as plainly deducible from the Dred Scott case, accompanied with a resolution that they will vote for no one for the Presidency or Vice Presidency of the United States who does not plainly and distinctly affirm and support them without non-committalism, dodging or equivocation.

2. Should the Charleston Convention declare and affirm their rights, and nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency who distinctly support them, then the Southern States will support such candidates; and should they be elected proof will be afforded that the South may continue with safety in the confederacy.

3. But should the candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, thus fairly nominated by the Charleston Convention, be defeated in the Presidential election, and the republican or abolition party succeed in electing their candidates, then the Southern Legislatures, as soon thereafter as they shall successively assemble together, should recall their Senators and Representatives from the Congress of the United States, and invite the co-operation of their sister Southern States to devise means for their common safety.

4. But should the Charleston Convention refuse to declare and affirm the rights of the South, as deducible from the Dred Scott case, or nominate candidates who will not affirm and support them, then let the Southern States nominate and support candidates of their own, plainly and faithfully reflecting and supporting their rights.

5. Should the Southern States succeed in electing their sectional candidates, thus nominated, of course they will deem it a sufficient proof for the present of their safety in the Union.

6. But should the Southern States fail in electing the sectional candidates thus nominated, then let the same course be pursued as has been suggested in case the democratic party be defeated with candidates standing on the rights of the South, and the black republican or abolition candidates be elected.

The Registration of Voters Yesterday.

The Registrars of voters proceeded with their work yesterday in much the same manner as they did on Tuesday. The Registrars complain that the books furnished them are not large enough or suitable for the purpose for which they are intended. The alphabetical pages are so few that they were compelled very often to register the names on separate pieces of paper and insert them in the regular book.

It is asserted that in some of the wards the Registrars only copy a part of the poll lists, leaving off the names of persons not known to be all right. It is also stated that the Registrars have received instructions to register only those who are endorsed by the Democratic Ward Associations.

Most of the Boards have concluded their labors for the present, and adjourned to meet on the Tuesday preceding the November election; others of the Boards, however, will meet to-day.

Our reporters experienced immense difficulties in ferreting out the Registration localities. The aid of police officers and private citizens was freely called in and readily responded to, but yet the result in most instances was but a "ridiculous muss." In some places the Registry had been shut up early in the day; in others they had never been opened, and in a few groceries named in the advertisement no one knew anything about the concern. Everybody seemed to look upon the Registration as a jolly good joke.

The Registrars desire that the public should know that one copy of the register will be left at each poll in order that voters may make corrections in the spelling of their names, residences, &c.

We subjoin the returns of the week thus far, with the exception of two wards. In the others the returns are nearly full, with but few exceptions:—

For Comptroller. Wards.	Vote Dec., 1858.	Registered.	For Comptroller. Wards.	Vote Dec., 1858.	Registered.
1	1,630	1,868	13	2,620	3,540
2	446	550	14	2,208	1,651
3	532	1,050	15	2,804	1,865
4	2,071	2,520	16	4,181	4,597
5	2,226	897	17	4,966	6,355
6	2,022	967	18	4,101	7,355
7	3,246	3,687	19	2,199	—
8	2,991	4,078	20	5,208	4,024
9	4,205	2,156	21	3,879	2,[illegible]
10	2,536	2,573	22	3,628	4,020
11	3,699	2,707			
12	2,166	—	Total	263,954	59,959

Parade of the Daniel E. Delavan Musketeers.

The Daniel E. Delavan Musketeers, one of the most extensive independent military corps of our city, made their first annual parade yesterday, and visited the Red House, Harlem. They assembled at an early hour at the City Assembly rooms, No. 444 Broadway, where, procuring muskets, they—under command of Major George B. Ball, and numbering about three hundred and fifty men, equipped in black coat and pants, blue caps and white belts—were formed into line on Broadway. A troop of about sixty men also accompanied them, James Irving commanding. After the formation of the line the battalion, by companies, wheeled into column, and, headed by Shelton's Band, numbering fifty pieces, proceeded up Broadway to Prince street, passing in review at the residence of Daniel E. Delavan, Esq. At Sullivan street they countermarched and proceeded to Broadway, thence to the Park, where they paid a marching salute to the Mayor and Common Council. At a little past twelve they embarked on four double cars, on the Third Avenue Railroad line, and proceeded to Red House, which place they reached about one o'clock. Here a collation was in waiting, and as soon as the battalion had refreshed themselves they proceeded to fire at the target. Messrs. John N. Genin, Esq., Aldermen Bradley, Genet and Boole, Wm. L. Proach, Esq., and Henry Arcularius acted as judges.

