

ed or controlled by legislation, it should be employed for that purpose. Among the causes leading to idleness, poverty, immorality and crime, the unrestricted use of intoxicating drinks is, beyond question, the most effective in its disastrous results. And hence I take occasion to refer to our legislation prohibiting the traffic in such drinks, and again to recommend its continuance. Should amendments to the law be thought expedient, I think it desirable, but not with a view to forestall or pre-empt other improvements, that the prosecution for each offence should be rendered more summary, still preserving the securities for an intelligent and fair trial; and that judgments and sentences, covering a great accumulation of penalties in the same prosecution, should, generally, be avoided. The certainty and promptness of punishment are usually far more effectual in the prevention of crime than extreme severity. I also think that positive and open drunkenness may be properly declared a legal offence, and punished as a misdemeanor.

Your special attention will probably be called to the ever important subject of popular education. The action of the last Legislature failed to meet the expectations of many enlightened and patriotic citizens, who have long and zealously labored to advance this great interest in the State. Should their plans and views be again presented for your acceptance, they will merit, and doubtless receive, a candid and thorough investigation. It is not to be supposed that, with revenues derived chiefly from direct taxation of the people, we should be willing to sustain a system of education, even for our common schools, as

artificial and expensive as those established in some of the other States, where ample and distinct funds are permanently appropriated to that object. Yet it should not be doubted, that all improvements of paramount necessity or importance are always within our means; and I doubt not that such as you may deem needful and practicable will be adopted. And while the interests of our primary and subordinate schools are duly fostered, the institutions of higher grade, including our colleges, should receive all the aid and encouragement that may consistently be extended to them.

I think it my duty to bring to your notice that provision of our laws relating to the Grand List, which permits the respective lists of personal estate to be balanced or reduced by debts due from the owner. The subject must, to some extent, have engaged the attention of your predecessors, but I know not how deliberately and fully it may have been considered. The provision was probably adopted to avoid double taxation of the same property, by treating its unpaid price in the hands of one man, as a substitute for the property itself in the hands of another. It is obvious, however, that the notion of such a substitution cannot reasonably be carried to the extent of the existing enactment; and that this provision operates to protect from actual taxation a very considerable amount of personal property through the State, without securing any just equivalent in the taxation of debts. Doubting whether so general a provision of this character, if indeed any such, can rest upon the satisfactory grounds of justice or policy, I commend the subject, in its various bearings, to

your thorough examination. And should you see fit to enlarge the basis of taxation, by subjecting to it the property now practically exempted under the provision aforesaid, I would advise that another effort be made to revive and sustain the Uniform Militia. The necessity may at any time occur, of seeking protection from an organized and efficient military force, against sudden danger from abroad, or domestic violence. And the only such force which should or can be invoked at such times is that of the militia;—a force identified with the people, and always accessible.

A deep feeling of compassionate regret and apprehension is not unfrequently experienced, at the sight of children and tender youth imprisoned in the common jails as criminal offenders. There is reason to fear that this mode of dealing with such young persons has by no means the most salutary or reforming influence. When in that condition, they generally find little or no kind and active sympathy surrounding them, and soon come to view themselves as being stamped with the mark of permanent exclusion from good society, and from the honorable pursuits of life. And if to this be added the association in confinement with hackneyed and callous malefactors, the work of effectual depravation may but too soon be consummated. These considerations have induced me to recommend that Houses of Correction be provided for juvenile offenders. Such a mode of punishment would, of course, extend to all those minor and petty offenses, which are commonly the incipient steps in the path of crime. I forbear to enter into details, or to suggest whether such

establishments should be the work of the state, or of counties, towns, or other associations; having entire confidence that all this will be wisely settled, if the main proposition shall meet your approbation.

By a Resolution of the Legislature, passed at the session of A. D. 1853, the Executive was requested to make examination as to the expenses incurred by this State during the Revolutionary War; with a view to the presentation to Congress of a claim for remuneration, if that course should be thought advisable. Finding this resolution in force when I came into office, I thought it my duty to proceed under it. The examination has accordingly been made to a considerable extent, and I hope to be able, during the present session, to have the claim in condition to be presented, if deemed expedient.

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the last session, I appointed a board of Commissioners, consisting of the Hon. Jacob Collamer, the Hon. Daniel Kellogg, and the Hon. Hiland Hall, to revise the present laws relating to Railroad Corporations; and their very able Report is herewith transmitted for your consideration.

By another resolution, at the last session, the Governor was directed to appoint a Commissioner to treat with the Iroquois Indians for the settlement of their claim to certain lands in this State. The Hon. James M. Hotchkiss, of Lamoille County, was appointed such Commissioner. His negotiations, as I learn, are not yet brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

Nothing has occurred during the last year, to allay our just apprehensions of danger to most of the vital interests of the free States, from the determined purpose of a part

of the nation to extend the limits and influence of slavery. That purpose is understood to have been manifested in the territory of Kansas, by a course of successful menace and violence equally defiant of law and the rights of opponents. A design is also indicated, to break down that great principle of the common law, heretofore universally admitted and affirmed,—that a slave becomes free, when he enters a free state by consent of his master. The experiment has been tried, of purposely bringing slaves into a free state, and there claiming a continued property in them. And all these events would seem to have passed with an acquiescence, to say the least, on the part of national authorities, executive and judicial, which the true friends of freedom can scarcely contemplate with composure. The time has evidently arrived, when all who would oppose the further encroachments of slavery, should combine their vigorous and persevering efforts for that purpose.

Suggestions of frugality in the public expenditures may be spared ; as I doubt not you are already self-committed to a course of the strictest economy, which you shall think consistent with a just administration of the government in its various interests and departments.

You will accept the assurance of all that aid in your labors, which it appertains to my office to afford. And trusting that we may act under the favoring auspices of Divine Providence, I venture to anticipate a session of signal benefit to the people of the State.

STEPHEN ROYCE.

MONTPELIER, Oct. 13, 1855.

186.1.2

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Jerusalem 11th 4/55

My Dear friends
Passmore Williamson

And wife, for so I can truly call you although you faces
I have never seen to know, I expect the host, of multiplied friends,
your late deep affliction, has occasioned is such, that you
need not the expression, of my sympathy or congratulation, but,
I feel that it will do my heart some good, to acknowledge it
in your presence, you have been the companions of my thoughts
morning, noon & night. your trials, your keenly felt privation & I doubt
not unutterable anguish of spirit, has often saddened my feelings
& marred my enjoyments in the road of life, on hearing to day of
Passmore's liberation from prison, it thrilled my heart with feelings
of delight, that you were again united in the endearing ties of Domestic
Slippings, thus the Prayers of many unknown friends to you are answered, I hope
sometime in my life to shake you by the hand in that recomp of feeling
which breaks down all distinction as to name, sect, or party,
and re-unites our spirits together in the precious feeling of the
Goodness of God.

Your friend Elizabeth Paxson
Bridge Water P. O. Bucks County, Pa.

P.S. your Father Thomas Williamson, whom I have also felt with
him, having a respectful recollection of him when a school
girl at Westtown in 1820, my name then, was, Elizabeth Haight
he probably may recollect me, E. P.

Prooklyn Nov. 4. 1855.

Dear Sir:

This morning while in Church we had the unexpected happiness of learning from our Pastor - Henry Waid Becher - the fact of your absence.

Though personally unknown to you we take the liberty of addressing you to express our high appreciation of the service which by your Christian conduct you have rendered humanity. We trust, Sir, that we may not be considered obtusive in doing so. We are glad for the sake of the truth that there are some still willing to suffer for it. We are glad for the sake of Young Men, like ourselves, that they can not be left without a living testimony by a living man that shall incite them to higher aims & more unselfish acts. And we trust that while doubtless your chief satisfaction & reward spring from

the consciousness of Duty dem & of a
Savior General, you may still not
be unwilling to receive the merited
thanks & congratulations of those who
admire Heroism & would benefit
humanity.

We thank you, Dear Sir, out of free
hearts, that having been called to so eminent
a place by the evident pointing of
Providence; you have borne yourself
so nobly, so calmly, & firmly, in
the defence of human rights; - in the
name of Humanity; of Justice; of
the Young; of the oppressed; & of gene-
-ration yet to come, we thank you.

And we pray that God may En-
-able you by His Grace to do to
the End, your part faithfully.

In conclusion, may we ask
that you will favor us with your
Autography? If so will you please
address to the Care of the Metropolitan
Bank, New York.

Your Obedient Servants,

Sam. W. Tubbs,

Hiram J. Fonda



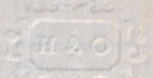
New Haven, Conn., November 3rd 1855.
(Monday, a. m.)

Dear sir.

The news has just reached New Haven, (during the last hour,) that you are released from your long confinement. Will you pardon the liberty—which I take in addressing you so soon after your release, & at a time when, of course, you must be very busy?

The Young Men's Associations of the Centre & 1st Methodist Churches in this city are now giving a course of lectures. Distinguished men from various parts of our country have spoken & are to speak on our course. It has occurred to the committee of these Associations, on whose behalf I write, that it may be possible for you to visit New Haven & speak before the Associations. Any subject which you would choose to speak on, (the subject of Slavery, for instance,) would prove entirely acceptable & satisfactory to us. As early as a day for your visit as you could name would be most grateful to us.

Will you allow me, sir, to assure you that during your imprisonment you have had the most cordial & sincere sympathy of all



in this community whose good opinion is most to be desired? & that the announcement of your release is now being read with the liveliest satisfaction?

Let me assure you, sir, that if you should find it possible to accept our invitation, there are very many not only among our own citizens but among the hundreds of young men gathered here in our college, from all parts of the Union, who would be rejoiced at an opportunity of seeing & hearing you, of welcoming you to New Haven, & to New England, & of manifesting their cordial approbation at your steadfast course in opposition to judicial tyranny.

I ~~am~~ think, sir, that we might also make it worth while for you, in a pecuniary point of view, to accept our invitation. We should certainly wish to offer you whatever remuneration, for your time & services, you might desire.

Let me suggest also that a change of air & change of scene may be beneficial to your health, which, we are pained to learn, has suffered during your imprisonment.

I hope that you will decide, my dear sir, to give a favorable response to this invitation. May I ask you to reply as soon as possible. I enclose a postage stamp for that purpose.

I have written hastily in order that I might be in time for the next mail, & so anticipate, if possible, any other applications of a similar nature to our own.

Will you excuse my boldness, & the freedom with which I have written &

Believe me, my dear sir,
With great respect, yours truly,
George B. Bacon.

P. S.

Be kind enough to address your reply to me at this place, Care of Rev. Dr. Bacon.

If possible, we should like to have you come ^{some time} late in November or else early in December. We would willingly wait longer, however, than have you decline the invitation altogether.

In great haste, yours —
Geo. B. Bacon

Passmore Williamson Esq.,
Philadelphia.

TO PASSMORE WILLIAMSON,

Confined in Prison, by Judge Kane, for alleged Contempt of
Court in the Wheeler Slave Case.

BY JOHN COLLINS.

When first the sun gleams on grey Bunker's pile,
Dim twilight shrouds the misty vale below;
And still its peak returns his latest smile
In roseate glow.

Thus shine the glorious deeds of martyrs gone,
Earliest and brightest on the page of Fame—
Time may destroy their monumental stone,
But not their name.

All who for freedom live, or bleed or die,
In noble daring of tyrannic sway,
Pass not unnoticed to their rest on high
In endless day.

The sympathetic word—the heart humane—
The unflinching courage for the trembling slave—
Appeal not to the heavens for strength in vain
To aid the brave.

Whoe'er impelled by love of human kind,
Bids the sad bondman breathe a freer air,
And from the long-untaught, benighted mind,
Its shackless tear;

Oft, tho' his tears in secret paths be strown,
Shall reap the thanks of myriads yet unborn;
While the oppressor's name shall live alone
In endless scorn.

Bear on, then, sufferer! gird thee for the fight!
Tho' all the powers of darkness may assail,
Though fierce the contest between might and right,
Truth shall prevail.

What though immured, thy body waste away,
Deprived of light and air to mortals given,
Canst thou not see, amid thy twilight day,
A gleam of heaven?

Far happier thou than he who placed thee there—
The *unjust* judge—to *truth*, to *reason blind*;
Thy soul is peaceful—he must ever bear
A tortured mind.

The heart that bleeds for the oppressed in chains
Shall ever beat in unison with thine,
Long as our love for fellow-men retains
A spark divine.

And they who cared not for the vile decree
That fain would drive out freedom from our sight,
Shall, when they know what bonds now fetter thee,
Maintain the right.

The hallowed spirit of the pilgrim band,
Of friends—of home bereft, for conscience' sake,
May, soon, in startling echoes through the land,
A nation wake.

God keep thee in thy noble purpose, then!
The tyrant's claim presumptuous to deny,
Or, if the voice of truth be heard in vain,
In prison, die.

Firm as the rock that breaks the angry wave,
And rears its head above the tempest strife,
Be thou, the friend of freedom and the slave,
In death or life.

191-193

193.1.R

Philadelphia 5th Nov. 1853

Sir, Like yourself I am a Philadelphian
 You are not more averse to slavery than I am.
 In years I am your senior, in rank & position -
 at least your equal. I will therefore address a few
 lines to you in frankness & candor.

That you were treated with injustice by Judge K
 I am fully convinced. You should have been
 taken, or should yet be taken, and turned over
 to Judge Lynch, and hanged by the neck until
 you are dead, and I am ready at any moment
 to carry this threat into execution. You do not
 know what you have been doing. Get a bundle
 of rods, take down your benches and get
 your father to switch you until the blood
 gills your boots.

"The Constitution must and shall be
 preserved" and if you abolitionists won't
 live peaceably among us, go on live elsewhere,
 words will not quiet you - violence will.
 There are worse evils than mobs and when
 fools like you cannot be argued with, mobs
 and bloodshed may be necessary to put you
 out of the way. One who is ready to act
 but not to talk.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Nov. 5/55.

Passmore Williamson, Esq.

Philadelphia

My dear Sir,

Yesterday, in the middle of his morning's discourse, Mr Beecher announced to his large congregation that you were liberated. It created a thrill of joy in the whole assembly. I could hardly refrain from exclaiming, in the Methodist style, "glory to God"!

The Tribune and Evening Post of today, take suitable notice, of this heart-cheering intelligence. I am glad to see that you came out so honorably to yourself & the cause of freedom. You, and your heroic wife, and noble father deserve the thanks of every friend of humanity for the stand you have made against tyranny.

Mr Percie was so kind as to send me your daguerotype. I pointed to it your letter of Sept 29th to a gentleman in this city & have gratified many in this city & vicinity and in Boston during my late visit there, who have seen it.

May the choicest blessings of heaven rest upon you & your dear family.

Yours faithfully
Levin Tappan

1855

Yankee Settlement Iowa Nov 10th

Paymore Williamson Esq Dear Sir
 A Pennsylvanian who at a distance
 has seen your heroic conduct in the
 cause of human Liberty wishes to
 convey to you the felicitations of the
 neighborhood in which he lives as well
 as to express for himself the sense
 of Joy felt by the People of the
 Distant West Receive this ~~therefore~~
 noble Williamson ^(ask you to) as the greeting
 of a ~~number~~ of enthusiastic friends who
 though remote are alive to the prompt-
 ings of Duty and a feeling of resentment
 toward the unscrupulous and time serving
 Judge who for a momentary reward
 so basely truckles to a Power which
 is every day declining and whose votaries
 are doomed to a place in History
 as dishonorable as those that of those
 who persecuted the early Christians
 I am now surrounded by a number of
 friends who while I write are eagerly
 engaged in perusing the New York Tribune
 containing Kansas last Decision in

Your Case I need scarcely assure you
that it meets with the most
undivided censure there is in fact
but one opinion expressed in our
vicinity and throughout the entire
State and Country and that is one of
universal condemnation of the
Course of Judge Kane ~~how menial~~
how unenviable is his position in
the eyes of all rational minded men
Keep up your spirit and don't shrink
nor flinch a hair from your proud
position before the people
Do not compromise your honor by
a base surrender of your glorious stand
against the Power which seeks to
fetter the free North Remember
the impressive fact that you are
the Representative of the Whole of
North that your sufferings are our suf-
ferings that there is a mighty prin-
ciple at stake which must not be
abused let me a brother Pennsylvan-
ian remind you of your Responsibility
if you attempt to evade the danger
or to escape from duress by submission
you violate a sacred trust

I am poor and the People around
 here are the same but should
 it become necessary, should your
 imprisonment be prolonged we
 are pledged to make your cause —
 our cause, and to hold the
 utmost we can do in your behalf
 to be but a tithe of what we owe
 to ourselves and our Country —
 trust me these are the sentiments
 of our hearts. I do not speak for
 myself alone nor ~~do I speak to be~~
~~actuated~~ am I delegated to speak for
 others but I do speak nevertheless
 to add one voice to the verdict of the
 Western World for the living Principle
 of human liberty which our Country and
 our people should be ever ready to main-
 tain and for the full development
 of which we should be constantly
 struggling — accept the good wishes
 of hosts of warm friends who though
 strangers to you are no strangers to your
 brave conduct and who assure me they
 would take pleasure in having an
 opportunity of expressing their admir-
 ation in some more substantial —
 form ~~we are~~ we are aware that you

117. v
are not the man to interpret this
as the language of flatterers but
as that of sympathizing friends, we
believe also that you could endure
your present confinement with
becoming dignity and fortitude —
without this evidence of our sympathy
but we think the case demands
that the voice of condemnation
should go forth from the people
against the unjust Judge who
has worked this foul iniquity —

Yours Truly

W. M. Weidemann
and many others

Passmore Williamson Esq
Philadelphia County Prison
Philadelphia
Penn

Hudson Seneca, Nov. 12th 1835

Dear Cousin

I have been intending to write to you for some time, but not having much news to send you that would be likely to interest you while you were situated as you were, I suppose you have been a "man of one idea" pretty much since July 2nd and that one was to get out of jail. I rec^d two papers from you yesterday giving details of the Purgings Process and it strikes me if there ^{are} any quack doctors of Leaw J. H. Law is one of them.

For he appears to make as much mystery of the law as a quack doctor does of his medicine - an awful mystery of something not to be understood, but to be wondered at. You said in your letter to me ^{the} ^{principles} of the law were ancient and simple, and you seemed to think their application to your case would take you out of your difficulty, but unfortunately we cannot get the benefit of those great principles that are said to be founded on Reason and Justice, without their coming to us like the opinions of great men from the other world, that is by means of a medium and ^{they} ~~are~~ often woefully warped, and you will not be likely to look in future for "reason and justice" from a corrupt Judge ^{any more} than you would ^{wisdom} from a medium whose calibre took 150 to the pound.

I always thought that the expounders of the law tried to make it to conform with reason more than the expounders of the gospel did their creeds, and if I may judge of Cain's exposition it seems to me that from the commencement of your case in his court, like Baron Holywell that "Common Sense had taken her leave an' up the road to Cowgate."

in each of Cain's oppositions of the law or justifications of himself, "lame and impotent conclusions" may be as justly said of them as of any other judges opinions since the day men were tried for witchcraft.

If he could imprison you because the first answer to the writ was "evasive or illusory if not false"

I dont see how he could let you out on the last answer for if there is any thing evasive or illusory in either of them it is the last one, "I did not seek because I verily believed it was entirely impossible for me to produce the said persons agreeably to the commands of the court," that might have been one of the reasons but I guess a bigger reason was you didnt want to produce them. Well though, ^{you} have got through ~~have~~ your body through this knot hole of courtship it appear that you are not entirely through, if you should stick fast at last before you get through the damages, it will be as great a puzzle to me as the optail was to the philosopher that he saw hanging out of a hole in the side of a fur house while he was beewing it ^{was} ~~was~~ great ^{theoretically} ~~theoretically~~ ^{but} ~~but~~ ^{he} ~~he~~

The Tanner came past and asked me what he was in
 such a deep study about - he said he was studying
 how it was that if that ox got his body through
 hole why his tail should stick fast, and I cant see
 how stick fast on the damage, if you have to
 pay damages to Wheeler for his slaves I hope you will
 get enough off of Judge Cain to do it with.

I was ~~at~~ down at home on Sunday they are
 about as well as usual there used at Uncle Isaac
 with the exception of Sarah LeMay who has come
 there sick it is thought she will never get well
 as she has been sick for sometime. I saw Reuben
 Beersall I suppose you have heard they have sold their
 place and that Reuben expected to go west &c.

Thos. Pyle has sold his at \$100. per Acre Los. Chinablos
 his at \$112. do. Benj. Hager his at \$2000 for some few acres
 over 200 ^{the price of} land appear to be on the advance. I wish
 you would send somebody to buy Hudson
 Seemey before it gets spoiled with improvements.

I think if you would bring Mrs W and the
 baby sometime before the weather gets to cold
 up the rail road and take the air of the Hudson
 Hills it will be a benefit to all parties. I should
 like to see you before long if could make it suit

if you are not overburdened with greatness
 being thrust upon you I should like you to send
 me a letter to Thomdale sometime this week and let
 me know the state of affairs for I believe
 the Seedyers that I subscribed to have stopped Messrs Pyle & L. Pyle

1991.R

Painsville Lake Co Ohio Nov 13th 1855

My Dear Brother. Passimore Williamson Esq
 Inclosed are five Dollars for you, and by reason of your
 unjust Imprisonment and great Mental Sufferings, as well
 as Bodily.

My Mind and every soul has been drawn out for you, and
 to our heavenly Father that he would bring deliverance
 and that speedily, after 3 long Months and one week
 that deliverance has come, for which many goodly Persons
 are rejoiced. I learn all about your Case from and in
 the Tribune of New York. It is not likely I shall ever
 see you in this life. I have been in your City about
 10 years ago. I remained with Judge Joel Jones, and
 his Brother Joseph the Minute they being on Cousins
 to My Wife. I suppose those Peaceable and quiet men did
 not act openly in your Case.

There has been a notice in the Chautauk Leader for a
 Public Meeting to render you some assistance for the great Pecuni-
 -ary Losses you have been so unjustly ~~put~~ put to & the end is not
 yet I fear on the part of Wheelers Chatters. I get how consoling to
 know they are free & beyond the grasp of the Slaveholder
 If it is not too much trouble I wish you to call on Doct
 Grey of your City, he is a Spiritualist and has put out
 a Book on this great Subject. perhaps you may remember
 that in June last or July he gave an invitation to the
 Episcopal ministers who were holding a Ministerial

Meeting in P. M. to visit his rooms and witness his
 Spiritual apparatus which he had just completed they never
 as I could learn gave any attention to his kind invitation, the
 Dr. I suppose is an Episcopalian.

My wishes are that you would inform me whether
 the Book was ever published if so the cost & Postage and
 to whom I shall apply for it, if you can without much
 trouble see the Doctor, as I apprehend he is a scientific
 Man independent of the Spiritual Phelosophy, which he has
 embraced. I have made search for the Paper, which contained
 his invitation to the Ministers but cannot find it therefore
 I have not his first name, I subscribe myself

your humble servant & your devoted friend hoping you may
 obtain a full compensation for your pecuniary losses in
 the suit you have commenced against Judge Cairns
 if a suit will lie against him and surely it ought for
 a more outrageous Persecution was only equaled by the
 Notorious Jeffries under the reign of Charles the Second

John W. Matthews M. D.



2021.R
27 New Broad Street
London 13 Nov. 1855

Passmore Williamson Esqr

Moyamensing Prison
Philadelphia

Sir,

Your father is commissioned to hand you a Resolution of sympathy which was passed unanimously at a meeting of the Committee of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the 2nd Instant. It expresses not only their own sentiments, but those of

every friend of the Anti-Slavery Cause
in this country. In addressing you,
the Committee are conscious that
their condolence can be no alle-
viation of the sufferings you are
enduring, but they feel it to be
their duty to present you with
some testimony to the esteem
in which they hold you.

May you, in your dark hours
of solitude be sustained by the
all-strengthening grace of the
Divine Spirit, and by the con-

Sincersness of having done your duty
as a Christian & as a man.

I am,

Sir,

Yours very respectfully

L. A. Chamerozou

Secretary



703 85
203.1.P

At a General Meeting of the Committee of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at No 27 New Broad St. London, on Friday the 9th of November 1855, the following Resolution was adopted, and the Secretary was directed to forward a copy of the same to Passmore Williamson's father, with a request that he be kind enough to place it in the hands of Passmore Williamson; and further that, after the lapse of a reasonable period to allow of the said resolution's being handed to Passmore Williamson, the Secretary do forward copies of it to Judge Lane, and to the other Judges who have given an adverse opinion in this case, & consign Passmore Williamson to prison "without bail or mainprize."

Resolution

The Committee of the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery

Society desire to record an expression of their sympathy with Palsmore Williamson, who has now been, for several months, confined in Moyamensing Prison, Philadelphia, for having, in the discharge of a Christian duty, in his capacity as a citizen of a Free State, promoted the restoration to liberty of three human beings held as slaves.

The Committee sincerely condole with him in the sufferings he is enduring in the cause of truth and humanity, and admire the fortitude he has exhibited under the very severe trial to which as a husband and a father he has been subjected. They have learnt, with unfeigned satisfaction, that his disinterested and noble conduct in resisting an arbitrary exercise of power in refusing to regain his liberty at the cost of his honor and integrity, has received the spontaneous approval of a large number of his fellow-citizens, of some of the most distinguished public men in the United

THE SLAVE-MOTHER'S LAMENT.

A Poem.

(Suggested by Hood's "Song of the Shirt.")

WEARY, and hungry, and worn,
 And beating in sorrow her breast,
 A Slave-mother sat through the night 'till morn,
 Rocking her infant to rest.
 Hush! hush! hush!
 Sleep, babe! but oh, never wake!
 The woe that's for me is in store for thee:
 Die, babe! though thy mother's heart break.

Work! work! work!
 Long ere the lark carols aloof;
 And work, work, work,
 'Till the stars shine through Heaven's roof.
 Woe! woe, to be a slave,
 To be flogged 'till you cannot stand;
 Yet a child of God's, with a soul to save:
 And this in a Christian land!

Work! work! work!
 That fine dames cheap cotton may wear;
 Work, work, work,
 And leave off if you only dare.
 Plough, and harrow, and hoe,
 Hoe, and harrow, and plough;
 No food, no repose, though you sink half dead,
 As weary as I am now.

Pick! pick! pick!
 'Till torn are your fingers, and sore;
 And still pick, pick,
 'Till the cotton is dyed with gore.
 Pick! pick! pick!
 For have cotton cheap ladies will;
 The work that's begun will never be done,
 The breath leaves the body until.

Work! work! work!
 In sunshine, in wind, and in rain;
 Work! work! work!
 And still work for another's gain.
 Work! work! work!
 In sorrow, in sickness, in fear;
 Work ever, work, work, work,
 With never a bright hope to cheer.

Oh women! think and weep!
 Think, mothers; think, sisters; think, wives:
 When cotton you buy, and buy it so cheap,
 At the price 'tis of human lives.
 Pick! pick! pick!
 Whilst the cow-hide is cracking around;
 Pick! pick! pick!
 In dread at its horrible sound.

Oh, mothers! with children dear,
 To love, cherish, and call your own;
 Change places with me, and ask God to hear,
 Whilst you pray for a heart of stone.
 Yes! pray for a heart hard as stone,
 For the one He gave you would burst, [caress'd,
 If torn from your breast were the babe you
 And you for despairing were curs'd.

