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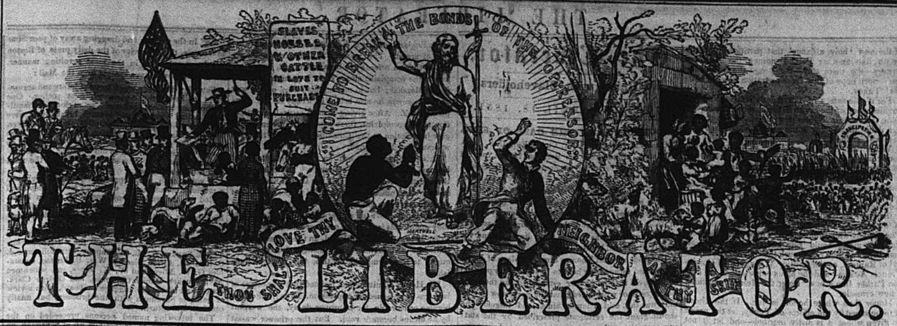

THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

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

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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Refuge of Oppression.

AN ATHEISTICAL CHARGE.

JUDGE PELEG SPRAGUE AND THE GRAND JURY—RESCUE OF SHADRACH.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:

The office you now hold demonstrates that the Constitution has established, not a mere confederacy of States, but a government acting directly upon individuals, with a Legislature to enact laws, a Judiciary to expound them, and an Executive to enforce them. Under this government, the people of the United States have enjoyed a greater degree of liberty, prosperity and happiness than have been enjoyed by any other people in the history of the world. To preserve this government, it is necessary that its laws should be faithfully executed, and you are now called upon, under the highest sanction, to aid in this indispensable work.

I think it proper at this time to call your attention particularly to that part of the criminal code which prohibits and punishes forcible resistance to the laws. Government is so great a blessing that the highest crime which can be committed is treason. This is defined by the Constitution itself in the following terms:—'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' What amounts to levying war? This question arose soon after the adoption of the Constitution, in the several trials of Mitchell, Vigol and Fries, for being engaged in the Pennsylvania insurrection against the law imposing a duty upon distilled spirits, under the administration of Washington, and subsequently in the trial of Aaron Burr, in the year 1807, and in the case of the United States vs. Hoxie, in the year 1808. These were all trials in the Circuit Court.

The only case which has come before the Supreme Court was that of ex parte Bollman, et al., 4 Cranch, 125. In this case, it was decided that 'if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting by force a treasonable purpose,' this is levying war. What is a treasonable purpose? If the object be entirely to overthrow the Government at any one place, by force, as at New Orleans, which is the case mentioned by the Supreme Court, that is a treasonable purpose. But a conspiracy to do this, and actually enlisting men who never assemble, is not sufficient to constitute the crime of treason. There must be an actual assemblage of men for the purpose of carrying the conspiracy into effect by force. So, also, it is a treasonable purpose, if the object be to prevent, by force, the execution of any one law of the United States, in all cases, for it is entirely to overthrow the Government, as to one of its laws. And if there be an actual assemblage of men, for the purpose of carrying such an intention into effect, that is, of acting together, and preventing, by force, the execution of the law generally, in all cases, it will constitute a levying of war.

But the sudden outbreak of a mob, or the assembling of men in order by force to defeat the execution of the law in a particular instance, and then to disperse, without the intention to continue together or to reassemble for the purpose of defeating the law generally, in all cases, is not levying war. If war be actually levied, persons may be guilty, although not present with the force actually assembled. 'All those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who are actually leagued in the general conspiracy, are to be considered as traitors.'

There are minor offences, created and defined by Acts of Congress alone. By statute of the 30th of April, 1790, chapter 9, section 22, it is enacted, 'That if any person or persons shall knowingly and wilfully obstruct, resist or oppose any officer of the United States, in serving or attempting to serve or execute any mesne process, or warrant, or any rule or order of any of the Courts of the U. S., or any other legal or judicial writ or process whatever, or shall assault, beat or wound any officer or other person duly authorized in serving or executing any writ, rule, order, or process aforesaid, every person so knowingly and wilfully offending in the premises, shall, on conviction thereof,' be punished by fine and imprisonment.

Thus you perceive that for more than sixty years, indeed, from the foundation of the government, it has been a criminal offence to resist, or oppose, or obstruct the Marshal in the execution of a warrant or other legal process; and so plain is the utility and necessity of this provision, that during all that time, no voice has been raised against it. So far from impairing the energy with which the laws are to be executed, the people, by their legislation, have added new sanctions. Thus by statute of March 2d, 1831, chap. 99, sec. 2, it is enacted, 'That if any person or persons shall corruptly, or by threats of force, endeavor to influence, intimidate or impede any juror, witness, or officer, in any court of the United States, in the discharge of his duty, or shall corruptly, or by threats or force, obstruct or impede, or endeavor to obstruct or impede, the due administration of justice therein, every person or persons so offending shall be liable to prosecution therefor, by indictment.'

This salutary enactment to secure the free course of law has been in force for nearly twenty years without objection. But we have recently heard that not only should the courts be impeded in administering the law, but that the Marshal should be obstructed and even resisted by force in the execution of legal process, because of the recent statute providing for the arrest and delivering up of fugitives from labor. It is to be observed, that this statute subjects no person to arrest who was not before liable to be seized and carried out of the State; for ever since the adoption of the Constitution, these same persons have been liable to be taken and carried away by those from whose service they had escaped. For a pre-existing right, created by the Constitution, and affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States, Congress has provided a new remedy by legal process, to be executed by a public officer, and has added penal sanctions more effectually to secure the execution of the law.

If it have not all the safeguards we could wish, so neither had the statute of 1793, passed by the framers of the Constitution, with the approbation of Washington, and sustained by the people for more than half a century. The Constitution commands that fugitives from labor shall be delivered up. The Supreme Court have decided that it belongs to Congress to provide the means. Congress have enacted this law. It is imperative, and it will be enforced. Let no man mistake the mildness and forbearance with which the criminal code is habitually administered for weakness or timidity. Resistance must make it sternly inflexible.

Discussion is free. Men of all classes and of every shade of opinion may, by argument or declamation, addressed to the reason or the passions, endeavor to impress new views upon the public mind. But if, in their opposition to the expressed will of society, they pass from words to deeds, and embody mischievous doctrines into criminal acts of resistance to law, whoever they may be, and whatever may be their position or their ultimate purposes, they must, sooner or later, find that the law is irresistible and overwhelming. The people have been so long accustomed to absolute repose and security under the quiet administration of law, that they are not easily brought to believe that it can be obstructed, much less to contemplate the consequences of its overthrow.

But let them be startled by acts of violence and systematic resistance, let it be brought home to them as a practical question, whether they will live under law, administered by responsible public agents, or under the dominion of a mob, impelled by passion, guided by no rule, and subject to no restraint, and they will rush to the support of the constituted authorities, and indignantly repress the spirit of anarchy.

The statute of 1850, chapter 60, after providing that the claimant of a fugitive from labor may have a warrant for his arrest, or seize him without process, proceeds, in the 7th section, to enact, 'That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid when so arrested, pursuant to the authority hereby given and declared; or shall aid, abet or assist such person so owing service or labor, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall for either of said offences be subject to fine and imprisonment.'

I have thus, as I proposed, called your attention to certain acts of Congress and provisions of the Constitution. They are the law of the land, and it is our most solemn duty faithfully to execute them. In the words of the oath you have just taken, you are to do this 'without fear, favor, affection, or hope of reward,' presenting 'things truly, as they come to your knowledge, according to the best of your understanding.'

Here I might close; but as great efforts have been made to convince the public that the recent law cannot be enforced with a good conscience, but may be conscientiously resisted; and an impression may have been made on some of your number, thus presenting an obstacle to the discharge of a plain legal duty, I deem it proper to advert briefly to the moral aspects of the subject.

In this part of the country, the convictions of our understanding, our moral sentiments, and our religious opinions, are adverse to the institution of Slavery. Hence some are ready to conclude, in the first place, that the provision of the Constitution for delivering up fugitive slaves must be morally wrong; and, in the next place, that laws made to carry it into effect are to be disobeyed and resisted. Neither of these propositions legitimately follow from the premises.