Rifles were only used for firing, and but two hundred had fired when it became dark, and it was impossible to see the target at any great distance. Further shooting was therefore dispensed with, and the battalion again fell into line and returning to the cars reached the city about eight o'clock. They proceeded to the City Assembly rooms where they sat down to a sumptuous dinner, which was in waiting. Five tables, running the full length of the large ball room and one extending across, erected upon a platform, were spread with all the delicacies of the season. At the main table were a large number of guests. Among others, Daniel E. Delavan, Hon. John Cochrane, Andrew V. Stout, City Chamberlain, Charles Delavan, Captain Richard French, Thomas K. Dewning, John S. Giles, Wm. D. Kennedy, General Elijah Ward, John N. Genin, Wm. L. Proach, and Deputy Superintendent Carpenter. After the company had done justice to the good things the health of Daniel E. Delavan was proposed, which was drank with nine hearty cheers.

Mr. Delavan in return expressed himself highly honored for the handsome manner they had received his name, more especially coming as it did from so many of his fellow citizens. It was gratifying to him also for the display they had made, turning out over four hundred, which was to him a surety that as at the head of one of the public departments his labors had been appreciated. He alluded to the time when he was called upon to take possession of the City Inspector's Department, and the state it was in at that time. He had now got it in working order and though he had to say it himself he had never seen the streets in better order since he was a boy. He had accepted the position and he intended to do his duty so long as he remained. In conclusion he asked their united support in carrying out the arduous duties of his office.

Hon. John Cochrane being honored with a toast responded briefly, alluding in a very complimentary manner to the appearance of the Guard and their namesake, Daniel E. Delavan.

The judges here being ready to report the successful winners, appeared before the company, and Mr. Cornell, President of the Board of Councilmen, on behalf of the judges, stated that they would award the prizes to those who had hit the target, and there being some thirty prizes over and above the number that had hit the target, those not having fired should draw for the balance of the prizes.

This seemed to give general satisfaction, and the judges at once proceeded to call up the fortunate marksmen. The prizes numbered in all about eighty-six. The first prize, a gold watch, presented by Mr. Delavan, was awarded to T. W. Kemble, as being the best marksman. Coroner O'Keefe took the second prize, a set of costly furs, and Thomas Rielly a gold watch, presented by the Mayor, the third prize. It was a late hour before all the prizes were awarded, and the names of the successful winners in full could not be given.

The Difficulties at San Juan—England Again Threatening the Tomahawk.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK HERALD.

PARIS, Sept. 29, 1859.

The London *Sun* publishes a letter, dated August 1, from a correspondent at Vancouver, of which the following is an extract:—

The Americans did not count the cost of insulting or attacking us. They forget their old enemies the Indians, who are burning for revenge, thirsting for their blood. Let it once be known that the English are no longer friendly with Americans, and slumbering feuds will break out; but let it be known that they are at war, and 100,000 Indians will attack the Americans unasked.

Americans forget their old enemies the Indians! Never. They do not need this reminder of the fact, that an unnatural mother hounded on hordes of savages against her children and urged them to bloody butchery, not only by giving them full license, but by offering rewards for the scalp locks of he progeny, without regard to sex or age. Forget it! Never; while there lives a man upon our Western shores this deep and damned blot upon the page of England's history will never be effaced; and now in this great age of civilized progress, the nineteenth century, we have unmistakable evidence that she is ready to enact the foul tragedy again. Let England know we shall never forget that act, any more than we can ever forget that, in 1812, this same England landed her troops upon our shores, invaded our national capital, and, in a spirit of ruthlessness that would have shamed the Goths and Vandals, and, in the light of this same century, deliberately applied the torch to our public buildings and burned the archives of our nation; an act for the parallel of which we look in vain through history. Forget it! Never. The boy is now in manhood; but the bitter wrongs of his childhood years still rankle in his breast, and let Old England be assured that if the day should ever come (which God forbid) when she will again be arrayed in arms against us, the recollection of these bitter wrongs will rouse a spirit of retaliation that will not be easily allayed.

As she sees fit in her arrogance to give us this bloody warning, it is but right she should in turn be warned that these bitter recollections only sleep, and that if they should be again aroused she will long have reason to regret the indiscretion which will have provoked a generous and forgiving people to fall back upon their past wrongs. ORISKANY.

SPOTS ON THE SUN.—The spots on the sun are unusually numerous and large this year. At the present time there are eleven groups of spots visible, two of which have just made their appearance on the western edge. A very large spot has been recently observed nearly in the centre, embracing a central black spot and a still larger penumbular region. It is said to be daily undergoing remarkable changes.

THE HARPER'S FERRY OUTBREAK.

The Five Prisoners Sent to Charlestown, Va., Where They Are to Be Indicted and Tried.

BROWN'S WOUNDS NOT SERIOUS.

HIS CONFESSION TO GOVERNOR WISE.

Gerrit Smith, Joshua Giddings, Fred Douglass and Other Abolitionists and Republicans Implicated.