By night as well as day,
 That Death's hand in mercy might close
 The eyes of your babe, you'd fervently pray,
 And rejoice in its last repose.
 For once in old time it was said:
 Such innocents let come to Me;
 My Kingdom above is made up of these,
 And there all my children are free.

And why should such babes live?
 To curse of their birth the sad day!
 And why should tender mothers give,
 A love that is stolen away?
 Oh! rather let them die,
 Like young buds in an unkind spring;
 Let them die ere they know their life is woe,
 And long ere their sorrows begin.

Thus through the night till morn,
 And beating in sorrow her breast;
 A Slave-mother sat, though weary and worn,
 Rocking her infant to rest.
 Hush! hush! hush!
 Sleep, babe! but oh, never wake!
 The woe that's for me is in store for thee:
 Die, babe! though thy mother's heart break.

27 New Broad Street, London,
 12th October 1855.

LOUIS ALEXIS CHAMEROVZOW.

States.

The Committee earnestly hope that this general expression of sympathy in his case, may encourage others to walk uprightly & fear not; and that the persecution he is suffering may awaken his fellow-countrymen to a sense of the danger with which their liberties are threatened by the Slave-power, and may induce them to unite in the employment of all moral & pacific means for its overthrow.

On Behalf of the Committee
Geo. Wm Alexander Treas.
L. A. Chamerozow Secretary

P.S. My Father to whom I have just read
his letter wishes me to say he hopes if ever
you come to England you will honour him with a visit

204-1.R

30 Compton Terrace

Islington, London

Nov: 16th / 55

Honoured Sir,

Led by admiration
of a gentleman who has
so nobly distinguished himself
in the sacred cause of Liberty
I am induced to address a
note of congratulation & sympathy
to you from this side the
Atlantic - In a dedication
of my treatise on *Shakspere*
& *Tactics*, on the coming
a 2nd edition, to my noble
friend General Sir P F Napier
I found occasion to mention
y^r. name in consequence of

of noble conduct in the case
of Wheeler's so-called slaves
for they were neither his nor
any other man's till their
Creator had signed the bill
of sale of such signature
they have not - I beg
therefore as a tribute to you
wrote to forward you a
copy of the dedication of
my treatises - I have been
led to this 2^d edition by
a large order from our Go-
vernment for 155 copies of
each treatise for the public
military libraries at the
various stations wh: pays the
expenses you will see by some
opinions I enclose the opinions
of 3 of the ablest sheets

generals in the world or than
Napier Guyon & Klapka
the two latter of the war of
independence in Hungary -

I doubt not that each
of my lectures in the
government libraries will draw
have at least 10 readers
so that I hope 3000 officers
& men will hear of y^r. name
I become enamoured of y^r.
principles - You will see
how I treat of Slavery -

I shall do all in my
power especially with military
men to help on y^r. cause
of the Oppressed on this side
the Atlantic - I have
written to a friend at Philadelphia

Mr. H. T. Taster Jr. of
 the firm of Morris Taster
 of Morris, Iron Foundry, to
 give you a copy of the
 document for me so that
 you may not fail to turn
 me - Doubt not you
 sir, "are building yourself
 up in the most holy faith"
 that of Christ whose service
 is perfect freedom & who when
 he wishes an acceptable day
 of a fast wokes a day "to
 loose the bands of wickedness
 let the oppressed go free & to
 break every yoke" Isaiah -
 Then says the Supreme so doing
 "thy light shall rise in obscu-
 rity & thy darkness be as the
 noon-day" Isaiah
 Yours faithfully
 Edward Yates Jr.

DEDICATION.

TO

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM F. P. NAPIER,
K.C.B., ETC., ETC.

September 25th, 1855.

HONOURED SIR,

LED by a steadily, and, of late, a rapidly increasing demand, which has absorbed the first edition of my Treatises, to a second, I seize with avidity the opportunity of the permitted honour and pleasure of dedication. I know no man by whose permission to dedicate my Treatises I should feel more highly honoured, or experience greater pleasure and satisfaction.

Not entirely that yourself and that noble man, your late brother, the witness of whose military qualities the late Duke of Wellington signed and sealed by declaring publicly, at a moment of imminent danger to our Indian Empire, that "either he or Sir Charles Napier must go out to India:" of whom indeed the poet might with truth have sung—

"Super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium:"

are of the first of those devoted, who, covered with wounds and glory, have defended and advanced that British flag beneath whose sacred folds no slave can breathe.—Though

now, at a moment of the country's need, when the determined valour and self-devotion of brave soldiers are qualities which receive from every faithful citizen an almost exaggerated estimation, I call with greater sympathy and warmer appreciation to mind that both yourself and brother, unlike many soldiers of the highest order, have ever given a *firm, uncompromising adhesion to great and noble principles*. It is, for example, Sir, a great and noble principle,—That in the eternal counsels of the Supreme, the one undivided immutable aim, in the government of the spiritual universe, is the *development* of all, as societies and individuals, in knowledge, virtue, and happiness, to the utmost perfection of their assigned natures or states; the *development* of all, as societies and individuals, to the profoundest insight and knowledge of His Spirit and designs, to result in the most perfect love; to the profoundest insight and knowledge of His so stupendously organised (even to our feeble apprehensions, capable of appreciating so little) material universe, to result in the highest veneration; that unless sanctioned by the firm adoption, faithful, and if need be, self-denying execution of this principle of *development* for the governed, as societies and individuals, towards the greatest perfection of their existing nature, no government has a right to exist, no ruler a title to support, the internal government of no family sacred, no individual life worthy.

Surely, Sir, in spite of the bigot fabricators and bloody persecuting upholders of complicated, irrational creeds, equally unintelligible to the learned and unlearned, to whom no less than to the former Christ's Gospel, simple, definite, logical, necessarily and avowedly adapted to the

common sense of all, was addressed with no mistakeable meaning or uncertain signification; creeds mostly absurd on the face of them, rampant, too, in blackest blasphemy against the infinite benevolence of the Almighty, All-merciful Father, whom infidel priests, partners in an infamous combination with secular tyrants, induced by temporal power and pelf, have blasphemously dared to exhibit to His creatures *the transcendental impersonification of cruelty*, punishments, governed by the all-wise, all-powerful, all-merciful directing hand of the Author of the spirits of all, are ever blessings, and equally with rewards have as sole, undivided object, the *development* of all, of whatever kind, as societies and individuals, to the perfection in every way of their existing nature, and the eternal development of all ultimately to infinite knowledge, happiness, and perfection. Does not the infinite benevolence of the Supreme, which all admit, guarantee the truth of this theory of the government of the universe, while infinite wisdom and power, which all equally admit, ensure most unmistakeably the compass of execution?

Universal history presents, indeed, on dark and bright pages, but one unvarying tale.

On the dark pages we have the incessant combination of irresponsible autocratic tyrants, or despotic oligarchies, with false and butcher priests,* to crush beneath cruel, monstrous,

* "The bigot monarch and the butcher priest,
The Inquisition, with her burning feast,
The faith's red 'auto,' fed with *human* fuel
While sate the Catholic Moloch calmly cruel,
Enjoying with inexorable eye
The fiery festival of agony."—*Lord Byron's Age of Bronze.*

Autocrat of all the Russias, his lying, persecuting Greek Church and slave-holding oligarchy, whose combined and monstrous ambition has already caused to be shed three times over more human blood than would be necessary to float that once boasted fleet, wrung from 200 years of lash-enforced labour, which, sunk for ever, rots beneath the waters of that once Russian sea, on every point of which, in unobstructed majesty, floats this day the free and sacred flag of Britain.

Civil and religious tyrants (notably these latter, for from Slippy Sam of Oxford upwards, as they are more sneaking and contemptible, so are they more virulent and pernicious) constitute the retarding force against the sane development of progressive humanity. I do, Sir, from my heart, most firmly believe that hierarchies and their priests* have done more to retard the secular, moral, religious education and development of the human race, than all other criminals and malefactors, whether statesmen, warriors, lawyers, brigands, highwaymen, or what not, put all together.

Sweet and refreshing to turn from the dark pages of history to those equally unvarying, luminous leaves ever in immediate juxtaposition, and trace, for meditative hours, development for good, ever progressive with accelerated velocity; for when aught in the combinations of any system of the universe hinders the *just* moral and religious development demanded by the *ripened state* of the public

* By these, godly Christian ministers, occupying the sacred office of the ministry, necessary and sanctified for the administration of ordinances, are by no means referred to.

mind, then, do not the waves of the Infinite arise, and surging onward with resistless force, overwhelm, a shattered, blasted wreck, whatever barrier is opposed to them? At the necessary conjunctures of the world's history, have not war and pestilence, earthquakes, and strange events, in ordered combination, swept men from off this earth, "as chaff from the summer threshing-floor"?

Sweet to turn to those noble and devoted beings, who, by stainless victory, dreary exile, long imprisonment, or excruciating torture, have shattered the power of tyrants, rebuked wickedness, trod down superstition—from the days of him, who, refusing the rights of royal but fictitious birth, and contemning the luxury of an Egyptian court, chose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God." Time has had its heroes.

So much so, that Paul indeed says that the time would *fail him* "to tell of Gideon and of Barak and of Samson and of Jephtha, of David also and Samuel, and of the prophets, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the army of the aliens."

Time, too, has had its Grecian demigods and Roman plebeian tribunes, its Albigenes and Waldenses; Wyckliffe, Cobham, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Knox, the Lollards and the Huguenots, one great man the saviour of his country, and a pivot—is it not so?—of the freedom of the world, with the soldiers that *he* trained, the victors of Marston, Naseby, Dunbar, Worcester. Those, too, were

noble men who in the time of the first French Republic chased despots, combined for crime, from the polluted soil of France, and advanced till the treaty of Tilsit the victorious eagles of the great Napoleon. There, too, have been philosophers—Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, La Place, La Grange, Arago, who in the end of development pushed nobly forward to the extent of knowledge accorded to man's existing nature.

Add to these Milton, Shakspeare, Pope, and the fraternity of poets—for beauty and sublimity are the elements of poetry—and these exist not without freedom and free development. Where is the poet of slavery? of despotism, civil or religious?

Nor should practical mechanics and chemists be forgotten—Friar Bacon, Caxton, Watt, Stevenson, Brunel, &c., for the development of practical mechanical, and chemical power, has produced the greatest results for humanity.

The first cannon shot signalled the ruin of the destined feudal system.

Slavery—crushed beneath the driving wheels of the first railway engine which invaded the Southern States of America, received, in all probability, its mortal wound, for wrongs so cruel, and iniquity so stupendous, as those which I myself have witnessed in that dark land, surely need nought but publicity, secured by the development of practical mechanics, for extinction, *or humanity is base indeed.*

Yet *there* indeed is slavery for the moment *rampant and aggressive.* The South, breaking faith, has traitorously

torn up the solemn Missouri compromise. In Kansas, a slave-holding legislature, owing its authority, not to the legitimate votes of the inhabitants of the territory, but the rifles, revolvers, and bowie knives of Southern "rowdies," has, within the last three months, passed laws surpassing *by far* the bloodiest conceptions of Draco, and capable, administered by such hands, *no less than designed for that purpose*, to take the life of any person in the territory suspected of encouraging free labour, and opposed to the enormities of slavery. The unjust judge, too, of ominous name, Judge Cain, is still undegraded except in the estimation of all honest men, and that noble citizen, Passmore Williamson, still an imprisoned martyr for having faithfully discharged his duty to his God and his country.

The press, worked by steam, locomotives, steamships, traversing in ten to eleven days the wide Atlantic, electric telegraphs, all tend to bring the sufferings of the voluntarily or involuntarily oppressed in spirit or body, and the tyranny and madness of the priestly or secular oppressor, to public view, and by their means, to be allied in the future to perhaps many others in this existing state still more stupendous, *That of* ETERNAL in the individuality of every man implanted by the Supreme may find promptest communication with the individualizing characteristic inspirations of his fellow-men, and so all human individualities, mutually developing one another under the favouring circumstance of closest contact connected together by the comprehending developing spirit of the great Originator of the individualities of all, may combine to form an *organic* society, and be collectively and individually a

grateful spectacle in His sight, progressive every way, and destined to crush beneath a vital public opinion supported for the present by the arms of the noble and devoted brave whatever is antagonistic *to the sacred development of the world.*

We are, Sir, already permitted to believe that a time will come when neither Andes nor Hemaleh, the burning desert, the vast and dense forest, the courses of mightiest rivers, or the wildest storms and winds and highest waves of the tumultuous Atlantic, shall afford any effectual barrier to the instantaneous transmission of human thought. It is not beyond the limit of a sane probability that man on the summits of the Andes may with man on the summits of the Himaleh investigate distinguishing ideas and communicate individual inspirations with as great rapidity as though, seated on opposite sides of a table, thoughts were transmitted by written papers.

Other and far more wonderful spectacles doubtless await posterity. Onward with finite intelligences towards infinite good, it is not permitted us to tear the majestically unfolding future and foresee its infinite developments, or indeed even say exactly what new developments we most want in our own day, or, indeed, how we are best to make toward that we believe we do indeed most want. Yet it is satisfactory to be assured that *honest men*, though they may neither know exactly what they want most, or the best way to get that want supplied if they did, always know *what they do not want, and pretty approximately some things they do.*

I have so great pleasure in dedicating my Treatises to

gious liberty, while Italian cannon and Italian swords drive back on the Tchernaya the enemies of England and civilisation.

Honest men who love God and their neighbour do *not* want this sort of thing to last.

Honest men, too, want neither civil nor religious slavery or tyranny; and, in spite of the lucubrations of the fanatical and foolish, when either interferes with the *just* development due to the *ripened* state of the public mind, war is a far less evil than either, a necessity, and has ever been considered so. "Justum bellum quibus necessarium et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes."

Of civil slavery in America, I will now briefly state what I have myself seen, because, when on either side broad, contradictory allegations are made, and facts traversed, the testimony of an eye-witness, who gives his name, and pledges himself for his facts, cannot fail to be important.

It is a mistake to suppose that white slavery does not exist as well in the United States of mis-called democratic America as in Russia. The following are extracts from a letter addressed by me to the Editor of the *New York Tribune*, the first newspaper in every respect in the States, and printed by him in his journal:—

"While travelling, I saw about thirty-eight children of both sexes, under twelve years of age, with blue or light eyes, soft, pretty yellow or light chestnut hair, quite white, without any formation of feature indicative of African descent, and five or six handsome white women (one of whom a *negro*-trader at Augusta, Georgia, tried to sell me), held in bondage—white slaves.

"The next fact, Sir, is the existence of a large coloured population of all shades, from a British or French brunette to pure black, mani-

festly the result of the amalgamation of the two races in different degrees of proportion. Now, I would ask Southerners,—Does not this fact evince most clearly that your creeds and practices show that you go even further in your belief in the *natural* equality of the two races, as equally human, than those you are pleased to call fanatics?

“I have now in my desk a lock of beautiful yellow hair which a blue-eyed little slave girl sold me for a quarter, and which I wanted to take to England with me to show them negroes’ wool.”

A “True Southerner” replied, and admitted my facts, displaying besides, in his letter, for which I wish I could find space, *the true spirit of the South.*

I have myself seen the mute agony of mothers sold away from their children; mute agony, I say, for any noisy exhibition of distress would be followed by the lash or other torture in abundance, in the dungeons of the negro-traders’ dens. I shall never forget the look of distress, gathering of two large tears, and strange despairing look of one yellow woman in particular, as, when three of her four children had been sold away from her in the auction-room of Pulliam and Davis, Negro-Factors, Richmond, Virginia, seated on the hindermost bench, waiting her turn to be sold, with her youngest child by her side, she *furtively* strained for a few seconds that still remaining one to her breast.

At slave-auctions I have asked a sufficient quantity of negro men who were to be sold alone, whether they had wives, to know that the separation of husband and wife is almost as common as the separate sale of a full-grown man or woman.

It is no secret to me that men and women are driven

forth like cattle to work, from before sunrise till after sunset, beneath the burning sun of Louisiana, to work as well, in crop time, on moonlight nights; for I have seen it. On the banks of the Mississippi, at mid-day, I have seen the strong slave man, exhausted with heat and toil, turn with sickening stomach from the paltry, unwholesome pittance allotted to him, and seek, during the scanty dinner-hour, refuge in sleep.

Then, indeed, I comprehended that the statistical statement—that the average life of a slave on a Southern plantation, after being put on full work, does not exceed seven years—was indeed the expression of a fact. Experience demonstrates the argument, “That the master of a slave will treat his slave well, because he is his property,” to be untrue. * Omnibus, cab, and other horses, though the properties of their masters, are very much abused, and their lives very much shortened in consequence, and that from motives of actual profit and expediency.—I myself heard the screams and supplications of an unfortunate negro man, who was flogged in the punishment-room of Charleston workhouse (which, furnished with fixings to attach the feet, and pulleys to extend the arms, instruments of torture, paddles, cow-hides, and others whose names I do not know, appears like a torture-chamber of the Inquisition), because he had played at cards for a few cents with another negro, as though ruinous gambling were not one of the marked *minor* vices of the South. I afterwards saw the instrument of torture—a paddle it is called—stained with blood, and large spots of blood on the floor, which an attendant hastily wiped away; the man was flogged by order of his mistress,

not by that of a magistrate, and received twenty-seven blows, which I counted by the sound, loud, though it came through a thick door; and the keeper of the workhouse told me he would have received the whole thirty-nine, but that he bled more than most. Female slaves may be seen by a traveller entering the Southern workhouses of the boasted land of Washington, to be flogged in the same most indecent and brutal manner. Every overseer I have spoken with on the subject has *admitted* to me that slaves are flogged to death on the plantations, on the principle that it is highly expedient, as a means of keeping the rest up to the mark, and that the operation is found to pay. That slaves were flogged to death *avowedly* on system and principle, I confess I was not prepared for. The number of lashes which some of the free negroes and of the slaves told me are given in a week on the plantations, is incredible; overseers on large plantations have admitted to me, that a day seldom passes on which three or four at least are not flogged. Overseers, in fact, every one, admits that in republican America female slaves are universally flogged, just as brutally, and with just as little regard to decency, as the male. It is by no means uncommon for a planter to have two or three families growing up on the plantation—one by his legitimate wife, the others by handsome slave women; hence, to complete the crimes of the South, must be added not unfrequent incest between half-brother and half-sister, or worse. That latter Mr. Hildreth truly exemplifies in his novel, “The White Slave.” Have the people of the United States so soon forgotten alike their heroes, sentiments, and traditions? Is the spirit of '78 for ever extinct, or refuged beneath the

British flag? Do the posterity of those who fought nobly for liberty positively beget their own children to bondage—to be the veriest slaves?

America, like Ilion, may heap honours and boasts on the shrines of her heroes, but the boast of the virtues of an heroic past hallows not the vices of an ignoble present; and the hum of meretricious commerce, mouthings of ministerial Southern dogs, footsteps of fugitive-slave-law myrmidons, invading even to the free soil of Massachusetts, and shrieks of trampled freedom, forbid the ghosts of the heroic founders of the Republic to join in peaceful sleep the mighty shade of Hector.

“Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector’s shade.”

To any remonstrance, Southerners *and their vile scribes in all countries* are very fond of saying, “That the Northerners and British have white slaves at home.” This is by no means true; for niether of the following *ordinary incidents of slave life* ever present themselves in the North or on British soil:—

1. Man, on the transparently false pretence of the Rights of Property, robbed of what has ever been considered the most sacred of the Rights of Property—the Right of a man to his own Labour.

2. Women, in defiance of the closest, dearest, natural relationship, robbed of their children.

3. Men robbed of their wives in defiance of a primary edict of the Creator, the result of an exigency of man’s

nature: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helpmeet for him."

4. Man tortured to death under the sanction of public law and the *Constitution of the United States*, in contempt of the sixth article of God's Decalogue, to wring from him his last most sacred property—*his own labour*.

5. Women under the alternative of the systematically inflicted, reiterated torture of the lash, sometimes to death, robbed of the most sacred of the Rights of women—the Right of a woman to her sacred Honour.

Yet the South styles itself, *par excellence*, the chivalrous and democratic South.

O most Stainless Chivalry! O most Virtuous Democracy!

This being so, I, Sir, would gladly know whether Southerners, their friends in the North, and base hireling scribes everywhere, think themselves far above the moral standard of the common robber or common murderer, or of the base wretch who, seized by a comparatively instantaneous, perhaps almost ungovernable, impulse of his ill-regulated mind, mars by one foul act the whole bright prospect of a woman's life.

In the innumerable armies of the great Commander-in-Chief, I think it cannot be doubted every noble act is, through an infinite appreciation and infinitely benevolent will, accompanied by instantaneous promotion; every moral wrong by instantaneous moral degradation. And,

Moral retribution is instantaneous, consequential—perhaps eternal.

So in the Southern States of America the petty slave-

holder, the most frequently uneducated and ignorant, corrupted by an irresponsible power unfitted to man, leaves the little circle of his tyranny with vices and passions which have assumed colossal proportions—a bloodthirsty, cruel, vindictive wretch, regardless of human blood or life, with infidelity the principle of his conduct, and blasphemy the law of his tongue. *In short, he is what Mr. Dickens has so ably described him to be.* Being such as he is, the petty slaveholder leaves the little home circle he has cursed, as far as the radius of his social and political power extends, to curse society.

Augment that power, and behold a Menschikoff or a Nicholas.

Remove from American slavery what of protection a difference of colour affords *the really black portion of the slaves*, and according to all historians and travellers, and many most credible persons I have met who have lived long times in Russia, there remains the perfect and exact exhibition of Russian white slavery. The Emperor Nicholas and the Missouri rowdie are equally assured of the fact—*Aggression is a law and necessity of the existence of slavery.*

Sir, I think it a matter of great self-congratulation to the British army and people, that in spite of the ills they have suffered from home traitors and imbeciles, *their most powerful enemies*, they are now fairly face to face with the great fortress of civil and religious tyranny. I pray That may be reduced to the utmost extremity, and treated with the utmost rigour of war; and, indeed, the war being one of antagonistic principles, at least, on the side of Russia,

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which all smaller civil and religious tyrants show they are aware of, and so unite with Russia as far as they dare—and *it being impossible to find funds from finances, however flourishing, for repeated insignificant wars, each deciding nothing*—I do not see how, unless the direction of this country falls into the hands of traitors, madmen, or fools, Great Britain can follow any other policy than the total annihilation of Russian power and influence, at whatever cost or whatever sacrifice.

Then it may be hoped, that the head being cut off from the members, the outworks of civil and religious tyranny—Austria, Naples, Tuscany, the Slave States of America, &c.—will, with some small assistance, fall to pieces of themselves, permanent peace reign, and trade, manufacture, and agriculture, flourish greatly beneath the blessing of the Lord.

In the history of the world, to the efforts of no army has been offered a holier cause.

Among the principal developments which, in the existing state of things, honest men want, appear to me to be:—

1. Universal free trade.
2. The same decimal currency throughout the world.
3. The absence of indirect taxation.
4. A just and equitable representative system, having as basis equal electoral districts; for, indeed, *districts glaringly unequal, both in point of property contained and number of electors, render a representative system a job, a jest, and a sham.*
5. Government to be in advance of the people, because the purity of a nation's institutions manifestly operates

on the virtue of individuals, just as the expanding virtue of the community renders reforms of governments a necessity.

And it being conceded that the competitive system is at present, and will, probably, always in this world, be the only reasonable and practical system,

6. A system of government having as its basis Social Equality.

By that I mean a government which shall oppose no inequitable, unjust, artificial, adventitious, or meretricious barrier to the *due* advancement of any man in any branch of the public service, or any department of private enterprise; nor by public laws uphold the idle, inefficient, and unproductive, in positions reserved to successful productive merit.

Which shall, on the other hand, as far as possible, both in the public service and private enterprise, cause *the scale of merit* to be *the scale of promotion*.

Which shall, as far as possible, distribute freely to all citizens all that tends to *equalize initial positions to the end of fair and honourable competition*; as, for instance, by proffering to all, at the state expense, a reasonable, logical, secular education, including reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of mechanics, *and excluding disputed, interminable dogmas*.

Which so far from imposing a feebly productive tax, or even a tax, however productive, on any material substance or thing which may be made subservient to the religious, moral, and intellectual development of man, shall, on the contrary, impose no such taxes, if not, in certain cases,

supply such valuable material to the community at less than the market value.

To extend such noble principle to the army as a branch of the public service, appears, to some, to present insuperable and astounding difficulty.

Yet, Sir, in book xxxi. chap. 5, of your "Peninsular War," I find the following quotations, containing an important assertion of the Duke of Wellington:—"The barbarity of the English military code excited public horror; the inequality of promotion created public discontent; yet the General complained he had no adequate power to reward or punish, and he condemned alike the system and the soldiers it produced." According to the Duke of Wellington, "the latter were detestable for everything but fighting, and the officers as culpable as the men;"—"and although it cannot be denied that his complaints were generally too well founded, there were thousands of true and noble soldiers, and zealous worthy officers, who served their country honestly, and merited no reproaches. It is enough that they have been since neglected exactly in proportion to their want of that corrupt aristocratic influence which produced the evils complained of."

That most valuable volume on "Indian Misgovernment," by your late noble brother, General Sir Charles J. Napier, appears to me full of a strong desire to apply the principle of social equality to the British armies.

The meagre extant biographies of the officers of the invincible armies of the Commonwealth, and the letters of Cromwell, show most convincingly, that the principle in question was rigorously adopted; yet it may be doubted

whether, either before or since, Britain has ever been more powerful, relatively to the rest of the world, or had better troops. Cromwell writes as follows:—"I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a *gentleman* that is so indeed."

It was, too, this principle which covered the arms of the French Republic and Napoleon with imperishable glory; for then, too, the common soldier saw military merit rise triumphant over pecuniary and aristocratic barriers; and with Hoche, Ney, Lannes, Murat, Junot, and the great majority of his officers as examples before him, felt that if he did not indeed carry his marshal's *bâton* in his knapsack, he might, at all events, aspire in his profession to honourable command and ennobling distinction. I believe it to have been this, Sir, which, combined with patriotism and liberty, secured the splendid triumphs of Rivoli, Marengo, Jena, Austerlitz, Friedland, Borodino, to the combinations of Napoleon.

Scarcely in the second year of what will, unless concluded with national loss, be in all probability a protracted war, we are obliged to have recourse to foreign mercenaries, because the sons of the soil, rightly disgusted with a service which, without holding out any adequate hopes of honour or emolument, exacts the greatest sacrifices, and imposes transcendental danger and self-denial, have become far too wise and noble not to see through and despise the transparent artifices of recruiting-sergeants. It may, and most sincerely do I hope it will, become a determination to

exhibit to the youth of the Anglo-Saxon race the irresistible stimulants of *honourable ambition, noble aspirations, and the consciousness of a sublime and holy cause*. It can hardly, I think, be doubted, by any acquainted with the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race, that were such course pursued, and such principle acted on, and terse, vigorous, yet eloquent proclamations addressed to the army and circulated in the public press—in which, among the obvious contents, the promotion of men who had risen by merit would be ably remarked on, and examples properly put forward with prominence and dignity—the youth of the Anglo-Saxon race would, at the call of a Sublime and Holy Cause, and magic touch of Glory and of Fame, leave with steady heart the warehouse and the factory, the anvil and the plough, to crowd beneath the standards, and, if need were, to form an army which in a reasonably fair field, alone and unaided, would drive before it, in headlong rout, whatever armies the whole forced levies of Russia could array against it.