As to the first. The States, without the Constitution, would be to each other foreign nations. The first duty of every nation is the preservation and protection of its own citizens. It is for this, primarily, that political societies are formed and their restraints submitted to. If, then, any nation finds that hospitality to foreign fugitives is inconsistent with its own peace and safety, it has a right to refuse such hospitality, and to say to all such foreigners, we cannot receive you amongst us, and if you come, we must deliver you up to the dominion of your own government, and it may rightfully make a compact with such government for such delivery. Whether the peace and safety of the nation do in fact require or authorise such compact, it is for the nation itself to decide, and its decision is to be submitted to and its engagements faithfully performed.

Those therefore who have the strongest convictions of the immorality of the institution of slavery, are not thereby authorized to conclude that the provision for delivering up fugitive slaves is morally wrong, or that our fathers in Massachusetts did not act wisely, justly, humanely, in acceding to the compact of the Constitution.

But, secondly, even those who go to the extreme of condemning the Constitution and the laws made under it as unjust and immoral, cannot, even upon such an assumption, justify resistance. In their view such laws are inconsistent with the justice and benevolence and against the will of the Supreme Lawgiver, and they emphatically ask which shall we obey, the law of man or the will of God. I answer, obey both. The incompatibility which the question assumes does not exist. Unjust and oppressive laws may indeed be passed by human governments. But if Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom permits political society having the power of human legislation to establish such laws, may not the same Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom permit and require the individual, who has no such power, to obey them?

Can you say that it is His will that we shall rise up in forcible resistance, overthrow the power of the Government, and, instead of the peace and security of organized society, introduce the dominion of anarchy and violence? Are not such the appointed means for their abrogation? Unjust laws have always existed. Until a recent period, poor and honest debtors were even here oppressively imprisoned; and in England, stealing to the value of more than one shilling was punishable with death, and their code numbered more than one hundred and fifty capital offences. The wise and good saw that these laws were cruel and unnecessary. They did not rush to arms, or counsel disobedience.

But by the diffusion of knowledge, by reason and persuasion, they changed the public mind, and the laws were peacefully ameliorated. The fruits of justice and benevolence, like those of the natural world, are to be nurtured by mild and genial influences. The punishment of death is still inflicted by our laws.—Many good men firmly believe that society has no right to take the life of one of its members. With them capital punishment is the highest injustice and the greatest wrong that can be inflicted. But they do not counsel resistance, to convulse society and overthrow the government, but quietly and conscientiously submit to the peaceful execution of the law.

But, we are told by some, that the law being morally wrong, conscience tells them to resist it. Conscience, indeed, is to be reverenced and obeyed, but still we must remember that it is fallible, especially where the rights of others are concerned, and may lead us to great injustice. Some have an impression that it is the divinity within them, an unerring and infallible guide. Hence they cannot believe or conceive that opposition to their views can be conscientious. It is this lurking fallacy, this tacit assumption of personal infallibility, that makes them intolerant toward others, and inaccessible to argument. I speak not of those who believe that they have special inspiration from above, that a miracle has been wrought for their guidance. Such are beyond the scope of human reason, and fit subjects either of consecration or a mad-house, according as their belief is founded on reality or delusion. But with those who are under the dominion of the established laws of the moral and intellectual world, conscience is fallible. The annals of the world abound with enormities committed by a narrow and darkened conscience. A man may incur great moral guilt, not, indeed, by following his conscience, but by neglecting the means of rectifying and enlightening it. Its dictates are varied, not only according to the moral constitution, but the intellectual power, and extent of information of the individual. The purer the motive, the more extensive the knowledge, and the greater the mental ability, the more enlightened will be the conscience, and the more correct its decisions.

The moral faculty or moral judgment being thus fallible, there may be a conflict of consceinces. Let me present an illustration. A ship arrives with sick passengers. One class of men insist that the disease is contagious, and that they shall not be permitted to land and spread a general pestilence. Another class insist that it is not contagious, and that it would be cruelty to compel them to remain on shipboard, aggravating their sufferings and their danger. With both it is a question of humanity—of conscience.

Again, certain strangers seek an asylum amongst us. One class of our citizens see in them only fugitives from oppression, whom we can easily and securely receive and protect. Another class believe that they bring with them, not physical, but moral contagion, that their presence will endanger the public peace and individual safety; that it may embroil us with other States, and bring upon us the sufferings and horrors of external and internal war and convulsion. The one class urge the obligations of hospitality and benevolence, the other the obligations of self-preservation, and the sacred duty of preserving those whom nature and society have committed to their protection.

Both are equally sincere, conscientious and resolute. Which shall yield? Is there no appeal but to force? Yes! And the arbiter must be society, organized society, pronouncing its decision through its regularly constituted agents. This is the moral judgment, the embodied conscience of the political community. To this not only is each individual bound to submit, but it is a new and controlling element in forming his own moral judgment. An act which before may have been innocent, is now criminal; and its commission not only opposed to the will, but subversive of the order, peace, existence of the political society.

Obedience is a moral duty. This is as certain as that the Creator made man a social being, and designed that he should live, not in perpetual anarchy, but in peace and security; for human government is the only means which Infinite Goodness has provided for preserving us from unceasing conflict and violence. To obey the law of the land is, then, to obey the will of God.

It may be asked—is resistance never justifiable? Is there no exception? I answer, yes! When oppression present and prospective is so great as to justify a resort to the ultimate right of revolution. But this is not to be done from impulse or feeling, but from the calm and careful consideration of the dangers and difficulties of the proposed remedy.

A wise man will reflect that evils, great evils, must exist under every human government; that a perfect fabric cannot be made of imperfect materials, and that whatever he may attempt, he must still work by and with infallible man, with all his blindness, weakness and passion.

If, after a deliberate contemplation of the convulsions and miseries attending the overthrow of the existing government, and the hazards and uncertainties of establishing a better on its ruins, he firmly believes the permanent happiness of the community requires the attempt, he may conscientiously make it. Under a despotism, such a case may occur not unfrequently, but we can hardly suppose it to exist in a republic, where the laws are made by the people themselves, through agents freely appointed, for short periods, by frequent elections.

In our own country, if there be any who, contemplating the infirmaties of our nature and the history of our race, looking at what has been accomplished in all the ages that have passed, and what is now the condition of mankind under all other political institutions, and then looking at our own government, its history, its hopes, its past performance and future promise, desire its destruction, in the vain and desperate hope of establishing a better in its stead, they must be inaccessible to reason or remonstrance, and of that unfortunate class in whose minds judgment is dethroned, and monomania holds usurped dominion.

Selections.

From the New York Independent.

CHARGE OF JUDGE SPRAGUE IN THE CASE OF SHADRACH.

BY REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER.

We have seen that the fundamental ground of the obligation of obedience to unjust law, as presented by Judge Sprague, is POWER. The inscrutible and infinite wisdom of God having permitted such unjust law to be established by those who have the power, the same infinite and inscrutible wisdom may permit and require the individual having no such power to obey it.

'So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of their oppressors there was POWER.'

How remarkably the fact, as recorded in God's Word, coincides with the theory as laid down by the Judge. Power is the sole foundation and obligation of unjust law; but there is an infinite gulf between the fact that power is so permitted, and the conclusion that the oppressive law ordained by power is law ordained of God. 'If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter; for He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they.'

The theory thus proposed is that of Tyranny and Despotism. Let us now see how it corresponds with fact, as recorded not only in God's Word, but in the writings of one of the greatest thinkers ever in our world, under an almost unlimited despotism, that of Louis XIV., in France, the writings of the celebrated Pascal. In the 27th chapter of his Thoughts on Religion, he introduces the subject of Justice thus: 'As fashion makes pleasure, so does it justice. If men really knew what justice is, they would never have admitted this commonest of all maxims throughout the world, *that each should follow the customs of his own country*. Real *equity* would have subjugated all nations by its native brilliancy; and legislators would not have taken, in the stead of this *invariable rule of right*, the fancies and caprices of Persians, Germans, &c.; it would have been set up in all the States of the earth, and at all times.'

After these remarks, Pascal presents the reality, not as it should be, but as it exists; he states it, we think, with a vein of inimitable sarcasm, avoiding the open denunciation of the iniquity concentrated in such principles:

'Justice is that which is by law established; and here all our established laws are to be necessarily accounted just, *because they are established*.

Undoubtedly an equality of rights is just, but not being able to compel men to be submissive to justice, legislators have made them obedient to force. . . The power of the plurality is the best way, because it is a visible power, and it has force to command obedience. Yet this is the counsel only of inferior men. If they could, they should have put power into the hands of justice; but since power will not let itself be used as men please, because it is a palpable quality, while justice is an intellectual quality, of which they may dispose as they please, they have placed justice in the hands of power, *and now they call that justice which* POWER *requires to be observed*.'