GERRIT SMITH SUPPLIES THE SINEWS OF WAR

Discovery of a Magazine of Arms in Brown's House.

The Constitution and Ordinances of the Conspiracy.

GOVERNMENT FUNDS UNTOUCHED.

Gerrit Smith's Complicity with the Outbreak.

His Late Manifesto on the Subject of Slavery.

His Curious Predictions and Their Partial Fulfilment.

"Slavery Must Go Out in Blood—The Blacks Must Deliver Themselves—No Resource is Left to Them but in God and Insurrections—For Insurrections We May Look any Day—The Insurrections will be Failures, but will not Slavery Nevertheless be Put Down by Them!—Telegraphs and Railroads Can be Rendered Useless in an Hour—Fire and Rape and Slaughter for the South."

THE KILLED AND WOUNDED.

LIST OF THE CONSPIRATORS, WHITE AND BLACK.

THE EFFECT IN WASHINGTON, &c., &c., &c.

Peace and quiet are restored at Harper's Ferry. The five prisoners in the hands of the troops, including Ossawattomie Brown, whose wounds are said not to be serious, have been conveyed to Charlestown, Va., where they are to be tried by the State authorities for murder. If such prosecution fail, then the United States will try them for treason. Brown has made a full statement, implicating Gerrit Smith, Joshua Giddings, Fred. Douglass, and other abolitionists and black republicans. Gerrit Smith appears to have furnished some of the sinews of war. In Brown's house was found quite a magazine of arms and ammunition.

Our despatches from Washington and Baltimore give full and most interesting particulars. They are as follows:—

OUR WASHINGTON DESPATCHES.

WASHINGTON, Oct 19, 1859.

Brown and the other prisoners have just been taken from the Armory and put on special train and started for Charlestown. There was an immense crowd about the gates and cars, with all sorts of arms; but a guard of twenty-five or thirty marines surrounded the prisoners. There was no attempt at violence. Governor Wise, Senator Mason and others accompanied the train. The Circuit commences to-morrow when, probably, the prisoners will be indicted and will be tried on Friday. There is no foundation for the rumor of filibusters in the Maryland mountains.

Brown's wounds are slight. He has made a long statement to Governor Wise to-day, and to Senator Mason and District Attorney Ould, in presence of Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, and Mr. Faulkner, of Virginia, members of Congress, and other leading men. Papers that have been found in his possession implicate Gerrit Smith, Joshua Giddings, and other notorious abolitionists, who furnished money.

Two commitments have been lodged—one by the State and the other by the United States. This was done to meet the question of jurisdiction.

Brown abuses Cook for deserting him.

The following additional intelligence has been received by the government:—

Everything is quiet. There are only five prisoners—three wounded and two unhurt. Six citizens have been killed and one marine. All the citizens were killed outside the limits of the United States territory in Virginia. The marine was mortally wounded in it. I have seen Colonel Lee, but not Governor Wise. Only nineteen persons were engaged in the matter, of whom five were free negroes from the North. Brown has been living a few miles from here, in Maryland, since June last. His premises were searched to-day, and fifteen hundred pikes and two hundred guns were found, besides flints, axes, blankets, clothing, &c., in abundance. Brown says he has contemplated this movement since 1856. All his party are either killed or captured, except one, who left on Monday. They were driven by the Virginians into the Armory, and there Colonel Lee and twelve marines did the balance. All the slaves engaged, if any, were forced. None of the persons held by Brown were hurt, although all were in the building stormed by the marines. The books and papers of Brown are secured, and throw considerable light on the movement. Strange it is but true, that Brown and his eighteen men took possession of the government property and town, and held them during Sunday night and Monday. The government money is all safe. It is not known which of the party killed the marine. The man who carried off Lewis Washington is one of the wounded prisoners. I do not apprehend any violence to the prisoners.

On receipt of this intelligence the President directed District Attorney Ould to deliver the prisoners over to Virginian authorities, as it was under the laws of that State the murders had been committed, and as the United States had jurisdiction only in one case, and that the death of the United States marine.

The Secretary of the Navy, after consideration with the Secretary of War, despatched an order to the commanding officer of marines to return at once to Washington. Gov. Wise will therefore take charge of the prisoners. Their trials will come off as soon as the necessary arrangements can be instituted.

The President has received the papers and documents which were found on the person and in the valise of Brown. They have not yet been thoroughly examined but enough is known of their character to show that the conspiracy had an extensive organization in the various States, and that leading men of the North, East and West were engaged in it. They had a regular constitution and laws, by which they were governed. The chief of the conspirators had power to appoint officers of various grades, and it is clear he exercised that authority. The papers disclose that Brown kept a daily journal, in which he set forth the details of his transactions, the purchase of arms in large quantities, and stores and ammunition of all kinds. Field spyglasses, picks and shovels for throwing up temporary fortifications, calls or boatswain's whistles of a new kind, being very shrill and capable of being heard at a long distance, which are supposed to have been intended for assembling his bands or warning them of danger, were among these stores. The whistles found in his effects were made in Philadelphia, and forwarded to an agent of his in Baltimore last week, per Adams & Company's express. Some of them were found in his valise.