Then, Sir, I believe that the mines of Britain, rendered fecund by so glorious rays, would render forth iron invincible battalions, realizing the apparently visionary conception of the poet. Then, too, daring spirits return from emigration. And so far from difficulty being experienced in recruiting in the United States of America, hardy and resolute men in thousands and tens of thousands, of their individual spontaneous will, perhaps the entire community of the Northern States, form with united heart around the Anglo-Saxon flag of their fathers upraised for liberty, under just and equitable laws.

With the expression of my profound gratitude for your great kindness to me, which I shall ever most gratefully remember, I have the honour to be, honoured Sir,

Your very faithful and obliged servant,

EDWARD YATES.

30, COMPTON TERRACE, ISLINGTON.

OPINIONS on an ELEMENTARY TREATISE on TACTICS and on certain parts of STRATEGY, for the use of Military Students. By EDWARD YATES, B.A., Nineteenth Wrangler and late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

OPINION I.

Extracts from a Letter of GENERAL SIR WILLIAM F. P. NAPIER, K.C.B., to the Author, placed at the Author's disposal.

SCINDE HOUSE, CLAPHAM, NEAR LONDON,
October, 1853.

DEAR SIR,

PRAY accept my thanks for your Treatise. I have glanced through it, and read enough to see that it is a very beautiful little work, the result of great research and reflection; and it astonishes me that a civilian should have seized all military points with so much certainty, and avoided so entirely all the false notions which are so often adopted, and throw ridicule on works treating of war, by unprofessional men, and often, indeed, by shallow professional men. Does your work sell? I do not ask this from impertinent curiosity. I wish to know if our officers have any tendency to study their profession; if they have, your Treatise should be in request.

* * * * *

Accept, therefore, the present notice as my acknowledgment both of your kindness and ability to handle the subject you have chosen: and with it permit me to send you a copy of the Posthumous work of the man you have so highly and, I will say, so justly eulogised. Believe me, Sir, with great esteem,

Your obliged Servant,

EDWARD YATES, ESQ.

W. NAPIER.

OPINION II.

*Copy of a Letter from PROFESSOR NARRIEN, F.R.S., to the Author,
placed at the Author's disposal.*

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE,
October 30, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG to return you my best thanks for the present of your valuable and interesting Treatise on Tactics. The perusal of it has afforded me much pleasure, for I consider that the *Principles* involve all the most important objects in military operations, and they are delivered in a way which permits them to be easily comprehended and applied. The illustrations from events in actual warfare are well chosen, and form a valuable body of information concerning the circumstances on which the issue of battles mainly depends.

I am much obliged by your kind inquiry concerning my health. I am but slowly recovering from an illness which has been very prevalent this season, and this circumstance, with the pressure of duty arising from our half-yearly examinations, has prevented me from answering your letter earlier.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

E. YATES, ESQ.

JOHN NARRIEN.

OPINION III.

*Copy of a Letter from KHORSHID PACHA, the GENERAL GUYON
of the late War in Hungary, to the Author.*

QUARTIER GENERAL DE KARS,
Ce 26 Juin, 1854.

SIR,

I TAKE great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the two volumes which you have done me the honour of sending.

My varied and imperative duties necessarily leave but little time at my disposal. But the cursory inspection that I have been able to bestow, justifies fully the high opinion which I had heard expressed of them; and I am sure that a more attentive perusal would confirm me in the opinion, that they will form a

very valuable addition to the military literature of the English language.

Receive, Sir, the expression of my distinguished consideration. If in future I can be of any assistance to you, I beg, Sir, that you will not hesitate to call upon me.

Your most obedient Servant,
KHORSHID.

OPINION IV.

Copy of a Letter from GENERAL KLAPKA, of the late War in Hungary, to the Author, placed at the Author's disposition.

Péra, ce 15 Août, 1854.

MON CHER MONSIEUR YATES,

J'AI lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt le *Traité élémentaire sur la Tactique et quelques parties de la Stratégie*, que vous avez bien voulu m'offrir.

C'est un ouvrage qui pourra servir aux jeunes officiers de toutes armes, à leur faire mieux comprendre les ouvrages des écrivains militaires, si souvent mal compris ou mal commentés.

Vous donnez dans ce livre une nouvelle preuve qu'il ne faut pas être précisément militaire pour pouvoir amplement contribuer à enrichir les sciences de guerre, remplaçant, par l'étude, l'expérience des praticiens.

Je vous souhaite que votre séjour en Asie vous serve à contribuer au succès de la bonne cause, et à vous donner l'occasion de vérifier vos idées sur les champs de bataille.

Agréé, je vous prie, l'expression de ma parfaite considération.

G. KLAPKA.

OPINION V.

Copy of the Review of the Treatise which appeared in the UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE of November 12th, 1853.

THE clever *Treatise on Strategy* which issued from the pen of Mr. Yates some months ago, had prepared us in a great measure for something still more elaborate. It is unusual to find civilians, "nineteenth wranglers and scholars of St. John's College, Cambridge," devoting themselves to Military studies; but there is nothing to prevent their becoming great authorities, even though they had never "heard great ordnance in the field." Theories are accessible to the whole of the studious part of man-

kind, and the records of war supply practical illustrations as serviceable as personal experience of campaigns. Mr. Yates never, perhaps, saw a shot fired, but he has diligently read the details of battles and manœuvres in the grandest theatres chosen by the genius of Napoleon, and distinguished by such actors as Wellington, Beresford, Soult, Charles the Twelfth, and Peter the Great. No need of such a voucher as a Peninsula medal if a man can ascertain in his closet on what principles battles were won and lost!

The peculiar merit of Mr. Yates's volume lies in the logical arrangement of his matter. Definitions are followed by examples; principles and maxims are illustrated by cases. He affirms in language clear and comprehensible, and seeks elucidations in the most authentic histories. We may cite as a salient instance of his manner, the account given of the battle of Albuera. The story as told by Napier is offered as an illustration of seven tactical principles, and of the maxims as to the choice of a field of battle, and the determination of the decisive point of a field of battle. To officers anxious to master their profession, we heartily commend a volume characterised by so much painstaking, intelligence, and irresistible argument.

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE.

OPINION VI.

*Extracts from the Review of the Treatise which appeared in the
BRITISH ARMY DESPATCH of November 11th, 1853.*

WE are then introduced to a chapter on the principles and maxims of tactics, and on several maxims of war, subdivided into fifty-four principles of tactics, and fifteen maxims of war. The suggestions on the choice of a field of battle are based upon the experiences of the ablest commanders of ancient and modern times. The principles of fortifications generally are very clearly explained, and the chapter on the means of obtaining information, and of discovering the projects, plans, dispositions, and resources of the enemy, is an epitome of the experience of Napoleon, Wellington, and Jomini, as detailed in his useful work, *Précis de l'Art de la Guerre*.

We see no reason to withdraw from the author our meed of praise for a very useful work, deserving of careful perusal by Military men.

BRITISH ARMY DESPATCH.

205
205.1.2
87
East Bethlehem, Washington co., Pa. Nov. 17th. 1833.

Mr. Williamson -

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed, you will find a
Poem I wrote for newspaper publication about the time of your re-
lease from prison. I have mailed a transcript of it to the "Wesleyan", a
radical anti-slavery journal, published in Syracuse, N. Y. But, think-
ing, that inasmuch as you are now released from confinement, the
Editor might not publish it, therefore I remit ^{it} to you, hoping you
will receive it as a token of my sincere regard for you. It is the simple
flushing of my heart for an outraged and persecuted brother. & I
know it is but an humble tribute from a very humble creature, who,
though young, has been the peculiar victim of misfortune; yet in its
lines is contained the sentiment of this entire community. I have never
heard a single individual say your imprisonment was just; but all
write in a hearty denunciation of Judge Kane's proceedings. Your
treatment from Kane has caused no little excitement in this region.
If a move had been made to take you forcibly from Moyamensing
Jail, thousands of men in this county, would have "shouldered arms"
and marched up to Philadelphia, in your behalf. Your name is a
house-hold word - as familiar here as "father" and "mother".

I am a stranger to you both personally and by reputation;
but, be assured, though you are personally a stranger to me, you are
not by reputation. You certainly deserve great credit for rescuing
those slaves from the grasp of Wholer. It was a deed that very few have
the nerve to perform. When I heard of what you had done, I said in my
heart, "Thank God, there is yet hope for Philadelphia, for one right-
eous man yet remaineth there." I do not know whether you are a profes-
sor of religion or not, but I do know that you have done what nine-
tenths of present-day professors would not venture to do. The popular
religion of the day is miserably pro-slavery. It is not the religion
of Jesus Christ. He taught the doctrine, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;"
but popular Christianity says, "You may love the white portion of man-
kind if you see proper, but enslave and crush the 'niggers'." 205.1.2

The Church (Wesleyan Methodist) to which I belong, and of which I am an humble minister, will not receive a slave-holder into its folds - nor even an individual who is known to vote a pro-slavery ticket, or say that slavery may be right under any circumstances.

I am an unconditional Abolitionist, and preach and practise the doctrine wherever I go: for this I am hated and persecuted. But I know that no other sentiment than that which seeks the immediate emancipation of every trembling slave, will stand the test of eternity, and the fires of the judgment Day! I believe, sir, that your sentiment will perfectly accord with mine: for this reason I call you, Brother.

I understand you have entered into a prosecution against Judge Kane for false imprisonment. That is right. Make the tyrant tremble for his daring audacity. Put him through just as far as you can. Spare him not, for he deserves all the punishment he will ever get. You have God, and truth, and all good men, on your side!

I would be pleased, sir, if you would acknowledge the receipt of this letter, as early as convenient. If the request is imprudent, I beg your pardon; but believe me, sir, I should be truly happy to hear from you by letter, if it be ever so brief. - Please excuse this intrusion upon your time and patience; for it is probable I have written much more than will in any wise interest you.

I remain yours, truly,

W. H. H. Greer.

Passmore Williamson, Esq.

P. S. My P. O. Address is, East Bethlehem,
Washington Co.,
Penn.

Passmore Williamson!

Undaunted Martyr to the cause of right!
 Confined within those gloomy prison walls,
 Where no glad beam from yonder golden sun
 Can penetrate, to cheer thy lonely cell!
 Around thee roll the glittering chariot wheels
 Of those who bask in luxury and wealth;
 The lowly poor, who toil from year to year,
 In Poverty's cold vale; vast multitudes
 Of busy, bustling creatures, daily tread
 Without those mighty walls; all full of hope,
 And joy, and sorrow, and despair, and grief:
 They all enjoy corporeal liberty;
 But thou art thrust away from home and friends,
 And locked, for time indefinite, within
 That Vatican of solid rocks — for what?
 Why do those awful walls and horrid bars
 Enclose thee? Why denied the gift of God —
 The privilege of roaming at thy will,
 To breathe the air of freedom, and enjoy
 Communion with thy friends, and home's delights?
 Why is thy lot with thieves and robbers cast,
 With those who violate their country's laws?
 Hast thou been guilty of some horrid crime?
 Art thou accused of theft, or robbery,
 Or treason? Have thy hands been stained in blood?
 No! none of these! But here is all the cause:
 Thou hadst the nerve and fearlessness of heart,
 To face a demon tyrant of the South,
 And tell his whip-scarred victims they were free!
 And this is all! Oh, what a crime it is,
 Sometimes to tell the truth! to do the right!
 Thine was a righteous act — a golden truth,

Which neither men nor devils can deny,
A truth eternal as the God of truth!

All Nature — sun, and moon, and twinkling stars,
Proclaim the justice of thy noble act:

The boundless ocean shouts it as she rolls
Her multitude of waves; and every sea
That's cradled in the rocky lap of Earth;
The winds that sweep among the woods and hills;
And every stream that runs its joyous course;
The birds and beasts, and every leaf and flower;
And every human being, in whose breast
Dwells love for God, for justice, truth and man;
And angels round Jehovah's Throne in Heaven; —
All — all proclaim thy deed a holy one!

A shameless, heartless, vile, notorious wretch,
Akin by name, if not by nature linked,
To Cain, who, on the soil of Eden, raised
His murderous arm, and struck his brother down,
Claiming to hold in his polluted hand
The sword of justice, rises in his power,
As England's Jeffries did, and in the face
Of all that's great and good, throws down the sword,
Treads right beneath his foot, spurns, with contempt,
All thought of mercy, scoffs at tears and prayers,
Defies the law of God, and disregards
The sighs and groans of crushed and bleeding hearts,
And madly thrusts thee forth, uncharged with crime,
To suffer at his tyrant will, within
Those doleful, gloomy, cheerless prison walls!

My countrymen! arouse! awake! awake!
With eager haste snatch up the rusting sword,
Which Kane, the modern Nero, threw away,
And, with a thunder-burst of righteous wrath,
Cut down the daring, villainous mock-judge,

Tear out those iron bars, dash to the ground
 Those walls, and let the innocent go free!
 Or else — perhaps 't would be the better part —
 Let stand those walls, leave there those brazen bars,
 And chain therein, a while, the pompous judge;
 But set the noble Williamson at large!

Would that we had more just such men
 To battle for the right, and — none — like — Kane!

Go, heartless judge! Your days of fame are past;
 Your name is black with infamy; the brand
 Of public indignation marks you well;
 And in your hands, and on your brow, is set
 The mark of the Apocalyptic Beast;
 And the Third Angel hovers o'er the world,
 Crying aloud, "Down with the tyrant — down!"

Poor tool of Southern Oligarchs! In league
 With those who spit on right, despise the truth;
 Degrade, buy, sell, and drive the souls of men;
 Make "hellish meals" of virtue; set at nought
 The blood of Christ; and daily rob their God!

Go, shameless monster! Earth is far too small
 For you to find a spot, where jeers, and scoffs,
 And bitter hisses, shall not taunt your ears.
 Your name shall sink and rot in infamy,
 And black Disgrace, full in her filthy rags,
 For ever scowl o'er your judicial tomb!

Your crime is scarlet, of the deepest die —
 Your deeds without a parallel in all
 This mighty Commonwealth! 'Tis no small thing
 To lock in prison men who do the right —
 For doing this, a people's curse is yours!

Avant, vile judge! And as you sink away
 In darkness and disgrace, look up and read: —
 The name of Passmore Williamson is now

Inscribed in golden capitals, aloft
Upon his Country's dome; and there 't will live
Forever, girdled by a laurel wreath!!!

W. H. A. Greer.

East Bethlehem, Washington co., Pa. Nov. 1835.

208.1. P-

~~Dear Sir,~~
~~It is with much pleasure that I~~
~~acknowledge the receipt of your~~
~~kind letter of the 10th inst.~~
~~and in reply to inform you that~~
~~the arrangements for a course of~~
~~popular lectures have been made~~
~~and that you are invited to deliver~~
~~one or more of them.~~

1855-56

Knox College

Mr J Williamson

Dear Sir,

The Adelpi

Society of Knox College having made
arrangements for a course of Popular
Lectures to be delivered before them
the coming winter, the citizens
of this place in connection with
the members of our society by petting
ing with you in the restraint of
your liberty by an abuse of power
a restraint as they believe by an
abuse of Power, and desiring to
express this sympathy to you in
person, have requested that we
invite you to deliver one or more
Lectures before our society, for which
I am authorized to tender you the

sum of \$100,00 ~~and~~ ~~to~~

Will you please inform us at
your earliest convenience,
whether you can come, and at
what time. Believe me dear
sir you have many warm
friends in the West who
will hail with gladness this
opportunity of tendering to you
their warmest sympathies.

Yours truly

J. H. M. Monagle Secy
of Adelpbi Society.

(P.S.) We are in direct R. R. connection
with all the Eastern Cities. By the
Chicago Burlington & Quincy R. R.
Trains leave Chicago for this
place at 9 1/2 O'clock Morning
& evening.

J. Williamson, J. H. M. Monagle
Please Address J. H. M. Monagle
Galesburg Kenosha College
Illinois

(D) If this compensation is not sufficient please state what will be the amt,

J. H. M.

211.1.R

Fall River Nov. 22nd 1854

Dear Sir

Herewith I send you the Fall River News containing a few remarks on your imprisonment - I have been rather tardy in sending the Paper - however better late than never - You may remember I called with your Father on the afternoon of I think the 24th of October - Immediately following the communication is a notice by the Editor of your purgation - It does not by any means do you justice - but the present Editor is somewhat of a doughface - the other local paper noticed the matter by copying the excellent structures of the W. G. Fairbairn - Where I speak in my communication of the present race of politicians the printer neglected the word present which omission almost destroys the sense.

In conclusion I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate you on your release - You have not made the slightest submission to the imperious behests of Kane - He it is who after all his taunts and swaggering has had to submit - submit to the justice and rectitude of your

cause - Truth in this case, has triumphed Blessed be God - You have pursued the only course an honest man could do - and if you are without redress for the sufferings you have endured (as I much fear is the case) still you have that which is beyond all price an approving conscience - During the few short fleeting years that we pass on Earth it is well that we do not live in vain and die as unworthy of being remembered as the beasts that perish - Surely Sir in this age when so many fail and falter in the great race of life and when to the superficial observer there would seem to be a premium held out to successful knavery, scoundling, humbug, servility, selfishness and oppression, you by your unshrinking fortitude in the hour of darkness, have done much to uphold the right strengthen the timid and weak, cheer and sustain the oppressed - disarm the oppressor, and practically illustrate that an "honest man is the noblest work of God"

Please communicate my regards to your kind father and the partner of his bosom - To your own Mrs. W. also, and little ones my best wishes are
Sincerely tendered
P. Williamson Esq
Truly Yours
A. S. Harris

W. Bates House, Indianapolis
23 November 1855

W. Chapman & M. Williams

Dear Sir

You will, perhaps, remember that I visited you in Prison, in the fore part of October, in Company with Charles Ellis, your father, but if you do not remember it, I wish to state that I did. I had been travelling, and knew very little of the course, or the proceedings that placed you in Prison, but from Documents given me by your father, & from Documents afterwards procured, I became in the end fully, and truly acquainted with all the facts, & perhaps, to a material extent ^{with} of all the legal decisions, & the Law in relation to the same.

212.1.R

I had partially completed a full, and clear Digest of both facts, & Law respecting the whole case, and was about to write a Document to send to you to publish as your own, with your own signature attached, if you should approve of it, ~~and~~ ^{add} ~~it~~ ^{it} to the people of the United States. In which I expected to explain, even, the meaning of technical words, & show fully the fearful enormity of the Decisions of Judge Kane, & the Supreme Judges of Pennsylvania, on a moral Political, & Legal point of View, in a manner so plain, that the common labourer could not fail to understand.

than the Lord's power, the more
devil's poor and the poor devils will manage to
get here, while very many of the Lord's poor
lay there and suffer, and continue to suffer, un-
till they lay down their bodies and sleep in the
tomb. Thousands and thousands of them will
do this, while that portion who call so loudly for
help are those who will come here and then go
to the devil.
ROBBING A CONTRIBUTION BOX.
Has not a similar dishonesty the same effect
upon us? It has, and that is what I wish to
talk about. For example, a man in England,
professing to be a Latter Day Saint, will go to
his brother in the church and promise in the
most sacred manner, and call God and angels to
witness, and hope he may die, and not live to
get to America, if he is not as prompt to his
word to pay him back at such a
State were inserted in the constitution to protect
the oppression of the major
-have examined upon the legislative power of the
s State constitution. The restrictions which we
property and pursuits of the citizen under the
question of the power of the legislature over the
present opinion. We limit ourselves here to the
ments which we do not intend discussing in the
of power between the State and Federal Govern-
[This, however, is a topic involving questions
exercise of her sovereign will.
constitution or laws of the United States in the
wise; but she does it, when not restrained by the
fact of their being nuisances, or offensive other-
tion of foreign objects does not depend upon the
The right of the State to prevent the introduc-
tion of it within the State by her own citizens.
what, she could, mercifully, prevent.

At that, however, I joyfully heard of your release, &
that ended my desires about the matter. I simply sent
up for Publication the enclosure, & it was published.

Most respectfully
S. C. Stearns

Passmore Williamson's Release

We have before published an announcement of the release of Passmore Williamson from jail, but we think the manner in which that result was brought about worth some attention. Williamson, it will be recollected, was committed for contempt of Court, in making what Judge Kane said was a false return to a writ of *habeas corpus*. He had told Colonel Wheeler's slaves that the law of Pennsylvania freed them, and they availed themselves of their right, and left, not only Wheeler, but Williamson, too. He neither saw nor heard of them after leaving the carriage that they entered at the wharf. The "*habeas*" commanded him to bring the slaves into Court. Not having them, and not knowing anything about them, he couldn't. And so he said. The Judge said he lied, and a lie was a contempt of Court, for which he should go to jail, till he could tell the truth. Here are the documents showing that the contempt was just what we state. Williamson says in his return:

That Jane, Daniel and Isaiah, or by whatever names they may be called, nor either of them, are not now, nor was at the time of the issuing of said writ, or the original writ, or at any other time, in the custody, power, or possession of, nor confined nor restrained their liberty by him, the said Passmore Williamson; therefore he cannot have the bodies of the said Jane, Daniel and Isaiah, or either of them, before your honor, as by the within writ he is commanded.

Now Judge Kane says this is all false. The reader will please remember, that this Judge issued a writ of "*habeas*" contrary to all law and common sense, in the first place. He issued it to catch slaves, when its use is to set at liberty persons unjustly imprisoned. This was a slight stretch of power to accommodate slavery. In his contradiction of Williamson's return, he stretched his power again, in assuming the province of a jury and deciding upon facts. He says Williamson don't tell the truth about slaves.

I cannot look upon this return otherwise than as illusory—in legal phrase, as evasive, if not false. It sets out that the alleged prisoners are not now, and have not been since the issue of the *habeas corpus*, in the custody, power or possession of the respondent; and in so far, it uses legally appropriate language for such a return. But it goes further, and by added words, gives an interpretation to that language essentially variant from its legal import.

It denies that the prisoners were within his power, custody or possession at any time what ever. Now, the evidence of respectable, uncontradicted witnesses, and the admission of the respondent himself, establish the fact beyond controversy, that the prisoners were at one time within his power and control. He was the person by whose counsel the so called rescue was devised. He gave the directions, and hastened to the pier to stimulate and supervise their execution. He was the spokesman and the first actor after arriving there. Of all the parties to the act of violence, he was the only white man, the only citizen, the only individual having recognized political rights, the only person whose social training could certainly interpret either his own duties or the rights of others under the Constitution of the land.

Passmore was therefore sent to jail. He was to "purge" himself of his contempt, by admitting that the slaves had been some time in his power. As his fault lay in denying this, his exculpation should, of course, be an admission of it. As he had told the truth, he would not take it back to keep out of jail. And he went to jail, and stayed there from the 27th of July to the 3d of November. His friends used every exertion to get him out. They asked the State Courts to interfere to save a citizen from a most cruel oppression. But the State Courts were afraid. The President had sent word to the commandant of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, if the State officers tried to release Williamson, they were to be resisted—the prisoner must be taken on board a man-of-war at the yard, and defended at all hazards. Fearful of such a collision, and influenced by a dough-face chief, the Bench decided to let Williamson stay where he was.

But the country was less timid and more just than the Court. It thundered denunciation on the unjust Judge, who against law, and right, and truth, had committed an unoffending citizen to prison, till he was willing to lie to get out—Contempt for the severity, ridicule for the arrogance, and terrible denunciation for the injustice, of the Judge, poured in one vast, unbroken stream upon him, for three months. No man ever lived, whose reputation, as a lawyer, Judge, citizen, and Christian, was so soon blasted, as his. He is made infamous to the last day his name is remembered. But he withstood this storm for a time. Weakness is not his fault, whatever others he may have. He said again and again, that Williamson should not come out till he retracted his falsehood. "His liberation," said the Judge, "is with himself. Let him make his return true, and he shall come out."

But dropping water will wear a rock, and a harder thing than a rock, a bad man's heart, will yield to the unceasing force of hostile public opinion. Judge Kane saw that it was a contest between the wills of two firm men, but one supported, the other crushed by the public judgment, and he sought for a decent pretext to yield. He did not get it, and he yielded without. He let Mr. Williamson go free, and Mr. Williamson never retracted a word of the "contempt" for which he suffered. The way this came about we shall briefly state.

Mr. Williamson presented a petition to the Judge on the 3d of November, setting forth that "he desires to purge himself of the contempt because of which he is now attached, and to that end is willing to make true answers to such interrogatories as may be addressed to him by the Court touching the matter, heretofore inquired of by the writ of Habeas Corpus to him directed at the relation of John H. Wheeler. Wherefore he prays that he may be permitted to purge himself of said contempt, in making true answers to such interrogatories as may be addressed to him by the Hon. Court touching the premises."

Judge Kane replied:

"Passmore Williamson—The Court has received your petition, and, upon consideration thereof, have thought right to grant the prayer thereof. You will therefore make here, in open Court, your solemn affirmation, that in the return heretofore made by you to the writ of habeas corpus which issued from this court at the relation of John H. Wheeler, and to the proceedings consequent thereupon, you have not intended a contempt of this Court or of its process. Moreover, that you are now willing to make true answers to such interrogatories as may be addressed to you by the Court, touching the premises inquired of in the said writ of habeas corpus."

Mr. Williamson was required to do just what he was willing to do before he was imprisoned, swear that he meant no contempt of the Court in his return, and only intended to tell the truth. He offered by his counsel, Charles Gilpin, to "put in a complete return, satisfy the law, and stand amenable to Wheeler in a civil suit for damages." But this was rejected. Now, after this proposal which was as clear a denial of purposed contempt as could be made, he is released upon condition of denying contempt.

The interrogatories propounded to him, which he was sworn to answer truly, were as follows:

Did you, at the time of the service of the writ of habeas corpus, at the relation of John H. Wheeler, or at any time during the period intervening between the service of said writ and the making of your return thereto, seek to obey the mandate of said writ, by bringing before this Honorable Court the person of the slaves therein mentioned?

If to this interrogatory you answer in the

affirmative state fully and particularly the mode in which you sought so to obey said writ, and all that you did tending to that end.

Williamson answered:

212.2.R

I did not seek to obey the writ by producing the persons therein mentioned before the Court, because I had not, at the time of the service of the writ, the power over, the custody, or control of them, and therefore it was impossible for me to do so. I first heard of the writ of habeas corpus on Friday, July 20, between 1 and 2 o'clock, A. M., on my return from Harrisburg. After breakfast, about 9 o'clock, I went from my house to Mr. Hopper's office, when and where the return was prepared.

At 10 o'clock I came into Court, as commanded by the writ. I sought to obey the writ, by answering it truly; the parties not being in my possession or control, it was impossible for me to obey the writ by producing them. Since the service of the writ I have not had the custody, possession, or power over them; nor have I known where they were, except from common rumor or the newspaper reports in regard to their public appearance in the city or elsewhere.