'Justice may be disputed, but power speaks pretty plainly, and without dispute. So that it needs but to give power to justice; but seeing that it was not possible to make justice powerful, *they have made the powerful just*.'

'It is dangerous to tell the people that the laws are not just; for they only obey them because they *believe* them to be just. They must be told, therefore, at the same time, *that they must obey them as laws*; as they obey their superiors, not because they are just, but because they are their superiors. If you make them comprehend this, you prevent all sedition. This is the true definition of justice.'

'It were well for the people to obey laws and customs, because they *are* laws; and that they understood *that this made them just*. On this ground, they would never deviate from them; while, on the other hand, if their justice is to rest on any other basis, it may easily be brought into question, and then the people are made liable to revolt.'

Such is the perfected theory of a despotism, whether Pascal was ironical, or whether he had a deeper train of logic in his mind than these detached thoughts indicate. The theory is that of absolute Power instead of Justice, as the ground of obedience. Law must be obeyed, not because it is just, but because it is law, with power to enforce it. The people must not be permitted to inquire into its justice, for that might make them seditious, might dispose them to revolt. But if you can make them comprehend that whatever is law is justice, and is to be obeyed, not because it is justice, but because it is law, you prevent all sedition. We suppose it is on this ground that Mr. Webster has reminded the Common Council of Boston that they know the difference between considering about a law before it is passed, and the necessity and duty of unquestioning obedience the moment it is law. The moment it is law, you are to obey, asking no questions for conscience' sake, because law has POWER to enforce it, and the people must be made to comprehend, and so must Common Councils, that whatever is law is to be obeyed, not because it is justice, but because it is law.

So again, in his speech at Annapolis, Mr. Webster instructs the assembly and the people that they must obey, in silence and without questioning, the recent laws in support of slavery; not a word is to be said, not an inquiry to be made, as to justice; that way, there is danger of sedition. The law is law, and must be obeyed at all hazards. '*We are to hear no parleying upon it. We are to listen to no modification.* They were passed in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, and they must be performed and abided by, *in whatever event, and at whatever cost*.'

There speaks, not the master merely, but the despot. But Mr. Webster will find that this imperious style of command, as if the legislator were a slaveholder among his servants, is *brutum fulmen*; it only rouses indignation and a return of scorn. Conscience is not thus to be silenced or brought to submission. The question will burst up, IS IT RIGHT? At whatever cost, thou sayest! Is *that* the theory of expediency? But what if it cost the Union? We may not agitate the question of obedience for conscience' sake, because *that* may cost agitation, conflict, strife; but the recent law must be executed, just or unjust, AT WHATEVER COST!

The theory is that detailed by Pascal of despotic power, to be regarded in all cases as justice, and to be obeyed, in all cases, as the will of God. The doubts, anxieties and obligations of conscience are easily disposed of, without any reference to God's word, any appeal to God's revealed will, as the arbiter. Let us examine, on this point, the decision of Judge Sprague.

'But we are told by some that the law being morally wrong, conscience tells them to resist it.' How does Judge Sprague meet this? First, by an argument or representation as to the darkness, uncertainty and fallability of conscience; and all this without one word of reference to the Divine Revelation of the will of God as the law and guide of conscience. But the 'moral faculty, or moral judgement, being thus fallible, they may be a conflict of consciences.' What does the judge say in this case?

He first takes the supposition that both the consciences in conflict are equally sincere, conscientious, and then asks, which shall yield? Is there no appeal but to force? He answers, yes. 'And the arbiter must be'—reader, what would you suppose that a learned judge, in a Christian land, would point out as the arbiter of conscience? Must there not be *some* reference to God's word, God's revealed will, as of some authority in the matter? Not at all, where unjust law and its obligation on the conscience are the matter in question. 'The arbiter must be society, organized society, pronouncing its decision through its regularly constituted agents. This is the moral judgment, the embodied conscience of the political community. To this, not only is each individual bound to submit, but it is a new and controlling element in forming his own moral judgment. An act which before may have been innocent is now criminal, and its commission not only opposed to the will, but subversive of the order, peace, existence, of the political society.'

'Obedience,' he continues, 'is a moral duty. This is as certain as that the Creator made man a social being, and designed that he should live, not in perpetual anarchy, but in peace and security; for human government is the *only means* which Infinite Goodness has provided for preserving us from unceasing conflict and violence. To obey the law of the land is, then, to obey the will of God.'

Here we have the completion of this theory. *The moral judgment, the embodied conscience of the community, is the supreme arbiter of Conscience, of controlling and binding authority, of power to make that criminal which otherwise was innocent, and of course that innocent which otherwise was criminal!* Again we might say, in the words of Dr. Spencer, if we were disposed to indulge in such diatribes of wrath, 'We never read more wicked and abominable principles. They deserve not only the reprehension of every Christian, but the entire indignation of all civilized mankind.'

But no comment is needed upon this doctrine. It only needs to be clearly stated, when its immorality becomes palpable. Its perniciousness when taught to grand jurors and to the people, in the form of judicial charges, is as manifest to every upright mind; but the effect of such teaching is slower in its revelation. Sooner or later, if they prevailed, they must destroy all reverence for the Word of God, and the supremacy of conscience; and despotic power would say, not content with the maxim of Louis, *I am the State*, despotic power would say to the people, the State is your Conscience, and your Religion, obey it as the will of God, just or unjust.

We will only add at present, that in a publication of some years since by Judge Sprague, we find the following sentiment recorded, 'as an inextinguishable truth, which has never been, and never can be wholly eradicated from the human heart, placed as it is in the very core and centre of it by its Maker, *that man was not made the property of man, that human power is a trust for human benefit, and that, when it is abused, resistance becomes justice and duty*.'

Connected with this, we may ponder a remark of Judge McLean, as follows: 'An unconstitutional act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State or the people of a State, *and may be resisted by an individual or a community. No one, I believe, will controvert this*.'

Then, *a fortiori*, an unjust act of Congress, supposing such were passed, imposes still *less* obligation, unless these gentlemen are willing to assume that the claims of God and justice are less imperative than the claims of unjust law, and that the authority of God's Word is less sacred than the Constitution of the United States.

SPEECH OF THE HON. HORACE MANN,

On taking the chair, at the Grand Mass Convention of the Opponents of the Fugitive Slave Bill, held in the Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 9th inst., as reported in the 'Commonwealth.'

Gentlemen—I thank you cordially for the honor of being called to this place; though I could have wished that your choice had fallen upon some one of the many meritorious men whom I see all around me.

Gentlemen—I have come here to-day to add my feeble voice to the thunder-tones of execration, against the Fugitive Slave Law, with which every free State in this Union, and every free community upon the earth, are now re-echoing.

Sir, I do not propose to occupy your attention long. Where so many things are to be said, and so many persons far better qualified than I am are present to say them, I shall consult at once your advantage and my duty, by being brief.

We have come together with especial reference to the Fugitive Slave Law; but that execrable statute connects itself so directly with almost every other prominent measure of the Government, and with the leading acts of our public men, during the past year, that it opens the whole subject of human liberty and our duty in regard to human rights. Especially does it behoove us to inquire, by what means, by whose instrumentality, the country has been instigated to this treason against the rights of men, and when we may expect their machinations will be brought to an end.

Some of our official dignitaries are giving us law lectures upon the subject of high treason against the Government. I hope they will not object, if we reciprocate the favor, by giving them a lecture on the higher treason against God and Humanity of which they are guilty.

Gentlemen, it is with unspeakable humiliation and regret, that I look back and see where Massachusetts stood twelve or thirteen months ago, and where so many of her citizens stand now. Up to that ever-accursed day, the 7th of March, 1850, there was not a Massachusetts man in the counsels of the State or nation,—nay, so far as I know, there was not a single Massachusetts man any where, of any standing or respectability, who did not assert and proclaim his hostility to the extension of slavery—his purpose to maintain, at all times, the principle of the ordinance of 1787, and his 'resolute and fixed determination' (to use Mr. Webster's language) 'to make no further concessions to slavery and the slave power.' The public men of the State, the press of the State, the Legislature of the State, avowed these sentiments; and the political conventions of the State now rang with them from side to side.