It is not deemed advisable at present to publish the names of persons engaged in this conspiracy, or the contents of papers found, as it might thwart and defeat the investigation which is about to be instituted.

There is said to be nothing in the papers found showing that the negroes, or others belonging at Harper's Ferry, or its vicinity, were *participes criminis* before fact in Brown's conspiracy. Among other things embraced in this batch of papers are said to be the names of various persons upon whom he might rely for aid in case of necessity. It is also said to be apparant from them that he was promised instant extensive aid from abroad, which, as the result proves, failed him. There can now be no doubt that his grand aim was to create a general servile insurrection.

The following are the constitution and ordinances of the conspirators:—

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION AND ORDINANCES FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude, or absolute extermination, in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our declaration of independence;

Therefore, we the citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court are declared to have no rights which the white man is bound to respect, together with all the other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following provisional constitution and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives and liberties, and to govern our actions:—

ARTICLE 1.
Qualifications for Membership.

All persons of mature age, whether proscribed, oppressed and enslaved citizens, or of proscribed and oppressed races of the United States, who shall agree to sustain and enforce the provisional constitution and ordinances of organization, together with all minor children of such persons, shall be held to be fully entitled to protection under the same.

ARTICLE 2.
Branches of Government.

The provisional government of this organization shall consist of three branches—viz: the legislative, executive and judicial.

ARTICLE 3.
The Legislative.

The legislative branch shall be a Congress, or House of Representatives, composed of not less than five nor more than ten members, who shall be elected by all the citizens of mature age and of sound mind connected with this organization, and who shall remain in office for three years, unless sooner removed for misconduct or inability, or by death. A majority of such members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE 4.
Executive.

The executive branch of this organization shall consist of a President and Vice President, who shall be chosen by the citizens or members of this organization, and each of whom shall hold his office for three years, unless sooner removed by death or for inability or misconduct.

ARTICLE 5.
Judicial.

The judicial branch shall consist of one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and four Associate Judges of the said court, each of them constituting a Circuit Court. They shall each be chosen in the same manner as the President, and shall continue in office until their places have been filled in the same manner by an election of citizens.

ARTICLES 13 TO 25

Provide for the trial of the President and other officers and members of Congress, the impeachment of judges, the duties of the President and Vice President, the punishment of crimes, army appointments, salaries, &c. These articles are not of special interest, and are therefore omitted.

ARTICLE 24.
Treaties of Peace.

Before any treaty of peace shall take full effect, it shall be signed by the President, Vice President, Commander-in-Chief, a majority of the House of Representatives, a majority of the Supreme Court, and a majority of all the General officers of the army.

ARTICLE 27.
Duty of the Military.

It shall be the duty of the Commander-in-Chief and all the officers and soldiers of the army, to afford special protection, when needed, to Congress or any member thereof, to the Supreme Court or any member thereof; to the President, Vice President, Treasurer and Secretary of War, and to afford general protection to all civil officers or other persons having a right to the same.

ARTICLE 28.
Property.

All captured or confiscated property, and all property the product of the labor of those belonging to this organization and of their families, shall be held as the property of the whole equally, without distinction, and may be used for the common benefit or disposed of for the same object. And any person, officer or otherwise, who shall improperly retain, secrete, use or needlessly destroy such property, or property found, captured or confiscated, belonging to the enemy, or shall willfully neglect to render a full and fair statement of such property by him so taken or held, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished accordingly.

ARTICLE 29.
Safety or Intelligence Fund.

All money, plate, watches or jewelry captured by honorable warfare, found, taken or confiscated, belonging to the enemy, shall be held sacred to constitute a liberal safety or intelligence fund; and any person who shall improperly retain, dispose of, hide, use or destroy such money or other article above named, contrary to the provisions and spirit of this article shall be deemed guilty of theft, and on conviction thereof shall be punished accordingly. The treasurer shall furnish the commander-in-chief at all times with a full statement of the condition of such fund and its nature.

ARTICLE 30.
The Commander-in-Chief and the Treasury.

The commander-in-chief shall have power to draw from the treasury the money and other property of the fund provided for in article 29, but his orders shall be signed also by the secretary of war, who shall keep a strict account of the same, subject to examination by any member of Congress or general officer.

ARTICLE 31.
Surplus of the Safety or Intelligence Fund.

