

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD-OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

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SPEECH HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN, N THE SLAVERY QUESTION. THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES NABCH 4, 1850.

[Concluded.] ators, explained what it is that is, and traced it to its cause, and and character, the great question can be Union be saved? To is but one way by which it can donting such measures as will

! can no more prevent health! health! glorious

e two sections, objections equally apply to what, for brev-le all the Executive proviso. There is no e between it and the Wilmot, except in the effecting the object; and in that respect I

which a testidential the answar have notyce been greated by the continued. But there is enough known to justify the safetiment which the Executive, which as testidential that there is enough known to justify the safetiment which the Executive, which as the plan proposed by the distinguished and the safety are the plan proposed by the Sentator, and proceeding the safety and the proposed by the Sentator, and proceeding the consideration of that of the administration, called the Convention, a determined on which the Sentator which the safety and the consideration of that of the administration called the Convention, a determined on which the section, that there is found to exist a series of the chamber, when the Organ question of the Convention, and the Convention of the Convention, and the Convention of the Convention, and the Convention of the Convention

SPEECH OF THE HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,
ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION,

HITIS, ROUP, TION. ig as they ae of many ples to com-y 'AYER'S

confidence

es and as ECTORAL ey will feel his remedy

ist, Lowell,

M. D., Bostos.

mti-Slavery was a Slave and, as given and authen-prose, and fott; deliv-ciphias. De-ort, rovised

Now, sir, as far as any of these grievances have beir foundation in matters of law, they can be reressed, and ought to be redressed; and so far as sey have their foundation in matters of opinion, in 
entiment, in mutual crimination and recrimination, 
Il that we can do is to endeavor to allay the agitaon, and cultivate a better feeling and more fraternal 
entiments between the South and the North.

Mr. President, I should much prefer to have heard 
now every member on this floor declarations of opinon that this Union can never be dissolved, than 
he declaration of opinion that in any case, under 
ny pressure of circumstances, such a dissolution was 
ossible. I hear with pain, and anguish, and dis-

on that subject, because I do not decome representation by the presentation of the South shall propose archives any operation from the South shall propose archives any operation of the South shall be a state of the state

Mr. Calhoun—I jise to correct what I conceive to be an error of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts are to the motives which induced the acquisition of Florida, Louisiana and Texas. He stributed it to the great growth of cotton, and the desire of the Southern people to get an extension of territory, with a view of cultivating it with more profit than they could in a compact and crowded settlement. Now, Mr. President, the history of these acquisitions I think was not correctly given. It is well known that the acquisition of Florida was the result of an Indian war. The Seminole Indians residing along the line attacked one of our fortresses; troops were ordered out; they were driven back; and under the command of General Jackson, Pensacola and St. Marks were seized. It was these acts, and not the desire for the extended cultivation of cotton, which led to the acquisition of Florida. I admit that there had been, for a long time, a desire on the part of the South, and of the Administration, I believe, to acquire Florida; but it was very different from the reason assigned by the honorable Senator. There were collected together four tribes of Indians—the Creeks, the Chockaws, the Chickaswas and the Cherokees, about thirty thousand warriors—who held connection, almost the whole of them, with the Spanish authorities in Florida, and carried on a trade perpetually with them. It was well known that a most permiscious influence was thus exercised over them; and it was the desire of preventing conflict between the Indians and ourselves at the South, as I believe, which induced the acquisition of Forida. I come now to Louisiana. We well know that was the suspension of our right of deposite at New Orleans. The Spanish authorities interrupted to the navigation of the right party—the old Federal party, which I have never said a word of disrespect in regard to—if I mistake not, took the lead in a desire to resort to arms to acquire that the right of the project and gave was made, in order to remove the difficulty, and to

whether real or imaginary. It is consummate folly to assert that the Mexican hav prohibiting slavery in California and New Mexico is in force; and I have always regarded it so.

Allorina and New Mexico is in force; and I have always regarded it so.

It was a regarded it so imputation of a contrary motive, it is because I have been willing to defend my section from unconstitutional encroachments. But I cannot agree with the Sensitor from Messachusetts, that this Union cannot be dissolved. Am I to understand him that no degree of oppression, no outrage, no broken faith, can produce the destruction of the Union? Why, sir, if that becomes a fixed fact, it with itself becomes the great instrument of producing oppression, outrage, and broken faith. No, sir, the Union can be broken. Great moral causes will break it if they go on, and it can only be preserved by justice, good faith, and a rigid adherence to the Constitution.

Mr. Webster.—Mr. President, a single word in the regarded of the room, prevented me from South Carolina.

In the regarded of the regarded of the room, prevented me from south Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Carolina state of the room, prevented me from South Car

The Liberator.

BOSTON, MARCH 22, 1850. No Union with Slaveholders!

REVIEW

DANIEL WEBSTER'S SPEECH, BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The best bid that has been made yet for the Presidency — The shrewdest thing Daniel ever did. Such are the comments of the street. For the present, let us not analyse moties, or go deeper than the print; but try the great Northern statesman by the record. If any one should aver that this Union can never be hurt by its enemies, who could safely gainasy him since its friends seem resolved never to allow the chance, but to cut its throat themselves. We are Disunionists, not from any love for separate Confederacies, or as ignorant of the thousand evils that spring from neighboring and quarrelsome States; but we would get rid of this Union, because experience has shown, it to be, in its character and construction, an insurmountable obstacle to the Harmonr of the nation; and could we once

\*Cancel, and text to pieces, this great bond

nation; and could we once

'Cancel, and tear to pieces, this great bond
Which keeps us pale'
with continual apprehensions, we should get space
for such a structure as would ensure the Hamson of
all the races which dwell on this continent, and all the
States that control it—an empire ocean-bound on
every side. With these views, Mr. Webster has no
sympathy. Yet, in our opinion, of all Drawnowners,
Mr. Webster is the most efficient. His sulogy of the
Union is not more eloquent than his noisy is fatal is

impartiality between Liberty and Despotiam, betwee Right and Wrong, that it would puzzle a jury of Philadelphia lawyers to tell, had Nature given his a heart, to which side it would have leaned. So obedient are the pulses of this great man to his—dut or—his interest, that over the eggs of such a contrevery as this, happier than even Eramus, he havalked without breaking them; and may safely boat that Daniel Webster has spoken three hours on als very, and no mortal man can tell whether he love or hates it. In the Roman procession, the most marked matter was that Cato's statue was wanting Of this speech, what it fails to express is more remark able than what it has expressed—and that is saying great deal.

Wilder of the series of the se

erily believe, that unless there is a renewed th. an augmented strength of Whig votes in jest, he will accomplish his purpose.

Augmented strength of Whig votes'! How many rais votes, his own and R. C. Winthrop's, for inmace, will it take to defeat the Proviso? Like the is farm, the more you have of them, th

on with oc.

Im aside a moment to remark, that it was in the st Marshfield that Mr. Webster confess, debitionists have so often asserted...

at the abolitionists nave so outen asserted—
weak of the North. There has been no North,
think the North Star is at last discovered; I think
think the North, but up to the recent session of
mores there has been no North. What I mean to
more there has been no North. What I mean to
for the think the think the property of the country, in which there has been a strong, conscilength and mainted opposition to slavery, no such
solve the property of the strong the

whose and united opposition to stavery, no such North has existed.

And if no such North has existed, at whose door lies the fault? We say plainly at his; one Lisar and the horn orth a thousand men. His flat could at his he world into exist moment have called this new world into exist moment have called this new world into exist could at his he was to the could at his flat could at most Canning, that he did not earlier emancipate the Caboliza-when Peel taunts Cobden, that the Corn law were not sooner repealed—when Benedict Arand tunts Washington, that the Colonies did not some triumph, then, at their side, lot Webster thunt Washington, the colonies did not some triumph, then, at their side, lot Webster thunt the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity it is opposition to slavery; he, whose boast has been, who has claimed it as a merit with his Southern hough, that he never introduced the question in any ads, that he never introduced the question in an

For only by report could he know it, having hand in the grand discovery. Let him moderate himself to the company of Harry Fifth's,

Gentlemen in England, now a-bed, Who hold their manhood cheap when any speaks Who fought with us upon that glorious forlorn hope, the North against the South, in the slave's cause.

slave's cause. look at the statement itself, that th Wilmot Proviso is unnecessary for New Mexico an

silforia.

1. This was the same argument so commonly used 1544 to smooth the way for Texan annexation— It was to be a siare country—naturally unfit for it, a. Re. Upon this slaveholders and dough-faces or the state of the same of the state of the same of the are the Upon this savenousers and dought-size were perpetually harping. We hear nothing of it now Texas is safely in the Union. Here is one first reason for looking upon such statements as suspicious. It is hardly respectful to hope to catch the world with the same kind of chaff.