But on that memorable day, a Senator of the United States from Massachusetts saw fit to trample under foot every thing that he had ever said in behalf of human freedom, and against human bondage. He saw fit to curl his lip and intonate his voice in scorn of the principle of the ordinance of 1787, and to dishonor the memory of Nathan Dane, whom, a few years before his apostacy, on the same floor, he had eulogized. He saw fit to contemn what he knew to be the honest sentiment of Massachusetts. He went far, far out of his way to fortify and extend the institution of slavery. He offered to add new States to its power, and to take two hundred millions of dollars from the treasury of the United States, to be expended for its extra-constitutional security and defence.

As soon as the stunning effect of that blow upon all the moral and religious sensibilities of the State, and upon its traditional and inwrought love of liberty, had begun to subside, a systematic effort was made to debauch the patriotism and humanity of the people, by an appeal to their cupidity. Our manufacturing and commercial interests were suffering. A majority of the slave States were the antagonists of these interests. Political ambition and cupidity associated these facts together, and the diabolical idea was engendered that by surrendering our Liberty we might have a Tariff. The poison of this idea was first openly and directly infused into the public mind by Mr. Webster, in his speech at the Revere House, April 29, when he said—'Until something can be done to allay the feeling now separating different men and different sections, there can be no USEFUL and SATISFACTORY legislation in the two Houses of Congress.'

Of this declaration there can be but one interpretation. It was perfectly understood by those to whom it was addressed. It says, without enigma or riddle, surrender the Territories to the incursions of the slave States, pacify the Slave Power, give up blood-bought rights for this life, and Savior-bought hopes for another, and you can have your pay in a cent a yard on calico, and a cent a pound on iron. I say it requires no seer to interpret this handwriting. It is as plain as it could be, if one were writing to a Sub-Treasurer, and should say—'No one but a rich man can be Secretary, unless he be a bachelor; I am neither the one nor the other; if, therefore, you wish to improve this *golden* opportunity, and make me Secretary of State, remit the bills.'

From that time until the close of that session of Congress, in every form in which so intrinsically wicked an idea could be set forth, without shocking not only all principle but all decency, this idea was inculcated upon the public mind of the North, especially upon the cities. In unofficial speeches and letters, Mr. Webster urged this seduction more and more pointedly and earnestly, until, on the 17th of July, 1850, in the last speech which he ever made in Congress, he appeals to the Senators of the North, and to the people of the North, in language as explicit as he could make it, to adopt the compromise measures, to take even the abhorred Fugitive Slave Bill itself, for the sake of the money to be made out of them. Throughout that speech, he held out the apple of temptation before their eyes, he jingled the thirty pieces of silver in their ears, to seduce them into the surrender of liberty for pelf.

I appeal to the common knowledge of the citizens of Boston, if it was not an expression as familiar to their lips as the salutations of the day, that they had Mr. Webster's authority for saying, that if they would surrender the great questions involved in the compromise, they could have a tariff?

Now, on this state of facts, I have two observations to make.

1st. That a proposition to barter or jeopard the liberty of our fellow-beings, for any amount of money, however great, was intrinsically inhuman and wicked.

2d. That every new concession we made to the South on the subject of slavery, for the sake of getting protection for our manufactures and other industrial interests, only impaired and postponed our chance of getting that protection.

For the correctness of the first of these propositions, I appeal to every man who has a conscience, or even any elementary ideas of right or wrong, which are not smothered by his interests or his passions. And for the second, I appeal to the case of Texas, which defeated the tariff of '42, and to the fact that, though we did consent to all the detestable provisions of the compromise,—slave territories, slave States, ten millions of Texas, Fugitive Slave Bill and all, yet we get no tariff, and have no rational prospect of one.

That the surrender of all our glorious patrimony of free principles should help some Northern man President I can readily understand. That is intelligible. Before the 7th of March speech, it was announced, from high Southern sources, that they would take the Northern man for the next Presidential term, who would do the most for slavery, and since that time the same declaration has been reiterated. [See, among others, Mr. Toombs' speech before the Georgia Union meeting.] But I state it as a fact within my own personal knowledge, that there was not an intelligent man in Congress, who was not implicated on the one side in the manufacture of goods, or on the other, in the manufacture of Presidents, who did not then foresee and predict that every forward step we took towards the compromise, was a step backwards from protection. And we have now this stubborn fact to show for the soundness of that opinion—the event has ratified it. They have not got the tariff they were promised, though they have given for it the price of blood.

Now I wish to ask the manufacturers and commercial men of the North, whether, if they had seen, as it was seen by every unbiased man at the seat of Government, that upholding the Compromise would put down protection, they would have consented to the Compromise. And a further question which I wish to put to all Massachusetts and all New England, is—if, during the last year, we had had the tariff of 1842 in full operation, and if the current of prosperity had filled the deepest channels that enterprise and industry had cut for it, whether, then, Massachusetts citizens would have retracted and unsaid all the noble things they have been saying in favor of liberty for the last ten years; whether, then, the Massachusetts press, or so large a portion of it, would be found openly advocating doctrines which they have always heretofore professed to hold in utter detestation and abhorrence. No man will pretend it. If we had had the tariff of 42, last year, the Compromise measures never could have passed, and it would have been impossible for any presidential aspirant, or all of them together, to have subdued the Northern mind to their acceptance.

The commercial and manufacturing interests of the North, then, have been deceived, grossly deceived and imposed upon. When their real interests were all on the side of freedom, they have been made to believe that it would promote those interests to unsay all they had ever said, and undo all they had ever done adverse to slavery. Their chance for a tariff lay in standing for their principles like men, and not in abandoning them like traitors. President-making has been the agency, and cotton has been the instrument of this deception. It has been said that the Press is the fourth estate in the realm; but I say Cotton is the fourth estate, for Cotton subdues the Press. The eyes and ears and nose and mouth of a portion of our people have been so filled with cotton, that they have come to believe that cotton is not only their daily bread, but their bread of life.

Gentlemen, whatever convictions or doubts there may be on the subject of Animal Magnetism, I am a firm believer in the doctrine of Cotton Magnetism. The Southern planter seems to possess some wizzard art, unknown to the demonology of former times, by which he impregnates his bales of cotton with a spirit of inhumanity, with a contempt for all the dearest, tenderest, holiest ties that bind man to man and heart to heart; he fills them with this spirit as an electrician fills a Leyden jar, and then he sends them here; and if the man who comes within the circle of their influence is not himself filled with the strong, counteracting, disinfecting magnetism of duty and truth, of love to God and love to man, he is overcome and subdued by the infernal spell, he is brought into communication with the Southern sorcerer, and into subjection to his will; and then he seems bereft of reason and conscience, he belies his Pilgrim parentage, talks gibberish about the dissolution of the Union, kneels, lies down and eats dirt, and says to his Southern master, as Balaam's beast said to him, 'Am I not thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine?'

Still worse is it, when this cotton, so diabolically impregnated, gets beneath the rich velvet seats and embossed cushions of the pulpit; unless, indeed, a double measure of the spirit of the Lord shall descend upon the preacher, and exorcise both him and it. When the soul of the clergyman is struck with this cotton magnetism, he grows delirious over his Bible, ignores the new dispensation and goes back to the old, discards Jesus Christ as his example, and the precepts of Jesus Christ as the law of his ministrations, and proves himself a pagan, discoursing paganism in a Christian pulpit.

God grant that this kind of cotton may never stuff the cushions of our judges! I fear we are not wholly out of danger of so unspeakable a calamity. Give us the old English woolsack for them, within whose magic presence the chains of the slave drop from his limbs, and he is gloriously transfigured into a man.

Compare the newspapers of our city now with what they were only one short twelve-month ago, and see what demoralization cotton can work when it gets into the editorial chair.

As for these slave-catching Commissioners, who assume to exercise the functions of judges, and to abolish human liberty, and to find property in the bodies and souls of men, but are no more judges than an image 'cut out of cheese-paring after supper' is a man;—as for them, I say, they seem to have the virus in the natural way, and if all moral diagnosis does not fail, it would be found, on an anatomical dissection of their hearts, that their right and left auricle, and their right and left ventricle, were only four cotton balls.

But I believe that the reign of Cotton is to be short lived. Improvements in the arts give confident promise that some new textile substance will soon be discovered which will supersede this slave-making material. Even should this hope fail, every body sees what an unnatural attitude of power and

strength the cotton-producing States now occupy. Extending over only a small area of territory which you can cover on the map with your hand, they raise a staple which clothes, more or less, a great part of the world; while there are Brazil, Egypt, India and regions of unknown vastness in Africa, to all which, or nearly all which, the plant is indigenous. Either then, by the progress of the arts, or by an extension of cultivation, the majesty of Cotton will soon be dethroned; and then, *then*, here will come the tug-of-war, historically, who are willing to trample upon human rights, and to spread out, and enthrone, the long ill the horrors of Southern slavery for the temporary profit which cotton can bestow?