It shall be the duty of the commander-in-chief to advise the President of any surplus of the safety and intelligence fund, and he shall have power to draw the same, his order being also signed by the Secretary of State, to enable him to carry out the provisions of article 17.

ARTICLE 32.
Prisoners.

No person, after having surrendered himself a prisoner, and who shall properly demean himself or herself as such to any officer or private connected with this organization, shall afterwards be put to death or be subjected to any corporeal punishment without first having had the benefit of a fair and impartial trial. Nor shall any prisoners be treated with any kind of cruelty, disrespect, insult or needless severity; but it shall be the duty of all persons, male and female, connected herewith, at all times and under all circumstances to treat all such prisoners with every degree of respect and kindness that the nature of the circumstances will admit of, and insist on a like course of conduct from all others, as in fear of the Almighty God, to whose care and keeping we commit our cause.

ARTICLE 33.
Volunteries.

All persons who may come forward, and shall voluntarily deliver up slaves, and have their names registered on the books of this organization, shall, so long as they continue at peace, be entitled to the fullest protection in person and property, though not connected with this organization, and shall be treated as friends, and not merely as persons neutral.

ARTICLE 34.
Neutrals.

The persons and property of all non-slaveholders who shall remain absolutely neutral, shall be respected so far as circumstances can allow of it; but they shall not be entitled to any active protection.

ARTICLE 35.
No Needless Waste.

The needless waste or destruction of any useful property or article by fire, throwing open of fences, fields, buildings, or needless killing of animals, or injury of either, shall not be tolerated at any time or place, but shall be promptly and peremptorily punished

ARTICLE 36.
Property Confiscated.

The entire personal and real property of all persons known to be acting either directly or indirectly with or for the enemy, or found in arms with them, or found wilfully holding slaves, shall be confiscated and taken wherever and wherever it may be found, in either free or slave States.

ARTICLE 37.
Desertion.

Persons convicted on impartial trial of desertion to the enemy, after becoming members, acting as spies or treacherously surrendering property, arms, ammunition, provisions or supplies of any kind, roads, bridges, persons or fortifications, shall be put to death and their entire property confiscated.

ARTICLE 38.
Violation of Parole of Honor.

Persons proven to be guilty of taking up arms after having been set at liberty on parole of honor, or after the same to have taken any active part with or for the enemy, direct or indirect, shall be put to death and their entire property confiscated.

ARTICLES 39, 40 AND 41

Require all to labor for the general good and prohibit immoral actions.

ARTICLE 42.
The Marriage Relation—Schools—The Sabbath.

Marriage relations shall be at all times respected, and families be kept together as far as possible, and broken families encouraged to reunite, and intelligence offices shall be established for that purpose. Schools and churches shall be established as soon as may be, for the purpose of religious and other instructions, and the first day of the week shall be regarded as a day of rest and appropriated to moral and religious instruction and improvement; to the relief of the suffering; the instruction of the young and ignorant, and the encouragement of personal cleanliness; nor shall any persons be required on that day to perform ordinary manual labor unless in extremely urgent cases.

ARTICLE 43.
To Carry Arms Openly.

All persons known to be of good character, and of sound mind and suitable age, who are connected with this organization, whether male or female, shall be encouraged to carry arms openly.

ARTICLE 44.
No Person to carry Concealed Weapons.

No person within the limits of conquered territory, except regularly appointed policemen, express officers of the army, mail carriers, or other fully accedited messengers of the Congress, the President, Vice President, members of the Supreme Court, or commissioned officers of the army, and those under peculiar circumstances, shall be allowed at any time to carry concealed weapons, and any person not specially authorized so to do, who shall be found so doing shall be deemed a suspicious person, and may at once be arrested by any officer, soldier or citizen, without the formality of a complaint or warrant, and may at once be subjected to thorough search, and shall have his or her case thoroughly investigated and be dealt with as circumstances on proof shall require.

ARTICLE 45.
Persons to be Seized.

Persons living within the limits of territory holden by this organization, and not connected with this organization, having arms at all, concealed or otherwise, shall be seized at once, or be taken in charge of by some vigilant officer, and their case thoroughly investigated, and it shall be the duty of all citizens and soldiers, as well as officers to arrest such parties as are named in this and the preceding section or article without formality of complaint or warrant, and they shall be placed in charge of some proper officer for examination or for safe keeping.

ARTICLE 46.
These Articles Not for the Overthrow of Government.

The foregoing articles shall not be construed so as in any way to encourage the overthrow of any State government or of the general government of the United States, and look to no dissolution of the Union, but simply to amendment and repeal; and our flag shall be the same that our fathers fought under in the Revolution.

ARTICLE 47.
No Plurality of Offices.

No two offices specially provided for by this instrument shall be filled by the same person at the same time.

ARTICLE 48.
Oath.