2. What does Mr. Webster know about this vasi

2. What does Mr. Webater know about this vast region, this undiscovered country from which so few travellers have returned? so immense, that he tells us 'a bird eannot fly over it in a week! ! He 'auppoist' there is no slave of the real American type (observe, when he wants the worst kind of slavery, he has to exemplify it as it exists among American Christians') in California. He supposes! Ah, earnest men want more than a politician's 'suppose' for a surety against injustice and wrong. He 'understands' 'that peonism, a sort of p penal servitude, or rather, a sort of colustary sale of a man and his orrayatso, for debt, exists in some part of California and New Mexico.

sism! what a pretty name! 'A lie may kee its throne a whole age longer, if it shall skulk behind the shield of some fair seeming name. Voluntary sale of a man's offspring for his debt! a trifle! not slavery, in the Websterian sense! The Roman juordinance of 1787, for such a country, we would exceedingly obliged to him if he would come qui-

Seriously, we hold that in this confes Webster surrenders his whole ground. Any 'servi-ude other than for crime of which the party has been duly convicted,' was hateful to the men of 1787, and ought to be to those of 1850. It is the great and ought to be to those of 1850. It is the great Saton race that goes forth to take possession of this noble inheritance. True to the glorious Ordinance let us cut up, root and branch, all the vile institution of other race, even if they be not guide so atrocious as our own per sin at home.

as our own pet sin at home.

But slavery is as impossible in New Mexico as in Canada, says Mr. Webster. Where's the proof? How little we know of those countries is evident from this very speech; for he tells us that the discovery of California gold mines was laughed at, only two years ago, as an idle tale; yet that conat had been vitiled and settled for many years. Who, when the liberty of a race hangs on a decision, will after that undertake to hazard any thing on the accuracy or sufficiency of our knowledge of the almost untrodden regions that He south and east of California? What man wais and hard-hearted enough to risk a What man vain and hard-hearted enough to risk a great question like this on the tales of a few travel who have now and then lost themselves in the ations of Europe might be hidden there from eac

The Eram plot just achieved, which commenced with the almos sone, and resulted in such strength and extension of playerr, surely we may rightly suppose that the men who played that game are masters of their trade. What say they on this point? Why, Calbons and all the South cling, with frantic desperation to the right of carrying their slaves into this Territory. The prestige of their late triumphint success goes before them. This is not the moment for Mr. Webster to boast clither his statesmanhip or his sagasity. He has just been outwitted. The last squeed for the statesmanhip or his to respect at least the ability of the winners. No mater ulers crepidem, which means here, Let Mr. Webster to the first of the confidence of the statesmanhips. randas himself to shooting unique as Marchfield. We all to know Calhoun's opinion on a slave question, is prudent to watch the enemy's game. Mr. Cal-ta, the arch-slaveholder, approves Mr. Webster's himiple. He likes 'no artificial line;' he only mit slaver.

scard unanimity, as he tells us, insert a prohibition spisuls it? They were on the spot, interested in the question, fully informed, and 16 out of the 48 were from the South; yet with entire unanimity, well knowing the storm at home, they took the pains to 'realize the ordinance of Nature and re-enact the will of God.' One fact is worth a dozen systems. Among all the inquiries he made and books he read, Anong all the inquiries he made and books he read, (-23) did Mr. Webster give its due weight to this fast in making up his opinion on the 'physical geography' of the neighboring region to the South of this away State?

hely the scale of Freedom to kick the beam on every trial.

Suppose there be no 'tillable lands,' no cottom pleitations, is slavery therefore impossible? As we have before remarked, thrice has it heretofore been supposed in this country that slavery was on the point of cessing. First, it was believed, in 1789, that the prohibition of the trade in 1808 would abolish it; so Mr. Webster avows. Cotton came in, and that fond hope of our fathers proved illusive. Randolph thought, thirty years ago, the system was dying; and so the North deluded itself at the time of the Missouri Compromise. The internal slave trade, and the opening of virgin lands in the southwest, saved it. Of late, half dead, and fearing the future. Texas came in to give it a new lease of life and vigor. So many times, one thing after another, undreamed of by the wise ones, has chanced to seve it. The sagacity of its friends has been keener than that of a Pope of Rome to seize the tide at the flood, and guide it on to safety. 'Outgeneralled' (it is Mr. Webster's alternative phrase) so often, shall we leave any thing to chance? What did Massachusetts tell her Representatives in 1849? 'To enforce the prohibition, to "the end that slavery may be perpetually excluded therefore, because of the content of the most and uncertainty."' Would end that alavery may be perpetually excluded there-from, beyond every chance and uncertainty." "Would you heve a serpent sting you xwise?" No! this time we'll 'take a bond of fate, and make assurance

time we'll 'take a bone of suc, and mass doubly sure.'

We look upon all Mr. Webster's pretended grounds for this sudden change of position as made up for the occasion. He is evidently ill at ease, pleading a cause, not stating his real opinion. And it is strange that he should be ill at ease in such work, since, in our evinion. Mr. Webster has never been a state-sman but cayne. On all other occasions, he has been, and has seemed to be, even in the Senate, a mere advocate—now of a tariff, now of a bank, now of this great interest, now of that; and if he was not feed for his arguments, he ought to have been, and seemed to expect to be.

Pect to be.

His total surrender of what he so vain-gloriously called, at Springfield, 'his thunder,' and 'the Whig ground,' is flat apostacy, nothing else. Somewhere, in this speech, he finds fault with us as impatient—too impatient to wait for the slow progress of moral causes in the improvement of mankind.' If from 1847 to 1850 be a fair specimen of his snall-like progress headward, immatience is no great crime in any spectato 1850 be a fair specimen of an snati-like progress backward, impatience is no great crime in any specta-tor. In the streets, they link his name with Arnold and such humble traitors; but his crime is greater. Nothing, as has been well said by Charles Sunner, resembles it but the deliberate and calculating apostaresembles it but the deliberate and calculating aposta-cy of Strafford. It is not, as in Arnold, the aurrender of a fort, or the descrition of a single man. Here the proper, and by some younglings the expected, leader of the North, not only leáves the eamp, but sets him-self, like Strafford, to corrupt with his glozing sophis-try the consciences and hoodwink the eyes of his countrymen, yields up the safety of one race, and uses the indicence too generously given him to mould the other into supple and unconscious tools of a Des-retism, which has tell the activities.

said as he exhibits none on any other, and very little here, we are the more scrupulous to pay him his consistency not possible in the California territory!

Why, then, did the late California Convention, of which sixtees members were from the South, 'with taker unanimity,' as he tells us, insert a prohibition of saints it? They were on the sord, interested in the question, fully informed, and 16 out of the 48 were ton the South; yet with entire unanimity, with classing the sord, interested in the question, fully informed, and 16 out of the 48 were ton the South; yet with entire unanimity, with Giddings and his friends, evade the lates of the sort at home, they took the pains to 'reafire the ordinance of Nature and re-enant. the south; and, while admitting the general constitution. Some, with Adams and Channing, cut the Gordian knot, by frankly declaring that, though sworn to the Constitution, this they will not do; a course defensible neither in a court of law, nor one of morals. Others, with Giddings and his friends, evade the question, and, while admitting the general constitutional obligation, are very shy of telling us what they themselves would do in the matter. Thanks to Mr. North when the matter is the matter of the state of

and he who, with the recent unexpected and most marvellous developments as to gold mines there, undertakes such a task, deserves to have the world laugh at him. But the man or the statesman who will risk the liberty of human beings on such cobweb speculations, deserves other rebuke than ridicule. His folly changes to crime.

Even without mines, 'tillable land,' or cotton plantitions, slavery might still exist in the house, a in many forms of domestic employment, as it did in New England previous to 1780, and thus not only sacrifice the rights of some hundreds of thousands, which, how the rights of some hundreds of thousands, which, how the state of society would inevitably throw that whole region, as the same cause does now throw Marvet taking pains for, even at the risk of 'wounding the irrational pride of alaveholders' but farther still, such a state of society would inevitably throw that whole region, as the same cause does now throw Marvet taking pains for, even at the risk of 'wounding the irrational pride of alaveholders' but farther still, as who a state of society would inevitably throw that whole region, as the same cause does now throw Marvet trially.

Suppage there be no 'tillable lands,' no cotton plantitions, is slavery therefore impossible? As we have before remarked, thrice has it heretofore been supposed in this country that slavery was on the point of cessing. First, it was believed, in 1789, that the opening of virgin lands in the southwest, saved it.