This answer produced a long debate between the lawyers as to the fullness and completeness, and all that, of it, and the meaning of the word "*seek*." Williamson's counsel contended that if it were used in its ordinary signification, he could not be said to "*seek*" to obey the writ, because being in jail, he could not "*seek*" the slaves, or do anything else. There was some likelihood of the lawyers getting stuck fast on this "*seek*" bar. The United States Attorney insisted that Williamson had dodged an answer, and he must answer fully before he could be released. Williamson's lawyers contended that the answer was as full as the wording of the question would allow it to be made. Here, Judge Kane, forgetting his stern rejection of this very reply in substance, three months before, interfered, and suggested a sort of verbal path round the fence, since the prisoner would not climb over the bars.

He said the answer might be made thus:

I did not seek to obey the writ by producing the persons in the writ mentioned before this Court.

I did not seek, because I verily believed that it was entirely impossible for me to produce the said persons agreeably to the command of the Court.

This was accepted, and the Judge after overruling some of the attorney's questions, gave his decision:

"The contempt is now regarded as purged and the party is released from custody. He is now reinstated in the position he occupied before the contempt was committed. Mr. Williamson is now before me on the return to the writ."

So ended the great Williamson case—the foulest act of judicial tyranny ever perpetrated in the United States. The oppressed man retracted nothing, altered nothing, compromised nothing. He said just about what he said at first, and was ready to say always. The Judge conceded all, after having lost all rather than concede. Williamson is free, without a stain, honored as a martyr to truth and freedom.

212.2.R

13.234
CCHS

10-213



CHRISTIAN INQUIRER.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1855.

213.1. P.

Brooklyn N.Y.
Nov 25, 1855

My dear Sir

Now that you have been so triumphantly released from the cruel and outrageous imprisonment of the wicked and unjust Judge, permit one who is unknown to you, & who never before heard of you until your connection with the release of the Wheeler Slaves, to heartily congratulate, ^{with} on your noble & Christian submission to the wrong. - I think hardly a day passed that I did not repeatedly think of you, even amid the pressing duties of active business, & fervently hope for your triumph, Oh how little do the greatness of the people in these great cities, consider what great principles were involved in your case?

It was disgusting to hear at



...the short lives brooding over the
 that greater part, which is qu
 gen. look the manifold mercies
 can acceptance? While the I
 this prove us in error, guide u
 be sole us in sorrow, and sup
 ay- and death, shall we unde
 rely them? Never! Let us lea
 res, both of providence an
 not please God to unravel them
 ing; and, in the mean tim
 Re- joining that God's works an
 in- that he is 'The Wonderful
 the glowing flowers of the
 some, and the glorious e
 Bible in our hearts."
 "I WILL RETIRE FR
 AND PREPARE FOR ANO
 Who is there who hath m
 est pains-taking man utterin
 our as this, when old age is com
 na- meant as this may be, and p
 est- elth to the unthinking, I
 cal- though attack no more comm
 tio- notion, that the common en
 ur- world are a hindrance to o
 the next; for I do surely b
 have the warrant of scriptur
 the state to the end that our so
 of portence among the diverse
 the active life, so as to know gr
 the never to hazard the falling
 the once attained, by any such m
 the mitted by those spirits that
 m- deny ourselves the schoolin
 m- pointed for our better teachin
 of- avoiding the temptation to e
 ad- virtue as that useful wearin
 no time for a selfish cogitativ
 of gratifying the animal nat
 in his daily charge, be it what it may, h
 taken no undue advantage, nor oppressed a
 it rich;—who hath served truly, and in no
 or dishonesty, if poor;—and who hath lived
 Christian love and amity with all his fell
 men, whether connected with him by blood
 otherwise,—hath prepared well for ano

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TRIP

HE HEAD."

times when referring to your conduct
 -pinpoint, such remarks as "it
 "is good enough for him - "he
 "meddled with what was none
 "of his business" - & this from the
 lips of those who professed to be
 "as much opposed to Slavery as anyone
 who called themselves Christians -
 yet never willing to do anything
 towards overthrowing Slavery. -

How fearfully does all this
 illustrate the baneful influence
 of those Statesmen! who did so
 much to deride "higher laws" (God's
 law of Right) who told people
 "to conquer their prejudices" (to stifle
 Conscience) and acquiesce in what
 is about to be done, as tho' Right
 could ever be compromised! -

Thank God, it is not so
 everywhere of the coming people
 at least, who are not so much
 subject to the great sin of the
 city - selfishness - spawn on the

infidel sentiments as those referred to. — I am only an humble citizen here, but having been brought up amid the conservative influences of Boston (that contains the "Cradle of Liberty") & having lived here the larger portion of my life, frequently thrown among the opponents of Slavery, & having seen the auction blocks & the slave markets of Virginia with all their (to me) dreadful associations, it has cost me no inconsiderable struggle to keep my convictions free from the conformity of those about me. — Ah, how true is it that even in these days one must sometimes dissent from those of his own household, who in other respects we may greatly revere. —

What an inward calmness & satisfaction you must have had to sustain you, during your long confinement; the thought that God

and ever with you, at your side,
 that principles must triumph over
 men. — But I hope, as Henry Ware
 has so beautifully expressed it that
 "oppressions shall not always reign,
 There comes a brighter day,
 When freedom burst from every chain,
 Shall bear triumphant way,
 Then right shall over might prevail
 and truth, like her avenger sail
 The hosts of tyrant wrong assail,
 and hold eternal sway," —

Very sincerely
 Yours friend

Brigid J. Leaver

To
 Passmore Williams in Eng,
 Phil^a.

P.S. As desiring to show the feeling of
 the Religious Community generally, I send
 you herewith an article from the Christian
 Register of N.Y. written by Rev. Mr. Longfellow
 of this city (a brother of Prof. L.) one of the
 editors, at its date, —

CHRISTIAN INQUIRER.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1855.

KANE, WHERE IS THY BROTHER?

PASSMORE WILLIAMSON is still in Moyamensing prison. He has violated no law; he has been convicted of no crime; he is not even awaiting a trial. He simply performed an act of humanity, in letting a poor black woman, who had been held as a slave, know that, brought within the limits of a free State, she was thenceforth a free woman, owner of herself and her children. And she, desiring above all things to be a free woman, and reasonably distrusting her former master's word that he would give her freedom if she would remain with him, preferred to make her liberty sure, by taking her rights and her children and going her way. Her former master, to get back his slaves, appeals to the Judge of the United States Court, who grants a habeas corpus, perverting that writ of liberty into an instrument of slavery, and requires Mr. Williamson to produce before him the bodies of Jane Johnson and her children. Mr. Williamson returns answer that they are not and never have been in his possession, and that he knows not where they are. This was the simple truth. The United States Attorney chooses to declare it falsehood, and moves the court that Mr. Williamson be committed for perjury and for contempt. Judge Kane, after deliberation, construes the true statement to be a legal falsehood, and a defiance of the court, grants the motion, and commits Mr. Williamson to prison for contempt, "without bail or mainprize." Had he committed him for perjury, he might have had a trial; as it is he can have none; the judge is jury too, and despot—sentences and condemns to an imprisonment without limit and without relief. Without limit, save as he may choose to use his clemency; without relief, save by unmanly submission and dishonest retraction, on the part of the prisoner. He cannot "purge himself from contempt" so long as he keeps an honest man's contempt for perjury. And so, for the simple acts of humanity and truth-telling, Mr. Williamson is imprisoned during the will, and at the mercy, of one man, for simply pleading not guilty to a charge made by a slaveholder.

But surely there must be some remedy. Surely there must be some power in free, civilized Pennsylvania, which can interfere to arrest such tyranny, and right such wrong. The State courts will protect the citizens of the State; yes, even against attorneys, and judges, and ministers of the United States. The appeal is made to them. From his prison, Passmore Williamson reaches out his hand and asks for justice. It is refused. The Supreme Bench (with a noble exception, that of Judge Knox) declares that it will not interfere. The question of contempt is a delicate question; it is the duty of the court to discourage all such contests with the legal tribunals of the country; Mr. Williamson carries the key of his prison in his own pocket; he can come out when he will conform and make terms with the Court that sent him there.

So the State Courts will not interpose. There remains no remedy but impeachment. Meanwhile Williamson lies in Moyamensing prison, and Kane is his brother's keeper.

So, in this our day and land, is "judgment turned away backward." We "look for justice, and lo, oppression; for righteousness, but behold, a cry!" And this is our slavery. What a spectacle before God, and a world looking to us for the noble instance of Liberty! In free and republican America, a minister of the Government proceeds to represent us abroad with slaves in his train. On the way, a countryman of Penn and Franklin accosts them, not to set them free, but simply to tell them that they are already legally so. For this, through a constructive charge, a Government Judge imprisons him. And there is no remedy, except through the impeachment of that judge before a republican Senate, half of whose members are slaveholders!

How fast slavery is ultimating itself, and showing in unmistakeable fruits what its genuine spirit of tyranny is!

We hope we shall hear no more of "slavery's being wrong in the abstract," so fast it embodies itself in ever new and more hideous shapes. The cancer cannot be hidden. Will men begin to boast of its beauty? We hope we shall hear no more of slavery's being "a thing with which we here at the North have nothing to do." It has overleaped the borders. It stands in North-

ern Boston, and with its gaunt hands put chains round the Court House, and on the limb of the black man, and hurries him through a hedge of bayonets, each red with the blood of Liberty, subsidizing Government ships and Government gold, to accomplish its victory. In Northern Kansas, armed with revolver and bowie-knife, it invades the polls and tramples upon the franchise; shakes its insulting fist, with oaths and threats, in the face of freemen; defies and ejects governors, and, seated in the legislative halls, issues laws punishing free speech with imprisonment, and humanity with death. And now, in Northern Pennsylvania it mounts the bench, and binds the judges' hands and seals their lips, while it turns the key of Passmore Williamson's prison, and stands guard at the door. And the North has nothing to do with it! Nothing, but to submit. "O God, how long!" How long shall we be paralysed, acquiescent, timid, and bound? How long shall we shield ourselves from our duty and the voice of God, by the evasive question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

213.3.R

We do not suppose that these Judges violated their consciences in this case, through any desire to conciliate slaveholders. The difficulty is, that their consciences are demoralized, like the national conscience in general, by the existence of slavery; which, while it exists, will be justified, or at least taken for granted, together with all that is needed to uphold it. The same difficulty exists with numberless men, such as we meet every day. They are, in other respects, estimable, kind-hearted men. But that nerve of their souls which should beat quick and true to liberty and human rights, has become paralyzed. And so their sympathies, whether on 'change, or in the church, or on the bench, are always *prima facie* against any thing having an anti-slavery look. For ourselves, we mean never to justify slavery, or take it for granted; but always, and at every turn, to protest against its existence, against its means, its instruments, its supports, and its fruits. We shall be glad—and of this we have hope—if these recent outrages, by showing more clearly that the same despotism which, under the cover of law, tramples on the rights of the black man, is prepared to do the same with the rights of the white man and the safeguards of our common liberty, shall arouse something of the old spirit of liberty which once flashed a noble inspiration over our land, though it left its work half done.

It was indeed a miserably selfish and poor plea which we once heard urged: "I don't care for the slaves, but I don't want to have the whip brandished north of Mason and Dixon's line." Still, such a feeling may lead to a higher and better; till men come to see that human rights are inextricably bound together, that we are all our brother's keepers, and they are ours, and that "there is no liberty for those who make their brethren slaves."

Judge Black goes out of his way to cast a covert slur on Passmore Williamson, as a man who covets the glory of martyrdom cheaply purchased.

How much more generous and more just an estimate of the man we have in these words, from a recent sermon of that true prophet of Liberty, W. H. Furness, who speaks thus of one whom he has known as a fellow citizen, and, we believe, a parishioner also:

The present generation, no doubt, will ridicule and reject the gift, and revile, for instance, the unbending integrity and large humanity to which our noble friend now in prison clings at the price of personal liberty, falsely attributing his uprightness to an insane passion for martyrdom! He is human, and it may be, as our Judges, putting off the dignity of their station, most unworthily insinuate, that our friend is actuated by this only, ~~but there is nothing~~ his character, nothing in his recent course, that authorizes them to make any such insinuation. It may be, too—I believe before God that it is so, and all who know him believe likewise—that he has been and is still actuated by the purest motives, that the spirit of Truth and Humanity sways him; and that I hold to be the very spirit of God. How then will it fare with those who have put him in prison, and who keep him there, and who are thus fighting against God! But what confession is it of insensibility to the worth of Freedom and Righteousness, when men cannot understand what our friend has done—cannot explain his conduct but by resorting to the supposition that he craves to be a martyr, and is so madly bent upon being conspicuous that he rushes into a prison to gain that eminence! Is there, then, no power, no inspiration in the love of liberty, in the simple dictates of humanity and integrity, to enable a man to confront prisons for their sake?

214.1.8

"I regard Passmore Williamson as much
 "a prisoner for righteousness sake as the old
 "confessors of the times of Quaker persecution.
 "By thou hast access to him assure ^{him} of my
 "sympathy, and admiration of his christian
 "firmness. May the blessings of our Heavenly
 "Father be with him and may he live to see
 "not only his own prison doors opened but
 "those of the enslaved millions."
 J. G. Whittier

Rec^d through Sarah Lloyd.

217.1.R

The Devil one day an entertainment gave
 In Pandemonium. Royally the Arch-Devil
 Sat among the infernal guests, and kept high state,
 When at the outer portal, known as "Hell-gate"
 A din arose, of one demanding entrance.
 "Who's there?", besought the porter in attendance.
 "A gentleman without his cart" a voice replied
 "I come of right and must not be denied".
 Again he pounded with such infernal clatter,
 That Satan himself came forth to know the matter.
 "Who's there," he gently asked in tones polite
 As soon we wot of who wear their neckcloths white,
 "My name is Kane" the voice replied as blandly
 "That stock-jobber" said Satan speaking grandly
 "But which of all the Cains" for Satan's wittily,
 "Mean You the Federal Judge of Philadelphia City?"
 "The same my Lord, I claim my ancestral right
 And entrance seek" quoth Satan "I'm in a fright"
 "Of us in Pandemonium there can't be two
 "Therefore my legs my horns and tail unscrew."

William Still

Order and Security

"Order and Security are the very soul
of modern Society"

So says an eloquent French writer.

But is it the Order of Despotism?
Is it Security in Injustice?

Order in Righteousness - Security in
Freedom, are the very soul of
Good Government

God is on the side of Truth - Right
and Humanity.

Philadelphia,

"If the foundations be destroyed what
can the Righteous do?"

(Palm XI. 3.)

To Passmore Williamson }
Moyamensing Prison }

West Chester Nov 4, 1855

My dear Sir

It affords me great pleasure to perceive by the Sunday Dispatch that you were yesterday discharged from your imprisonment, but much greater to find the discharge was effected without the abatement of a jot from the dignity of your original position.

It would seem by Judge Kenon's decision that Contempt is an offence of a particular season. In his case what was contempt in July is not contempt in November.

The contempt it would seem depends on the capacity of the judge to believe a plain statement. In July he could not believe it & therefore sent you to prison. In November he believes it & therefore lets you out.

The result is unfortunately that you are out of contempt even so far as the judge is concerned while he is under contempt from the whole country.

You have preserved your self respect and the respect of the community, while he has lost every title to respect that he ever possessed & must now take his place with that most infamous class of all who wear the indelible brand of infamy - the corrupt, profligate, time serving judges.

Kane I have no doubt will go to Chester on Thursday to attend the celebration of Penn's landing. I have written to Forsythe to be on the look-out. It will be well to have an eye that way to see that all that is necessary be done to catch him.

Yours truly

Wm. W. Williams

Mr. Sumner Williams

P.S. I beg leave to suggest whether it will not be adviseable to procure a full & complete copy of the record of the proceedings of the Dist: Court from the beginning to the end duly certified. We shall want such a copy in the prosecution of our suit & if it is not obtained before the process is served it may not be obtained at all without such modifications as may suit the judge to suggest in aid of his defence.

I think it will be well to order it immediately & require it to be furnished before Thursday.

221.1.P

West Chester Nov 4. 1855

Dear Peppercor

Permit me to congratulate you upon your discharge from Prison, and re-entrance to your family and friends.

I am much gratified that it had taken place, and most particularly, that it had been effected without any dishonorable or degrading submission on your part. I read the proceedings this morning in the Sunday Despatch and I see nothing there, said to have emanated from you, but what is perfectly honorable, just and proper, and well calculated to sustain the position you have always taken, that the return you made to the writ of Habeas Corpus was true in word and letter. The answers made to the interrogatories appear to me to be neither more nor less, than a re-affirmation of the truth of the return to the writ. Which at that time Judge Kane took upon himself to say, was "condemned and illusory" and amounted to a Contempt of Court. - Now he is pleased to say that the same thing repeated, is a full justification of the Contempt, and entitles you to your discharge.

All this confirms me in the opinion I formed at the commencement of the case, that the Judge had pre-determined to send you to prison for some cause or other, in connection with the case, in order to appease and gratify the Slave power. - that in so doing he was backed and sustained by the Administration at Washington.

(over)

We heard through the Telegraph yesterday that you had been discharged, but upon what grounds or under what circumstances we were not informed - there were no evening papers issued here last night that gave any information of the subject, consequently there was a rush this morning when the boats happened to get the Sunday Dispatch - I authorized a person here to procure one for me, (not being able myself to be out in the dampness of the morning) which he did, and in which I read the whole proceeding -

That Mr. Van Dyke must be a very great man I take it, from the appearance he makes in the transaction, and finally looked so large that the Judge himself seemed to think he was taking too wide a swath and reminded him of the limits of his jurisdiction.

There is evidently a speculation in Van Dyke, and it is a wonderful cunning Yankee had not seen it before this time - As you have been out of business for some months perhaps you would like to try what can be made of it.

The idea is this, that if you can buy him for what you think he is worth, and immediately sell him for what he thinks he is worth himself, you will clear a sum sufficient to compensate you for all anxiety of mind, and lost time during your imprisonment.

Every body here seems pleased and gratified at your release from prison.

Yours truly
Wm Williamson

Wm Williamson

I am of the same opinion as that paper
and if you were to go to the Penitentiary
for two or three years perhaps you would
learn to keep your nose out of other

WRONG.—The Richmond American, in speaking
of the Wheeler slave case says: "Our sympathy
with Mr. Wheeler in the loss of his property is
considerably impaired by his inoffensive manner
in the act of the rescue. If he had drawn his pis-
tol and shot Williamson down, as he would have
done a dog, it would have the more entitled him to
our respect. We are not aware that he would
have been guilty of any violation of the law by
such an act—for the common law, if we mistake
not, allows the use of deadly weapons in prevent-
ing the removal of one's property." The same
paper states that Williamson has been indicted
for perjury, and will, in all probability, be sent to
the penitentiary, and, "if he were to receive his
deserts, he would dangle from a high tree in Inde-
pendence Square!" Pretty steep, that.

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS. THE

would have shot if
killed

A Southern man
in Old Virginia

I am of the same opinion as that paper
 and if you were to go to the Penitentiary
 for two or three years perhaps you would
 learn to keep your nose out of other
 persons business I would have shot if
 had been Col Wheeler

A Southern man
 from Old Virginia

C. D.
 ily
 am-
 ets.
 com.
 The public will understand that the superiority of
 King's safe is in the Patent Fire proof lining or in
 which no other manufacturer can use. See that
 safe is stamped "Herring's Patent."
 R. & W. KILLI
 Very respectfully, yours,
 argued. Papers in the pigeon ho
 next morn

222.1.2

96

Boston Dec 2-
1855

Captain William Esy

Dear Sir, I have

seen, in the last Standard,
the article signed "M." I am
greatly gratified to be cor-
rected as to the fact, that you
had never refused to answer
further questions. That fact
changes the aspect of the
case almost wholly, so far
as you are personally con-
cerned. I am writing an arti-

cle. for the next Liberator,
to set the matter straight -
such an one as, I think, will
be perfectly satisfactory to
you -

You will see by the article,
as you did see by the former
one, that I relied on Bane's
statement, and your apparent
negligence in it -

Sincerely regretting the
mistake, and trusting to be
excused on the ground stated,
Yours, with the highest respect,
Your Obedt. Servt
Lyssander Spooner

225.1. R

Boston December 3. 1855

Dear Mr Williamson

When I called upon You at Moyamensing prison last October with the committee from the National Convention of Colored Americans I omitted to mention that I met Jane Johnson and her two Boys at the Carrs in Boston after her escape from Wheeler, in my capacity as a member of the Vigilance Committee, and was subsequently engaged in securing Home and employment for her. On each occasion she was full of gratitude to You and the other noble friends who rescued her.

I also intended soliciting Your autograph and will

feel much obliged if the
same be forwarded to the
antislavery office Philadelphia
a to my address
21 Cornhill Boston

I remain in the cause of
Freedom for all

Fraternally Yours

William C. Bell

Passmore Williamson

226.1.2

Living Office
Popper Williamson Esq 8 Feb. 1856.

Dear Sir

By way of carrying out my original intention, I put in a parcel to W. B. Lister, ten days ago, numbers of the Living Office to extend your former list to end of 1855. If not sent to you, pray send for them.

I see that Judge Kane asks for an unfair advantage over you in the suit against him! He wishes to have it in Philad. where I am sorry to see so little signs of just feeling on the subject.

I trust that he may fail in this matter - & that a record of the whole transaction will be preserved.

I annex a copy of a communication
 which I sent to The Tribune, while you
 were still in prison. I sent it to two
 other papers - but it did not appear, I
 think, in any one.

May all that you have suffered &
 done in this matter be so blessed to you
 as to draw you nearer to Our Lord - is
 the prayer of your friend

E. Hittell

I am much obliged by your letter to
 me, rec^d. soon after my return from
 Philad.

Question: Who was the first Murderer?

Answer: Cain.

And the Lord said: The voice of thy Brother's Blood
crieth unto me from the ground.

And Cain said: Am I my Brother's Keeper.

No man doubts that the Unjust Judge who took Paf-
-more Williamson from his feeble wife, and is
Keeping him in a Prison where his health is failing, -
does it for nothing but to punish him for telling a
poor trembling Woman, that by the Law of Pen-
-sylvania she is Free.

He punishes a Philadelphian for making known
the Law of Pennsylvania.

Surely it is unlawful to make Law the tool of
such Revenge. It will make people ask: What is Law?
Is it an instrument used by Lawyers & Judges, Rob & Murder?

Question: Who then is guilty of bringing "Contempt-
-yea Hated - upon Law itself?"

Answer: Judge Kane.

Question: Who is murdering Pafmore Williamson?

Answer: _____.

To the Editor of the N.Y. Tribune.

Above is the copy of a Hand Bill, which is
(or ought to be) posted over all Philadelphia.

F. W. BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The twelfth annual meeting of the F. W. Baptist Anti-Slavery Society was held at Dover, Oct. 11, 1855.

1. Meeting was called to order by the President, M. W. Burlingame.

2. Prayer by J. L. Sinclair.

3. Voted, That the President appoint a Committee of five to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and I. D. Stewart, J. Chaney, M. A. Quinby, L. Brackett, and E. Knowlton were appointed.

4. Heard the report of the Corresponding Secretary, and voted to accept it, and that it be referred to the ex-Committee for publication, if they think proper.

5. Voted, That the suggestion in the Secretary's report, touching the case of Passmore Williamson, now in prison, be referred to a Committee of three, viz. : G. T. Day, John Fullon-ton, and H. Quinby, to report at this meeting.

6. The Committee appointed to nominate officers, made the following report, which was adopted, and the officers chosen.

For President—M. W. Burlingame.

Vice Presidents—John Stevens, John Fullon-ton, and O. E. Baker.

Recording Secretary—D. P. Cilley.

Corresponding Secretary—D. P. Harriman.

Treasurer—Wm. Burr.

Ex. Committee—John Chaney, G. T. Day, M. J. Steere, G. H. Ball, and William H. Littlefield.

7. The Committee appointed to take into consideration the propriety of some action in reference to the imprisonment of Passmore Wil-liamson, made the following report, which was adopted :—

“Your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, and that a certified copy thereof be forwarded to Mr. Williamson by the Secretary of this Society :—

1. *Resolved*, That this Society tenders its deep and profound sympathy to Passmore Wil-liamson, Esq., of Philadelphia, in the imprison-ment to which he has been subjected by the re-cent decision of Judge Kane, of the United States Court. We regard this act of the Judge as an illegal stretch of authority, and as indica-tive of a servility to the slave power, which has impeached the ability and stained the dignity of the Judicial Bench. We render all honor to the fidelity which purchased his conviction, and we are grateful in view of the Christian man-liness which patiently consents to occupy the martyr's attitude in deference to a righteous principle. We are proud to hail him as the re-presentative of struggling freedom in this coun-try, and though longing for the day of his hon-orable release, we count the occupancy of his cell a richer honor than the possession of the ermine of his unjust Judge.

2. *Resolved*, That we recommend our breth-eren throughout the denomination to unite in any general effort that may be made to petition Congress for the impeachment and removal of Judge Kane from his present official post.”

G. T. DAY, *Chairman*.

3. Interesting addresses were made by J. B. Smith and G. T. Day, and the Society voted to adjourn.

DAN'L P. CILLEY,

Recording Secretary.

Boston, Oct. 24, 1855.

227.1.2

227.2.2

A SURE AND SPEEDY CURE!
THE GENUINE
ALLIED OINTMENT & HUMOR SYRUP.

THESE medicines are a sure and certain remedy for all kinds of humors, of however long standing, and when used according to directions, will effect a permanent cure in a shorter time and with less expense than any other remedy. It is a scientific compound, eradicates disease and improving the health with a certainty beyond precedent or parallel. They cure Salt Rheum, King Worm, Scald Head, Burns, Scalds, Chilblains, Piles, Scrofula, Erysipelas, White Leprosy, Cancerous Humors, Barbers' Itch, old Mercutial & Fever Sores, removes Impies, Eruptions, Moth & Milderew from the face, leaving the skin soft and smooth, without mark or scar. It draws humors from the Stomach, Lungs, Head and Eyes, and improves the sight, when troubled with Humors, and at once removes the difficulty. It is recommended by persons of the highest respectability, such as Major War-

Also, for sale as above, the Memoir of Rev. MARTIN CHENEY. 3m22

N. B. The new edition is just coming from the press, and will be ready for delivery this week.

56 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.
 O. W. POTTER, Publisher,
 to sample copy may have it sent by mail free of postage by forwarding the retail price, which is \$2.50.

Mr. Williams

Dorset Mass. April 17th 1856

Dear Sir,

The enclosed resolutions & vote of our Anti Slavery Society, should have been forwarded to you before this time, but numerous engagements, & a little forgetfulness on my part, are the reasons for such delay.

Our people sympathize with you, and we rejoice & thank God for your deliverance from prison, & for the noble stand you take for the oppressed.

Yours Truly

David P. Gilley,
 Pastor of the F. W. Baptist
 Church in Dorset Mass.

PASSMORE, WILLIAMSON

"My return is the truth, and the whole truth;
it will neither be retracted nor amended."

Is this a land of Freedom? Say,
Ye tenant of the cell!

Speak! on thy pallid lips to-day,
An eager concourse dwell!

And they this question ask of thee,
In Freedom's holy name!

Baptized in blood on land and sea,
And cradled in the flame!

"Look on my chains! I bid them speak
An answer unto thee;

Find there the answer that ye seek
In name of Liberty!

Their dumb lips are unsealed—on them
The Pentecostal fire

Of Truth is blazing wild and high,
In stormy wrathful ire!

"Ye are *not* free! for if ye dare
Aught for Humanity,

Ye aye must breathe the fetid air
Of prison cells, like me!