Every officer, civil or military, connected with this organization, shall, before entering upon the duties of office, make a solemn oath or affirmation to abide by and support the provisional constitution and these ordinances. Also every citizen and soldier, before being recognized as such, shall do the same.

SCHEDULE.

The President of this Convention shall convene, immediately on the adoption of this instrument, a Convention of all such persons as shall have given their adherence, by signature to the constitution, who shall proceed to fill by election all offices specially named in said constitution; the President of this Convention presiding and issuing commissions to such officers elect; all such officers being hereafter elected in the manner provided in the body of this instrument.

GERRIT SMITH'S MANIFESTO.

The outbreak and attendant circumstances are very curiously foreshadowed in the following manifesto of Gerrit Smith, directed in August last to the Chairman of the Jerry Rescuers:—

PETERSBORO, August 27, 1859.

JOHN THOMAS, Esq., Syracuse, Chairman of Jerry Rescue Committee:—

MY DEAR SIR—I have this day received your letter inviting me to preside at the approaching anniversary of the rescue of Jerry, and to prepare the papers for it. Thankful for this honor as I truly am, nevertheless I am constrained to decline it. I have presided at all the anniversaries of this important event, and written the address adopted at each of them. But my interest in them has declined greatly within the last two or three years; and I am now decidedly of the opinion *that it is unwise to continue to repeat the farce any longer.*

The rescue of Jerry was a great and glorious event. Would to God it had been duly improved. But those who achieved it—and I include in this number all who cheered it on and rejoiced in every step of its progress—have, with few exceptions, proved themselves unworthy of the work of their own hands. We delivered Jerry in the face of the authority of Congress and Courts; and, as most of us believed, in contempt also of a provision of the constitution itself. We delivered him, believing that there was no law and could be no law for slavery. On that occasion our humanity was up; and in vain would all the authorities on earth, even the Bible itself included, have laid it down. Our humanity owned Jerry for its brother; and so did it cling to him, that all the wealth of the world would not have sufficed to buy it off, or tempt it to ignore and betray him.

Oh, had the thousands, who on that memorable night crowded the streets of Syracuse, but maintained the sublime elevation to which the spirit of that night exalted them, what a force for the overthrow of slavery would they have not accumulated by this time! But they soon fell from it. They soon sunk down to the low level of their political and church parties. Jerry was forgotten. Their humanity was dead—for these parties are the grave of humanity. In proportion as a man becomes a partisan he has manhood lost—for in that proportion is he untrue to himself, to his brother and to God. That day, alas how distant! when every one shall be held, and be willing to be held, to his individuality, shall witness an unspeakably better condition of things than does this, in which men act in parties, and stand in the strength of parties; and in which the vaguely and feebly felt responsibilities of party take the place of the definite and deeply conscious responsibilities of the individual. When our countrymen shall have risen to this higher plane of character, there will be Christians instead of Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, and patriots instead of republicans, democrats and Native Americans.

Of the thousands who, on the *glorious* night to which we have referred, were actuated by justice and mercy, probably not less than nineteen-twentieths fell immediately after under those ecclesiastical or political party influences which had previously swayed and shrivelled them. Of the thousands whose motto on that glorious night was, "No law for slavery," perhaps not a dozen have called out their churches to adopt it, and not fifty have persevieringly refused to vote for men who recognize a law for slavery. At each of our anniversaries the resolutions and address and the discussions upon them have been in harmony with the high and holy principles on which Jerry was rescued. Nevertheless, the vast majority of those who enjoyed the anniversaries returned home to act with their pro-slavery parties in church and State.

"Jerry Rescuers" voting for men who acknowledge a law for slavery! I see not but that they are as basely inconsistent as are our temperance societies, forty-nine fiftieths of the members of which, whilst prating for "prohibition," vote for candidates who oppose it. Indeed, always excepting an anniversary of the New York State Temperance Society, I do not know a greater or more shameless or more pernicious hypocrisy than an anniversary of the rescue of Jerry.

By the way, I see that a gentleman of fine talents and high culture, and marked ability as a writer, is called on to write the history of the temperance reformation. For my own part, I had far rather that this history were hidden than published. For, if truthfully written, what is the great fact it will perpetuate?—what but the infinitely disgraceful one, that the temperance men, though ever ready to talk up and write up their cause, were all ever ready to vote it down? *The cause of temperance in this country is dead.* In vain all the efforts of temperance societies and temperance newspapers and temperance lecturers to galvanize it into life. Never was the use of tobacco and intoxicating drinks increasing so rapidly. All who have any discernment must see that this boundless inconsistency and unprincipledness at the ballot box which has killed this dear cause; and that it can never be revived by temperance societies and temperance newspapers and temperance lecturers that go for the election of rum drinkers. Such *stupendous and shameless hypocrisies* must give place to agencies characterized by sincerity and self-denial before temperance can come to life.