Mr. Webter avows. Cotton came in, and that fond hope of our fathers proved illusive. Randolph thought, thirty years ago, the system was dying; and so the North deduded itself at the time of the come in time to come; or longing for that estimant of cessing. First, it was believed, in 1890, the was dying; and so the North deduded itself at the time of the come in the come; or longing for that estimant of come in the come; or longing for that estimant of the probability of the wise ones, has chanced to, save it. The sagetity the details, and farmen

But there is something further to be urged on this point. Full half of the villany is volunteered, utterly gratuitous. Mr. Webster proclaims his readiness to support not only the Constitution, but the atrocious provisions of Mr. Mason's bill. This proposes to surrender any colored person claimed as a slave, without requiring any thing but prima facie evidence of his being so-admitting afflavits as well as oral testimony, thus, wholly debarring the victim of any opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses against him—refuses jury trial, and allows any one of the forty thousand postmasters in the Union to authorise the transportation of an inhabitant of Massachuetts forty thousand postmasters in the Union to authorise the transportation of an inhabitant of Massachusetts to New Orleans, to have it tried there, friendless, alone and helpless as he will be, whether he was born in Massachusetts, or had escaped there! All these objectionable features might be removed, and yet the Constitution faithfully observed. There is nothing in the Constitutional provision which forbids the regulating of the whole process of slave surrender by all the jealous forms of habous corpus, jury trial, &c., which the experience of ages shows to be indispensable for the protection of freemen who might be mistaken for slaves; on the contrary, the Constitution, fairly interpreted, requires the observance of legal or constitutional obligation, therefore, without any reason in common sense, Mr. Webster volunteers his support of all these thoughtless and cruel and dangerous regulations. Our fathers thought it high crime enough to put it into the Declaration of Independence, that George III, intended to transport the colonists to England for trial. To Hancock or Adams England was next door, compared with the infinite and hopeless distance of New Orleans from Boston to any free colored man, whom this cruel and loose law has left to be mistakenly or maliciously carried there, to be melted into the indistinguishable mass of there, to be melted into the indistinguishable slaves, and have the question of his Massachuset birth tried at some white claimant's leisure!

countrymen, yields up the sarety of one race, and uses the influence too generously given him to mould the other into supple and unconscious tools of a Deswitch which he is all its him to the Pacific, let the thank our Strafford. Mirabeau was bought with gold, but Death took him before he could carn it; Strafford with a peerage, but Puritanism winnowed him and his plots on its inexorable threshing-floor, the scaffold. There is a spirit awake at the North as inexorable as Puritanism or Death; and now, as formerly, God gives to Liberty nothing but victories.

Let no one suppose, from our lengthened criticism of the Wilmst Proviso surrender, that we place any reliance on that Proviso surrender, that we place any reliance on that Proviso surrender, that we place any reliance on that Proviso as an efficient barrier against slavery. We recognize the utility, for various reasons, of contending for it; but above all, we wish to criticise this speech, not as Disunionists, but from Mr.

We come next to Mr. Webster's admission of there being just grounds of Southern complaint against the North. And here is another of those suspicious and sudden changes of opinion. How busy the distinguished gentleman must have been the last twelvers month! How much he has learned! It is just a year since he dared Mr. Butler to bring against Massachusetts any charge of transgression of the Constitution, and proclaimed his readiness to defend herr. Since then, either his valor has oozed away, or he has got melancholy information of the truth of Mr. Butler's charges!

The free States have never passed a law which their best lawyers did not deem consistent with the Constitution, and the homent the Federal Court, most uncertainty and the homent the Federal Court, most uncertainty and the homent the Federal Court, most uncertainty and the proper to the constitution in longer be painted, as in Harding's full length, in the grand repose of these majestic proportions, but running, at the head of forty thousand constitutional hounds, after some hap since then, either his valor as oosed away, in the mission melancity information of the truth of Mr. Butler's charges!

The free States have never passed a law which their best lawyers did not deem consistent with the Constitution; and the moment the Federal Court, most unexpectedly, in the Prigg case, announced a new view of the relations of the States to this question, they conformed their legislation exactly to its decision. Northern courts have, with a cruel fidelity, we think, carried out the ediets of the central Judiciary. Individuals, it is true, to their honor be it said, have (with here and there a few exceptions, to which we now add the name of Daniel Webster.) refused to 'bewray him that wandereth. Yet against Courts and Legislatures, as well as private citizens, Mr. Webster endorses this wholesale slander, which lacks only truth to be a compliment.

The only point in this part of the speech that interest us, is the unuterable baseness of the slave hunt pledge. It is indeed true, as we have always argued, that all who swear to support the Constitution are bound not only to submit to the return of fugitive slaves, but to aid in it, if necessary. All honor to Mr. Webster's consistency on this point; and as he exhibits none on any other, and very litt the here, we are the more scrupulous to pay him his due credit; to the uttermost farthing. The difference propositions the price of consistence, here is a lower deep for the proposition of morals of the price of the constitution are they justified, in my opinion!

If in the lowest deep, there be a lower deep for the proposition of morals of the rights secured by the Constitution to persons whose alsves essage from them. None at all; neather in the forum of conscience nor before the Constitution are they justified, in my opinion!

If in the lowest deep, there be a lower deep for the proposition of the constitution and heave it wears. Hell fromer apostates standing a transfer and the propositis and the proposition of the price and the proposition of the pro

'realirm the ordinance of Nature and re-enset the will of God.' One fact is worth a dozen systems. Among all the inquiries he made and books he read, [2, 2], did Mr. Webster give its due weight to this far in making up his opinion on the 'physical geography,' of the neighboring region to the South of this bew State?

But 'physical geography,' forsooth! Where has blance been grim enough to fright alereny away? It is Russia! Where has labor been hard enough to tempt a man to work for himself, and make him hate to force another to work for himself, and make him hate capacity for sinning.

Mr. Webster ports as well and the proper and to fugitive slaves. Our regard to fugitive slaves—our large to distinct the force another to select the total transfer t

insulted, wiconstitutionally. All his rhetoric having been spent in comforting Carolina for the Constitution's not having done for her all she thought it should, he has only a fow tame adjectives left for the acknowledged and palpably unconstitutional wrongs of his own constituents! Verily, this is oratory in a monatrous little voice, 'roaring as gently as any sucking dove.'

of his own consituents! Verily, this is oratory in a monstrous little voice, 'roaring as gently as any sucking dove.'

We care little for Mr. Webster's notion about State instructions. But we may as well remark, in passing, that here is another of those asspicious changes of Opinion, since very different was the tone in which he speke of 'one set of public servants giving instructions to snother,' &c., in the well-known speech wherean he criticised President Jackson's protest against a resolve of the Senate. Then he could see the 'Senate as representing the States, and authorised to lift its voice against anything derogatory to the rights of the States.' Then he could see the 'Senate as representing the States, and authorised to lift its voice against anything derogatory to the rights of the States.' Then he could user at one, in that Congress, seen to be instructed by his constituents, and 'refusing to obey because he did not find on the list the majority of the party that elected him.' Then he could appreciate and describe the character of a Representative on this wise,—(we sak Mr. 6. S. Hillard's attention)—We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty. Is he to be blind, though sounds of perit all the air; Is he to be dumb, while a thousand duties impel him to raise the cry of alarm? Is he not, rather, to eatch the lowest whisper which breathes intention or purpose of encroachment on the purpose of encroachment on the protect of the people, in any down to the protect of the people, in any form, towards the citated which he guards? Sir, this watchfulness for public liberty, this duty of foresecing danger and proclaiming it, this promptitude and boldness in resisting and passipe instrument of power. A representative own will be only to the protect of the people, into an unresisting autacks on the Constitution from any quarter, this defence of established landamark, this fear-less resistance of whatever would transcend or remove them, all belong to the to be regarded as an inert, self-sacrificed mass, from which all appropriate principle of vitality has depart-

ed forever.'

Abolition Societies Mr. Webster does 'not think
useful'! He 'thinks their operations the last twenty
years have produced nothing good or valuable.' That
they have produced this speech, does not, perhaps,
in the opinion of many, disprove this assertion. Yet
we think it does; for, this speech will do more to we think it does; for this speech will do more to open the eyes of the North to the rottenness of politicians, than almost anything else could have done. We may, however, remind Mr. Webster that Congress has done nothing yet, this session, but copy the slips those despised Abolition Societies have set fos it; that they have so wrought as to make the slave question, like Aaron's rod,swallow up all others on the political arens,—have made his, and Clay's, and Benton's political life seem mere boy's play, compared with the struggle for life and death, which they are preparing to force on all sections of the nation; that; preparing to force on all sections of the nation; that prompted by the example, and sustained by the labor of such Societies, and gilded with their approbatio the last ten heroic years of Adams's life, as a mer sentative, not only eclipsed all the glory of his matic and Executive services, but blotting from collection an odium such as no other public man ever encountered, changing gall into sweetness, tent him to his grave covered with love, laments, and ulessings, which any public man but Washington

might envy.

Tosting can exceed the tensers and pushishmenty with which Mr. Webster passes over the great nd most just ground of Northern complaint, the untory since 1803, by which the whole character and constitutional acquisition of so much Southern terriconstitutional acquisition of so much Southern cerritory since 1803, by which the whole character and
destiny of this Union has been charged. He has
again and again recognized the inestimable importance of this, from the time he drew the Boston Missouri Memorial in 1820, to when he dietated part of
the Boston Texas Address in 1845; yet now he quite
sinks it out of sight, slurs it though he calls it the
'first and gravest,' despatches it in twenty lines, and
afterwards states that all these grievances can be 'redressed.' We should like much to know how he
proposes to redress the downhill and disgraceful history of the last twenty years, whenever this question
of alavery has touched on national polities? Can he
blot out the sol record of Clay's mischievous compromises, or, our slave-begging diplomecy in almost overry court of Europe? Can he blot out his own coward
silence on the floor of the Senste? Can he even turn
saide the dark shadow that is stealing over the mirror
of the Republic, if slavery ever gets footing in the
boundless West?

boundless West?