Ye may *not* rend the galling chain
And set the captive free!

No longer boast proud Freedom's reign—
'Tis bitter mockery!

"Oh! God, how long!" shall shadows keep
The *substance* from our ken?

How long shall outraged woman weep,
How long enslaved be men?

We raise our streaming eyes to Thee
From Slavery's lash and thong—

When shall our land be truly free?
"How long! oh, God! how long!"

CHARLES H. CLEVELAND.

Franklin, Nov. 1855.

231. I.R.

Respected friend,
 As the Da. was
 not able to see thee when he
 called this morning, I must
 write to welcome thee to our
 neighbourhood again -

I trust I need not tell thee
 that we all most heartily
 rejoice with thy many friends,
 that thou is again surrounded
 by thy family, and those who
 esteem thee -

With my kind regards

237.1.V
to thy wife, for whom I have
sincerely sympathized, in her
affliction, believe me to be
thy friend

H. F. Foster

Nov. 5.

Patterson Williamson

[For the Sun.]

Passmore Williamson,

When upon thy lonely ear,
 Die the echoes of the street,
 And the evening's voiceless gloom,
 And thy dungeon shadows meet;
 When the memories of home
 Steep thy high resolve in tears,
 And courage for a moment falters
 At the whisperings of fears—
 Then remember far and wide,
 In the East and prairied West,
 In the rice-swamp and the mine,
 Myriad spirits call thee "Blest!"
 For the work which thou hast wrought,
 For the cheer thy lips have spoken,
 And thy martyr spirit shining
 In the light of Truth unbroken!
 While we mourn we may not strike
 From thy limbs the accursed chain,
 Which thy country's guilt hath fastened,
 Thro' its graceless tyrant *Kane*!
 Nearer to our hearts it brings
 The anguish of the bleeding slave,
 And our faltering purpose deepens,
 Freedom's failing life to save.
 Woe is ours that even here,
 In this land and age of light,
 Power will stoop so darkly low,
 To bolt the Dungeon on the *Right*;
 Woe is ours it hath no sight,
 To read the *Future* in thy fate,
 That the Peoples' heart be throbless
 Till its justice stir too late!
 Brother! cherish strength and hope,
 Through thy weary prison hours,
 Though the Autumn winds are sad,
 And the frost is on the flowers;
 Surely while fresh Truth is falling,
 Manna-like from God above,
 There will come a genial Summer,
 Born of Freedom's deeper love!
 Oh! I fold confiding Love
 Closer to my trembling bosom,
 And my little daughter smiles,
 Holy homes diviner blossom;
 And I strive anew to keep
 Paths where duty leads the free,
 Faithfully to toil and wait,
 Brother, as I think of thee!

Bristol, 10th mo., 1845. S. S.

232.2.R

232.1.R

Bristol 10m 31/55

Dear friend

Please accept

The enclosed as a feeble token of the love and admiration of the author.

Circumstances so far have prevented a personal interview which I trust will not much longer be deferred. I have felt, wept and spoken for thee from the depths of my heart. Believe me affectionately thy earnest friend

Mrs. - thy severe trials of heart
and faith. Glory and Peace
will be thy reward!

For thee & the Slave

Sam. Spaulding

Bristol 7mo 8th 1856

Dear Friend

I send at thy request another copy of the lines written thee while in the slavery-locked prison cell.

I thank thee for the legal history of thy wrong. It is a clearly told story but I looked anxiously thro' it to find something there of the emotional experience - the daily record of the hoping, yearning and loving life of Passmore Williamson - as well as the setting forth of the incidents of a great wrong done to Justice & freedom! Perhaps it was well to exclude the first person singular but we cannot disconnect a high and noble action with a deep interest in and yearning to look in upon the soul of the actor! Are we to know nothing of the hopes & fears that throbb'd thro' those long & weary vigils in the dungeons glow? Very kindly thy friend
L.S.

104
236

Burlington N. J.
5th Mo 6th 1850

36.1.4

Passmore Williamson
Esteemed Friend,

Accept my thanks for two copies of thy "Case" which I shall value not only for the sake of the donor, but as the record of a transaction, which though disgraceful in itself - I cannot but think, has had and will have a beneficial effect, in the great forthcoming struggle between Slavery and Freedom in our country. May this struggle continue without intermission until we are rid of one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted mankind.

Truly, thy friend
John Collins

437.1.8

HON. ROWLAND G. HAZARD'S

NARRAGANSETT

S P E E C H .

S P E E C H .

I am always glad to meet my Narragansett friends.—It is here that those principles of freedom, and sturdy independence of character, so conspicuous in the history of our State, are preserved in their greatest purity. I am glad to meet you all—those of you who differ from me, as well as those with whom I agree upon the great political questions of the day. I believe that it is not only the right, but the duty, of every man to decide upon these questions for himself—that in ascertaining the facts, investigating the principles, deducing the consequences, and then acting upon his convictions, he but performs his duty to himself and to his country. It is in this freedom of thought and action that our liberal institutions have at once their existence and their protection. And it is the denial of this freedom not only by legislation in Kansas, but by lynch law over more than one half the territory of these States, that the stability of these institutions is now seriously threatened.

The original issue in the present political contest was upon the extension of slavery into the territories. But this issue, in itself so momentous, has been merged in another of overwhelming importance, and the question now is, shall the powers of this government be perverted to extend slavery over the whole country; to enlarge the boundaries of its power, that it may spread the evil more widely; to foster individual and mob violence, commencing a reign of terror and anarchy; to enforce judicial decisions of the most extraordinary and alarming character; to execute laws imposed with ruffian violence, upon a people entitled by the law of God and their country to self government, laws which disgrace the nation and the age—laws which not only destroy personal liberty and deny free utterance to thought, but seek to manacle thought itself. Upon such a question

there can be little real difference of opinion in Rhode Island—the land in which the noble principles of Williams and Clarke have been expounded and illustrated in the pure and lofty thought of Channing and Durfee. It is only by ignoring the issue so distinctly set forth; the principles obviously involved, and facts notorious or proved beyond all controversy, that any support can here be obtained for the candidate who stands upon the Cincinnati platform; or, to conform more nearly to his own statements, who is personally buried under it. I believe that platform has not been very freely circulated at the North by the party advocating it. The proof before the Congressional Kansas Committee is boldly contradicted; but no one denies that the laws already alluded to, were passed and that Buford's gang which went to Kansas for the purpose of enforcing them and driving out the Free State men, were immediately taken into the pay of the United States, clothed with the authority and furnished with the arms of the government to execute their hellish purpose. And in these *admitted facts*, there is wrong and outrage, compared with which, all that roused our fathers to open rebellion against the mother country was but as dust in the balance.

You may wonder that principles, so repugnant to humanity, should have been adopted by any party seeking popular favor. But nothing less would meet the pressing emergencies of slavery, and the South would accept nothing less, than an unconditional sacrifice of every principle of democracy and of freedom, upon the altar of the Moloch they worship. This was the price demanded, and this the price agreed to be paid, for the one hundred and twenty electoral votes of the slave states. Having these to begin with they next calculated that by selecting a candidate from Pennsylvania, that State, with its strong Democratic

proclivities, and the aid of influential personal friends of the nominee, would be secure, and then the addition of any other one free state, which by the chances of the conflict, or by political jugglery, might be obtained, would give them a majority. The plan is marked with the same sagacity, the same policy; which for more than thirty years has enabled the South to rule the North. They unite and dictate their own terms. We divide and submit to them.

But for once I think they have counted too largely upon party adhesion and Northern subserviency. That they will get the one hundred and twenty votes of the slave States I do not doubt; but the electoral vote of Pennsylvania I have, from the first, deemed not so certain. I knew there was a large class of voters in that State, who, though they will take no part in the petty strifes of ambitious aspirants and mercenary office seekers, will, when a great moral question is involved, do their duty at the polls; and the outrages in Kansas and especially the recent expulsion of the peaceful Society of Friends, will do all that is required to call out that class. I knew, too, that the Germans among them cherished that love of liberty which distinguishes the Saxon race, and though they are cut off to some extent from the great currents of information, I trusted to their generous abhorrence of oppression to detect the fraud, by which, under the name of democracy, slavery was to be propagated, and I trusted to their sturdy honesty to do all in their power to defeat the attempt. But even supposing they get Pennsylvania, can they get the other one free State? It becomes us especially to enquire if they can get Rhode Island. Since the demonstration of the 10th of September there has been little apprehension of this, and permit me to say that, after glorying as I have done in Rhode Island principles, I should be most deeply humiliated if she should unite herself with this wholly alliance against freedom, and especially after the exultation in which I have indulged, and the pride I have felt in our Nerragansett character, should I feel most sorely mortified, if we should suffer ourselves to be the instruments for this degradation of the State.

These results in the State, or this portion of it, have not been apprehended from a direct support of James Buchanan, but from indirect support by votes cast for Millard Fillmore. No doubt much

might be said in favor of Mr. Fillmore, as a statesman of experience, who has once conducted the affairs of the nation with ability. But it must be borne in mind that he was elected when the slave power held undisputed sway; when both the great political parties deemed it necessary to recognize its supremacy, and submit to its authority, to secure even a possible chance of success.

When consequently no man could be elevated to national place who refused to do homage to this power. But the continued supremacy of the slave power is now the main issue; if he stood fair upon this question, there are few men in this country for whom I would more cheerfully vote, than for him. But unfortunately upon this vital question his record is bad. The Convention which nominated him refused to admit the principle of freedom in the territories, and substantially adopted the opposite doctrine, and Mr. Fillmore, as an honorable man, will, no doubt, adhere to the policy upon which he was nominated, and upon which he asks your suffrages. His own antecedents, too, are against him. I have contended, I still contend, that his having signed the Fugitive Slave Law cannot justly be urged against him—that it is a grave question how far a mere arbitrary exercise of the veto power is consistent with the spirit or with the safety of our institutions; but I find that Southern men, whose vigilance in such matters precludes the idea of their being deceived, give him credit for having exerted all the influence of his high position to obtain the passage of that law, and of the other compromise measures *so called*.

Mr. Gentry, of Tennessee, in a speech at Nashville, in March, 1851, said: "The President openly and fearlessly directed all the influences which legitimately attach to his high position, in support of those bills then pending in Congress, generally known as the *Compromise Measures*, and under his auspices they became laws."

And Mr. Foote, Senator from Missouri, in a speech in California, the following year, stated that, Mr. Fillmore (then Vice President,) furnished him with a list of Northern nominees, understood to be hostile to the compromises, to the end of their being rejected for that reason by the Senate, which was accordingly effected; and that presently after his accession to the Presidency, he withdrew such nominations of the same class, as still remained to be acted on.

But suppose him in all respects a

proper man, is it wise for the advocates of freedom, to divide, when it is so obvious that the only possible effect or tendency of such division is to give the selected champion of slavery a plurality.

But extraneous causes are operating to produce this division, some of which I will briefly notice. In the first place, the party favoring the extension of slavery claims to be the democratic party. And there is a power—a magic in the name.—For however we may differ as to its practical application, or as to the relative advantages of the democratic and the republican forms of government, there is a democracy which we all respect,—which with some is a generous emotion, with others a profound conviction; and which in its various forms makes strong appeals to the common sense and common nature of man—a democracy which inculcates liberal principles, broad and equal rights, and equal protection to all. But the idea of a union of this democracy with the principles of the Cincinnati platform, is so preposterous—so absurdly ludicrous that though I feel that very grave interests are at stake, I cannot treat it seriously. It seems to me well illustrated by the story of Ichabod Jones. (You all recollect Ichabod.) Ichabod went west, and not succeeding very well in farming, concluded to try his hand at keeping tavern.—He raised a sign, inscribed in large letters—“Tavern kept here, by Ichabod Jones.” A weary traveller, allured by the sign, stopped and said, “Mr. Jones, my horse is very tired, I want you to give him some oats.” “Oats! we don’t keep oats here.” “Well, then give him some hay.” “H y! we don’t keep hay here.” “No oats—no hay—why, what do you keep?” “Why, I keep tavern—don’t you see the sign?” “Well then, let the horse go, but I want some supper for myself; would like some ham and eggs.” “Ham and eggs! we don’t keep ham and eggs here.” “Well, what on earth then do you keep?” “Why, I tell you I keep tavern—can’t you read the sign, ‘Tavern kept here by Ichabod Jones.’”

And thus the weary pilgrim, fleeing from despotism, hungering and thirsting for freedom, who, allured by the flaming sign of democracy, there asks for the generous sentiments, the liberal principles, the equality of individual rights, for state rights, self-government, and freedom of speech and press, is now told we have none of them here. “Well, what then have you?” “Why, we have democracy.” “Very good,

give me some of the principles of Jefferson.” “Principles of Jefferson! we have just driven Underwood from his home, with threat of lynch law, for saying, ‘He hoped the principles of Jefferson would be carried out.’ We have none of them, we assure you.” “What in the name of conscience then have you got?” “Why, don’t we tell you, we have democracy.” “Well then, give me some of the doctrines of Jackson; his proclamation was rather strongly seasoned with Federalism, but if you have nothing better, give me some of that.” “Doctrines of Jackson! ‘We have had no call for them for a long time; and as to Old Hickory, we did have some of his bark, and though there was no danger at all of its biting ‘em, it somehow annoyed our southern nullifying friends, and we threw it away and haven’t got a relic of him left.’ “In the name of heaven then, tell me what you have got.” “Why, haven’t we told you over and over that we have got democracy. Can’t you read it there—on the face of the ‘Post?’” “Oh, yes! I see—Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—capital should own the labourers—n’t hire them.* Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—run quick, catch that panting slave, or be fined a thousand dollars. Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—and the man who gives him a crust of bread, or says his master has no right to task or scourge him, shall be sent to the States prison for two years.—Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—and if any man circulates a paper insinuating that “All men are created free and equal,” we will chain him to an iron ball, and make him work for five years on the highways, under a pro-slavery driver.—Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—and if any man aids a slave to gain his freedom, we’ll hang him. Democracy! Democracy! Democracy! Democracy!—But by this time the hungry pilgrim has made up his mind that he must go further to find any democracy which either himself or his horse can swallow.

Even among the remarkable inconsistencies of political men and parties, it seems to me most extraordinary, that the party which by legislative resolutions two years ago, in this and many other Northern States, strongly denounced the Kansas Nebraska act, should now lend its influence to grosser wrong than the most fearful then apprehended from the meas-

* See speech of Gov. Johnson, of Georgia, asserting this to be the question.

ure; that the party, which at the north claims to be in favor of the largest liberty, and which asserts the noble principle that man, merely in virtue of his being a man, is entitled to a voice in his government, should unite itself with the party at the south, which openly proclaims that the slavery of the laborer, black or white, is the natural and healthy condition of society, and asserts that the experiment of free institutions at the north has failed, and failed because we have here "A CONGLOMERATION OF GREASY MECHANICS, FILTHY OPERATIVES, AND SMALL FISTED FARMERS," who have political rights accorded to them. In such company many of our purest democrats must feel much like the man who was invited to take part in a tiger hunt, but finding his comrades bent on stealing sheep, thought it time to leave.

The democratic party, in the cause of freedom, or in support of any honest principle, would brave the mightiest powers of earth; but when asked to sustain and extend slavery, to become slave catchers, or steal an Island lest its inhabitants should acquire freedom, many of them will, no doubt, think it time to leave—and many of them are leaving.

As another cause for this division, a portion of the American party alledge that their committee was not treated with proper respect by the Republican Convention, at Philadelphia. It is true that the communication from that committee was for a brief hour laid upon the table; and in the confusion of business, necessarily hurried, in a convention of nearly a thousand persons, suddenly brought together, it was not very strange that this should have happened. It was however promptly corrected, and every proper attention and consideration subsequently extended to the committee.

But they further say that the Republicans should have adopted their nominee for Vice-President. This might have been fatal to the nominee of both, for President.

Immediately after the conventions at a meeting of both parties favoring the election of Fremont, at Newport, one of the Republicans stated, that in view of the noble conduct of the American party at New York, after the occurrence at Philadelphia, he for one was willing that they should settle the question as to who should be adopted in this State as the candidate for Vice-President, and that he would give his support to any course, which on ma-

ture reflection, they might think proper to adopt. None of the Republicans objected to this, and I believe they generally acquiesced in it.

Now, it seems to me, that this explanation, and this concession, should be satisfactory to the American party. But what if it is not? Will they desert their principles and their cause, merely for the reason, that some who espouse the same, have been uncivil. Suppose a man should say Dr. Hall or Henry Ward Beecher did not take off his hat to me this morning, and I will be a Christian no longer, I will turn Jew, Mahomedan, Pagan or Atheist. And will any of the American party say, the Republicans have not been civil to us; we will therefore aid in blighting this whole country with the curse of slavery, and in butchering the free state men in Kansas. How absurd, puerile and wicked.

But I find yet another cause of this division in a jealousy, that the Republican party will outlive, supplant or absorb the American. Both parties, I trust, will last until they respectively accomplish all the moral good of which they are capable. Neither can last much longer than that and the only rivalry between them should be, as to which will first accomplish its work. But I hope, before I finish, to show that the work of the Republicans is but a necessary step in that of the Americans, and if so, then for us to talk of the Republican party outliving the American, is like the one boy offering to bet, that he would get all the corn covered before the other got it all dropped.

It is further asserted that the Republican party is sectional, and Mr. Fillmore has himself intimated that if our candidate is elected, the south will be justified in resisting his constitutional authority—a nullification doctrine which I think shows his own unfitness for the high office to which he aspires.

I know something of the south, from personal observation, and through numerous friends residing there, but I have no such apprehension.

Notwithstanding the demoralization which recent events indicate, I believe there is still too much manliness of character among our fellow citizens there to permit them to take their chance of winning and then meanly refuse to abide the result if they lose.

But suppose there is not; will they be so wicked or so rash as to dissolve the Union—madly rush upon destruction—

merely from apprehension that something unpleasant to them will happen. If so, they might, with as much propriety, do it now; for from all appearances they are sufficiently frightened to justify anything which mere apprehension could justify. And if they wait for an overt act of Col. Fremont to justify resistance or secession I think the Union is safe. What has he ever done or said to indicate ultra sentiments or extreme measures on the subject of slavery. If the Republican party had intended to present such a candidate, there are many in their ranks who would have had precedence of Col. Fremont, and so far is he from coming up to the views of the warmest opposers of slavery, that they actually have an opposing candidate before the people, and will vote for Gerritt Smith. Col. Fremont made a noble and successful effort to prevent the introduction of slavery into California, and any man feeling the interest which he did, and who had seen Ohio and Virginia, Illinois and Missouri side by side, might do this without incurring the suspicion of ultra-ism.

I must confess honestly that upon this charge of sectionalism my views have been somewhat modified. I had supposed that the party which at Cincinnati, for southern votes yielded to southern demands, and made the peculiar institution the prominent feature of its policy; which there openly avowed its purpose to prostitute the powers of the government to the support and the extension of slavery; which even professed its readiness to sully the honor of the nation by a base robbery of the weak for these objects, and which now presents to us one undivided south, was the sectional party. But, in one view of the subject, I was mistaken. The Republican party modestly claims that the territories and states, now free, shall be permitted to continue so; and I do not see how we can escape the charge of sectionalism, except by claiming freedom for the whole country. Nor can we retort the charge upon our opponents, and say, if we are for sectional freedom, you are for sectional slavery; for they have the ready answer. We are for *slavery for the whole country*, and in proof of this they can refer us to the assertion of Cushing, that the sentiments of freedom must be crushed out in Massachusetts; to the threat of Douglas to subdue us; and to that of Toombs to read the muster roll of his slaves in the shadow of Bunker Hill.—And for confirmatory acts they may point

us to their bloody deeds in Kansas; to a Senator stricken down and mangled for exercising the right of a freeman to defend freedom; and most conclusive of all, to the decision of Judge Kane, by which at one fell swoop negro slavery was established by judicial authority in every State in this Union, and the personal liberty of every man, white or black, subjected to the arbitrary will or caprice of any upstart lawyer, who by partisan service, or other means, gets a judicial appointment.

It was fortunate for our country that this at once bold and insidious attempts to subvert state rights and destroy personal freedom, was made upon such a subject—upon a young man of modest mein, till then unknown to fame, slender and delicate in person; with soft liquid eye, indicating tenderness of feeling rather than inflexibility of purpose; a brow, which though manly was moulded into almost feminine grace and beauty, and upon which the ready furtive blush revealed the purity and sensibility of his character. There was nothing to warn the ruthless tyrant, of a stern uncompromising resistance to his mandate—nothing of the stalwart form and sturdy defiant bearing of Luther; but Luther's spirit was in his breast, and blending in his pure and gentle nature, a moral energy, before which that haughty judge quailed and trembled as no judge since Pilate had done, and which compelled that high court, sustained by its host of officials, and a dependant bar; invested with all the authority of the government and with the army of a nation at its beck, to humble itself before him, and *beg* to be relieved from its humiliation. It was a beautiful illustration of the force of truth—a sublime exhibition of the power of conscious rectitude and devotion to principle. But for the moral firmness of that young man, a judicial precedent would then and there have been established; slavery legalised, and a despotism inaugurated in our midst. This country never can pay the debt, it never can even know how much it owes to Passmore Williamson. I have been surprised that since the first outburst of public indignation against the tyrant judge, and of generous sympathy for his victim, so little attention has been given to this subject. The public mind has been diverted from it by more shocking, but not more dangerous outrages. I have taken some pains to enquire and am told that three of the judges of the Supreme Court are ready to confirm Judge Kane's decision and that it is almost certain, that the places of two of those now opposed to it, will have to be filled by nominations to be made by the next President. If we elect a man favorable to the ex-

tension of slavery, he will no doubt fill those places with men who will unite with the three, making a majority of the Court, and we shall then have slavery established over this whole country by a judicial fiat which it would become the constitutional duty of that President to enforce, if necessary, with the standing army and at the point of the bayonet.

It is for you then to decide between the policy which would thus extend slavery over this whole country and that which will still preserve at least a portion of it to freedom. It is for you to choose whether you will strive to place the mighty interests of liberty, our own personal freedom, our national reputation and the destinies of our country, in the hands of the author of the Ostend Manifesto, either directly by votes for James Buchanan, or indirectly, by votes for Millard Fillmore and thus give your aid to destroy the free states men in Kansas, and to crush the spirit which animates the Sumners and the Williamsons of our country; or whether you will extend to these your sympathy and your protection, and rebuke the ruffian spirit which is so disgracing us, by giving your votes, your efforts, and your influence to the candidate of the two conventions of the advocates of freedom—John Charles Fremont—of whom I propose now briefly to speak.

It is true that unlike many older politicians he has no superfluity of antecedents—no lumber room full, in which by diligent search, something may be found to fit the right or the left of every emergency, and generally so badly fitting, that it were better to throw it away and make a new one.

But his antecedents are all good. Descended from the Huguenots—a picked race—who, like our own Pilgrim Fathers, were winnowed by persecution and who sacrificed every thing, suffered every thing for principle, he inherits their inflexible virtues.

Born and educated in a slave holding community—allied by marriage to an influential slave-holding family, he early abjured the institution and has made successful efforts to prevent its extension.

In boyhood he manifested the talent, the genius, the generosity, the heroism which have distinguished his subsequent career.

In his perilous explorations of our western wilderness—in the conquest of California, and in its subsequent government, he displayed executive abilities of no common order. His course was marked with the decision, the celerity, the energy of a Cæsar, and like Cæsar, he has left us in doubt, whether most to admire the vigor of his actions, or the graceful simplicity and elegant diction in which he has narrated them.

He has already laid the foundations of an enviable fame.

His name is written upon the everlasting snows of the Sierra Nevada, and carved upon the loftiest pinnacle of the Rocky Mountains.

There are the lasting mementoes of his heroic achievements.

The summer sun, as in its solstitial height,

it lingers over the classic spot, will not efface the inscription, nor sully the purity in which it is enshrined; and the beleaguering lightning, as it hurls its thunder bolts against those mountain cliffs, which for ages have defied its dread artillery, will respect the flag he so triumphantly planted and leave, unscathed, the name over which it proudly waves.

I might here finish what I have to say of the history of our candidate: but encouraged by this presence of our fair friends I will venture to allude to one other of his antecedents—**HE RAN AWAY WITH TOM BENTON'S DAUGHTER.**

Now were I speaking only to the cross old papas, I might not have dared to mention this. Nor do I now mean to say that it was in itself, wise, commendable or worthy of imitation; but I will say, that the young man, who under the influence of a pure, ennobling, romantic passion, betrays some rash "precipitance of soul" is infinitely preferable to one who even in love is soberly, tamely, coldly calculating; and these ladies will believe me, I rely upon them to sustain me, when I say, that the enthusiastic and aspiring youth, who—unawed by the frown of that stern old man—without fortune, without fame, without position, with nothing but what was in himself, won the affections of that noble hearted woman, had a noble heart in his own bosom.

But I must not dwell on this episode of private history, the peculiar sanctities of which I have perhaps already too far profaned, and which I would invoke only to shed its gleam of romantic interest, over those sterner realities of his life, in which he has evinced courage, fortitude, decision, persevering energy, practical ability, and above all, warmth of heart and devotion to principle. And his principles are our principles. What more can we ask for in our leader?

It is objected that he is a new man; and we have a new political platform; and one, which recognizing that truth and justice are paramount to selfish interest and narrow policy, I trust has filled us all with new hope, new joy, new zeal, new spirit: and we have older and higher authority than that of our American friends for selecting new men—for refusing to put this, our new wine, into *old bottles*.

We certainly are consistent in associating such a candidate with such principles; perhaps not more consistent than our opponents, for they have adopted a platform from which they have *eliminated every democratic principle*, and placed upon it a standard bearer, who long since *let the last drop of democratic blood out of his veins*. But put the two platforms side by side, and let any honest man say which is the more noble, elevated and elevating, which the more consonant with the principles of justice and the sentiments of humanity.

It is however but too true that we cannot—we must not—rely solely upon the superiority of our principles for success. Our opponents are still numerous, well organized and united by strong cohesive powers—some of them stim-

ulated by interest and passion to unwonted vigilance and effort. Many of them honestly differing from us as to men or measures, and carrying to their cause all the force of honest purpose, always formidable, under the *banner of our country*, and with the battle cry of *liberty*, they have often proved invincible. It remains to be seen whether they can marshal their hosts under the *piratical flag* painted at Ostend, and incite them to victorious effort with shouts for *slavery*. Still it behoves us too, to be vigilant, energetic, persevering, and, above all, united.

But though our unaided principles may not be omnipotent against error, interest and passion, they are in themselves a tower of strength and our cause commends itself so every lover of his race. It is the great cause which in some form has been the political conflict of ages—the great cause of *liberty against despotism—of freedom against slavery*—that slavery which has ever been the bane and the reproach of our country, and in which there is more lurking danger to our popular institutions than in all else beside.

It is but a truism that slavery is in direct antagonism to freedom. Always obviously incompatible in morals, we may now see that to reconcile them in one political system, is a task, which all the talent and all the energy which have long been devoted to it, have not been able to accomplish.