Oh, no, let not the history of either the temperance cause or the anti-slavery cause be written with the view of honoring their professed friends. *They have both been killed at the ballot box by these friends.* If written at all, let it be with the purpose of warning the world against hypocrisies.

To return from this digression, let me, my friend, again say that we had better give up the celebration of the rescue of Jerry. The thing is quite too great and good for us. Earnest and honest men are alone suited to it. We Jerry rescuers are mean men and sham men. Dear Jerry's sainted spirit can take no pleasure in this our grand annual hypocrisy. The Saviour, whom he so heartily chose and so faithfully followed in his last years, can have no sympathy with it. The cause of freedom is disgraced and hindered, instead of being honored and promoted by it.

Let us stand aside: and then perhaps consistent men and honest men and high souled men will ere long come up to take our place. One of the most beautiful scenes that could bless my sight would be a Jerry Rescue anniversary conducted by men who would as soon stay in a brothel as in a church that recognizes a law for slavery; and who would as soon vote for men who recognize a law for sheep stealing, as for men who acknowledge that a judicial decree or a statute or even a constitution can create any obligation to protect and honor man stealing.

In short, let us who talk well against slavery stand aside for those who will vote well against it. Let our professions make room for their practice, and our hypocrisy for their sincerity.

Men make light of the crime of voting wrong, and yet there is no other crime so full of the heaviest oppression. Quite bad enough is it when, in my private or individual dealings with my fellow man, I oppress him. But when I vote against his rights, as I do when I vote for candidates who hold that there may be a valid and obligatory and real law for his slavery, or who hold that there can be such a law for dram selling, such a law for making and keeping him a drunkard, then I vote to array the government and the collective people against him; then I vote not that I may wrong him—not that I, with such comparatively insignificant powers as an individual can summon, may oppress him, but that a whole State, a whole nation, may fall upon and crush him. Churches and parties may be stone blind to it; nevertheless Heaven sees that this voting against human rights, and this voting temptations in the way of the weak, constitute the mightiest wrong that men are capable of perpetrating.

Much is said and written against the breaking of human laws. But they are entitled to obedience only so far as they are one with those Divine laws which cannot be broken. "The law of his God" was Daniel's only law. No friend of God knows any other law. Apostles answered and said: "We ought to obey God rather than men;" so, too, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." How senseless and wicked is this declamation against *trampling under foot these human laws, that are no laws.* To such trampling are the nations indebted for the instances of their greatest progress. Often indeed have the nations found it their only salvation. How shameless the hypocrisy of our countrymen. Whilst glorying in the historical fact that our fathers were ready to take up arms against laws imposing petty taxes on tea and paper, they nevertheless roll up the whites of their eyes in holy horror at refusals to obey laws, if laws they can be called, which sink innocent men, women and children in the hell of slavery.

The rescuers of Jerry were called rebels. But the rebellion in the case was chargeable not on them, but on the government. It was the government and not the rescuers, who were guilty of resisting law. The law in the case was the right of every innocent man to his personal liberty. That law the rescuers upheld, and against it did the government rebel. What if its rebellion was carried on under the forms of law? none the less was it rebellion.

People are wont to regard every enactment as law. But many an enactment is not law. Squatter sovereignty is much extolled, and now and then there are signs that even the republican party is fast coming to acquiesce in it. Nevertheless squatter sovereignty is not law. The liberty given by the Nebraska bill to enslave men was not liberty to set up law, but to put down law—quite as emphatically such as if it had been liberty to murder men. The invasion of human rights by government can no more than such invasion by an individual be law. *The invaders, be they governments or individuals, are the rebels, and they who resist them are the law abiding.* The passage of the Nebraska bill afforded ample justification to the people to enter the halls of Congress and hurl the rebels from their seats. A poor chance of any other than a hempen elevation would such rebels stand were the religion of this country Christianity and its politics democracy. As things are, it is the man here and there who dares to live the Christian life on whom the American church pounces, and it is the little handful of real democrats toward whom American politicians—American democrats—show no mercy.