The last point we shall touch on is the proposal to colonize the free blacks. And here again is another of those sudden and suspicious changes of sentiment. Common's report long ago attributed to Mr. Webster the sagacity of having seen thro' the humbug of the Colonization scheme, and of having quietly denounced it, as only a trick of the alseeholders Webster the sagacity of having seen thro the num-bug of the Colonization scheme, and of having quiet-ly denounced it, as only a trick of the slaveholder to render their remaining property more quiet, valu-able and secure. We are not aware that he has ever since been seen on its platform, either in Washington or elsewhere. But we all live and learn, and the last twelyemonth has been harvest time to our Statesman.

'If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any pro-position to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the government shall pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose.

To our fathers' opinion of transporting men across the ocean for trial, we have alluded. Mr. Webster proposes to transport for hife men as much entitled as he to all the privileges of American citizens, and whose toil has done as much, in proportion, as his, to increase the wealth, and whose honest lives have done as much, without any reference to proportion, to preserve its virtue, promote its welfare, and in-

ourselves of wanderers from New Hampanire 'at any expense adequate to the purpose.

In relation to Mr. Webster's melancholy picture of the terrible effects of 'secession,' we take the liberty of telling him that there are asidder sights than that of 'spheres and heavenly bodies josting against each other in the realms of space,' 'of a great Constitution melting away under the influence of a vernal sun,' or even of 'a two-fold war.' Such sights are twenty millions of people, professedly Christian and republican, of whom their oldest, and ablest statemars leaves it as his last word, that 'slaveholding, statesbreading, and slave-trading, from the schole foundation of the policy of their poverament : a war like that against Mexico to extend the accursed system: a speech like his own, volunteering to head the forty thousand metrilings of such a government in their hunting of fugitive slaves: three million of unhappy mean and women compelled to be 'tie, to live in promiseuous concubinage, reduced to the level of brutes. 'I looked, and there was none to help,' for those mighty intel-

Carolins for the Constitufor her all she thought it
tame adjectives left for the
ly unconstitutional wrongs
Verily, this contact in
'roaring as gently as any
Vebster's notion about State
'as well remark, in passing,
hose asopicious changes of
nit was the tone in which
lic servants giving instrucat the well-known speech
sident Jackson's protest anational and authorised to
the States, and surform that is necessary to destroy
the seeds of such a pestilence!

He says no word of the Constitutionality of secsasion. We introduce the point merely to assure him
that Yankee enterprise means to keep abregat of this
astring world, now that precedents of Constitutional
taw are manufacturing. We intend to try our hands
at the article. The Louislana treaty, acquiresed in
to some extent, proves we may acquire State. When
the Massachusetts treaty is made, it will show that
see—(we sak Mr. G. S. Hillwe been taught to regard a

Mr. Arnold of Tennessee describes 'as ready to rise and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum'— none of that class, of whom Madison said, 'that every addition to its number only tends to weaken a State, and render it less capable of self-defence, and which is a means rather of inviting attack than repelling invasion.' As for foreign foes, ahe points to Lexington and Bunker Hill, where she fought alone, and to all the other battle-fields of the Revolution, on each of which stood more Massachusetts men than could be which stood more Massachusetts men than could found there from all the then six Southern States t

'Shall we dismember this great country, and 'Shall we dismember this great country, and aston-ish Europe with an act of folly such as Europe for two centuries has never beheld in any government?' Is it not pertinent to reply, why not as well-do-so as to disguat Europe, and outrage the moral sense of the world, and retard the hopes of the race, by the sight of a republic, 'of which,' as Adams said, 'the pres-ervation, propagation and perpetuation of alwarery is the vital and animating spirit' '—by the sight of a slave voyage, like our own to Mexico, to extend and re-establish slavery, a crime, 'such as Europe for two centuries has never beheld in any government.' 'What is to become of the army and nany?' We

two centuries has never beheld in any government?

What is to become of the army and navy? We shall at least need neither to put down slave insurrections, or conquer new fields for slaveholders.

What is to become of the public lands? They will be free, beyond the possibility of even Websters and Winthrops to trick them into being slave States.

Where is the line to be drawn? Just there, where men are so much ashamed of their sing as to be unwilling to stand before the world responsible for setting up a republic on the basis of slavery.

Just The State of the state of slavery is a set of the state of slavery. less, and Union with Massachusetts, Ohio and Liber

more. Where is the flag of the republic to Where is the eagle still to tower?' What fustian all this! 'Liberty first, and Union afterwards,' sai all this ' Liberty first, and unon anterwants, sau Patrick Henry. 'Ubi Libertas, ibi patria, ( 'where freedom dwells, there is my country,') was Frank-lin's motto. 'If the breach in the Constitution can-not be healed, LET DISCORD REMON FORENER, said Eng-land's Demosthenes, Lord Chatham. How poor and tame beside these seem the idle questions of our De-mosthenes! In conclusion, Mr. Webster indulges in a poetic

tame beside these seem the idle questions of our Hemosthenes! In conclusion, Mr. Webster indulges in a postic
flight as to the Union:— It is a great, popular, constitutional Government, guarded by law and by judicature, and defended by the whole affections of the
people. No monarchical throne presses these States
together; no iron chain of despotic power encircles
them; they live and stand upon a Government popular in its form, representatives represent saves, who
never lifted hand to choose them:—of half the Senate he addressed, the same might be said — four million out of twenty excluded from all voice in the laws
by which they are bought and sold i]—founded upon
principles of equality, [four million slaves at the South,
and the North has never, he hinself says, exercised
its rightful majority five times in the whole history of
the Government—very equal i] and calculated, we
hope, to last forever. In all its history, it has been
beneficent; [witness, all Indians, Negroes and Mexicans i]—it has trodden down no man's liberty;
['How full of weight—how clear, how bold—
"It would be supplemented the supplementation of th

The eig round he, with many boursed with it has crushed no State. Its daily respiration is lib erry and patriotism; ['the propagation, preservation and perpetuation of slavery is the vital and animating epirit of the National Government "-J. Q. ADAMS] its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, courage and honorable love of glory and renowsk [witness the course of the property of the property

DANIEL WERSTER! Thirty years ago, he spoke by words at the Rock about that 'work of hell,' slave trade, and eulogicate the regions can be used to those who should come after him, 'some proof of his at schment to the cause of good government, and civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincers on ordent desire to promote every thing which could enge the understandings and improve the hearts men';—and this is the result! Verily,

It will be seen, at a glance, that the long and say justice and Christianity, as to vote money to colonize Southern working-men, it will be easy to carry at law in the Massachusetts Legislature 'to relieve ourselves' of wanderers from New Hampshire' at any expense adequate to the purpose.

In relation to Mr. Webster's melancholy picture of the terrible effects of 'secession,' we take the liberty of telling him that there are sadder sights than that of 'spheres and heavenly bodies jostling sgainst each other in the realms of space,' of a great Constitution other in the realms of space,' of a great Constitution melting away under the influence of a verma sun,' and the proceedings of anti-slavery meetings at Lowell, Concard, &c. Correspondents are not forgotten.

LP If we had room, we should like to accompany the following Call with a rousing appeal to all those who abhor treachery and love freedom; but the Call speaks for itself, and we have no doubt the meeting will be a most crowded and enthusiastic one.

#### MEETING

#### OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY.

OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY.

A meeting of the citizens of Boston and vicinity, who have read with surprise, alarm and deep regret the recent speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the U. S. Senste, on the subject of Stavery, and who are impressed with the duty and importance of bearing as a emphatic public testimony against it, as in derogation of humanity and the cause of liberty universally, expecially as it relates to the following points, namely—the non-application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory of New Mexico, the adoption of Mr. Mason's bill for the science of fugitive slaves, and the multiplication of new slave States out of the present State of Texas—will be held, without distinction of party, in the OLD CRADLE OF LIBERTY, on Monday evening next, March 25th, at 7 o'clock, It is hoped that every one who has any regard for the honor of Massachusetts or the welfare of the republic will endeavor to be present on the occasion. Able and eloquent speakers will be reserved for the Indics.

The galleries will be reserved for the Indics.

e reserved for the ladies.

SAMUEL G. HOWE.
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
HENRY WILSON,
FRANCIS JACKSON,
SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
EDMUND JACKSON,
CHARLES F. HOVEY,
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH,
WILLIAM I. ROBERT MORRIS.

The Rey. Samuel R. Ward, whose lectures are advertised below, is a thoroughly black gentleman, but one of the most able and eloquent speakers in the United States, whether white or black.