This incompatibility of sectional domestic slavery, with free national political institutions, is continually manifesting itself in practical results. In the very inception of the government, it required the legalizing of piracy in one of its most odious and cruel forms, and since then, and upon the *plea of its necessities*, has refused to citizens of the free States their constitutional rights; has obstructed the distribution of the mails; denied the sacred right of petition; practically annulled the right of jury trial; perverted that great safeguard of *personal liberty*, (the writ of habeas corpus,) to the purposes of despotism; and now in the diabolical attempt, by brute force, to destroy those last bulwarks of *constitutional liberty*, (the freedom of speech and of the press,) has ruthlessly plunged our country into a civil war—already commenced upon the plains of Kansas and in the senate chamber of the capitol.—Heaven only knows where it will end! But for all these consequences of slavery the south alone is not to blame. She furnished the poisoned weapon, but it required northern men—northern recreants—aye, northern *miscreants* to wield it with most deadly effect. The head and foot of that administration, which, for the fell purposes of an ignoble ambition, has brought this late prosperous and happy country to the very brink of destruction, are northern men. They seem to be actuated by an evil spirit: and whether by the Devil himself, or as some suppose, they are set on by the Jesuits, that no less infernal power which he has so often used to subvert empires: to destroy free-

dom; and crush out the noblest sentiments, the loftiest aspirations, and the holiest hopes which elevate and bless our race, is a question of little importance. In either case it is our obvious duty to take from them their colleagues and accomplices, the ability to render any essential service to such masters; and this, with the blessing of Heaven, I trust we shall accomplish.

This allusion to the Jesuits brings me to the ground of union between the American and Republican parties, in considering which I will endeavor to give all due force to the peculiar views of the former. Though in it there is an ample reason, this union does not rest wholly upon the fact, that, with few exceptions, the Republicans are American and the Americans are Republican in principle, that each is engaged in a great movement in which the other deeply sympathizes, nor yet merely upon a calculation by union to make a power through which each may accomplish a separate purpose. But rather that the immediate object essential to both is now identical.

The object of the American is party to protect us from Papal domination. The object of the Republican party is to prevent the extension of slavery, and thus protect, or rather relieve us, from the domination of the slave-power. Now what I mean to say, is, that the attainment of the latter, is that which is most immediately necessary to the accomplishment of the former.

But first one word as to religious freedom about which we are here all so justly and so proudly sensitive. The Catholic leaders, through their presses, have already proclaimed that, when they get the power there will be an end to religious liberty in this country. And among a people so jealous of their religious rights—who deem soul liberty the root of all other liberty—it would be strange if such an avowal did not arouse a party to protect the inestimable rights thus boldly threatened. There is, however no intention to retaliate; much less to adopt a creed which teaches that it is a Christian duty to persecute all who do not accept its dogmas and conform to its authority, and the Catholics are here now—as I trust they ever will be—fully protected in all their religious beliefs and opinions, and in all their rites, forms and observances. It is not the Catholics; it is not the religion of the Catholics; but the detestable temporal policy of their leaders—their *POLITICS* which is here politically opposed. A policy by which the Jesuits every where, with sleepless vigilance and satanic subtlety, are seeking to destroy liberty, and which, wherever it has prevailed, has actually re-

duced the people to the most debasing, hopeless, crushing tyranny that ever cursed the human race; and to tyrants the most cruel, vile and execrable ever made in human form—to a condition in at least one respect, worse than that of chattel slavery; for even the pious hope and the moral firmness of Uncle Tom, might have been crushed if his master had made him believe that through his influence, the tortures he inflicted upon him here, would be continued through eternity. Such tyranny, Catholics, as well as all others, should oppose with the most determined and inflexible resistance; and it is encouraging to find that many of them, warned by past experience and by the palpable and atrocious wrongs of ecclesiastical supremacy, are ready to unite with us in resisting the establishment of such despotism here: as we would unite with them, for the common defence, if our liberties were thus threatened by a protestant priesthood. Every country now governed by the Papal power is full of warning to us all, and he who in the present state of our affairs does not see some of the conditions of which the Jesuits have ever been ready to avail themselves, has profited little by the history of the past. We trust in our intelligence to protect us against their subtlety; and with free discussion this would probably avail. But the slave power is already breaking down this defence, and leaving us exposed to their insidious approaches. It is from the influence of slavery that the Jesuits themselves expect to find the opportunity for our subjugation. In that plan, concerted in Europe some years ago, for the subversion of this government, and the establishment of a Papal hierarchy, with its central power among our North Western States, the existence of domestic servitude among us was largely counted upon as an element of success; and in the present distracted state of the country, weakened by corruption and intestine broils—the legitimate consequences of slavery—with millions among us recognizing a temporal power without the state as paramount to the state; they insinuated into all the plans of the government, and forming the bulk of our army; and by an organization which they are pleased to call religious; all made subject to one will, it is not very strange, that many should now apprehend that the Roman Pontiff can determine who shall be placed at the head of our affairs—who shall be selected to guard our liberties against his own machinations, and thus determine the future destiny of our country for slavery; reducing us and our children to the abject condition of the people of Spain, Austria, and Italy. And I confess I have myself been startled by the reflection, that it would be in strict conformity to the usual modes of Gods providence, that such wilful and atrocious wrong, unredressed and unrepented, should itself become the means of such terrible retribution.

We see that slavery is not only breaking down the *defences* of rational liberty, but that in forcibly proscribing free discussion and free speech it has already destroyed an important *element* of civil liberty; and at the same time has encouraged the insolence which boldly threatens the destruction of our religious liberties. Such are its natural tendencies, and such its actual results.

It behooves then all who value religious or civil liberty, and especially does it behoove our American friends, who are so earnestly and so laudably engaged to protect us from the terrors of an ecclesiastical despotism, and from the unutterable horrors of the inquisition, to put forth all their energies to obtain an early, a satisfactory and a just settlement of the Kansas difficulties, and of the whole subject of domestic slavery. This is the issue in the present political struggle, and if the American party at the South are true to their principles—if they are really more anxious to preserve *religious freedom* than they are to extend *chattel slavery*, they will unite with their brethren of the North and with their Republican allies in this holy cause.

To prevent misconstruction, it may be proper for me to say, that I have a kind regard for our foreign population, and I think I see how it happened that with the best intentions, other feelings prevailed with a portion of the American party. They were aroused by the threat of the Catholics, and at the same time they felt that it would be a violation of one of our most cherished principles, to specially oppose their religion with temporal authority, and hence they saw no other way of reaching their object but by withholding political power from foreigners generally. We have an undoubted right to prescribe the terms upon which foreigners shall be admitted. We have always required that they should have time to become acquainted with our political institutions before they should have power directly to interfere with them, and the proper length of this tutelage is an open question. The subject would be made much more clear and simple, by separating the spiritual from the temporal, and asserting that no man can rightfully cover his political, with his religious creed, and then claim that both shall be held equally sacred.

Some persons assert that the introduction of foreign labor depreciates the value of our own. I think the reverse is the fact. The introduction of a large body of men, with abilities for hard, patient toil, and incapable or unwilling to perform the mental labor required to direct it, has elevated the American laborers to the class of thinkers, and made them supervisors of labor, in which capacity, they can earn the wages every where accorded to thought—intelligence—now the most valuable element of labor; when, but for this large amount of labor requiring their supervision, they would only be able to earn the smaller wages of bone and muscle. The accession of these laborers has within a few years developed the resources of our country, and added to its products, to an extent, which would have required centuries of natural growth; and no man's chance of obtaining his full share of the comforts of life, is lessened by their increased production. I have no feeling then against this accession to our population. I see in the German immigrants the countrymen of Luther and Melancthon, of Goethe and Schiller, and the descendants of a race, from which we derived some of the best traits of our character; and in the Irish I see the compatriots of Burke, Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Emmett. I see in them a people on whom I have long looked with mingled wonder and admiration: a people in whom centuries of oppression and destitution have not extinguished the fire of genius nor starved out the natural generosity of their character. To these, as to all others fleeing from the despotism of the old world, I would throw wide open the portals of the new. If they come among us, bigoted in religion, and servilely submissive to their leaders, I would trust to liberalize and elevate them, by the liberality of our institutions co-operating with the love of liberty, implanted by God in every human breast, rather than by any illiberal, narrow, coercive measures of State policy. I would preserve our religious and civil liberties unimpaired, not only for the benefit of ourselves and our children, but that the oppressed, throughout the world, may here ever find an asylum, where the oppressor cannot follow them. And if the emergency should ever require it, I trust that those who have seen and felt this oppression in other lands, will not be behind our native population in resisting its entrance into this.

But to return from this digression. I was speaking of the necessity of our uniting at the coming election to protect our

civil and religious liberties from the violence arrayed against them.

But who can say that this government will now last until the people can apply the remedy of a popular election; or that in this emergency this peaceful remedy will avail?

Who can say that the army now crushing the popular will in Kansas will not be used to resist the popular will as expressed through the ballot-boxes, and re-enact over this whole country the scenes of violence and lawless outrage which have there been exhibited? Still our proper, constitutional and our safest remedy is in the exercise of the elective franchise. As such it is our duty to adopt it. I cannot therefore, with some, counsel violence, but I will not advise submission. We have too long tried that with any other than happy results. The North has continually yielded, and, with every yielding, slavery has been more and more firmly fastened upon us, and with extending area. For this result the whole country is responsible. It is true the disease is slavery, and slavery at the South, but terribly aggravated by submission and by co-operation at the North. We cannot then justly impute to them all the blame or cast all the obloquy upon them. Nor can we properly measure their share of it or even the degree of their moral wrong by our own standard. We are apt and generally as the best means in our power, to judge of a people by their creeds and their institutions, which, if they produced in practice all the results which we logically ascribe to them in theory, would long since have left no such questions as now agitate us, in any christian land. By this rule we of the North are very naturally but unphilosophically led to doubt whether it be possible that an institution which is the summation of wrong, should leave a vestige of virtue among those, upon whose vilest passions it imposes no restraint. The evil is monstrous; and among its legitimate consequences to the ruling race, are instances of the vilest sensuality, the basest brutality, and most atrocious cruelty. But there too virtue finds congenial soil and, warmed in the sunshine, and refreshed by the dews, of Heaven, acquires vigorous growth, sustains itself in noble natures, and twines its tendrils around gentle hearts. And over all that clouded land, we may, as here, find men who without feeling themselves called upon to become martyrs, or even aspiring to be reformers, in any extended sense of the word, are yet, under good natural impulses, doing what falls in their way to do, to elevate the standard of

morality, to shed happy influences and mitigate the social evils around them.

No doubt the mercenary spirit has at the South much influence upon the popular opinion or popular assertion as to the abstract right of slavery, and that this institution is mainly sustained by the pecuniary interests at stake. This is manifest in the speech of Gov. Wise and in the tone of the Southern press. Does the North wonder at this but too common result of selfish cupidity, so common that we may perhaps feel ourselves admonished to be charitable in our judgment, and in view of all the circumstances, may perhaps find cause for sympathy, as well as for resentment? Living in an enervating climate, with the habits, the disposition, the peculiar views of labor engendered by slavery, they cannot dig. A proud spirited people accustomed to command, they cannot beg. And this is not the first time in the history of the world that this combination of circumstances has successfully resisted the demands of truth and justice.

But compare even such men, educated in self-reconciling familiarity with slavery, with no moral instruction against it, their ministers of religion boldly proclaiming from the pulpit, that it has God's especial sanction, with some Northern men, who, holding the institution to be the most vile and atrocious outrage upon humanity, are still ready, at every call of avarice or ambition, to give it their support, and who even lend a willing ear to such suggestions, as that, if the Northern manufacturers will aid in extending this atrocity into Kansas, they can have a *profitable tariff* accorded to them. For the vindication of the North, for the vindication of humanity, let me say, that this foul proposal has been met with befitting scorn, and that with few exceptions the manufacturers of New England would witness the destruction of every spindle, as I doubt not the iron masters of the Middle States would forever extinguish their furnace fires rather than become parties to such infamous, such execrable contract. It is the dictate of common sense, confirmed by reason and experience, that on this subject, we have more to apprehend from a Northern man who has deserted his principles, than from a Southern man who has adhered even to the errors in which he has been educated. John C. Calhoun, in his time, went farther than any other Southern man in defence of slavery, and we now have the testimony of Gov. Wise, of Va.—testimony which our opponents certainly will not impugn, that James Buchanan then went farther than he did, and

that if the advice of James Buchanan had then prevailed, the foul system, under which Virginia, from being the mother of heroes, has become a breeder of slaves, would now be fostered by a price of three to five thousand, instead of one thousand dollars per head. The candidates stand in remarkable antithesis to each other. We have a Southern man, who, by his own reflections, has been converted from the principles of slavery to those of freedom. They have a Northern man, who, by the anger of the gods, has been permitted to believe that the institutions of slavery are preferable to those of freedom. If James Buchanan is an honest man, what does this conversion say for his intelligence? and if he be intelligent, what does it say for his honesty?

And it may be well said that if there are those at the South who, on this subject, have no insurmountable scruples, we claim no right to interfere with the institution in their States, and they ought not to attempt to force it upon us, nor by a hard, an unjustifiable, not to say a false construction of our bond, compel us to sustain what is so repugnant to our sense of right—what we so conscientiously abhor. But, until very recently, what evidence have we given them, that we thus abhor it? Have our political demagogues and doughfaces taught them this lesson in Congress? Have the Union-saving meetings, called to propitiate their favor, and to secure their trade, revealed it to them? Have we not rather given them reason to infer that they, who were ever ready servilely to do their bidding, might properly be treated as slaves? That they, who for gain, would abandon every principle they professed, might justly be ranked with those despised necessities of their system, who hunt runaway slaves? To them the apparent conclusion from our own acts was, that they might deal with us in the double capacity of slaves and venal mercenaries. The services of the former they were accustomed to command more by the fear of punishment than by the hope of reward, and the latter to degrade by hire to that, even in the eyes of interested slaveholders, most vile and execrable of all created things—a slave-catcher. Having the power, the passage of the fugitive slave act by the South, aided by Northern recalcants, was but a logical consequence of this apparent position of the parties. As mercenary and unprincipled, they made us slave-catchers, and as slaves, they generously gave to the driver an extra five dollars per head to ensure his fidelity, and severely punished any others of the gang who refused to do their task-work under him.

Again, with them contracts with slaves have no legal efficacy. Hence they unscrupulously repealed the Missouri Compromise, and still under this delusion characteristically sought to silence annoying and troublesome complaints with coarse threats and ignominious brutality.

But the Northern spirit is at last aroused, and we dwell to let our Southern brethren know that our political demagogues no more represent the general sentiment here, than the Legrees do the general character of Southern planters, that throughout our whole population there is a firm, determined, though unobtrusive, and unpretending spirit, which makes them as indignant as the most chivalrous slaveholders at the idea of being made slave-catchers, and that upon them neither the terrors of the law, nor the threats of the lawless can never enforce such degradation.

It is well that the South should know that it has not only aroused the spirit and the pride of the North, but that it has awakened its conscience, and of this I trust we shall give them a conclusive numerical demonstration in November. Much of this aggression has been invited by Northern imbecility and Northern treachery.

It seems we needed all this abuse, insult, and violence to awaken us from our lethargy. It required a moral hurricane thus to arouse us on this subject. I almost fear it has come too late, and that nothing short of national extermination, by civil war, can now eradicate the poison, which has infused itself through our whole system. Our situation is alarming. We are no longer approaching a crisis; with civil war the crisis has arrived. And who among us, fortified in mature thought and sound principles, is prepared for the emergency? For myself, I confess that while I rejoice and have hope in the fact that we are aroused, and especially that we have risen above all suspicion of those mercenary considerations heretofore imputed to us, I see no cause of gratulation in the popular demand, that violence shall be met with violence. When the moral power of a people has become so weak that violence cannot be restrained by law, they must speedily relapse into barbarism, unless arrested in their descent by the strong hand of despotic power.

Violence reproduces itself, and may make a desert of our country before it can give us peace. In this emergency we need to apply a better and a milder remedy. It is still in the power of the North, by one decisive and united effort at the ballot-boxes, to settle all the difficulty—to do it peaceably, and prevent the future effusion of

blood. Having this power, the North should be magnanimous, and exercise it in no unkind spirit to any, but for the common benefit of all. It is sometimes the duty of those who have the responsibility of power to use it, even at the risk of being suspected of unkindness to those for whose benefit it is exerted; and I believe it will not be long before the South will itself appreciate the wisdom of our design to preserve the rest of our territories from a system which has already blighted so large a portion of it. It is true, that their present views are entitled to equal respect with our own; and in their own States we accord to them supremacy, but we know of no mode of deciding the policy to be pursued as to the territories—the common wards of all—but by the constitutional majority; and that the system of free labor has concentrated a large majority of the population of the States upon less than one-half their area, is no slight indication of its superiority. It is a beautiful mechanism which thus gives the power to those systems which produce the greatest prosperity. In the decision of such a question, too, we may very properly refer to the opinion of the whole civilized world, which is in our favor. It may be true, that when, in this country, the freedom of speech and of the press is denied by law, and this law is sustained by the government with military force, that the right of revolution intervenes. But this is a right, always to be exercised with discretion. Revolution once availed us, but what have we now to expect from it? Can we, as then, point to the men at the head of our affairs, and say, we rely upon their wisdom, and confide in their virtue. I fear we have no such refuge, and I feel that in the general corruption of our government, we have more cause for apprehension and for despair, than in the particular acts of lawless and brutal violence which have so justly incensed us. When the judicial power has become an engine of despotism; when the military force of the government is arrayed against the rights of self-government, and the freedom of discussion; when our Representatives in the National Councils, are many of them notoriously swayed by the patronage of power, or by more direct appliances, and the public sentiment has become so demoralized that venal peculation and bribery call forth no condemnation or reproof, what have we to hope? What in this condition of our affairs, can we expect from revolution, but carnage and anarchy, ending only in despotism? It requires no prophetic vision to see that such consequences are now within the range of

possibility, and as I look at them, the stirring events, the startling outrages of the day lose their immediate significance.—The meanness which I scorned: the base brutality which shocked me, and the tyrannical exercise of power, which filled me with resentment, are forgotten, when the unfathomable abyss of civil war is yawning before me, and I am absorbed, appalled, and dismayed in contemplating the stupendous destruction of the interests and the hopes of humanity, now so imminently, so recklessly threatened.

Our ancestors, by self-sacrificing devotion to duty in the revolutionary struggle, advanced the cause of freedom. We have found the boundary of that advance in domestic slavery, and have too long delayed to do our part in completing what they so happily commenced. We have delayed it until we can now claim no generous virtue in its accomplishment. For we have delayed until the slave power has menaced our State rights, our personal rights, our own personal liberty, and even threatened to pollute the shrines we have consecrated to liberty, with the foul rites of slavery. And we have delayed it until the judicial power and the military force of the government have been put in requisition to execute these threats. And with this long participation in evil we have become so degraded that nothing seems left to us but to fulfil those conditions by which, in the order of Providence, suffering, as a last alternative, is required to expiate wrong, and is made a condition of our regeneration, that virtue may be developed and strengthened in its accomplishment.

In the name of a down-trodden race, we have been arraigned at the bar of the high court of eternal justice for high crimes against humanity. The verdict of guilty has been rendered, and we await the sentence of an intallible judge. And if we have not yet advanced beyond that point in morals, at which, even in our fraternal relations, violence must be met with violence, and blood is required for blood, we may well apprehend that the justice which we mete out to others will be meted out to us, and that those consequences of slavery which Jefferson long since deduced from the character of the institution and the justice of God, will be visited upon us. If so, may heaven be merciful. But if the impending judgment cannot be arrested, either by the virtue of the people, or by the martyr blood of the brave and gifted among us—if the expiation of this enormous wrong requires that our country should be deluged with the blood of civil war, in the

name of humanity let it come now, and not be entailed on our posterity, as an accumulating curse, blighting all the fruits of liberty, and crushing all hope in the future. Yes, if it must be met, let us meet it now, and heaven grant, that with calm wisdom and energetic virtue we may so meet it that the bitter cup of ecclesiastical political or military despotism may never be pressed to the lips of our children.

But as I have already intimated I see no hope of averting such calamity by violence—individual or combined,—and if we cannot avert it by a combined effort at the ballot-boxes, we must not retrograde by resorting to low strife and ignoble violence, but still seek a higher elevation for our country in nobler and loftier forms of power.

The patriot who with self-sacrificing devotion, is ready upon the battle field to pour out his blood in defence of his country, is animated by noble impulses and glowing virtues. He has attained a high elevation, but a yet higher is allotted to those pure and gifted spirits, who, unsustained by the excitement of conflict, can stand erect upon the rock of principle and with calm uncompromising determination, unresistingly meet the martyrs' fate. To them is accorded a power to move the world, vouchsafed to no other mortals—to them it is given to nerve the arm of the patriot with purer, and more thrilling impulses, and to invigorate his soul with nobler purpose, loftier daring and more kindling enthusiasm. We have all seen how the striking down of one unresisting man, who without compromising any public right, has nobly refrained from avenging his private wrong, has aroused the indignation of the whole North and caused one universal cry of condemnation upon the aggressor. It has done more than this.—It has touched the sensibilities of the South and the heart of the Huguenot is burning with a mortification which pride prompts him to conceal. And if one of these pure spirits should fall a victim to the violence which, for the love of country and his race he calmly refused to aggravate by resistance, the higher sentiments, the nobler spirits of the *whole* country would be aroused. With such evidence that Northern sentiment is sincere and that Northern action is based upon principle and not upon policy, all the better feeling of the South would rise up to stay aggression upon it, and even the arm of the violent and ferocious would be paralyzed: for in conscience, thus clearly manifested, there

is a power which can kindle the last spark of virtue in the human breast and before which the wicked quail, as the brute cowers beneath the unshrinking soul-lit eye of intelligence. It is in kind that exhibition of power of which the founder of our religion furnished the most illustrious example. I know it will be said that these views are chimerical, that even in this land, boasting its civilization and its christianity, they are impracticable—that after more than eighteen hundred years of progress under his teachings, there is not yet the virtue to copy this divine original. I appreciate the difficulty. I know how hard it is to live up to our creed or our aspirations. But we need only very humble imi-

tators and the emergency often calls out or creates the virtue it demands; and if it shall become obvious that violence can but lead us through carnage and anarchy to despotism, I trust we shall find many, not only in the high places of power, but throughout the whole of our *as yet* common country; among the descendants of the Huguenots no less than among the children of the Pilgrims, who to avert such dire, such unutterable calamity, will be ready to pour out their life's blood in streams as pure and copious as ever moistened the plains of Palestine, and who in such a cause will be as willing victims as ever trod the summit of Mount Moriah.

West Chester July 29. 1855

Dear Brother

I am sorry to learn that Safford had been incited by Judge Kane, upon so flimsy, unsound and outrageous an opinion and decision, as the one he put forth on that occasion.

I have heard the best members of our Bar speaking of that decision, and they all agree in saying it is discredit to the profession and ought to be condemned by every right thinking man.

When a Judge can be induced to pervert the plain common sense principles of law and justice, to gratify the malignant feelings of any person, our liberties are really in danger and it is high time for the people to look to them.

It has often been said, and with some truth, that while the Judiciary of the Country, should remain, just, sound and incorruptible, the people would be comparatively safe though all the other departments of the Government should be rotten to the core. "A bad law justly administered, is better than a good law corruptly administered," is an old saying which is as true now as when it was first uttered.

The disposition manifested of late by many of our Judges and others in Power and Authority, to truckle to the dark spirit of Slavery must cease, or soon the Stars and Stripes of our once glorious Union will be rent in twain - Already the strong Attachment that some of our best and wisest men had for the Union is weakening and giving

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giving way - and they are calmly calculating the advantages the
free States would derive from a total separation from the "pec-
-cious institution" of the South - When good men set down to
calculate the value of the Union, its dissolution had commenced,
and sooner or later will be completed.

I hope Paffmore will bear his imprisonment like a Christian
and Philosopher, however long it may be continued, he had nothing
ultimately to fear, but will in the end come forth like the
Hebrew ~~from~~ children from the fiery furnace ^{without} ~~the~~ the smell
of smoke on his garments, while they who cast him ^{there} ~~the~~ may
suffer for their temerity.

One of our most intelligent and respectable citizens, who is
far advanced in life told me, he would a great deal ^{rather} ~~rather~~ have
Paffmore's situation than Judge Ranis, and another told
me he sincerely wished he was in his (Paffmore's) place.

If it will be any comfort to Paffmore you may tell him that
he has the sympathy and kind feelings of every person about
here, whose sympathy is worth possessing.

Please to let me know what course of procedure is in con-
-templation in order to obtain his liberation, or what is proposed
to be done in the matter.

Edward is quite unwell to day, confined pretty much to his
bed, with complaint of the bowels - all the rest of us are in
usual health.

Yours respectfully

Wm. Williamson

Thos. Williamson

241, 1, 2

West Chester July 29. 1855

Esteemed Friend

I have spent the day in examining the question whether Judge Kane had ~~any~~ authority to issue the writ of habeas corpus against Parsonne Williamson. It occurred to me when I read his opinion two days ago that it was extremely doubtful whether a U. S. judge could properly interfere in such a case, and that doubt is now very strongly confirmed.

The authority of Judges of the U. S. States is derived wholly from the constitution of the U. S. and the acts of congress. The Supreme & subordinate courts have no common law authority to grant writs of habeas corpus. Whatever may be said as to implied powers in relation to the Supreme court it is certain that the judges of the circuit and of the Dist. courts as such have no authority to grant such writs, but what is conferred by the acts of congress passed under the authority of the constitution. This must be admitted as a point not to be contested. The inquiry then is directed to this; where is the act of congress that authorizes a Judge of the Dist. Court to issue a habeas corpus in such

a case as the one in hand? None such can be found,
for none such exists.

The judiciary act of 1789, Sec 14, provides for the issuing
of writs of Habeas Corpus in certain cases, and there are other
acts since, making some provisions relating to the ex-
ercise of the power - but there is no act as far as I
am aware that assumes to extend the power beyond
that conferred by the judiciary act. The cases in
which the authority may be properly exercised by
the Dist. Judge of the U. S. are stated with great
perspicuity by Chancellor Kent in the 1st vol of
his Commentaries (last ed) page 326. but none
of them embrace the category in which Passmore
stands.

That the Courts of U. S. and the Federal judges possessed
only a limited power as to the issuing of this writ is
sustained by several decisions, see U. S. v French
1 Gal. 1. 1 Wash. C. C. R. 232 Ex parte Colburn, and
in the Matter of Metzger 4 Har 176 - 1 Barbour Report
(S. C. of N. Y.) 248. There are other cases to which there
are the key all looking the same way.

Thinking the subject worthy of investiga-
tion I have taken the liberty of mentioning
the point that you may suggest, to your coun-
sels if they have not already considered it.
If it shall turn out that the point is a sound
one it follows that if Judge Kane's commitment
shows the cause, Passmore may be released by
the Habeas Corpus issued by Judge Lewis or

2912.R
Judge Kelley or any other state judge. The commitment
of Kane being without authority is void and the detention
of Passmore is illegal. The beauty of this remedy ^{ground} on this
is that it makes the judge & all others who have partici-
pated in the illegal imprisonment responsible for
a trespass on the personal rights of Passmore. A re-
new application of the law in this respect, by a recov-
ery in damages against party, judge, and Marshall
would administer a useful lesson to federal officers
of which they happen just now to stand greatly
in need.

In great haste

Yours truly

Wm. W. Lewis

Thomas Williamson Esq.

242.1.2

West Chester Aug. 1. 1853
8 O'clock P.M.