I rejoice that this reference to the demoralizing power of interest gives me an opportunity to bestow a well-deserved honor and praise upon a class of men who have withstood its temptations. Not every man engaged in manufactures or in commerce has yielded to the seductions of this tempter. There are many noble exceptions. I have in my mind one of my own constituents, largely interested in the fabric, who told me last summer that if he thought it would ever lying idle, and property that should have yielded income was incurring cost; 'but,' said he, 'do you see them *all stop*, and the mill-dam dry, and go down stream, before you vote for that Compromise.' Another of my constituents told me he was largely interested in three ships, there at sea, and vowed that he would see them all sink to its bottom, before he would disgrace the country by passing the Fugitive Slave Bill. These are but samples of that noble spirit which was expressed with such Spartan terseness and vigor by Bowen and McNamee, of New York, when the foul panders to Southern slavery threatened them with a loss of custom: said they, 'We sell silks, and not principles.'

How these declarations contrast with what a manufacturer in a neighboring county in Massachusetts has said, that if he could work his mills any cheaper with slave labor than with free, he would employ slaves! Or what, as I am credibly informed, another has said—'The South wants slaves to raise cotton to sell, we want slaves to raise cotton to manufacture; therefore, we must unite with Southern men to uphold slavery.' Now, I believe these things to have been *said*; but it is of no consequence whether they were said or not; we know they have been *acted*. Every man who upholds the Fugitive Slave Law *acts* them, whatever his language may be.

The Compromise was forced through, partly by governmental interference, and partly by the delusive hope of a tariff. An appeal is now made in behalf, of the Fugitive Slave Law, to the same mercenary motives. It is said, if opposition be made to this law, however legal or constitutional such opposition may be, we shall lose Southern customs. Base and infamous appeal! Such men are made of the stuff of the Tories of the Revolution. Even if this appeal were true, it would be one that no honorable man could hear without indignation. But it is not true. The South must have their property, from some where, and our industrious artizans will make them, whoever the go-betweens may be. Will the South go bareheaded and unshoed, because they cannot have a law to catch freemen and slaves promiscuously? But, it is said, the South will abandon their slothful habits, be industrious, manufacture for themselves. I wish they would. It would be most fortunate for us. They would then have the means of buying more from the North, and paying us better for what they do buy. Instead of spending only the money which the slaves earn, they would then have money to spend earned by the whites, and would become better consumers for those over new channels of commodities which our industry and inventive skill will always supply.

Now I have gone into these considerations for the purpose of ascertaining the efficacy and the extent of the motives brought by our opponents to bear against us. You see that I merely argue, in fact, against a fear, lest for that big-bear of a dissolution of the Union, I say without fear of contradiction, that no practical man has ever believed in it for a day. The United States have existed for sixteen, on the eve of a dissolution of the Union. The whole South Carolina and Mississippi and Texas delegations in Congress have been pleading for every local advantage, for the establishment of new United States Courts, for the increase of salaries, for appointments at home and abroad, ever since the Union had been just insured for a thousand years! Show me one intelligent man in this whole country, who sold his stocks or his farm, or changed his residence or altered his course of life in any respect, through fear that the Union was about to be dissolved! Why, what would the English National Debt be worth under any well founded apprehension that the British monarchy was crumbling to pieces? There would not be a pound off that could not be bought for a penny. Confidence in the stability of our Union has not only prevaded this country, but other countries. The great bankers abroad who deal in our stocks, have never changed their tone one jot, in a single hundred dollars, through any such idle fear. They are the men whose barometers presage political storms. With such facts before me, I say that the Union has been in danger is as absurd as to say that a whirlwind is raging, when the leaf of the aspen is pendulous and cannot be seen to move. If the South is bent to dissolve the Union, let them do it, and at the end of thirty years there will not be found a slave in all their borders. They will make a new Jamaica or a new St. Domingo, and the masters shall behave themselves. No, this is nothing but a trick of the politicians; and if any one of them could be nominated for the Presidency, we should hear nothing more from him about the deluge that threatens to submerge the Union. They profess peculiar love for the Union. Their clamours notes the cuckoo's note which Dr. Franklin remarked of self-righteous people. He said they always reminded him of a scarcity of provisions—those who had enough said they could eat it, while the destitute who were in all the clamor.

I say, then, the only remaining motive with which our adversaries can work, is the loss of Southern trade. This interests but a few of our people. The farmers are not interested in it. The mechanics and artisans are not. The operatives in our mills are not. All the substantial, industrious classes are above the temptation, and would spurn it if they were not above it. The Fugitive Slave Law champions can make no more converts among them. Let us then continue to oppose this law in all constitutional modes. Let us explain its religious and moral bearings to the Christian. Let us tell the patriot of the disgrace which it brings upon our country. Let us show to the working man that those who are ready to make slaves of his fellow beings for lucre, will be equally ready to make a slave of him whenever interest shall supply the temptation.

I let us be men asked why we are assembled here, and not in the Hall consecrated to Liberty? It is because the doors of that Hall have been now closed to Liberty mocking for admission. But there is a melancholy propriety in this. When the Union House is in chaos, Faneuil Hall may well be dumb. Those chains which grit the courts of justice are but typical of the chains which tyrannous men are striving to put upon our life. This is not the first Temple that has been unrighteously invaded and taken possession of by money-changers and those who sold doves! Doves! *doves!* Yes, doves, and men, men, women and children. But I trust the day is not far distant when a better spirit shall enter them, and shall scourge out these idolaters, be they high or low, or larger as the exigencies of the case may require.

☞ We commend to all Hunkerdom in Boston, at this juncture, the following very strengthening article from the 'Southern Press,' published at Washington.

THE LITTLE END OF THE COMPROMISE.

The champions of the Compromise seem bent on rendering themselves as ridiculous as possible North and South; and the pretexts which they set up to screen themselves from public contempt are so paltry and frivolous as to excite commiseration rather than derision. As though desperately bent on whitling down to the little end of nothing the measure of which they profess to be the champions, they have staked it first on one issue and then upon another, until at last they have suspended the safety of the Union, and the success of the compromise measures, on *the delivery of the runaway negro captured last week at Boston!!*

With a most mock-dramatic mourning and affecting pathos, the Southern Compromisers, with tears in their eyes, implore their Boston brethren to give Mr. Potter his negro back, or the dissolution of the confederacy will be a fixed fact! While with a firmness and self-devotion surpassing the examples of Roman story, the Northern Compromise journals declare that the Union shall be preserved, and the 'veneration' of the Administration be still more exalted—for Marshal Tukey, like a new Napoleon, shall disperse the rabble rout, and do that which Webster, Cass, Clay & Co. failed to do—give peace to this distracted country! Talk as men may of the friends of the Administration—of the signal services of the new 'holy alliance' that partitioned off the South like another Poland among the Northern Powers—the main stay—the bulwark—the forlorn hope of this Administration now, is Marshal Tukey.

For the safety of the Administration and the acquiescence of the South in the Compromise depend upon the success of their new case in Boston, who can doubt that Tukey is the man to whom that success will be due?

While that Achilles remained in his tent, Craftycoolly defied the friends of the Administration, and Hindoos have impiously torn from the very horns of the altar. Vain were the struggles of the Commissioner—equally impotent the telegraphic messages of the Secretary of State, in the former case—ludicrously futile the effort of his son, the collector, in the latter, whose ill-directed demonstrations of the 'law and the majesty of the Union' in his own incarceration. The genius and influence of Tukey and his constabulary alone could ride and rule the storm—his name alone could allay the tempest. The fierce Democratic 'of Rantoul, or the frantic 'Whiggery' of Charles Francis Adams—and the pious exhortations of Parson Parker, like a new 'Peter the Hermit' preaching a new crusade,

Hopes than where hope is due. If the Union is to be saved by the efforts of Tukey, let the praise be given where it justly merited—and let it not be monopolized by those who did not take the responsibility, nor front the danger of those carving knives, grazing the ribs of Tukey, taken from the persons of those desperate dogs, the 'two colored men,' who seemed to constitute the effective force captured by the 'New York and Boston Clubs.'

The perils that environ the people of Boston, and the excitement that prevails there, may be judged from the following extract from the proceedings which we clip from the Boston papers. They are sufficiently terrific to freeze the blood of peaceful citizens, and cause their friends and relatives to stand on guard lest quite the fretful porcupine.' List! Oh list!