SAMUEL R. WARD.

Of New York, (Editor of the Impartial Citizen,) will

Worcester, Tuesday eve'g, March 26.
Belknap st. Church, Boston, Wed'day 27.
Lyun, Thursday 28.
New Bedford, Friday 29.
Providence, Sunday and Monday, March 31, April 1.

The friends of the cause, in each of these places, are respectfully solicited to see that suitable arrangements are made for the meeting. ANTI-WEBSTER MASS MEETING,

In Belknap, street Church, on Wodnesday evening, March 27th, at which Samuel R. Ward will be pres-

#### OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

Pursuant to a vote passed by the Plymouth County (Old Colony) Anti-Slavery Society, holden at Plymouth on the 22d and 23d of December last, the members and friends of the Society are hereby notified, that a Quarterly Meeting of said Society will be held at Cobb's Hall, North Bridgewater, on Fast Day, and continuing through the day and evening.

W. LOUT GARBHOY AND PRINCE PRINCES WILL DEPRESSED AND ADDITIONAL OF THE SOCIETY OF THE WAY OF THE SOCIETY OF THE BOURNE SPOONER, Pres.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Society will be held at Lynn on Saturday and Sunday, March the 23rd and 24th, to commence at 3 of clark, meeting should be one of the most spirited, inching some properties of the commence at 3 of clark, meeting should be one of the most spirited, inching some properties of the commence of the com

SOUTH GARDNER.

PARKER PILISBURY and LUCY STONE, Agents of the
Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, propose to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting at South Gardner, on Sunday,
March Sist, at the usual hours of meeting, day and
ovening.

LUCY STONE, An Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture as follows: Malden, Friday, March 22 Lynn, (County meeting.) " 25 & 24 Charlton, Tuesday, " 25 Barre, Friday, " 29.

PARKER PILLSBURY, An Agent of the Mass, Anti-Slavery S ture as follows:—

es follows:

Plymouth, Friday, Marc
Fitchburg, Tuesday, "
Winchendon, Wednesday, "
Westminster, Friday, " ESTABLISHED INDEPENDENT MEETINGS,

At Washingtonian Hall, 21 Bromfield street, every Sunday afternoon. W. M. FERMAD presence so all subjects pertaining to Theological and Social Progress. Scats free.

Subject for next Sunday afternoon—The Law of Association for Society.

PARKER PILLSBURY,
An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will
speak in MILLVILLE, at Darling's Hall, on Savaapeak in MILLVILLE, at Darling's Hall, on Satua-DAY evening, March 23.

Also, on Sunday, March 24, afternoon and evening, at the usual hours of meeting, at the same place.

## At Horticultural Hall,

PRATT'S BOTANICAL AND PORTICAL PAN-ORAMA OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN, with three groups of Adam and Eve, as large as kie, in oil colors.

Open every evening at 6 1-2, and moves at 71-2 o'clock. on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, at

Also—on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon 3 o'clock.

25 Admission 25 cents. Children half price.

#### Mirror of the Lakes AT AMORY HALL.

Jonathan Walker, another from Parker Pillabury, the proceedings of anti-slavery meetings at Lowell, Concord, &c. Correspondents are not forgotten.

EF Owing to an unfortunate blunder, nearly a have deed copies less than stread of our regular edition of the Liberature were printed last used; thus rendering it is practicable to supply all our subscribers. These sole do not keep fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last one keep fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last one keep fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last one keep fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last one keep fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the fits of the fits of the paper, having recriced their copies last of the fits of the fit



THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION

[EXTRACT FROM AN UNPUBLISHED FORM.] alon?' There is a Union, such as binds In living compact high and free-born minds It is the law of God and man, more strong Than universe of worlds united wrong! when God's Spirit speaks through every clime human bondage is a heinous crime, Then let your governments and statutes strong Your laws antique, by men sustained though Let heaven and earth depart in hopeless shade. But God's eternal law shall never fade! Your laws amount, of the hope The Constitution! handed down?' My friend, There is a Constitution, long since penned By One who knows beginning from the end; Behold you evening sky, serene and fair ! Is not a Constitution shining there, Whose burning Articles do all agree, Man is created to be Farm! Free as the light of golden noon-day sun Preèss the light of golden noon-day sun,
Or stars that through their varied courses run!
Free as rolls Nature's incense from each bower,
Where heaven doth pour a silent dewy shower!
Free! free as God's own Spirit moves
To bless through all his universe of love;
As free as Spirit zephyrs sent to give
The 'heart of flesh' a glow, and bid it live! A.
Mendeille Month & 1850. Meadville, March 5, 1850.

> From the True Democr THE UNCONQUERABLE.

BY E. D. HOWARD.

Let the true heart never falte Let the earnest never quail ! It is as sure heaven is o'er us, Or the future is before us-Sure as Time's unceasing motion

Look not with dim gaze and doubtful On to-morrow's smile or gloom; Without thought of time or distance, Or computing of resistance, Know the victory to come.

Let us wear so stern a purpose, Tempered with such lofty seal, That the flery bolts of error' Chested of their flashing terror, Harmless, still, shall fall, expended, Glancing from our breast defended By a mail more true than steel.

Though our foes in countless numbers Sorely press on every hand,
One pure thought shall win more glory
Than a thousand weapons gory;
One bright truth shall prove more mighty
Than a thousand despots, fighting
'Gainst our noble little band!

Where humanity is weeping Where the tyrant's hand is strong, Every flash the light increasing; Rain the burning shower upon th Dash the ringing thoughts among them, Face invincibly the wrong!

Fear not-doubt not-know forever Fear not—doubt not—know forever God and Aeares cross the right! Cast away the ties of faction, Every feeling rouse to action, Know not prejudice or station, Claim with man but one relation— Brother in the fight.

Look not for the word's approval; Look within your beating heart, If to meet thy inward glances Each pure sentiment advances, Wreaths of flowers and odors bearing Hero crowns for thee preparing, Best of conquerors thou art.

Ask not if the foe be mighty; Question not thy doubting fears; Ask but if thy cause succeeding E'er will stanch a wound that's bleeding, E'er will break a galling fetter, E're will make a sad lot better, E'er will wipe away a tear.

If thy soul, to thee replying,
Sayeth 'such the end must be,'
Doubt no more, but strive forever,
Confident thy pure endeavor
Withsuccess will be rewarded; With success will be rewarde for in beaven it is recorded, Right alone is victory!

Doubt no more—the day of triumph
Every life-throb brings mage nigh!
Work with constant heart and cheerful,
Though the sky be dark and fearful;
Onward press, no power can stay thee,
Heaven's smiles will not betray thee,
Bright ning from the throne on high.

Raise the shout in every valley,
From the hill-tops fling it forth;
Rouse the world with tones of thunder,
Burst the bonds of wrong asunder,
From the firesides of the nation Call each true man to his station ;

#### WHAT DO WE MORE THAN OTHERS?

We love by whom beloved we are, For means and ends are so connected; Thus is the glory of a star
Back to its source reflected.

We kindly greet the friend who thrills
Our bosoms with an earnest greeting;
But sounds obtain from rocks and hills,
As ready a repeating.

'The just to render biles for biles—
Fair friendly words to match another's
But if we do no more than this,
What do we more than others?

'The part of the p

If there be those who, if they could, Would change our spirit's joy to say Turn into evil all our good, Put out our light of gladness;—

If they are near to work us wo,
Do we return for evil, evil?
And do we learn to lay them low,
Instructed by the devil?

Instructed by the devil?
Or, pity we in truth their lot—
Regard them as our erring broth
And only seek their good? If not,
What do we more than others?

## Reformatory.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD. EXPOSITION OF THE 13TH CHAPTER OF ROMANS.

From an excellent work recently published at Declin, Ohio, entitled \*The Bible against Wan, by

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the arrangement of God.

"They who resist, by themselves shall receive the punishment." That is, the punishment is self-inflicted by the very act of opposition, and this is the exact meaning of the original, and the facts of universal history attest the truth of it. As an illustration in point, see the history of the Jewish captivity, found in Jer. 24:32.

The Revolutionary War an illustration in point.

The Recolutionary War an illustration in point.

Our own revolutionary struggle affords another statising illustration of the truth, that they who resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

Our fathers left the mother country to escape religious tyranny, but had hardly breathed the air of freedom, before they in turn began to lay the same oppressive vokeson the necks of the Baptists and Quakers. They also persecuted to the death many innocent ones accused of witchcraft. They invaded the rights of the red man of the forest, and when incensed, instead of winning him by the gospel, as did William Penn, drove him to a returnless distance by cruelty and revenge; and so in various ways provoked the God of heaven to say, 'Shall I not visit for these things, and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' Jer. 5: 9-20; 9:9.