Dear Brother,

I have just received yours of Eleven O'clock this morning, and am sorry to learn that Judge Lewis had thought it his duty to refuse the writ of Habeas Corpus; his reasons for so doing I, of course am not informed, but will probably see them in tomorrow's paper - If his reasons are of such a character ^{as} to deny the right and power of a State Judge to review the action of Judge Kane, then I presume you will not be able to procure a writ from the Judges of the Common Pleas.

I hope the Council will adopt some mode by which he (Poffner) can be restored to liberty without too much delay; after which, time may be taken to concert any further measures that may be thought right and proper to pursue.

Please to keep me advised daily how the business is progressing, I am anxious to hear every thing concerning it, as fully as you may think proper to make the statement.

Who wrote the article upon the subject in the North American of yesterday? It is well written and considered by the members of the Bar here as sound and good law.

Yours respectfully

Wm Williamson

Thos Williamson

Watt Chester Aug. 9. 1855

Dear Brother,

Your favor of the 2^d inst. informed me that a course of proceeding had been concluded upon in relation to Pappas, but was not to be made known to any one, not even Pappas himself, until it was developed by the progress of the execution.

My object now is not to ascertain what it is, in opposition to the secrecy enjoined, but to know whether it is progressing according to your wishes and expectations, and whether it is likely to produce the desired result.

As far as you can speak, consistently with your obligations to secrecy, I would like to be informed - and if desired, what may thus be told, shall not be divulged to others.

I feel considerable anxiety upon the subject, and it is very detestable, for any length of time, out of my thoughts - The more I reflect upon the subject the more I am of opinion that Judge

Rare

Same behaviour in an arbitrary, illegal and
Arbitrary manner, highly unbecoming one in
his situation and at the proper time, ought
to be prosecuted for false imprisonment, with
the utmost rigor of the law.

Passmore has many friends here, and twice
a day, as the mails are opened, they come to me
to know what is doing in the case, and whether
I have any information upon the subject.

Yesterday I received a full and satisfactory
letter from Passmore, detailing all he did in
the transaction.

I should have been down to have seen
him in this, but for something in the nature
of a carbuncle on the side of my neck, which
is very painful, and almost prevents me
from moving about.

Mr. Lewis showed me your letter to him, upon
the article he furnished the paper

Yours most respectfully

W. Williamson

Thos Williamson

West Chester Aug. 19. 1855

Dear Brother,

I have learned from the papers, as well as from Edwards's telegraphic despatch dated 18th inst., that the Court adjourned without giving a decision in Passmore's case, and that they will meet on the first of October at Lincolnburg. It is understood that no decision will be made until the first of October? And if so, is it because there is a difference of opinion among them, or is there some other reason operating?

I would like to know your opinion, as also the opinions of the Counsel engaged, upon the subject.

The papers speak of the argument as being very able. I have no doubt it was, and would have availed myself of your invitation to hear it, had not my sore neck prevented, which by the by is very

sore still; - I had hoped it was getting well, but this morning when the Doctor looked at it, he found an additional Carbuncle was forming along side of the first one, bidding fair to be as serious as the original one - He opened it two or three ways with his knife, and says he thinks it will not be so tedious in getting well - How that will be I know not, all I can say now is, it is my sore -

Let me know all about the Argument, and what the general impression is about Bodford - Will any thing drop from the Court during the Argument, that would indicate what the feeling was upon the Subject -

We like to hear frequently how Passmore is getting along, and the progress of public sentiment in reference to his Case.

As soon as I am in a fit condition to leave home I intend to visit the City and call and see him.

I see by a letter from New York that Wheeler
is there preparing to sail for his point of
destination, tomorrow, the 20th instant.

If such is the fact what will become of
the bills against the Coloured Men for
riot and assault and Battery - He being
the leading, if not the only witness, to prove
any offence whatever.

Will the woman "Jane" be in the City
during the trials and examined as a witness
in the case?

Yours truly
W^m Williamson

Thos Williamson

249.11.2

Wmth Philad: & C^o Prison
August 24/55.

Editor of The Evening Argus.

By the report contained in your paper of this afternoon, of the application of my Physician, Dr. Wilson, (made without my knowledge,) to the U.S. District Court for a change in the place of my confinement here, it appears that, in reply to a question or questions propounded by the Judge, "The Marshal stated, that when about to convey Mr. Williamson to prison, he proposed that he should go to his own home before proceeding to prison, as he (the Marshal) was willing to show Mr. Williamson all the courtesy and attention which was in his power; but these courtesies were rejected by him."

I know not upon what authority the statement so imputed to the Marshal, rests; but I do know that so much of it as imports that he proposed to me that I should go to my home before proceeding to prison, has no foundation in fact. When the Marshal took me into his custody I requested (and this was and is the only request I ever made or expect to make of him,) to be taken by him through the office of the Recorder of Deeds, for the purpose of procuring a paper I had left there before going into Court that morning, which I assured him would not detain us a minute; but he peremptorily

refused to do so, saying he "had to take me directly down to prison". - However, before he was seated in the Carriage, he commenced a general declaration of his intention, to extend to me such Courtesies as the duties of his office might permit; to which I replied in substance, (and in terms, as nearly as my present recollection serves me,) that I did not expect to have to avail myself of his offer; and that I intended to stand upon my legal rights, which I presumed would be entirely sufficient. - His declaration and my reply as above, transpired before we passed Library Street; and from thence to the the prison not a word was spoken by either of us to the other.

How far these facts, will sustain any part of the above quoted statement, imputed by your reporter to the Marshal, is for the public to judge.

I respectfully request you to give the foregoing a place in your Columns.

J. Williamson

West Chester Aug. 24. 1855

Dear Brother,

I have read the very able, and to my mind conclusive, arguments of Palfrey's Counsel made before the Supreme Court at Wash-
 ington - all who have read them here, that I have heard speak of them, pronounce them conclusive and irresistible - Yet I have misgivings that the Court in some way, and for some reason, (that they will search far to find) will shirk the responsibility of meeting and deciding the case - I hope I may be mistaken, but such are my fears. If the subject of Slavery was not involved in it then there would be no difficulty or hesitation in the case - But every thing and every body, both North and South, it seems must cringe and bow to the stem beak of the Slave power.

And Mr. Wheeler's wife and children
 been taken from him in the same manner

250.11

he says his slaves were, and he had applied
to Judge Kane for a writ of Habeas Corpus, He
would in all probability have been told that
the Judge of the District Court of the U. S. had
no jurisdiction in the case, that he must apply
to the State Authorities for redress, or if the
Judge had ventured to issue the writ, and a
return made similar to the one in the present
Case, does any body believe the party would have
been committed for contempt - I don't believe
there is any Case can be presented, where Slavery
and the Slave power has no connection with it,
that a similar course would be pursued by
any Judge of any Court in Christendom - Yet
so it is, that when the dark Spirit of Slavery
is invoked, all Law, Justice, decency and
propriety must give way to it's high commands -
Even you, independent, intelligent, liberal
and charitable Mercantile community, par-
ticularly that portion of them who deal and
trade with the South, have sold their judgments

upon the subject of Slavery
bent away their own opinions, for the paltry
consideration of a few dollars and cents they
hope to gain by such a sly submission -

From what I have heard upon more occasions
than one, I verily believe there are Merchants
of admitted standing and respectability in
your City who seem to consider the giving
liberty to the Slaves of Mr. Wheeler a greater
Crime than it would have been to have
carried his wife and children into servitude,

Such is the death grip which Slavery has
upon their sordid and covetous dispositions -

Where all this is to end God only knows, and
if it is his will that it can only end with
a disruption of the Union, I for one am prepared
for that event.

Let me hear from you as often as you
may have any thing worth communicating upon
the subject.

Yours truly

Thos^d Williams

Wm Williams

MS. A. 1. 2. R

253. J. R.

I am a little young I think to have you
 had such a letter. West Chester Sept. 6. 1855

Dear Brother,

I see by the morning papers that
 "Passmore" amid great enthusiasm, had been
 nominated for Canal Commissioner, by the
 Pottsburg Convention - I know that it would
 not be proper for him to leave the office if
 elected thereto - But under the circumstan-
 ces it may be proper for him to stand the Poll -
 At least he ought not to respond to the nom-
 ination until the Convention that is to meet
 at Harrisburg on the 11th inst. shall have
 acted, and see what they do in reference to
 Canal Commissioners -

Should it be ultimately thought advisable
 for him to stand the Poll; in the event of his
 election, he could resign, and the Governor
 would appoint in his place until the next
 election. You and his Council will how-
 ever know better what he ought to do, than

I can advise you - I think however you
had ~~not~~ better not act hastily, but wait to
see how the nomination takes over the state.

Yours truly

W^m Williamson

Thos^d Williamson

West Chester Sept. 6. 1855

Dear Brother,

Your letter of this date, on the subject of Passmore's nomination for Canal Commissioner had just been received. This morning when I first heard of his nomination, I wrote you a hasty letter upon the subject, which I presume you will have received before this reached you.

I think Passmore ought to say or write nothing before he is officially informed by the Convention of his nomination - after that he ought to be governed by circumstances - and I would advise that nothing be done in the matter till after the meeting of the Convention at Harrisburg next week.

Mr. Gilpin one of your Counsel, is a delegate to that Convention, perhaps it would not be amiss to consult with him upon the subject. If the Harrisburg

254.1.R

254.1.V
Convention should also nominate Paflourne
the question may arise whether he ought
not to stand the Poll as the Standard
bearer of the "Republican, free soil party."

This however will be a question for him,
yourself, your Council and friends in
the City to determine, after a full view
of all the circumstances - If it shall
ultimately be thought best that he
should stand the Poll, in case of his election
no injury would accrue to the public service
by his resigning, as the Governor would
then appoint a person in his place.

Whenever it is thought necessary for
him to decline the nomination by letter,
I would recommend you to get Mr. Gilpin
to draft a suitable one, he is, and has
been more of a politician than myself,
and I am confident much more expert
in such matters than I am - But
before any thing is done, I hope you

254.2.18

will consult your counsel and your friends and not act too hastily in the matter. I mean the friends you have in the City who have taken a deep interest in Papsmore's case. I am perfectly aware that it would be out of the question for him to leave the office if he were elected, but that is different from whether he ought to suffer his name to be used by the party who nominated him.

I would like very much to be present tomorrow in the Supreme Court, but I fear I shall not be able to attend, I have made arrangements for going elsewhere tomorrow if the day shall be fair.

You will of course advise me what the Court does in the case.

Yours truly

Wm Williamson

Thos Williamson

P.S. R.



Office Ohio and Pennsylvania Rail Road Co.

Pittsburgh, Sept. 7th. 1855

Thos. Williamson Esq.
Philad^a

Dear Friend.

I intended to have sent thee a copy of the "Pittsburgh Gazette" of yesterday and of to-day, but some one has carried off our office copy, and the printer has none left. Perhaps I may get one yet.

The anti-slavery feeling in Allegheny County is very strong, and a large body of Whigs and Democrats have united to form the "Republican Party". The State Convention which met here on the day before yesterday, was a very large and respectable one.

255. 1. V

We brought in great numbers of people on our railroad to attend it, at half fare.

The Convention nomi-
=nated Passmore Williamson
for Canal Commissioner, with
great unanimity and enthusi-
=asm.

The people were deter-
=mined to have nobody else for
their candidate. They wished
to put the seal of their emphatic
condemnation on Judge Kane
and his tyrannical conduct.

The leaders of this move-
=ment are among the most form-
=idable and respectable people
in Pittsburgh, with Geo. Darsie
at their head; and I write
at his request to say, that they
earnestly hope that Passmore
Williamson, will quietly accept
the nomination (however undesi-
=rable the office) and will on no
account decline it.

Very resp^d. G.W. Roberts

256.1.2

Walt Whitte Sept. 10. 1855

Dear Brother, I have just dictated a letter to Judge Knose of which the following is a copy.

"Walt Whitte Sept. 10. 1855"

My dear Sir,

I listened with great pleasure to the opinion you delivered on last Saturday in the case of the application of Pappone Williams for a writ of Habe. Corpus, it was a strong, eloquent and straight forward exposition of the law as I have understood it ever since I knew anything upon the subject, and as I believe it had been generally, if not universally understood by the profession.

The opinion of the court as delivered by Justice Black, was a searching effort, and labored argument, to find a plausible reason why they should deny the writ, and strike their duty, although the Act of Assembly is imperative that it shall be allowed.

256.1.V
Seeing the delivery of the opinion of the Court
I felt humbled and mortified that the
Supreme Court of Pennsylvania had found
it necessary to stultify itself so far, as to deny
the power to relieve one of their own Citizens
from an arbitrary, illegal, unjust and cruel
imprisonment.

And not content with denying the power
of the Court, to relieve the prisoner from
his confinement, the Judge stepped aside
from his duty to make some unmanly, un-
gentlemanly, and undignified flings
at him, which were much out of place,
and well calculated to greatly weaken,
if not destroy the respect and veneration
which the people ought to have and en-
tain, for the Supreme Judicial Tribunal
of the State, and which they have heretofore
entertained.

What did the Judge mean when he said,
or strongly intimated, that the prisoner
desired to become a martyr, and that he
carried the Key of his Cell in his own pocket?

256. 2. 2.
If his desire was to become a martyr, why
did he seek relief at the hands of the Su-
preme Court, where he had reason to ex-
pect he would find it? And in what man-
ner does he hold the key of his cell in his
own pocket?

I will say no more on this branch of the
subject, please excuse me for saying so much
as I have.

You will be sustained in the opinion
you have given, by the profession here and
elsewhere, — and not only by the profession
but by all that portion of the people whose
good opinions are worth professing.

I feel it my duty to tender you my
thanks, for the manly, just and independ-
ent stand you have taken in the case
against the majority of the Court.

With great respect
Yours truly

Wm Williamson

Hon John C. Knorr

(over)

In view of the friendship that had existed be-
tween Judge Ross and myself for the last
ten years, when I first met him in the leg-
islature to the present time, I took the
liberty to address ^{him} in the manner within
stated -

I shall expect to be constantly and early
advised, either by you or Edward, of every
step taken in the case, or that is in con-
templation.

Yours truly

W^m Williamson

W^m Williamson

Bey. Fathem

Extract of a Letter from a Friend in New York to
 one in this City, dated June 11, 1855. —

In regard to Cassman Williamson. — My chief
 Object in writing at this time, is to express the hope I feel
 that nothing will induce him to bend before the unjust
 Judge. I have no acquaintances with him even by
 sight, — still less by reputation. I do not know to what
 sect of Religionists he may belong, — whether he is Orthodox or
 Hicksite, — Wilburite or Gurneyite, or any other etc of any
 other Religious Professors; — but I do know that he is said
 to be a man who, on the way side of his path of duty, has
 fallen among thieves who have robbed him of his Liberty,
 and have left him bleeding at heart and injured in person.
 The Politician and Priest, and those who, by our laws,
 have been chosen to protect innocent Citizens from injury,
 and the Character which, in the world, is known as the
 "Philadelphian", — have all passed by on the other side
 with averted eyes. — Let them have their reward —
 it is assuredly in store for them. — But such may
 not be the duty of the rest of us.

I feel that it may be proper to authorize thee to go
 to P. W. and say, that I have made up my mind
 to contribute towards his Cause, and that which he

259.11V
represents, to the extent, if necessary or desirable, of
\$1,000⁰⁰/₁₀₀. I am willing to join in a public
testimonial which shall forever brand Kane
(as Cain was branded,) before the world so
that all who meet may know him and his acts;
Also, to make up some Compensation to Williamson,
as well as to prosecute Kane for Damages. &c.
Benj^r Tatham

To

Isaac Collins

W Chester Sep. 13. /55

260.1.7.2
Esteemed Friends

I have rec^d the N. American
of yesterday by your kindness, I presume.

Cannot something more be done for Sumner?
Will not the Judges of the Com: stand acc^d & let
him run out? They certainly have equal author-
ity with the S. C. & if they have only the power
they can do all that is wanted - & if such a man
resists the Governor they call out the Militia.
He ought to do so at any rate & order S. H. to
be liberated by the Law of free since the judges
are recreant & will not give him the benefit of
the plea of the Law. In great haste

Yours sincerely
Wm. W. Miller

N. A. Court has prevented the having a review of Black's opinion
ready for press this week - but I shall have it ready in next week's
Review.

Thos. Williams Esq

Sept. 17/55

T. C. Barnall

My dear Townsend

The Rev. Mr. Hare & I would like to visit your friend Papsmore Williamson. We wish to express to him our sympathy, & to let him see that some at least of the Clergy of our Church do not regard him as "infamous." We have arranged to meet at Storcer's book-store on Tuesday Afternoon at 4 1/2 o'clock, & there take the omnibus for the Prison. Do you suppose that such a visit would be agreeable to him? And can you not accompany us? We have no personal acquaintance with the gentleman & therefore will be glad if you can find time to go along with us. Or, if you cannot do so, perhaps you can either apprise him of our intended visit, or else furnish us, if necessary, with a note of introduction.

Judge Stroud & I expressed considerable contempt of Court yesterday. But Sunday being a High noon, I suppose that we shall not be put under custody of the U. S. Marshal for the Eastern District.

Yours very truly
Thos. C. Barnall

Monday, Sep. 17th 1855.

Henry C. Townsend Esq,
Present.

New York 20 Sept 1845
Mr Thomas Williamson.

Dear Friend.

I have read with deep emotion your letter in the Tribune of this morning. I am one of the editors of The Independent, a paper which has done some service for freedom. Its proprietors desire me to visit Fannore Williamson & see if in any way we can help him.

Please inform me what are the regulations for visiting him in his prison. I send herewith a copy of our journal. I will try to be in Philadelphia early next week. I am a native of that city, son of Isaac Thompson, & namesake of St Joseph Parrish.

Yrs truly
Jos. T. Thompson.

264.1.R

W. Chester Sept. 20/55

Esteemed Friend

Shall I trouble you to send a copy of the North American of yesterday to Judge Knox. I have none of my own & I have promised him a copy.

I have sent to the same paper a continuation of the review of Black's opinion.

Lorimer's opinion I have just read - His ground would have been reasonable if taken by the courts half a century ago but it is too late at this day: - such doctrine having been too often repudiated to be deemed sound now. It is amusing however to see how coldly he despises the fruits of Black's opinion which he throws overboard with as much easy pride as the companions of a dead sailor do his carcass after a battle at sea. I note however one thing - He distinctly avers that Judge Kane had no jurisdiction. This may be valuable hereafter. I am going to write to Woodrow to day to say that the profession expect him to come out & give the grounds of his opinion, lest he be unfounded with Judge Black & held responsible for his absurdities.

Yours William Esq

Yours truly J. W. M. Esq

West Chester October 15. 1855

Dear Brother,

It appears that Judge Kane denies that any motion was made by Pappas's counsel to amend the return to the writ, at the time he was committed for contempt; and I should infer from what is reported in the papers to have been said, that it was arranged and understood between Mr Cadwallader and the Judge, that Cadwallader should afford him the opportunity of saying ~~what~~ what Gilpin and Hopper say with regard to the denial of Kane, and the recollection of Cadwallader.

I recollect seeing a short article in the Bulletin of perhaps Sep. 5th or about that time, signed S. in which he states that professional business took him into Kane's Court on the day the Judge gave his opinion, and he distinctly recollects that a motion was made by the Counsel to amend the return and the Court refused the motion, and he challenged Judge Kane to deny it.

Do you know who S. is? by what he says in the article referred to he must be a member of the Bar.

Since Judge Kane denies any motion having been made to amend the return, and from the course he had pursued in the late opinion, evidently deciding that such a motion should now be made, what does the counsel say upon the subject? could not the case be brought again before the Court in such a shape as to avoid any dishonorable

268, 1. R.

268. I. V

submission, on Passmore's part, or any contradiction of what he has heretofore said in his return to the writ. Have you consulted the Counsel since the late opinion of the Judge was given? if so, what do they say upon the subject?

I am very desirous that Passmore should be speedily liberated, if it can be done, without improper and dishonourable submissions on his part. His situation occupies a large portion of my thoughts, he is in my mind by day and by night, as often as I awake in the night, I think of him and during the day his case is constantly before me.

I am a little afraid that a reaction may take place in public sentiment in reference to him, I have already heard it intimated that he can get out at any time he may think proper to make the request, and his not doing so will furnish pretty conclusive evidence that he desired to be made a martyr of. Such a reaction in public sentiment should be prevented if possible.

And it seems to me the only way to prevent it, is to use every fair and honourable means to obtain his liberation.

What those means are will be for you, his Counsel, and himself to suggest.

I have no idea that any relief or assistance will be afforded him by the next Legislature, judging from the Character of the Members returned.

Let me hear from you soon upon the subject.

Yours truly

Thos. Williamson

W. Williamson

West Chester Oct 21. 1853

Esteemed Friends

I have thought a good deal of the proposition in relation to a petition to the Dist. Court mentioned at our last interview and think now as I thought then that it will probably answer the purpose without being considered by any of Passmore's friends as a concession to Judge Kane or an abandonment of the ground upon which he has stood. I take the liberty of suggesting however that if a release can be procured without applying to Judge Kane at all it will be in every respect most desirable, and also that the application to him will be most satisfactory to the many thousands who take an interest in the proceeding and regard Passmore as the representative of a great cause, if every other means of release should be first tried.

Judge Thompson of the Commn. Pleas has said that if the application for a habeas corpus had been made to him instead of Ch: Justice Lewis, he would have allowed the writ without hesitation & would have ordered Passmore to be discharged. Now the court of Commn. Pleas of which Thompson is president has precisely the same power to order a discharge as the Supreme court. The authority of the courts

269.1.2

is concurrent, and the decision of the one is not a precedent of imperative obligation on the other. I think even at this day they will award the writ. The act of assembly requires it as a duty and I see no reason why they should consider themselves discharged of that duty. If a writ even is awarded a great point is gained. The subject is again ~~discussed~~ opened for discussion. And the outrageous conduct of Kane is made more perfectly apparent & becomes more thoroughly exposed. The judges will give their opinions & they will all say Kane had no jurisdiction & that they would have ordered Passmore to be discharged if the Supreme Court had not already decided otherwise; if they go no further & do not order his discharge. An intimation to them of the Governor's determination to stand by the state authorities in case of their ordering the discharge may stiffen the resolution of any one that may need some appliance to help stand bolt upright. A release in this fashion will not allow the Kane the opportunity he wants to say that he has only waited for some such application as that now proposed & that he takes great pleasure in liberating Passmore as the requisite explanation is now made.

I make these suggestions merely for your consideration & only ask that you think of them before you act.

In haste yours truly

Wm. W. Johnson

269.1.14
Thomas Williamson Esq

P.S. The petition in the form of that to the Supreme
Court will answer, with one fact added; that Parsons
applied for leave to amend the return & was refused
& also that other facts perhaps that Jane Johnson
has applied to have the right quashed & was
refused.

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270

West Chester Oct. 23. 1855

Dear Brother,

I learn from the papers this morning that Judge Kane, refuses to hear Passmore, until he shall have purged himself of the Contempt - How that is to be done without the Judge hearing it, I am at a loss to conceive.

I hope the Counsel will adopt some mode by which he can be liberated without delay - they ought not to stop now until that matter is accomplished; and Passmore should put himself in their hands to do as they shall advise, knowing that they will recommend no course that will be degrading to him, or calculated to lower him in the estimation of his fellow men.

I think it is very desirable that his liberation should be procured as soon as possible - after which, let him make issues with those who have oppressed him, and denied him Justice, and fight them to the bitter end.

If further proceedings are contemplated let me have the earliest information what they are -

Yours truly

Wm Williamson

Thos Williamson

West Chester Nov 1. 1855

Dear Brother,

I have been confined to my bed since ~~since~~ Saturday evening half until to day, with a severe pain in my stomach and bowels, and which the Doctor found hard to relieve, but finally succeeded so that I am now clear of disease but very weak.

The note made by Judge Kane was read to me on Monday night by Doctor Thomas, I noticed at the time the word "legally" had been inserted, and perhaps for the very purpose you intimate in your letter - After thinking the matter over for some time, it struck me that if such was the case, it was a vain and weak effort to protect himself against what may come hereafter - Because I hold that in issuing the writ of Habeas Corpus he either had or had not jurisdiction - If he had, he was then "legally inquiring" - If he had not, neither his nor Pappone's saying he had, will give it to him - He can't give himself jurisdiction by reflecting that he possessed it - Nor can Pappone give him jurisdiction by saying that he had it - I think Judge Kane said in one of his opinions given in this case, that the existence, or want of jurisdiction was not always apparent to the Court, and a case might be protracted in for some time before the want of jurisdiction should be discovered - If such is the case where Judges and Lawyers are concerned, and whose business it is to learn and know the extent of the Courts jurisdiction - then might a Suitor in the Court very well assert the the existence of jurisdiction, when none existed - and it be a matter to be deplored of his right to be caused he had taken the law upon that subject - I think not.

I think our Supreme Court have decided that in whatever stage of the proceedings want of jurisdiction is discovered, it vitiated the whole ~~case~~ case - no matter whether exception was taken or not by the parties during the trial to the Court's want of jurisdiction.

I sincerely and anxiously wish Pappone a speedy deliverance, and I hope effort will not cease or flag until that object is accomplished.

I see the Judge says that Pappone may be brought before him (if the Court is not in session) at his chamber, which is kind in him, and I take that to be the most appropriate place when perjuring is to ~~be~~ be resorted to, I speak from late experience upon that subject.

Yours truly

Wm Williamson

Thos. Williamson

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Office of the Proth. Com. Pleas,
Media, Del. County, Nov. 6. 1853. }

Respected Friends.

I have the pleasure to inform
you, that the matter intrusted to me, has been duly attended
to, and the Sheriff of this County, served upon his Honor
Judge Kane, this morning, the Writ, at the residence of
Mr. Leiper.

The Judge from his manner, evidently con-
sidered himself Caught.

Yours &c.

Thos: Forsythe.

Thomas Williams.

Please inform Mr. Lewis, and had you not ~~better~~ better secure the
services of Edward Darlington?

Media No. 9. 1855.

Joseph F. Lewis Esq.

277.1.2
Dear Sir: I send you a Slip from the "Pennsylvanian" of yesterday, in reference to the Suit of Williamson vs Kane, and we think the Article deserves a notice; first because of ^{its} egregious blunders; and second because of its unwarrantable attack upon our Judge, Sheriff and Commissioners.

Jude Kane was not arrested, neither is he the Administrator of Mr Seiper, but the Successor Executor. Nor is he Guardian of Seiper's Children, nor was he served with the process by a Deputy Shff, but by the Veniable Shff. himself.

I have conversed with Y. S. Walter Editor of "Delaware Co. Republican" who desires me to send you the Article, and request that you will answer it in an Editorial for his next paper: he will father it. Let your article occupy, say three fourths of a Column (printed matter). You can either send me the Manuscript, or remit it to him direct.

Have you heard that Passmore has received anonymous letters, threatening him? I have seen one, and a more dastardly letter I have never read. Anonymous letters are always evidences of Cowardice, and are generally written by those who have not the Moral Courage to execute what, their bare hearts desire.

Kane's friends are endeavoring to create a feeling adverse to Mr. Williamson, in this County, but it will amount to nothing.
Yours &c.

Mos. Forsythe.