ARREST OF ARMED MEN. After the crowd which gathered in Court Square last evening had dispersed, four or five men who had been loitering about the Square throughout the day and evening, continued to remain in the vicinity, and about two o'clock this morning demanded admittance into the armory of the New England Guards, in Franklin Avenue where that corps ware quartered for the night. They were told that there was nothing for them to see, and, as they had no business there at that late hour, they had better retire. This the negroes refused to do, and continued to annoy the company, and caused so much disturbance that Capt. Bradlee and Lieut. Col. Boyd called upon the watch, and a sergeant and corporal and two of their number, named Charles S. and Isaac H. Snowden, upon whose persons were found pistols with powder and ball, and a bowie-knife of the ground sharp on both edges, with an artificial hilt around the blade next to the handle.

These two colored men were brought before the police court this morning for examination, when Messrs. Phillips, Morris, and others of the Vigilance Committee, appeared to prosecute. The examination could not been concluded at half-past two o'clock, when our paper went to press.

ARREST. Henry D. Cushing and Daniel J. Ordiz were arrested and taken to the watch-house about half-past 8 o'clock last evening, for refusing to leave Robert Square when requested to by Capt. Bursey. They were reproved, and afterwards discharged.

The fests of Falstaff with those 'rogues in buckram,' were nothing to these 'arrests of armed men.' They must be desperate dogs, to be sure!

The merchants of Boston are no doubt anxious to 'throw a tub to the whale,' and present a peace offering to the Southern submissionists in the person of a solitary negro, especially when adjured to do so by an Administration, of whose 'veneration' and sympathies they have been so well assured.

It is a fact of business that has never been imputed to the Bostonians—and as the *foreign* element large ly preponderates in that city, the stubborn fanaticism of a solitary negro, cannot be counteracted and controlled by the cosmopolitan instincts of traders. We have never doubted that it was a comparatively easy thing to secure a loan for the Union Treasury, and that Webster and Sewall, in their speeches, in support of the writ, and B. R. Curtis, Esq., for Marshal Devens.

The Marshal made a further return upon the writ, that he held Sims upon the petition of the agent, who had received the Commissioner's certificate, the decision setting forth that the agent apprehended a rescue.

Mr. Sumner asserted the belief that the proceedings against Sims were intended for a mere cover, by which he was to be kept in the custody of the U. S. Marshal, to prevent a rescue, while the laws of Massachusetts, for an assault on Burman. The right of the State to enforce her criminal laws against a fugitive slave was higher than the right of an owner to recover his slave; the criminal process being in the same of the State, and therefore superior to any civil process of whatever name or nature. Hence, in order for criminal process, in the name of the United States, had been resorted to, with the object of retaining Sims, as against the State of Massachusetts, until he should have been carried beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by virtue of the Commissioner's certificate that he was the slave of James Potter, of Georgia. This, he maintained, was a fraudulent use of the criminal process of the United States, and vitiated it.

Mr. Sumner moved that the Judge should examine Sims on the complaint, or admit him to bail upon it.

Judge Woodbury overruled all Mr. Sumner's points. He said it was not for him to interfere with the District Attorney in relation to the complaint for the assault. The law vested in that officer a large discretion in relation to prosecutions, and it was not for him to direct that officer to examine the prisoner against Sims, or to proceed with it. In conclusion, his honor said he saw no legal cause for ordering the prisoner to be discharged from the criminal warrant, and he therefore ordered him to be remanded to the custody of the Marshal, to be kept by him in the same manner as he was before the return that he had held him before the issuing of the writ of habeas corpus.

The Marshal now took Sims back to the room in the Court House which he had occupied ever since his arrest.

Before the commencement of this hearing, Mr. Sewall made another attempt to take out a writ of personal replevin, and requested Judge Woodbury to appoint an officer to serve it upon Marshal Devens, but the Judge refused to entertain the motion.

The following is the writ of habeas corpus, issued by Judge Woodbury in the case of Sims:

United States of America—District Mass:

To Charles Devens, Jr. Esq., Marshal of said District—We command you that the body of Thomas Sims, commorant in Boston in said district, laborer, imprisoned by you, in the Court House in said Boston, as it is said, by a certain warrant, a copy of which is annexed, together with the day and the cause of your taking and detaining him by any such warrant, and whatsoever name the said Thomas shall be called or charged therein, you have, before me, Levi Woodbury, a Justice of the Supreme Court for the United States of America, at the Court House in said Boston, on the 8th day of April instant, to shew, to do, and receive what I shall then and there consider concerning the said Thomas in this behalf, and have then and there this writ.

Witness my hand and seal, at Boston, 10th day of April, 1851.

(Signed) LEVI WOODBURY,
Associate Justice of Supreme Court of U. S.

On Friday afternoon, the fugitive Sims was according to adjournment, brought before Judge Woodbury, in chamber, and the prayer of the petitioner supported by arguments from Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sewall.—The arguments were grounded on the same ground as before his Honor on Thursday evening, and at the conclusion, Judge Woodbury proceeded with the following decision, refusing to give a discharge.

His Honor said there were two kinds of warrants—of arrests and of commitment—included in the cases cited by counsel for the prisoner. Warrants of arrest in some process said warrants of commitment on final process; also some cases of search warrants which are entirely distinct things.

The Constitution only requires that warrants of arrest should be founded on complaints made under oath. They should set out some reference, but the reasons are to be found in the complaint. The complaint is similar to the declaration of the king's bench practice in England, and is a distinct paper from the warrant of arrest. The warrant in this case not only recites that an offence has been committed, but refers to the complaint also. Here is enough to justify the Marshal; but in making his return on the writ of habeas corpus, he also brings in the writ of the criminal kind. Anything is a most critical investigation to this complaint, there appeared cause enough to give jurisdiction to the Commissioner, and that the warrant was duly issued.

The complaint sets out an offence of the most heinous character, and a most high one. The offence was the resisting of an officer, and the United States must sustain those officers in the issue of proper process, or cease to exist as a government. The general government cannot move on and protect the people, unless they have the laws. The prisoner had resisted even so far as to attempt to kill, and, in the vagaries of the times, he had perhaps been instigated to this. He ought to have sympathy for this, but must be punished.

His Honor admitted and insisted that no process of law ought to be issued for oppression. Even if the officer became censurable for improper delay, the warrant by no means becomes void. But the prisoner was at this time held by other warrants as well as this. He had issued the writ of *habeas corpus*, that he might legally show if he was held in custody for any such existence. This delay had not caused this man's imprisonment a single hour.

There was a great consideration at the bottom of all these cases quoted by opposite counsel. In all but one, the party was held on a single precept, and there was no public cause for keeping before a magistrate. This man had been constantly on trial in another important case.

His Honor was now asked to go into a hearing on the assault and battery—and this at his chambers also. He should be willing to do it if no magistrate could be found.

He had no right to grant bail before the return of the officer to the Commissioner who grants the warrant. He would give caution to all interested—prudent as they have shown themselves.

The Commissioner, in commenting on the points presented in the case, declared that he should have to remand the prisoner to the custody of the Marshal, as he had not found sufficient reason to discharge him. The prisoner was therefore taken to his place of confinement.

☞ The result of this protracted and painful trial is graphically stated in the following sketch of a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it, which we copy from the Commercial Bulletin of Monday. Such a week Boston has never passed through in her history—certainly not since the revolutionary struggle—so humiliating, so disgraceful, so appalling. But, though the victim has been dragged back to bondage, it will prove a disastrous triumph for the Slave Power, and nightly seems to aggravate and extend that popular agitation which alone is needed to effect the utter overthrow of the slave system. '*We* may be defeated, but our principles never.'

THE VICTIM HAS BEEN SACRIFICED.

Thomas Sims was taken from his prison room in the Court House a few minutes before five o'clock this morning, under the direction of Marshal Tukey, and marched through Court square, Court and State streets, to Long Wharf, '*in the centre of a hollow square*,' AND PLACED ON BOARD THE BRIG ACORN, Capt. HENRY COOMBS, of Barnstable, Master, and the Brig Acorn is now in charge of the auction-block of slavery! MAYOR BIGELOW COMPOSED A PART OF THE ESCORT! As early as half 2 o'clock, Friday morning, the Boston Guards mustered the men who were to aid him in disgracing Massachusetts, and dooming a young man—a free citizen of Massachusetts—to slavery.