It is, perhaps, vain as respects its effect on slavery, for me, or for any one else, to remonstrate against voting for those who believe in a law for slavery, or, in other words, against pro-slavery voting. *It is, perhaps, too late to bring slavery to an end by peaceable means—too late to vote it down. For many years I have feared, and published my fears, that it must go out in blood.* My speech in Congress on the Nebraska bill was strongly marked with such fears. *Those fears have grown into belief.* So debauched are the white people by slavery that there is not virtue enough left in them to put it down. *If I do not misinterpret the words and the looks of the most intelligent and noble of the black men who fall in my way, they have come to despair of the accomplishment of this work by the white people. The feeling among the blacks that they must deliver themselves, gains strength with fearful rapidity.* They are sensible how cruelly they have been deceived by the liberty party, the free soil party, the republican party, and the great mass of even the most loud-mouthed abolitionists. They see that all these, instead of voting slavery down, have voted it up. True, the republican party did not promise them much. But they did not expect it would insult and exasperate them by taking the name of "the white man's party." They did hope for some help from this party, but they got none. It lifts not a finger to repeal the Fugitive Slave act, nor to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, nor to abolish the inter-State traffic in human flesh. Nay, it goes so far as to admit that the slavery of black men (it would not dare admit it in the case of but one white man) can be legalized in every State of the Union. The Dred Scott decision and the reopening of the African slave trade are proofs that slavery has never strengthened itself so rapidly as during the existence of this new and mismamed republican party.

The republican writers and orators declaim much against the obvious purpose of the slave power to overspread the free States with slavery by the help of its "natural ally," the Northern democracy. But do not these writers and orators admit the right to do this when they admit the legality of slavery in the slave States? What is property in Virginia is by a law above human enactments property in Vermont also. He who is a slave or property is Mississippi is a slave or property in Massachusetts also. What is property anywhere is property everywhere. Moreover, it will in the end be found to be as vain as it is inconsistent to oppose the extension of slavery into the free States while upholding it in the slave States. *Governor Seward was right in saying that the States must ultimately all be secured to freedom or given up to slavery.* But he did not see that his standing by slavery in the slave States renders unavailing his opposition to its extension into the free States. Governor Seward can do nothing to prevent slavery's going where it is not unless he holds it to be a piracy and an outlaw where it is.

No wonder, then, is it that in this state of facts which I have sketched, intelligent black men in the States and Canada should see no hope for their race in the practice and policy of white men. *No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections. For insurrections, then, we may look any year, any month, any day. A terrible remedy for a terrible wrong. But come it must unless anticipated by repentance and the putting away of the terrible wrong.*

It will be said that these insurrections will be failures; that they will be put down. Yes, but will not slavery nevertheless be put down by them? For what portions are there of the South that will cling to slavery after two or three considerable insurrections shall have filled the whole South with horror? And is it entirely certain that these insurrections will be put down promptly, and before they can have spread far? Will telegraphs and railroads be too swift for even the swiftest insurrections? *Remember that telegraphs and railroads can be rendered useless in an hour.* Remember, too, that many, who would be glad to face the insurgents, would be busy in transporting their wives and daughters to places where they would be safe from that worst fate which husbands and fathers can imagine for their wives and daughters. I admit that but for this embarrassment Southern men would laugh at the idea of an insurrection, and would quickly dispose of one. *But trembling as they would for their beloved ones, I know of no part of the world where, so much as in the South, men would be like, in a formidable insurrection, to lose the most important time, and be distracted and panic stricken.*

When the day of her calamity shall have come to the South, and fire and rape and slaughters shall be filling up the measure of her affliction, then will the North have two reasons for remorse—

First. That she was not willing (whatever the attitude of the South at this point) to share with her in the expense and loss of an immediate and universal emancipation.

Second. That she was not willing to vote slavery out of existence.

Then, too, when alas it will be too late, will be seen in the vivid light of the sufferings of our Southern brethren, both black and white, how shameful and of what evil influence was the apostacy of those "Jerry Rescuers," who were guilty of falling from the "Jerry level" and casting pro-slavery votes.

But why should I have spoken of the sorrows that await the South? Whoever he may be that foretells the horrible end of American slavery, is held both at the North and South to be a lying prophet—another Cassandra. The South would not respect her own Jefferson's prediction of servile insurrection. How, then, can it be hoped that she will respect another's? If the South will not wish her own Jefferson "tremble" when reflecting that "God is just"—if she will not see with her own Jefferson that "the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with" her in "a contest" with her slaves, then who is there either North or South that is capable of moving her fears and helping her to safety? Respectfully your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

WHAT THE HERALD SAID OF IT.

[From the NEW YORK HERALD, Sept. 5.]

* * * * * * *

After giving his old friends a general broadside all around, Mr. Smith goes to work to explain in his jeremiad what he intends to do. *His idea is simply to stir up insurrections among the negroes at the South. Insurrections are Mr. Smith's rather violent remedies or the diseases of the body politic.* Congress won't do anything; the church is afraid; Jerry's old friends have taken the back track. *So Smith has cut them all, and is going into the "fire, rape and slaughter" business all by himself. He backs up Seward's brutal and bloody speech at Rochester to the bitter end.*

SEWARD'S PROGRAMME.

Smith endorses Seward; and what does Seward say? He says:—

The two systems (slavery and freedom) are at once perceived to be incongruous. But they are more than incongruous—they are incompatible. They never have permanently existed together in one country, and they never can.

* * * * *

Thus these antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who