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278

Welles-Barre Nov^r 9. 1855

Mr. Thomas Williamson,
Philadelphia,
Respected Friend,

278, 1, P.

Last night, after business hours, though ten o'clock, I took up the Pennsylvania and read the late proceedings of Judge Kane in your sons case. My indignation was stirred anew, and I went on and wrote the enclosed article for Mr. Miners paper, without leaving my table. Of course it ^{was} hastily written, without any research, and is rather crude in many respects.

I designed however, to correct and transcribe it in the morning for publication; but when morning came, I had not reached my office before I heard of your sons having already commenced a suit against Judge Kane.

It gratified us much. Mr. Miner desired still to see the article, but I declined its publication, with the remark, that your son had taken wind out of my sails, and that it might

prove too Spicy; and I would only
send it to you, as evidence of my
sympathy with your son in his false
imprisonment. He has ^{besides} my sincere thanks
for the commencement of the suit.

With sincere respect and
regard I remain

Yours

V. L. Maxwell

278.1.4

William Williamson,

as was noticed last week, has been discharged from prison by Judge Kane himself.

His counsel presented his petition to the district court, asking that he might be permitted to purge himself of the alleged contempt; and for that purpose he was brought up, and thereupon filed an affidavit, stating in substance, simply, that in the matter of his return, &c. of the habeas corpus, he had "not intended a contempt of the Court, or its process; and that he was willing to answer any questions" put to him.

The District Attorney then put the following question in writing:

"Did you, at the time of the service of the writ of Habeas Corpus at the relation of John Wheeler, or at any time during the period intervening between the service of the said writ and the making of your return thereto, seek to obey the mandate of said writ, by bringing before this Honorable Court the persons of the slaves therein mentioned? If to this interrogatory you answer in the affirmative, state fully and particularly the mode in which you sought to obey said writ, and all that you did tending to that end?"

To this question Mr. Williamson made an answer in writing, of such length as the question and circumstances seemed to require; but Judge Kane suggested that the first part of the answer, merely, was sufficient; and thus shortened, his answer read as follows:

"I did not seek to obey the writ by

12

producing the persons in the writ mentioned before the court. I did not so seek because I verily believed that it was entirely impossible for me to produce said persons agreeably to the Command of the writ." He was then discharged.

Now, remembering that Mr Williamson has never been thought, or accused, even by his enemies, of having intended a contempt of the Court or of its process; that the return of the habeas corpus, for which he was imprisoned, still remains of record, unaltered; that he has not retraced or modified one syllable of it; that at the time of its return, he expressed a willingness to answer all questions in under oath, and that he was affirmed and did answer all questions put to him, even more fully than his answer above in writing, and that the only new thing stated in ~~his~~ said answer ~~above~~ is, that he did not seek to obey the writ — we do say, that the judge has escaped thus far from a dilemma through about as small a hole, as any man ever crept through.

Mr Williamson is well known as every inch a Gentleman; of great moral worth; of unflinching courage, as his conduct in this affair has proved; and there is not one of his Troducers and prosecutors, nor a Judge upon any bench, but might well be proud of a character like his.

These proceedings are thus reviewed, because, now that they are finished, one of two things are self evident; either he never should have been imprisoned; or else he never should have been discharged, ⁱⁿ the manner he was has been.

281.2.8

He was committed to prison, not because he insulted the court, or intended to do so; nor because he disobeyed the writ - for his return then showed that he could not, and his answer now is, that he did not seek to obey it. He was ~~asked~~ ^{answered} questions then, as he did on his discharge. If the judge, at last, was tender of his imprisonment, he should have seen so at first. As at last he made suggestions ~~affecting~~ tending to liberate him from prison, so he should have made them at first to keep him from prison, if suggestions were necessary; and as to such suggestions from a judge, we believe, that even in ~~the~~ England a judge is bound to protect a criminal, ~~even~~ as his counsel, so far as the law will sanction his delivery.

Why then was he committed to prison? Because, after stating in his return what was sufficient, and all that was necessary in the opinion of the court, he added the further statement, that ~~the slaves had~~ ^{he} never had ~~had~~ the slaves in his possession. This last statement in his return the judge chose to consider "evasive and untrue", and therefore committed him to prison "as for a contempt."

That statement is still in the return, a matter of record; and if untrue then, is untrue now, and is yet unaltered, and unexplained away.

Breviter - Suppose for a moment, that that statement was false? Let me ask any lawyer what is "surplusage" in a legal paper? And if such surplusage is merely irrelevant and immaterial to the issue, what is to be done with it, but ^{to} strike it out? And further than this every lawyer knows, that if a witness swears deliberately to what he knows is false; yet if the ^{false} matter is not "material to the issue", he cannot be convicted

281.2.8

of perjury. Upon what principle of law or reason then, can a man be "convicted of contempt", (as our Supreme court says he was,) for stating, even falsely, in the return of a writ, what is immaterial to the issue, or question before the court; and can only be regarded as mere surplusage? ~~what~~

What was the issue before the court on that return? Nothing more or less than this: were the slaves in Mr. Williamson's possession at the time of the service of the writ, or afterwards, so that he could ^{not} bring them into court? If they were, then and then only, ~~did~~ he was he guilty of contempt by disobeying the writ; because, though he may have had them in his possession, yet if he had let them go before the service of the writ, he could not be required to produce them: why? Because the habeas corpus was obtained, only on Whelan's allegations that he was holding them in possession wrongfully; and if ^{he} had ever had them in his possession, according to the judge's views it was a wrongful punition, and the quicker he let them go, of course the better; ~~according to the judge's views~~

It is in view of all this, that the writer cannot but feel assured that it is a case of most outrageous judicial oppression; without a particle of law ^{or} reason to justify it. He always doubted whether our any other court could legally interfere in the case, and was not much disappointed in the decision of our Supreme court. Deeply however, did he regret the character ^{of some portions} of the argument by which the decision was arrived at. It has been well characterized in the public papers as positively, and discovers a party spirit, traveling out of the way to insult an oppressed

individual, and to laud ~~an~~ the erring judge, as
Jefferys no doubt desired to be lauded by
the Tories of England. Judges, in our day, and
country, should remember ~~that~~ that they are
seen through as easily as they fancy they can
see through the motives and feelings of other
men; and if they would have the respect
and confidence of those whom respect and
confidence is an honor, they should
be extremely careful in exciting ^{particularly,} cases, not
to travel out of the record, nor upon ground
without the support of reason, sound law, and justice;
for if this case were the writer's, he would
not let an hour pass, after it could be saved,
without placing a warrant upon Judge Kane's
back, for false or illegal imprisonment.
He knows perfectly well, that every body
supposes that such a suit could not be
maintained. Perhaps it cannot, but he
would try it. Every body ~~but~~ ^{only} the other
day, it was as univocally supposed, that
when slaves are brought voluntarily into
Pennsylvania, they are free; but Judge
Kane, in underground phrens, has "struck
a new lead," upon that point; and if all
but Judge Kane were wrong on that point,
they may be wrong also as to the success of
a suit against him, if indeed there are
two opinions as to the legality of such a
suit. At all events, I would try the
question in every court necessary for the
purpose - from the lowest to the highest. Every
one of them should have the opportunity,
~~if they would like to do so,~~ of deciding,
(if they would like to do so) that in this land
of law and liberty, a judge, without law
or reason; of his own mere whim, or to
gratify a friend, or his own private prejudice,

Can imprison a man for months on an unfounded charge of contempt; and that a man so injured has no redress in this country, - for impeachment is no redress; it repairs no damages. I know it is thought by some, that a plea of ignorance - in substance - on the part of such a judge, in such a case, will shield him from paying for the damage he may have occasioned; but I would see, whether an upright court will so decide. Such a plea does not shield a lawyer or a physician from paying damages in a case of malpractice. ^{It} ~~does~~ does not protect ~~any other~~ ^a servant, public or private; and it remains to be seen upon what principle of law or reason a judge can be excused from bringing to the discharge of his duties both integrity, and a reasonable degree of skill. We have never seen a judge, it is true, mulct in damages for an erroneous decision, because we have never before seen such a case as this - I venture to say; and if a court and jury shall believe that a judge has acted partially; vindictively; with the malice of a party spirit; or with a bribe in his hand, or in prospect through political preferment or otherwise; or even, if without any such motives, but through ignorance, or want of ordinary skill, he has committed a gross wrong to an individual, against all law and reason, I verily believe the jury would be charged to compel him to make reparation, and would be strongly inclined to do it. Public justice should be vindicated. Mr. Williamson and his friends owe it to the country, to test this question of liberty and right - also party spirit, at any moment, may learn through another paper may sacrifice all that Americans hold dearest dear.

281.3.7

281.3.7

132
284

284.1.R

April 18. 1856

My dear Fassmore

I am extremely indebted to you for the Report of your celebrated case, which I received last evening, and have assigned it a place in my library amongst the rarest and most odious Abolition books I possess. That corner of my bookcase is becoming more and more offensive, and to counteract the intolerable odor of heresy I have been obliged to sprinkle the shelf with the laws of South Carolina and the Fugitive Slave act, redolent with sweet smelling incense to the senses of liberty, humanity and our Constitutional rights.

Very truly
Yr obliged friend
W. Steward

Boston, May 12th
1856

Dear Sir

Accept my thanks
for a copy of your "Case".

I am glad you have put
it on record, in a shape
permanent & easily accessible,
the documents & proceedings

287-1. F

in a case so vastly im-
portant in the history of our
great struggle - & hitherto
unmatched in our legal
annals - I wish I
dared to hope that it
were destined to
stand alone ..

I seize gladly the

April 18. 1856

W. Passmore

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for the Report of your celebrated case, which
I read last evening, and have assigned it
a place in my library amongst the rarest and
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more offensive, and to counteract the intolerable
heresy I have been obliged to sprinkle
it with the laws of South Carolina and
the odious Slave act, redolent with sweet smelling
incense of Liberty, humanity and
Constitutional rights.

Very truly

Yr obliged friend

W. Steward

132 284

287

133

in a case so vastly im-
portant in the history of our
great struggle - hitherto
unmatched in our legal
annals - I wish I
dared to hope that it
were destined to
stand alone.

I send gladly the

opportunity to express
again my profound
gratitude to you for your
fearless & unflinching attitude
before the face of that
odious Judge.

With kindest regards to
Mr Williamson believe me
most sincerely Yrs

Wm L. Phillips

P. Williamson Esq.

287. v. v

287. v. v

Boston May 20-1856

Samuel Williamson Esq.

Dear Sir,

I am sin-

cerely obliged to you for the copy of your "Case," which I recd through Mr Walcott. I have read it with some care, and great interest. If I had leisure, I should like to write a review of it for the N.Y. Tribune. But I cannot conveniently spare the time, and besides such a review might perhaps look like an attempt to prejudice the case now pending between you and the judge. My impression is that you ought to prevail in your suit for damages. ~~against the judge~~ - although I do not agree with the leading position taken by your counsel. I think the judge makes out a much stronger case against himself than your counsel make out against him. Wishing you success with all my heart,

I am, very truly,

Your friend
Lyander Spooner

288, L. R.

Brooklyn, N.Y. 21 May '56.

My dear Sir:

296.1.R
 Today I rec^d the valuable little book you sent me. I consider it an important addition to my anti-slavery library. The "Case" is part of the history of our times, and the honorable part Providence assigned to you will ever be marvellous. You are entitled to the thanks of every friend of Liberty. The exploits of Dr Kane have redeemed the name from execration. His father's niche will be among the "atrocious judges" for all time.

Very truly yours
 Lewis Tappan

Pannah Williamson Esq
 Phila

136 272
Boston May 20, 1856

Respected Friend

accept my thanks for
the Volume kindly forwarded me

Jane Johnson called in this
morning and expressed much
pleasure on hearing from You

She requested my informing
You that she now lives

No 1 Southack Court - and

is quite well - Her Boys are
progressing finely at school.

for all these advantages
of freedom she feels

heartfelt gratitude for Your
exertions

gratified in the
opportunity of communicating as
above - I remain

Yr affectionately Yours

Wm C. Bell

292.1.2
Passmore Williamson

St. Louis, Mo. Washington

May 30th 1856

Dear Sir,

Can you oblige me by sending to my address here a copy of the proceedings in full in your case before all the courts in the matter of the Wheeler slaves? I had a copy which is mistaid of our record to examine the case. I beg to add the assurance of my highest respect for your character & conduct in the transaction to which I refer.

Yours truly

A. C. Williamson

Papmore Williamson.

To the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

The Petition of the Subscribers, inhabitants of the State of Pennsylvania, ^{as of the} Respectfully represents

That the District Court of the United States, in and for the Eastern District of said State, ^{as at present} ~~by the~~ Constitution, has ceased to command the respect & confidence of this Community so essential to its efficiency as a judicial tribunal, ~~and~~ ^{by the} Judge thereof, John K. Kane, ~~has~~ ^{been} by the ~~appointment~~ ^{appointment} of a ~~member of his family~~ ^{member of his family} to an important subordinate station, ~~together with the~~ ^{notorious} ~~reputed influence allowed to another~~ ^{allowed to another} and the undue influence ~~has~~ ^{has, among other reasons} ~~caused a general~~ ^{caused a general} ~~and settled~~ ^{and settled} mistrust of his official integrity. He has also, as we believe been guilty of divers misdemeanors in office, ~~through ignorance~~ ^{power and} ~~in cases not delegated to him, nor authorized by the Constitution and~~ ^{jurisdiction} ~~or laws of the United States; but which~~ ^{were}, and of right ought to be exclusively in the legal tribunals of this State, thereby ~~violating~~ ^{violating} ~~the~~ ^{of the respective members of the government} ~~sovereignty~~ ^{and doing violence to the most cherished rights of the citizens}

297.6.R

To the House of Representatives of the United States of America

The Petition of the Subscribers inhabitants of Pennsylvania

Respectfully Represents

That John R. Kane Judge of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania ^{as we believe} ~~has~~ been guilty of ~~diver~~ ^{diver} ~~ging~~ ^{ging} ~~mis~~ ^{mis} ~~de~~ ^{de} ~~men~~ ^{men} ~~ors~~ ^{ors} in office, by assuming power and ~~jurisdiction~~ jurisdiction in ~~cases~~ cases not delegated to him, nor authorized by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and which jurisdiction belongs ~~properly~~ ~~and~~ exclusively, and of right, to the legal tribunals of the State - thereby disregarding and setting at naught the true lines of demarcation between the Federal and State Jurisdictions, and doing violence to the much cherished rights of the State -

Your petitioners therefore respectfully pray your honorable body, to take cognizance of the case, and if ~~it~~ ^{sufficient ground be made to appear} ~~is~~ ^{to warrant} ~~it~~ ^{impeachment} ~~is~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~said~~ ^{the} ~~John~~ ^{John} ~~R. Kane~~ ^{R. Kane} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~impeached~~ ^{impeached} for ~~misconduct~~ ~~in~~ ~~office~~ -

July 9th 1856

Dear Sir

After the most determined ex-
tortion, I am grieved to inform you, that I find
it impossible, (thus far) to obtain a printer.

I have examined all my list of probable par-
ties, and find none willing to undertake my affair
on any terms. The entire edition is sold out, and
believe me it has created an impression. The Blue
Book is the talk of the street, almost everybody prophesies
for it an immense circulation, in conversation with
Jasper Harding this morning he made the remark
(in the hearing of Robert Miller, Joe Sevens, and
others). "The fellow who has got up that affair is 'posted',
and if he stands his ground firmly, will cause some of
the big men to look a damned little. His paper supplies a
want long felt, and he will make the biggest kind of
a fortune." I am told by Haines, that a gentleman
bought 1200 copies of him (being all he had left) direct-
ing them to be sent to "C Lancaster Pu pu express"
I believe an edition of 35,000 copies of the First
number could now be sold in a few days. Even the
Mobocracy rejoice in the expose of "Pious John."

I have had an interview with Com-

305. I. V
-mander Barney late of U.S.A. He is satisfied with
my explanation, and offers to loan me \$100, on viewing
a proof of the second number; the money to be repaid
in five years. He makes this offer unsolicited by me
and desires the Review of the Naval Board to be
held back for five or six numbers, when he thinks
the "Box" will circulate ten fold.

I understood this morning from a
gentleman deeply interested in "Kane Literature" (one
in whom I and yourself have confidence,) that
it was, the intention of the Kanes to treat the "Box"
with silent contempt; but that when they discovered
the great circulation, and learned that "it was
backed by an unlimited amount of funds," that
it was published for satisfaction, and not for profit;
and that it was given away to the newsman to make
the most of "they (the R's) have got frightened, and
Bob, talks of prosecution.

As a suspicion rests on me I desire
to remain "shady" for a day or two, I shall strain
every nerve to obtain material to continue the pub-
-lication on my own account. 200 weight of Type
a Paragon press, some fixtures and sets, the whole
costing not over \$25 will place me out of the
power of defeat, and Schlem volunteers a room

in his house as an office; I will try hard to attain
this end, and if I succeed will "make Rome howl!"

It may appear like, a herculean task (as collector
Rankin would say) for a person in my condition, but
I have overcome greater difficulties in my time and hope
to get through this. I have undertaken a crusade
against certain gentlemen, and will never stop 'till
I have driven them from their position or to suicide
I intend to fight them till the death and if I am
vanquished will die with the harness on my back.

Ever and Affectionally
Your Friend
Wm. S. Purlocke

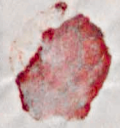
J. Williamson Esq
7th St Arch St

Passmore Williamson Esq.

S. W. Co Archs 7th

Phila Pa

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]



July 19th 1856.

Dear Sir

After I parted from you on Friday night, and while waiting for the hour of appointment, with the mutual financial friend of the Kanes, and myself; I bestowed on the matter a very careful consideration, I balanced things in my mind, and reasoned with my conscience, and to you as a confidential friend, I submit the final decision I have arrived at.

John R Kane is no friend to me, — had he been a just and honorable man, two years ago, circumstances would have never transpired inducing me to step between the majesty of the law and its intended victims; then would I have swapped months of misery as a semi-fugitive, by endeavouring to place myself out of the power of his jurisdiction.

He who has no pity for others, should mercy be extended to him? — Dr Kane I know to be an unprincipled humbug, does he deserve consideration at my hands,

309.11
I have ever endeavoured to be honest, -
whatever my shortcomings may be, dishonesty
can never be fairly charged to me. I have
before this earned \$1,000 honestly and can do
so again. I have a matter pending, which
I know not how soon, may turn me up sev-
eral thousands. If I depart from correct
principles, in one instance, ^{where} may I not do so again,
my integrity once morally forfeited, ^{where,} may it end.
I have the "Family" in a better position than
I had ever hoped to get them. I have had
the money in my hands, have learned
the terms demanded and this day before
Alderman Wm P. Hillard in the presence
of Almighty God I have sworn to a written
statement of the facts, the same being duly
witnessed. I can raise money honestly
I will do it, - I will leave this country
on Wednesday, and shall I know ~~return~~,
return in a few months, with sufficient
means, at least to publish the last chapter
of the Rare History, I work in a good cause
I will succeed.

For your kind assistance I am
thankful. I will repay it. - Ere six months

the K's, will curse the day, they endeavored
to try my honesty, at the expense of my party.
I have made an escape, and now that
the temptation is passed, "I have them on the hip"

Shaken; but again Firm
I am Ever & Unchangeably
Your True
Wm. W. Wickes

Wm. W. Wickes
50 North 2d St
St. Louis

Wm S. Howlocke

July 9th + 19th 56

St. Louis

Bu. Hancock St.

Dr. Williams' Orange

Utica 10th Mo. 22nd

Farmore Williamson,

Phila

Dear Friend

It is long since I could sympathize with thee in the trials to which thee has been called, by the Order & under the judicial displeasure of an unjust Judge: Kane.

I was much-moved at the perverse conduct of Judge K. all the way:— I am thankful thou art out of his hands:— if yet thou art out of his jurisdiction. Friend often has my heart sickened & my eyes wept on account of the moral-
desecration shown in those ^{high} places of power.

We live in great historic times: The advancing tide of truth, which has late years aroused the convictions of honest people in the U.S. in regard to that power of domination, well named the Slave-power— "The sum of all villainies," is I trust in the ascendancy in the moral scale of humanity, & will ~~be~~ like the mercury, in the thermometer, rise to a point, at which, the enemies of truth shall yield, & bid the Oppressed go free, & the Bond-man stand up.

As I before said I have often been thoughtful of Thy case & cause in the Court since I heard thereof. May I ask

at thy earliest convenience with any remarks
which thee may deem best for the edification
& instruction & information of thy
Friend in the Kingdom of God.

Robert Disney

Direct Utica,
N.Y.

311.2.R

No. 71 Philada. Co. Prison

Aug. 6th / 55

Dear Uncle,

My acknowledgments are due to all who have favored me with their sympathy. I have always regarded the desire for the approbation of the just and good as an honorable and laudable ambition, and have now felt its attainment to be second only, as a sustaining influence, to the conviction of being right. Both I have experienced since my imprisonment, the former to an extent far beyond my expectations, & the latter without a moment's interruption. The only thought that has at any time caused me any anxiety has been the present condition of and possible effect upon my family, and that has now been removed by finding me every cheerful & entirely reconciled to the course matters have taken. He spent Saturday here & has paid me a visit this morning. My door was opened last Tuesday morning so as to give me the privilege of the corridor during the day. At 6 P.M. the inside iron door is locked & I am left to my own reflections until about the same hour in the morning. I could have light in my cell if desired, but I have declined it on account of the insects which would be attracted by it, preferring to court "Nature's sweet restorer" at an early hour by walking my floor. The exercise & monotony, aided by a clear conscience and a sense of my unusual security soon prepares me for a sound nap. So far I have enjoyed as good health as usual, & by observing those precautions always necessary for me at this season I feel no apprehension on that account.

The facts of the case so far as I took part in them were fully stated by me in court. Jane's affidavit confirms all the material points & Wm Still's letter details them fully and as far as I can judge with tolerable accuracy. The whole affair was over and I back in my office in less than $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour from the time that I was informed of their being at Walnut St. wharf. Some judgment must be exercised in examining the statements & allowance made for any apparent discrepancy in them in consequence of the want of concert between the actors and the haste & natural excitement attendant upon such a proceeding. But I do not think there is near as much conflict in our different & independent accounts as there is in the testimony of Wheeler at the three or four different times he has sworn to the facts as he wished them to be, and he professes to have been cool & collected, entirely relying upon the protection of the laws of his country and certainly from some cause or other, his conduct through the, to him trying occasion, would have done credit to the most consistent non-resistant. After the first modest & subdued (for one of the chivalry) remonstrance at our interference, he seemed to be frustrated with grief, at the prospect of the separation, while she appeared to be perfectly satisfied. Even when he clasped her to his bosom for the last time & so piteously implored her to say she wished to remain with him, and everybody else, within sight or hearing, was deeply affected by the scene, she remained so indifferent as not even to feign him with a reply, - and what was worse than all, the ungrateful creature left him without manifesting any desire to thank him for past favors or protection. Under such circumstances I do not see how he could expect anything better from her than to say "she would rather die than go back to him." To a man of his refined and sensitive nature it must be very distressing, particularly after boasting extensively of her affectionate disposition & strong personal attachment.

As for Judge "Cain" I know he had been nursing his wrath against me ever since the Treason Fizzle, and both he & the mercenary & ruffianly minions under & around him considered they were deeply in my debt for the notice taken of them in the Welkibare case, and had therefore prepared myself for the worst he could do, and expected that to be done in the most vindictive manner. I should not have been the least disappointed to have been held to bail to answer the charge of forgery, highway robbery, or for the damages incident to the loss of the slaves, or any others which might be trumped up by a cunning, cowardly, sneaking demagogue in the place of a judge, or an infamous fetter-fogger. But I was taken aback when all these matters were so

summarily abandoned + I brought to judgment at once upon the ~~pretense~~
pretense of Contempt, he has more courage than I gave him credit for,
whether as much discretion remains to be seen. They had evidently
taken a survey of matters + come to the conclusion that the only chance they had
of finishing me was to adopt the arbitrary and as they no doubt supposed irre-
sponsible course pursued. They are welcome to do their worst, I will
never consent or allow the return to be amended or any other concession
to be made until I am convinced I have done wrong.

Respectfully yours etc

P. Williamson

Letter to Wm Williamson

This copy made by R. L. Lloyd from records in Ches. Co. Hist. Soc.

512-3152, R

At a Meeting of the Pennsylvania Society
for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c held
Fourth mo. 2nd. 1895; Alfred H. Love presented
the following minute which being considered was
adopted and referred to the public Meeting to
be held on the 16th inst.

Memorial Tribute to
Passmore Williamson.

When death removes a veteran of our band
of Freedom workers, we cannot withhold the
expression of sadness and loneliness which
fills hearts of affection, sympathy and
admiration.

Passmore Williamson
was a faithful member of the Pennsylvania
Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery;
the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held
in Bondage; and the improvement of the
Condition of the African Race; for nearly
half a century. He had reached the age of
73 years, and was President of the Society at
the time of his death. He leaves our broken
ranks thinned and weakened, with very few
of those who stood for the rights and brotherhood
of man, and bore the heat of the battle.

Taking an active interest, very early in
life, in the arduous work of emancipation, the
recognition of equal rights, the meeting out of even

handed justice, and the improvement and recognition of a race to all its claims and opportunities of manhood and womanhood, he found himself unpopular with the oppressor but beloved by the oppressed; sacrificing self, but revered by the friends of freedom and humanity and strengthened by the Father, "who is no respecter of persons."

Heroic were many of the incidents of his life in behalf of the slave; perils indeed were his personal trials; bold and brave his conscientious action when appeals came to him of human suffering, wrong and outrage. It was then that he seemed inspired with spiritual power to use "weapons not carnal but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

He forgot self and cared not for circumstances; his thought was for others "who were in bonds as bound with them." To the injunction "the strong must bear the infirmities of the weak" he added "the free must undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free."

The act which looms up in history as a fearless one for the sacred rights of man, was when he stood between slavery and liberty in rescuing a mother and her child from a United States Minister and a slaveholder, though he suffered thereby privations and imprisonment.

He practically illustrated that slaves can

not breathe when Penn bequeathed civil and religious liberty.

"If their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country and their shackles fall."
Not alone for the slave and the negro and the Freedman, did he devote his time, his energies, and his talents, but he was found in hearty accord with many benevolent objects and when convinced of the rightfulness of any cause he was quick to aid, and encourage, and fearless in its advocacy, no matter how humble, difficult or unpopular.

The first thing necessary to secure his influence in any cause, was to convince him of its rightfulness that done his cooperation was assured. No wavering, no weakness, almost uncompromising, all knew where to find him, when it came to a question of right, of truth, of justice, and of freedom and humanity.

Covering almost three quarters of a century of the history of our Republic, such lives, when without compensation except that of an approving conscience, mark the character of our country, deepen our affection, inspire imitation, heighten our admiration, broaden our humanity, and allay our sorrow, and awaken renewed gratitude to the Giver of all good for the gift of such a man, so true to principle, so closely allied

with the emancipation era of our history, and
who practically and, always, modestly, carried out
the proclamation, "Proclaim liberty throughout
the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

Philadelphia, Thurs. mo. 29. 1895.

Signed on behalf of the Society.

William Still

Vice President

Jos M. Freeman
Secretaries

W. Heacock
Secretaries