The instant Sims touched the deck of the vessel, the flying jib was hoisted, and the paddles of the tug steamboat Hercules, which had been waiting for the brig, in waiting, with steam up, for two houses, began to move, and at just another minute past 2 o'clock, the man-stealing craft was gliding down the stream with her victim, amid the hisses and shouts of 'shame, shame, Sims, shame, Sims, and liberty on the wharf. The whole proceeding was too cowardly to be undertaken under the pale beams of the moon, and so the leader of the work waited until her other half was hidden behind the western hills, and then marched, with stealthy steps, his shameful band over the sacred ground consecrated to Liberty, and watered by the blood of our Revolutionary Fathers. Some twenty of Marshal Tukey's posse accompanied the alleged fugitive from the Court House to the foot of the steamer. The Police were armed with U. S. sabres. The only persons who witnessed this crowning disgrace to the City of Massachusetts, with a few exceptions, were about one hundred of the true and tried members of the Vigilance Committee.

The slave-quest was stilled for an hour and a half before the final move to the vessel. Sims was brought out of the eastern main entrance of the Prison Court House, under the escort of some fifteen men, headed by Marshal Tukey, and marched to the centre of the square mass.

As he descended the steps of the Boston barracoon, his sable cheeks were bathed in tears, and although Mayor Bigelow had ordered the Boston Guards to keep with a firm and manly step, like a martyr and a hero, to his fate. The only demonstration made by the crowd was a few emphatic hisses, and a few expressed cries of 'Shame!' 'Shame!' and questions of '*Where is Liberty?*' 'Is this Massachusetts and Boston?' 'Is that Liberty?' and similar cries.

Sims was not ironed, but was within the close embrace of two officers.

As soon as Sims reached the deck of the vessel, a man standing upon the wharf cried out, 'Sims! preach liberty to the people!' The unfortunate fugitive immediately conveyed below, where CEPHAS I. AMES, the first mate, will be able to execute his promise, if he has opportunity to us on board of that same vessel, one week since.

As the Acorn left the wharf, the vigilant lovers of freedom, who had been watching the night, gathered together, and listened in solemn silence to the following prayer, by the Rev. David Foster, an Orthodox clergyman:

ALMIGHTY GOD! Thou seest this poor man, one of thy children, borne away by oppressors. Thou art the friend of all who suffer wrong, and we have now no hope save in Thee. Thou hope is still unshaken. Thy promises endure forever. And now we beseech Thee to show Thy power and love in blessing this dear brother, who is borne away in chains, by the whips and chains. O God, make him a missionary of power, to awaken a love of justice and liberty, that shall end in the speedy overthrow of the accursed system which now causes millions of bleeding hearts.

'In mercy, heavenly Father, do Thou destroy the wicked power which rules us. Give us righteous men to make laws. Let Thy Law, which is the fulness of our rulers, and bind them to true and lasting repentance. Pity the wretched man who now goes in fetters over the ocean, to a cruel bondage worse than chains. Hasten the day when all men shall be free. And thine shall be the glory, Amen!'

The Boston Guards sang, with solemn effect:

'O! there'll be mourning, at the judgment seat of Christ!'

The moral of this mournful scene was given with a cheerful spirit by Dr. Bowditch. The Missionary Hymn,—

'From Greenland's icy mountains,'—

was then sung, after which the assembly moved up the wharf and street, singing as they went,

'Be thou, O God, exalted high!'

Pausing on the spot in State street where Attucks fell, the assembled Vigilance Committee dispersed to meet at once at the Anti-Slavery Office. Here arrangements were made for various meetings; an impressive prayer was made; the well known verse was read,—

'God is the refuge of his saints,
When storms of sharp distress invade;
Ere we can utter our complaints,
Behold him present with his aid.'

The words, 'Repeal, repeal, repeal,' were then sung, as the tears of many a hearer fell. The meeting recommended that these be repeated at every Fugitive Meeting until the bill is repealed, or becomes a dead letter.

TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Committee of Vigilance of Boston, at a meeting at half past 5 this morning, passed a resolution, respectfully asking the people of Massachusetts to toll the bells in the several towns, as the intelligence reaches them of the return of a fugitive slave from this Commonwealth.

☞ In the capture and dragging away of poor Sims to Georgia, the depravity of the daily press of Boston has been exhibited in the most revolting manner. Take the following as a sample from the Mail:

'Saturday afternoon was a scene of jollity and amusement in the streets of our city. Crowds of the sons of the branch pilots produced a set of castanets, familiarly called 'bones,' and several breakdowns were given by Sims, the fugitive, pilot Thomas Dolliver, and watchman Daniel Clutman, (son of O. C.) Sims was in high glee, at the request of the crowd, he gave the tune, 'Carry me back to old Virginia,' to the music of the castanets, in a style that elicited the most boisterous applause.'

A young man, a passenger in the brig, brought out a musical instrument on which he was an adept, and added to the general merriment by playing all the tunes Sims expressed in no way adverse to proceeding on his pleasant Southern voyage, in such excellent company as Mayor Bigelow.

Gen. Devens, U. S. Marshal, came up to the city on Saturday evening, arriving at the wharf about one o'clock Sunday A. M., in company with policemen J. S. Kimball, Alfred Sleeper, Wm. R. Tucker, constables O. W. Allen and W. K. Jones, and watchmen Alvin Tucker, Daniel Chutman, and George Clark. Jones had taken his luggage on board, with a view of going to Savannah with the prisoner, but finally concluded to remain.

The following named persons proceeded on the voyage with Sims, to deliver him up at Savannah, on the part of the U. S. Government, viz.: Deputy U. S. Marshals John R. Riley and F. D. Byrnes, Thomas Dolliver, pilot, and special policemen, Messrs. True and Simpson Clark.

The crew of the Acorn consists of Capt. Coombs, two mates, and seven or eight men.

FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE BRIG ACORN.—At about eleven o'clock on Saturday night, the wind, which had been before from the East, changed to the North West, when the brig Acorn, with her human freight, cleared sail from Pantasket Roads. She was accompanied a few miles by the pilot boat Friend, having the U. S. Marshal on board, he having been induced to go down again by intimations that a rescue might be attempted. He returned at three o'clock on Sunday morning. In the meantime Sims was in constable Lawton's room down in a sail boat for the purpose of re-arresting Cephas I Ames, the mate of the brig M. & J. C. Gilmore, for an assault upon Sims when discovered on board that vessel, but returned, not having been able to find the Acorn. The Post says:

'When Capt. Coombs, of the Acorn, was informed that an attempt might be made to take Sims out of his vessel, he made the necessary dispositions for defence, and addressed a letter to Mayor Bigelow, expounded that they would stand by him.

The U. S. Marshal's force which has gone to Savannah with Sims, consists of John H. Riley, Deputy Marshal, Frederick D. Byrnes, James Sawin, Simpson Clark, George J. Coolidge, all of this city, and W. O. Russell of New Bedford, employed under the section of the law which authorizes the Marshal to furnish assistance to the claimant, when adjudged slave in case there is apprehension of a rescue.'

MEETING OF THE SENATORIAL COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

A meeting of the Committee of Investigation on the order introduced into the Senate by Mr. Robinson, was held in the Senate Chamber on Friday morning.

The Sheriff of Suffolk appeared, with S. D. Parker, Esq., State Attorney for Suffolk, Mayor Bigelow, United States Marshal, Hon. Rufus Choate, Marshal Tukey, and others.

The Sheriff was the first witness. He testified that a writ of replevin, and also a criminal writ, had been put into the hands of himself or his Deputies. In reference to the serving of these writs, he called upon early at half 2 o'clock. Mayor Bigelow, the District Attorney for advice. The reply of the District Attorney and also of the Attorney General were put in.

Deputy Sheriff Coburn was the next witness. A writ of *de homine replegiando* on U. S. Marshal Devens was placed in his hands, with orders to serve it. Marshal wished to consult counsel, and on a second interview, the Marshal positively refused to surrender his prisoner. He afterwards asked to see the prisoner, that he might take him according to the writ, and the Marshal told him he had a sufficient force, and he should interpose force sufficient to retain possession, and no more. Another writ had been placed in his hands, empowering him to take Sims from the custody of the Marshal, under an alleged penal charge. On calling on the Marshal with this writ, he informed him that he had been a similar warrant previously issued by the United States authorities, which of course entitled him to hold the prisoner in precedence of the Circuit Court warrant. The next morning, the Marshal gave as his final answer to this Circuit Court warrant, a positive and decided refusal to surrender the prisoner.

Richard Hildreth was sworn, and testified to issuing a criminal process against Thomas Sims; also one against Cephas J. Ames, mate of the ship in which Sims came, for an assault.

