries of the Slaveholders, outnumber their chieftains, and make haste to outrun their demands. Were the struggle with the Slaveholders alone, it would soon be decided in favor of Freedom, but, it is with them and their million auxiliaries in the Free States, who yet cling to the Democratic organization, that we have to contend. The re-

[[column 5]]

solves of that Convention commit the whole Party and its candidates to the approval of the policy of Mr. Douglas, and of the subjugation of Kansas to Slavery by armed Pro-Slavery hordes, and to the policy of Slavery-Propagandism -- and yet the election in November will show a popular vote in the Free States for those candidates, twice as large as the entire Democratic vote of the South in 1852 -- as large, probably, as the whole vote which the South can cast in 1856, for all parties!

The war, therefore, is one not of Sections, but of Principles. Northern men find their most determined foes in Northern men. Slavery-Propagandism is the policy of the South, and will be proved to be the policy of half, or nearly half of the voters of the Free States, should the Cincinnati nominees be elected. Our worst foes are in our own household. Slavery is the sin of the North as well as the South: they are accomplices in wickedness. Northern men and Southern men voted together to lay open Kansas to Slavery. Northern men with Southern men fight the battles of Slavery in Kansas against Northern men and Southern men. Sharpe's rifles cannot remedy this state of things. Dissolution of the Union is impracticable. The Free States must break down Slavery Propagandist among themselves, before their Anti-Slavery voters have power to dissolve the Union, and then they will have no motive to dissolve it. Let them conquer Freedom at home, place every Free State against Slavery-Propagandism next November, and Propagandism in the South will be subdued.

[[short dividing line]]

LETTER FROM JUDGE McLEAN.

The Newark Daily Advertiser publishes a correspondence between Judge Hornblower, of New Jersey, and Judge McLean, upon the Presidency. The following is the essential portion of the reply of the latter:

'I was born in your county of Morris, but after the close of the Revolution, my father, with his young family, settled in the Northwestern territory, where it has been my favored lot to grow up under the congenial influence of that immortal ordinance which has wisely guaranteed liberty forever to that beautiful region; and which her millions of peaceful and patriotic people will never cease to reverence as the foundation of their progress, prosperity and power.

It has been to me a source of the deepest regret, and of the most painful apprehension for the safety of our institutions, to witness the growing indifference and hostility, developed more generally during the last few years, to this salutary principle of that great measure of Jefferson. Some indeed have ventured to question its constitutionality, although for nearly seventy years it has been the theme of eulogium with lawyers and statesmen of the highest eminence in all sections of the country, and has received the sanction of every judicial tribunal in which it has been discussed, and that, too, in the slave States.

In these latter days, Jack-a-lanterns, generated in the bottomless marshes of party politics, seem to allure quite as many followers as are found in the path illustrated by the purer and safer lights, emitted from the precepts and examples of the sages of the revolutionary period, and political action seems to be directed rather by consideration of conceived party necessity, than by suggestions of reason, justice and

patriotic principle.

Occupying the position I do, it is not permitted to me to speak of the transactions in Kansas, in their legal aspects; but I may say with you, that I contemplate the violence, bloodshed, and civil and fraternal war, now transpiring there, with mingled emotions of sadness, alarm and mortification. They are the fruits of that ill-advised and mischievous measure -- the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which, from the first, I have earnestly deprecated; and I have no hesitation in saying that the immediate admission of Kansas as a State into the Union under the Constitution already formed, commends itself to me as a measure of sound policy, and well calculated to bring peace to the territory and to the country.

With these views, I have not been backward in advising, in all suitable ways, the adoption of the measure. There are several precedents which may be appealed to in support of it, and especially that of the admission of Michigan. It would do no injustice to any section of the country. It would powerfully tend to tranquillize the public mind, allay sectional jealousies, and bring the great mass of the people to the earnest support of the Constitution and the Union in their pristine integrity.

The South would have no just cause to complain of it, and indeed ought freely and generously to yield it upon the altar of public good. Since the adoption of the Constitution, as many slave States as Free States have been admitted into the Union; and the slave States, while they have only about one fourth of the white population of the country, embrace a much larger extent of fertile territory, with a more genial climate than the free States.

No intelligent observer can fail to see that the tendency of our institutions is now rapidly downward, and all history and experience show that no free government with such tendencies, was ever arrested in its declining career without a revolution, either by a peaceful change of its policy and rulers, or by the bloody arbitrament of the sword.

It is an axiom of government as clear as an intuitive truth, that no free government can rest upon any other than a sound moral basis. In this must consist its strength. How much of this foundation remains for our model republic, it will be well for the people, yet virtuous and enlightened, to ponder in season. If they do not see or appreciate their danger, it is in vain that they hold the power to apply the corrective.

With the greatest respect,  
I am very truly yours,  
JOHN McCLEAN.

Hon. JNO. C. HORNBLLOWER.

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AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

The long gathering storm seems at last about to break upon this battlefield of Southern Rights. To those who have watched it with discerning eyes, the present position of affairs will appear to be simply the fruit of

inevitable causes. From the beginning, collision seemed to be unavoidable, though postponed by this or that circumstance.

What will be the limits of a war begun under such exasperation, it is impossible to foretell. It has in it all the elements of a deep, long-nursed civil feud, to which the North and the South are committed parties. The news of a battle in Kansas will ring through the land, exciting to exultation or resentment the opposing sections of the Union. Blood, we know, is a maddening draught, and blood spilled in Kansas is likely to feed a flame throughout this Union, which blood alone can extinguish.