When God, as a punishment for our sins, began to give us a moiety of the dregs of oppression, had we repented, and by fasting, supplication and prayer, sought the Lord, the curse might evidently have been averted; and then, having put away our transgressions, in 'returning and rest,' we might have been 'saved.' Had every soul been subject to the then existing powers, and 'by mechaness instructed those who opposed' ss, our fathers and brothers who were in the British soldiery could never have engaged in the fratricidal butchery as they did. But we not only violated this plain injunction of Heaven, but even provoked hostlities by revenge for minor wrongs; dared them to fire, and then resisted unto we not only violated this plain injunction of Heaven, but even provoked hostilities by revenge for minor wrongs; dared them to fire, and then resisted unto blood, striving against military power—they resisted, and received the consequent damnation. The withering curse of war was permitted to sweep over the land, desiolating the whole country, and poisoning the whole attmosphere. Saying nothing of the human gore that moistened our soil—nothing of the millions of property destroyed and money expended—nothing of the thousands upon 'thousands of valuable lives sacrificed to Moloch—what have of virtue was made—what a flood-gate of vice was opened! Says General Washington,

Our conflict is not likely to cease so soon as every good man could wish. The measure of our iniquity is not yet full; for speculation, peculation, engrossing, forestalling, with all their concomitants, afford too many proofs of the decay of public virtue, and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many who would be thought friends, to continue the war!

many proons of the seasy of presents and desire of too many who would be thought friends, to continue the war!

'Such a spirit of avarice and peculation,' says one of our own historians, 'had crept into the public departmente, and taken a deep hold of the majority of the people, as Americans a few years before were the season of the people, as Americans a few years before were the season of the property of the season of the property of the season of the property of the season of the public distress. This public post apread wider every day, and finally gangreesed the very heart of the State.

'The Christians of that day took a still more serious view of the case. A Presbytery in New England, all friends of the twar itself, published a volume to illustrate its malign influences upon the moral character of the community. They specify the vices and sins that had become most prevalent. 'The profanest language,' say they, 'is become the fashionable dialect. The youth, that was bred in innocence, and was never heard to defile his tongue with one profane eath in his life, no sooner gets on board a privateer, or has spent a few days in a camp, than we find him learned in all the language of hell.
'Corruption, fraud and crucity grew space. 'Be-

heard to defile his tongue with one profame cath in his life, no sooner gels on board a privateer, or has spent a few days in a camp, than we find him learned in all the language of hell.

'Corruption, fraud and crucity grew apace.' Benevolence to our fellow-men,' say they, 'was perhape never less cultivated in any country, than of late among us. Hard-hearted indifference to the distress mind. This has cut out work for all the passions, and kept them in constant employ. Pride and glate honor have disgraced our armies with the barbarous practice of dueling, and friends have imbrued their hands in the blood of friends, while the connivance of superiors has given sanction to the crime. Aearies stalks in the streets, or lurks in the corners, and has stained the public roads with inhuman murders. Avaries and extention were never carried here to such lengths. Fraud and oppressions were published for furnity with industry and vice sill both town and country. Glaring instances of peculation, and breach of public traxs, are sheltered and the standard of the starting point, the great found and private robbery, the falls, and have a surface a summar men, and this monster, not content with human surface and more.

'Intemperance, also, and with making shipwreck of many professors of religion too, has begun to ravege and destroy even the gentler sex.' It is well known that the year of our revolution was the starting point, the great found in the work of the war. 'It is well known that the year of the war.' It is well known that the war of our revolution was the starting point, the great found in the possions of the provided as a standard of politices and true tasts; though the direct tendency is to patronize levelages. The shall have less interest to produce the world for production is there unlimited, if justice is dominated as a standard of politices and true tasts; though the direct tendency is to patronize levelages. At the time of the revolutionary war, there were but few slaves, and make the world forget that chastity

'A stream of living blood is flowing from the backs of American sailors from the first day of January to the last day of December; that, on the lowest estimate, we have an average of three hundred lashes of the cat-o'-nine-tails (2700 stripes) for every day in the year, on the backs of American seamen!'

Year, on the bages of American.

This blood-sucker, I repeat, is the child of de ism, born in our revolutionary war. It bega suck the veins of our Republic as soon as it can to existence, and has been fattening on her life-ever since. Yes, this is what occasions her pad chastic constanance as lately seen in a to existence, and has been fattening on her life-blo over since. Yes, this is what occasions her pall and ghastly countenance, as lately seen in secroonclave, concoccing plans for self-dissolution, as afterwards in the drunken revels and placetansalinghts in which our last session of Congress close Indeed, such is the influence of despotic power, the the close of our revolutionary struggle, thavineon, even for so short a time, under its away, rigin the face of the declaration that man can gove himself, the crown is offered to the commanderichief of our army! And had not that commande in-chief been George Washington, our now boast form of a Republic would never have had even form.

chief of our army! And had not that commanded in-chief been George Washington, our now boaste form of a Republic would never have had even form.

at Q, how can we close our eyes to the fact that we are receiving the dammation consequent upon our resisting the armageneral of God/ for not obeying the the higher powers. How different might have been do ure condition had we humbled ourselves before God and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought and then the higher powers. How different might have been do and then, in the manner appointed of Heaven, sought and the redress of our grievances, putting our trust in the Lord, and taking for our moottos, "Truth in the total of the true of the control of the contr

# The Liberator.

FREE TRADE - DIRECT TAXATION.

Well, how goes on the conflict of opinions ou? I feel confident how they must result, th you? I feel confident how they must result, thou I do not see how they fall in and take up their po

I do not see how they fall in and take up their posi-tions with you.

Just as I wrote this sentence, some eight or ten days ago—you know I am a holiday writer only, and am restrained by a regard for your forbearance and editorial care for your readers from inflicting too much of one man's tediousness upon their patience— well, just as I had written that sentence, came your President's Message, showing how coming events have east their shadows over the looking-glass of his mind.

mind.
It is a grievous thing to see narrow principles priorward by professed Republicans; and they are a blind as to imagine themselves praiseworthy because they are narrow and limited. We have here, in 1850 an American Secretary of State putting forth the narrow and sectional cry of 'America for the America and American Secretary of State putting forth the narrow and sectional cry of 'America for the America for the America for the America for the Sectional Crystal Section 1981 and 1981 are the section 1981 are the section 1981 and 1981 are the section 1981 are the

your States.

This will be a double advantage to the world; for whilst your planters will have less interest to promote slavery, the English must grant rights to the Mindoos, that they may have motives to the cultivation of their soil. Its resources are immense; the field of production is there unlimited, if justice is done to the people, and the land made available; but which cannot be until our Government gives an interest in the produce to the cultivator.

It is a law of nature, and from which man cannot escape, that a sufficient interest must be given to the owner of the labor, ere you can realize its best and greatest product. Let us hope, therefore, if your Government should adopt the narrow views its ministers have recently put forth, that out of this seeming will, good will still be educed.

It seems marvellously strange, that men who have had tact enough to scramble up to the position of Ministers of State should be so ignorant as not to see, that every restriction upon exchange acts upon the body social upon whom it is imposed, as a ligature would set upon the human frame—it prevents the healthy flow of life in the particular limb, and injures the whole body.

If exchange is left free, no man will exchange are

commended as a standard of politicness and true teater, though the direct tendency is to patronic levedness, and make the world forget that chastity is a virtue.

—Peace Manuel, pp. 174—176.

At the time of the revolutionary war, there were but few alaves, and alavery was fast withering away, under the scorching light of advancing truth, as proclaimed by a little faithful band of reformers, will Benjamin Franklin at their head. It would soon have died, had it not been watered by the blood of freezane poured forth upon the roots of the great upes grid of the property of the post of freezane poured forth upon the roots of the great upes grid of the property of the post of freezane poured forth upon the roots of the great upes grid of the property of the post of freezane poured forth upon the roots of the great upes grid of the property of the post of freezane poured forth upon the roots of the great upes grid of the property of the post of th

tection, they have laid heavy duties upon articles of a consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor accessarily on some the most. The largest portion of our revenue—it is fifty millions per smaund — mark, one million per week!—is raised from test, tobacco, spices, coffee, and other necessaries of life. In this the man who gets one guines per week, pays out of that guines one-third of his earnings in taxes; of his income, and pays less in proportion as he is richer.

You have, as a people, been unwise enough to copy us in this; and though we have been taught wisdom a slowly, and are marching gradually into free trade, you are unfortunately getting impressed, or rather your statemen are, with our errors, and increasing your heavy duties. You will thus introduce into your States the demoralization of smuggling. It is a saying here, that the smuggler has been the great teacher of foolish statesmen, and it is a true saying. Some thirty years ago, bandaman handkerchiefs and other articles in the soft trade were prohibited—not subjected to a high duty merely, but setually prohibited. The consequence was, that here prohibition imposed a ten per cept. insurance; for English dealers could go or send to Paris, and have the articles they wished up the into their own warehouses in England, by paying the Prenchman ten per cent. advance on the price. If not delivered, no payment was required.

The prohibition was then converted into a duty, and the result was that Government found that they could not vastarin, as against the sanuggler, a duty of more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer could more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer could more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer could more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer could more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer could do reference that the fifth of the far the fifth of the f

and the result was that Government found that they could not sustain, as against the snuggler, a duty of more than fifteen per cent.; ten per cent. the dealer had to pay as insurance to the snuggler, and the temptation to snuggle was not induced unless the duty laid on was greater than fifteen per cent, because the generality of traders consider safety and character and freedom from informations, were worth the additional few per cent. additional five per cent.

All this demoralization to your people, your states

All this demoralization to your people, your statesmen are about to introduce or increase, rather than resort to the just principle of taxation, a graduated property tax, to which it would not be unjust to add a small poll tax, in that those who had their lives and liberties protected by the laws, without tangible property, might pay something, which in justice they ought to do, for that protection.

I should hope the Southerners will not submit to this folly of the Northern States. Why should their produce be shut out from the world, that manufacture.

this folly of the Northern States. Why should their produce be shut out from the world, that manufacturing in the Northern States may be benefitted at the expense of the cotton-growers?

This, as between the Southern and Northern States, is a fair objection on the part of the Southern States; as between them, the question of slavery forms no part of the argument, for we know that it is no question of moral principle induces the Northern States to take this course. I trust their entagonistic interests may so draw their minds into the discussion, that they may each be led to see the importance to them both may each be led to see the importance to them both of emancipating man and labor, and of setting both

may each be led to see the importance to them both of emanicipating man and labor, and of setting both free.

The second of the set of the set of the set of example we have set you of national borrowing; that is, of throwing upon the thews and sinews of the unborn, the obligation of paying for your quarrels and wars. So far, that is enslaving your children to pay for your welcheness. There is no surer protective principle against unnecessary wars, than compelling these who make them to pay for them. Remember how rapidly, when this was first commenced in England, it proceeded. Our National Debt commenced after the ascending to the throne of William Third, at the end of the 17th century. Our 'glorious Revolution'—as the aristocracy and their historians have delighted to call it—was in 1688. At that time, James II. was sent on his travels; and since then, in addition to the thousands of millions that were raised and paid for war and waste, eight hundred millions now remain for us to pay; and that we are paying, mostly for this purpose, one million every week!—which is, with all other property, or the interest of all other property, raised, in the most disproportionate ratio, from the labor of this country. You are thus sowing in the young giant the seeds of future misery and deeay. Let us hope that you may not go on blindly postponing the day of reform, until the debt becomes so heavy that to pay it of will become, or appear to be, impossible; and that then, as a nation, you will be indifferent to your obligations as a debtor.

In your country, where you have not that revernece for law and obligation that I think we have in England, your future people will be more likely to apply the sponge, than to set themselves to the homes that the discussion of the property of the property of the poyou will be wise in time, and that your descendants may not be vise in time, and that your descendants may not be wise in time, and that your descendants may not be wise in time, and that your descendants may not be

ed a repudiating character. Let us hope you will be wise in time, and that your descendants may not be tempted by their interests to be indifferent to their duties; and that if you do go on unjustly berrowing, your children may have the honesty to pay. I shall remit to Richard Smeal two guineas, on ac-count of the 'Liberator,' and remain.

I shall remit to Richard Smeartwo games count of the 'Liberator,' and remain, Thine in the hope of progress, EDWARD SEARCH.

# INPLICTION OF PHYSICAL PUTT.

Perhaps we have already occupied too mussion— in the Liberator on the discussion of the question— Does God inflict physical evil, war, famine, pestilence, &c., as a punishment for sin? If you think enough has been said, or what is said is not to the purpose has been said, or what is said is not to the purpose has occur saids in a sure of the purpose or your columns ought to be filled with more interesting and appropriate matter, drop this letter into the waste box. I am far from being so vain as to think set sting and appropriate matter, drop this letter into the waste box. I am far from being so vain as to think that wisdom will die with me, or so faithless in the omnipotence of truth as to suppose the inquiring age in which we live will suffer this question to be settled but on a basis that shall reflect glory to God at through the progression and moral improvement of the condition and character of man. Our idea of the condition and character of man. Our idea of the condition and character of man. Our idea of the condition and character of man in our daily fift in the set of the condition and character. It is of the tumost consequence, the contemporary of the condition and character. It is of the tumost consequence, the contemporary of the condition and character. It is of the tumost consequence, the contemporary of the condition and character. It is of the tumost consequence, the contemporary of the condition and character. It is of the tumost consequence, the contemporary of the contempo

It is deeply to be regretted that you, our descendants, have not profited more in matters of government and taxation from our errors. Our system of taxation has been the most ignorant and injurious that could well be devised; it whole system has been under the narrow views and oppressive conduct of our aristocracy; and when personal slavery and the feudal system—the aristocracy, who still retained the law-making in their own hands, substituted fraud for force, and the study has been how to throw the expense of the nation upon the lower classes, and to relieve themselves from an equitable proportion of contribution.

Thus, instead of adopting the principle of an Insurance Office, and making men contribute to the common exigencies in rateable proportion to the amount of their property secured to them by the social protection, they have laid heavy duties upon articles of consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the control of the consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the control of the consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the control of the consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the control of the consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the control of the consumption of the control of the consumption, and most heavily upon those of which the poor necessarily consume the most. The largest poor in the

There is one more horn to the dilemma. Would God send war and its stendants, as a punishment for sin, for the purpose of deterring others; that is, on reformatory principles? Yes, here we have it, the true idea the popular Christianity of the day has of the converted the heather ladiens, and the half-civilized Mexicans. A reform with a vengeance! and so it ever will be, so long as physical violence usurps the place of moral influence. War! what is it but the absolute and entire prostration of all duty, obligation, and law, human and divine? the annihilation of every right to life, liberty and property, by the will of demonized brute force? And this monster is God's divine agent in governing and reforming intelligent human beings, the objects of his regard, and in training them for his heavenly kingdom! God never can be the author of moral evil, or rather, moral evil cannot be attributed to him, without denying the perfections of his moral nature. The rectitude of a law-giver cannot be judged by violations of his law. This is not an abstract, but a practical question, un

This is not an abstract, but a practical question, underlying and involving not only the very existence of moral principle, of truth, and justice, and right-counses, but of all physical science. If God does not govern the material world by fixed, unalterable laws, designed for the benefit and protection of human life, but occasionally and expediently disarranges their ordinary operations, for the infliction of the death penalty on the transgressor of moral law, how can we attain to a correct knowledge of the nature and laws that govern this material world—the science of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy? And if moral character has a fixed definiteness, (ast tennot have uncertainty in the moral governments of the second of the street moral greenments. fixed, immutable laws,) we must be always in the dark and in doubt; we can have no definite ideas of truth, justice and rightcoursess.

JOHN SMITH.

#### THE TRAITORS TO PREEDOM.

The following Northern traitors voted to lay the following resolution, offered by Mr. Root of Ohio, on the table:—

the tane:—
Resolved, That the Committee on Territories be instructed to report to the House, with as little delay
as practicable, a bill or bills providing a territorial
government or governments for all that part of the
territory ceded to the United States by Mexico by the
territory ceded to the United States by Mexico by the
treaty of Gaudaipue Hiddigo, lying eastward of California, and probibiting slavery therein.

Bissell of Illinois, Brown of Indians, Dimmick of Penn., Dunham of Indians, Fuller of Maine, Gilmore of Penn., Gorman of Indians, Harris of Illinois,

Mann of Penn.,
McClernand of Illinois,
McClenand of Penn.,
Miller of Ohio,
Richardson of Illinois,
Robbins of Penn.,
Ross of Penn. Whigs: McKissock of N. Y.

Duer of N. Y. King of N. J. J. A. King of N. Y.

For laying on the table—37 Whigs and 68 Demo-crats.
Against—40 Whigs, 30 Democrats, and 8 Free Soilers.
Absent—27 Northern members, and 16 Southern members.

main a save until 1850.

Silver Coine.—Mr. Schenck, of Ohlo, has introduced a bill into the House of Representatives, by which is is proposed to reduce a walker of Spanish coins to conform to our own elements of manking the legal value of the nine-pence that of a small time four-pence half-penny to pass for five cene, and the foreign quarters to pass for twenty-five cents. The mint is also required to coin twenty cent pieces.

Rarmum's Pay to Jenny Lind.—The Liverpool Mer-cury of the 22d Jan., says Mr. B's agent was author-ized to offer the Swedish vocalist \$250,000 for one hundred and fifty nights! besides the full provision for her suits of air persons. It is understood she has abandoned the stage, and will sing only at concerts

SWEDENBORG:

HIS BIOGRAPHY, BY J. J. G. WILKINSON,

"Gainst which I strey "What is this

Cried I, and which towards us moving eccus":

"Marvel not if he is with dazzling radiance din

Thy sense. It is a with dazzling radiance din

Thy sense. It is a with dazzling radiance din

Thy sense. It is a with dazzling radiance din

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A most interesting book. Price 62 1-2 cents. For sale by Amd also by

OTIS CLAPP, School Street, Boston

And also by,

FOWLERS & WELLS, 181 Nassau St., New York,

# Webster's Dictionary.

Webster's Dictionary.