The position which the South occupies in this matter, cannot fail to be a source of pride to her sons. On the side of law, and entrenched in her constitutional rights, she has calmly awaited the onset of abolition lawlessness. Her sons in Kan-  
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sas, though stigmatized as 'border ruffians,' have acted with moderation and forbearance. (!) Every outrage committed against law has been on the side of the abolitionists, who, backed by the fanaticism of the North, have sworn to drive out or extinguish slavery in Kansas. They have rushed madly on, in spite of remonstrance, executive warning, and the certainty that the most desperate resistance awaited them.

And now, that the issue is come, and face to face the South confronts her enemies in Kansas -- now that violence threatens to swallow up peace, and the whole country thrills with anxiety as to what 'the next news' shall be -- may we not remember with satisfaction, what South Carolina has done in behalf of Kansas, and pointing to that band of gallant spirits who have in keeping her honor and rights, demand for them not only sympathy, but real, practical support? Never was money expended in a worthier cause, and never more prudently; for Kansas is an investment for posterity -- for those who are hereafter to enjoy the fruits of our zeal in defence of the institutions of the South. -- The changes which break around us daily, leave to the South no alternative but to press on, or be destroyed. Fine-drawn speculations never yet saved a people or a cause. And so long as rivalry is the law of national life, her path will be cumbered with obstacles which can only be surmounted by activity and courage. -- Charleston (S. C.) Mercury.

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#### SCENES IN KANSAS.

We take the following extracts from the deeply interesting work, just published by John P. Jewett & Co., Boston, entitled 'Six Months in Kansas, by a Lady.'

And now comes another sorrowful item of intelligence. You know I wrote you about the faithful guardsmen who watch our little town while we sleep. Yesterday, one of them who lives upon a claim about six miles distant, mounted his horse, wholly unarmed, and started towards his home, which he had not visited for several days. Out over the wide prairie he sped his way, to gladden the hearts of his parents and dear wife; when he was met by some five or six Missourians, who commanded him to go with them. He answered that he was wholly

unarmed, and on his route home to see his family; and putting spurs to his horse, he kept on. Poor fellow! he little understood the cruel, heartless, dishonorable men with whom he had to deal. They aimed at the defenceless and wholly unconscious young man, and shot him in the back. He fell instantly from his horse. The released animal kept on his way, and trotted into the door-yard of the murdered man's friends. They, supposing he had got loose from his fastening in town, did not suffer at all from anxiety; but, fearing his gentle, timid wife, whose tears had hardly ceased to flow during the young soldier's absence, might put another construction upon this event, wisely kept it from her.\*

Young Barbour's body was brought into town as soon as discovered, and laid away in one of the rooms of the new hotel, stretched out upon a seat, with his usual clothes upon him. He looked like one asleep; for the wound, though bleeding most profusely, did not disfigure him; it drew the color from his cheeks, that was all. His look of repose was even beautiful. He died, performing his duty.

The wife seemed wholly conscious that he was murdered, all the morning before the news was conveyed to his friends, though she lives six miles or more from here. How to bring her in with safety, was a matter of considerable importance, as enemies on horseback were supposed to be out in every direction. As the safest expedient, her husband's brothers, I think, dressed up in female apparel and accompanied her -- women being allowed to pass without much question. It is quite impossible to describe the agony of this wife. She is a delicate, slight-built person, wholly devoted to this man; in fact, it seems to have been a perfect idolatry. Having no children, she centered her all of happiness upon him. The soldiers, who were witnesses to her distress, mingled their tears with her shrieks, while their blood stirred, naturally enough, for vengeance upon the murderers.  
\* \* \* \*

Judging from my own impressions, I fear you Eastern people hardly do justice to the patient forbearance and long suffering of Kansas immigrants. Here in Lawrence, no week has ever passed without more or less insult and contumely thrown at our people by our nearest neighbors, the Missourians. We never ride, even within our own territory, and meet them, but our ears are pained with words too wicked to repeat. And they shoot at defenceless people with as much cool indifference as they would at partridges or prairie chickens.

My poor woman's-head does not pretend to sift or unravel this state of things. I am only cognizant of the present sad and dangerous condition in which, as a town, we find ourselves. You who are wise and benevolent should be able to help us who are so defenceless, and so far removed from the ordinary means of helping ourselves. Perhaps, like many other 'wise men,' you may have imbibed the impression that Lawrence is a good-for-nothing fellow, always putting himself in the way disagreeably, or treading upon his neighbor's corns; if so, I wish I might be able to disabuse you of any such injustice. Lawrence is a hard-working, money-loving, mind-your-own-business sort of person; who, if it would not pay a good profit, probably would not take the time or trouble to look at or travel into his nearest neighbor's inhospitable domain. Through the most of this month, there has been more quiet and freedom from annoyance, than for many a week previous. Elections were over; the Free State people had shown themselves three to one, and the question seemed to be at rest. But it was a mere seeming, a lull before a storm. There is not, there has not been, a single cabin safe from outrage anywhere in the territory for the two past weeks. Without the slightest provocation, men are cut down, leaving families in lone places



without any protection; our cattle are taken; teams of freight stopped on the public way, and all the merchandize handled over, to see what it contains. Ammunition withdrawn, and then the luckless wagoner sent on his way. Market-men, too, coming to bring us apples, and potatoes, and flour, are forbidden to proceed. Gentlemen whom I know and honor, some of them simply visitors, riding in their own carriages up from Kansas City, find their horses' heads seized, while beastly, half-drunk Missourians demand their business, and a pledge that they will not tell Lawrence people how near armed men are camping around them.

It gives me pleasure to be able to affirm that I have known of no outrage exciting to this on the

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\* This statement I received from a lady with whom Mrs. Barbour remained a few days after her husband's murder. I have since learned, that two friends were near him when he was shot; that they did not know the ball reached him, until he had ridden some rods, when he uttered the cry, 'My God! I am a murdered man!' and immediately slid from his horse to the ground; never spoke again, and breathed a few moments only.  
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