Without reserve or qualification, the best estimated Olin. Surpassed in fullness and stem, or by none in our language. —President Websel. 18 far excels all others, in giving and defining scientific terms. — Pres. Hickocok. The stand whenever the English is spoken, it deserves to be, must be, and will be. — Prof. Stone. An honor to be insequently, and accuracy, not found in any other-resecutive, and accuracy, not found in any other-resecutive, and accuracy, not found in any other-resecutive, and accuracy, not found in any other-resecutive. — Pres. Humphrey. A copionates, head to be a first the present the second of t r, Pres. Wootsey, Pres. Bianchard, Pra. Knoz, and Chancellor Frelinghuysea.

BY G. & C. MERRIAM, SPRINOPHED, M. And for sale by Bookselle March, 1850.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M.D., 10 Essex Street, - Bosres.

Particular attention given to Diseases of the Eye.

Great Cough Remedy!



# For the Care of COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA and CONSUMPTION:

THE annals of medical science, affording as that do ample proof of the power and value of may medicinal agents, have furnished no examples to converge with the substitute of the second state of the substitute o pare with the salutary effects produced by 'AYEE'S CHERRY PECTORAL.'

The remarkable cures of diseases of the lungs which have been realized by its use, attested as they are by many prominent professors and physician in this and foreign lands, should encourage the affined to persevere, with the strong this and foreign lands, should encourage the ambled to persevere, with the strong assurance that the use of the \*CHERRY PECTORAL' will relieve and ulti-

the CHERRY PECTORAL will relieve and alti-mately cure them.

We present to the public unsolicited testimenial from some of the first men in our country, upon whose judgment and experience implicit confidence may be placed.

DR. PERKINS, President of Vermont Medical Col-

lege,
one of the most learned and intelligent physicias in
the country considers it a 'composition of me etcellence for the eure of that formidable disease, Casumption.

sumption.

Nonwiczi, April 28, 1841.

Dr. J. C. Ayer—Dear Sir—Agreeably to their quest of your agent, we will cheerfully state what we have known of the effects of your CHEKRY PEC.

TORAL, and they have been astonishing indeel, Mrs. Betsey Streeter has been afflicted with a severe and relentless cough, which reduced her very low, so low that little hope could be entained of her recovered. and reientiess cough, which reduced her very low, so how that little hope could be entianted of her recentification of the country of the cou

HION. JOSEPH BATTLES.

Among the distinguished authorities who have given their names to recommend CHERRY PECID-RALL, as the best remedy that is known for the Affections of the Lungs, are 'The London Lanest,' Chandlan Journal of Medical Science,' Boston Medical Review,' New Jorsey Medical Reporter, 'Pol Wartzar, Harvard College, 'Pol Bartzar, Thangtinia University of Medicine; President Prants, Voranton (Medicine; President Prants), Voranton Medical College, in V. Yalantsuk Mort, New York etty; Parkin Clayeland, Bowdein College, 'Fol. Burtzartspillen, Willoughby College, Ohio; Ped. Bartartswarts, Leeds (Eng.) Medical College; Fatendard, Nars, Queen's College, Ireland; Peti Roussinaum Leipsic.

ROUSENBAUM Leipsic.

The public have but to know the virtues and assonitating success of the "CHERRY PECTORAL" in curing success of the Lung, when they will fed secured from these dangers, whenever this ranely can be obtained.

EF Prepared by J. C. Ayra, Chemist, Lovell, Mass., and sold by Druggists everywhere.

Jan. 25

SOLOMON GUESS'S

Indian Blood Purifier.

A VALUABLE remedy for Liver Complaint,
A Jauridice, Dyspepsia, &c. Also, the Indian
Search Warrant, and Tonic Compound, superior sticle for Croup, Cramp, Cholera, Pleurisy, Rheumstian, Piles, Diarrhoza, Summer Complaints, Febria
Attacks, &c.

These Medicines are recommended, and are expressly prepared for family use; and as they are so admirably acalculated to preserve health and eare disease, no family should ever be without them. The proprietor of these valuable Medicines derived his knowledge and skill of preparing them from these who had been among the Indians for many year, and has had experience in an extensive and diressified practice, by which he has had ample opportunities of acquiring a practical knowledge of disease, and of remedies best calculated to remove them.

Bosrov, Jan. 10, 1850.

Horrox, May 3, 1843.

I hereby certify, that a short time since I inhale ether, for the purpose of undergoing a short surgical operation, which produced severe spams and pain my side and lead. I took two or three does of Solmon Guess's Medicine, such as is testified to in the foregoing certificates, and was almost immediately relieved.

Boston, Aug. 24, 1848.
This is to certify, that I was very ill of the Disr rhots, and after taking Solomon Guese's Medicinal called the Indian Tonic Compound, I obtained imme-diate relief.

CAROLINE WILLIAMS.

Bosrox, Aug. 12, 1848.

This is to certify, that I was attacked with the Disarboxa, and after taking Solomon Guess's celebrated Medicine, called the Indian Tonic Compound, I some recovered my health.

COFFIN PITTS.

If Sold in Boston, wholesale and retail, by the Proprietor, Solomon Guess, No. 4 Friend street, Boston, Principal Office, and at No. 22 Brattle street in New Bedford, by Thomas Blies, Third street, and by Wm. Gates, Div. 55, N. E. Pratective Union, south side of the market; in Farhaven, by Joseph Mosher, Toll-bouse; in Nantucket, by Edward Mitchell, Main street.

## The Liberator. BOSTON, MARCH 22, 1850.

REVIEW

DANIEL WEBSTER'S SPEECH,

consists of pity for an easiaved-race, not one indigant demonstation of the system, has a decent respect ever for the opinions of mankind won from this
politic prater! He describes, with as many moral
bows as Sir Pertians McSycophant himself could
have made, the 'conscientious expinions of the South
ave made, the 'conscientious expinions of the South
on the question of selling one's neighbors, and then
describes the religious screptes of the North, but all
with such judicial coldness, such wary and decorous
at their head, did, that the way to sell the results of the re

on the question of selling one's neighbors, and then dearwise the religious scruples of the North, but all with youth judicial colates, such wary and decorous impartisity between Liberty and Despotism, between light and Wrong, that it would puzzle a just of Philadelphia lawyers to tell, had 'Nature given him is heart, to which side it would have leaned. So obedient are the pulzes of this press man to his—duty or—his interest, that over the eegy of such a controversy as this, happier than even Ersmus, he has walked without breaking them i say may safely boast that Daniel Webster has spoken three hours of the savey, and no mortal man can tell whether he loves or lates it. In the Roman procession, the most marked matter was that Casio's status was wanting. Of this speech, what if fails to express is more remearable than what it has expressed—and that is saying spread deal.

Cersainly, if this cold, tame, passionless, politic commondity be all our great man's 'consciences' has to say on American slavey—the videous the same and the sort of such pressed for space, probably, to speak of such a tride as 'stealing a man and selling him's—lift his be then the say that he as 'stealing a man and selling him's—lift his be the extent that such at of their successarily, and his was title as 'stealing a man and selling him's—lift his be the extent that such at of their successarily, and his was title as 'stealing a man and selling him's—lift his be the extent that such at of their successarily, and his was the successarily and Pompoualy protesting as the Whigs, with Webster at their head, did, that the whole of Texas annexation

only sure.

Some triumph; then, at their side, ket Wester synthesis and the some triumph; then, at their side, ket Wester synthesis and the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in position as made up for the seadless and the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, energy and unanimity in the North for want of strength, the North for want of strength and the North for

ion out of twenty excluded from all voice in the laws by which they are bought and sold ij—founds not per principles of equality, four million slaves at the South, and the North has never, he himself says, excreding its rightful majority five times in the whole history of the Government—very equal i) and calculated, we hope, to last forever. In all its history, it has been beneficent; [witness, all Indians, Mayrow and Marsi-cans I]—it has tradden dawn, as more liberty;—

How full of weight—how clear, how bold— The big round lie, with manly courage told ! "] The big round lie, with manity courage told! ']
it has crushed no State. Its daily respiration is libcity and patriotism; ['the propagation, preservation
and perpetuation of always; its the vital and animatin
spirit of the National Government"—J. Q. ADANS]—
its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, course
and honorable love of glory and renown '[witness the

and honorable love of glory and renown ' (witness the Mexican war!)

And this, then, is the end of the political career of DANEE WESSTER! Thirty years ago, he spoke brave words at the Rock about that 'work of hell,' the slave trade, and sulogized the 'religious character of our origin'—praying that he might leave to those who should come after him, 'some proof of his attachment to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincere and arricat desire to promote every thing which could enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men';—and this is the result! Verily,

I'll mornines were, as he then was, mighty;

His promises were, as he then was, mighty; But his performance, as he is now, nothing.