Mayor Bigelow testified, that being apprehensive of a disturbance of the peace, he had ordered the officers of the light infantry regiment to have a portion of their troops in readiness to sustain the officers of the law in preserving the peace of the city. To the question, whether any officer of the city, when not sworn, had any right to the cognizance of the city, should violate a law of the Commonwealth, he should not take cognizance thereof, Mayor Bigelow replied—'That with due respect to the Committee, he did not consider himself bound to say what he should do, or not do, in supposable cases.'

At this stage of the proceedings, the Committee adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

Marshal Tukey called again and sworn. Testified that he had been acting in the case of Sims under a written order of the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston.

Mr. Kimball of Boston, wished to know if it was in order to debate the question.

The speaker said it was, if the question was considered strictly to the matter of reference.

Mr. Kimball said he supposed the reference, because there were reasons why the subject should be considered strictly by the House. They were those which perhaps would not be known to the Committee. The name of De Witt Clinton, had been proposed to take, is the name of a man who was once U. S. Marshal, and who was in the slave trade. It was here suggested by several members that the name of the person was De Wolfe. He would ask gentlemen to let him alone in his own way. The person desiring to have his name changed, perhaps did not know this fact, and it is important that he should be made acquainted with him, lest he should find he had taken a more objectionable name.

Mr. Barnard of Boston, objected to the reception of petitions, in which persons were allowed to express their opinions of the merits of distinguished individuals in the United States, when they were in the habit of degrading or of exalting epithets. He hoped therefore that the petitioner would have leave to withdraw his petition.

The Speaker said the motion might be made, if the motion before the House should be carried.

Mr. Curtis of W. Brookfield said the petitioner was a respectable and intelligent young man. Was in politics.

Mr. Fuller of Boston, saw no reason why the prayer of the petitioner should not be granted. He supposed the petitioner knew the appropriateness of the name he desired to assume, (De Witt,) which in last signified *without sin*.

Mr. Gleason of Worcester moved the previous question, which was sustained.

The petition was ordered to be referred, by a vote of 137 to 107.

THE KNELL OF LIBERTY. The bells of the Orthodox, Methodist, and Universalist Churches at Wilkinson were tolled on Saturday, when the tidings of the man-stealing was received. The bell on the Baptist Church, being sledged with cotton, would not sound.

In Newton Upper Falls the church bells were tolled on Saturday for the removal of Sims.

The town bell of Plymouth was also tolled on receipt of the humiliating news.

☞ Our friends who do not keep files of the Liberator, will confer an obligation upon us, by forwarding to us last week's paper—i. e. the paper for April 11th, 1851.

☞ What! Daniel Webster, the 'godlike,' the 'defender of the Constitution,' the 'idol of our glorious Union,' excluded from Faneuil Hall, on a dangerous disturber of the peace! So it appears by the following pregnant article from the Courier of Wednesday morning:

RECEPTION OF MR. WEBSTER IN BOSTON.

The citizens of Boston have been for some days in expectation of witnessing a public reception of the Hon. Daniel Webster, by the citizens of this city, in Faneuil Hall, on Monday evening, the Mayor and Aldermen were invited to *assist* session, for the purpose of acting on the following resolution:

To the Honorable Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Boston:

The undersigned respectfully ask the use of Faneuil Hall, on the 17th day of April, 1851, for the purpose of a public reception of the Honorable Daniel Webster, and to consult on the public good.

Signed by George C. Smith, and over 100 other substantial citizens, of both political parties.

After some proceedings had taken place in private, the doors were opened, and the following action of the foregoing petition was reported:—

Upon the petition of George C. Smith and others, for the use of Faneuil Hall for a public meeting on the 17th instant:

Resolved, That in view of the recent action of this Board upon other similar applications, and of the present critical state of the public mind, it is inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall for the purpose asked for.

The vote on the adoption of the resolution stood as follows: Yeas—Messrs. Brown, Briggs, Crane, Kimball and Munroe. Nays—Messrs. Bigelow, Holbrook, Rogers and Smith. It was not necessary to the Mayor to vote, as it was understood that he declined himself strongly against the resolution.

Yesterday afternoon, in consequence of the general excitement consequent on this affair, the Mayor and Aldermen met again in secret session, and a proposal was made to rescind the order. The discussion which ensue upon this proposal was long, but it resulted in a refusal of the Board to reconsider their vote. At two hour debate, the question was taken, and it appeared that the vote was 5 to 5, the Mayor not voting. The Mayor, Aldermen Holbrook, Rogers and Smith, Aggie for reconsidering—Aldermen Briggs, Clark, Grant and Munroe, against. So the vote stands, the original resolution stands. Mr. Moses Kimball, Chairman of the Board, was not vote. We do not learn that he assigned any reason.

The public are entirely at a loss to understand this most extraordinary action of the four Aldermen who have thus disappointed the general expectation, and place themselves in opposition to the wishes of a vast majority of the inhabitants of this city. We leave the matter without any further comment.

The Great Apostate may well exclaim, 'Did you this backing your friend?' and in his perplexity again ask, 'Where shall I go?' Moved to pity in view of his extinction, some of the anti-slavery fraternity magnanimously sent to the Mayor and Aldermen the following petition:—

To the Hon. the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen of Boston:

Gentlemen—The undersigned, while they censure the recent action of your board in refusing the use of Faneuil Hall, for a public meeting, to the Free Soil citizens of this city and Commonwealth, would respectfully petition that the resolution refusing the use of said building upon the petition of Mr. George G. Smith and others, for a public meeting of the citizens, passed yesterday by your honorable body, may be rescinded; and they beg leave to suggest that the board, desire that the Hall should be used for Dorr, and other similar applications should be made a precedent, and—that if there is any danger that the proposed meeting will be disturbed by mobs, or of the present excited state of the public mind,' the undersigned would be happy to assist the officers of the law in securing the utmost freedom of speech, and the quiet and good order of the city.

W. Jewett,	L. A. Grimes,
Edward Winslow,	H. A. Gardner,
E. W. Jackson,	Darius Bigelow,
John Bent,	Theodore Parker,
Joseph R. Hayes,	R. E. Pease,
S. P. Hanscom,	Bela Marsh,
Charles List,	Amariah Sters.
Hobe S. Hallett,	

In addition to this, the following generous offer appeared in the Commonwealth on Wednesday. Mr. Hayes, it will be recollected, is one of those who was arrested on the charge of having aided in the rescue of Shadrach:—

A CARD.

TO THE FRIENDS OF MR. WEBSTER.

Gentlemen—As the city fathers have seen fit to expel Faneuil Hall from the use of the people, in view of your loss, permit me to say, that there is a Temple of Liberty, at your service, at a reasonable charge; and should you feel like paying a portion of the rent, it *shall be preserved in it*, and neither higher law nor Free Soilers, Free Democrats, or Scott Whigs shall be allowed to interrupt your proceedings, or silence the orator. JOSEPH K. HAYES,
Superintendent of Tremont Temple.

RIGHTLY ASHAMED OF HIS NAME.

The following scene took place in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on Tuesday last:

Mr. Curtis of W. Brookfield, presented the following petition, which at his request was read, the House greeting laughter by vote.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled—

The petition of Daniel Webster Gilbert, of West Brookfield, humbly showeth, that the circumstance of bearing the illustrious name of Daniel has ever been a source of mortification to him, to which feeling is not added an utter detestation of the course in public life of that man, in the support for whom the parents of your petitioner bestowed upon him the name by which he has heretofore been known.

Your petitioner therefore prayeth that he may be allowed to take the name of De Witt Gilbert, thereby retaining the initials by which he is now known.

D. W. GILBERT.

Boston, April 8th, 1851.

Upon the question of reading the petition, Mr. Gardner of Boston, made an objection, and asked if the subject was debatable.

Mr. Keith of Roxbury moved that the prayer of the petitioner be granted.

Mr. Kimball of Boston, wished to know if it was in order to debate the question.

The speaker said it was, if the question was considered strictly to the matter of reference.

Mr. Kimball said he supposed the reference, because there were reasons why the subject should be considered strictly by the House. They were those which perhaps would not be known to the Committee. The name of De Witt, the name proposed to take, is the name of a man who was once U. S. Marshal, and who was in the slave trade. It was here suggested by several members that the name of the person was De Wolfe. He would ask gentlemen to let him alone in his own way. The person desiring to have his name changed, perhaps did not know this fact, and it is important that he should be made acquainted with him, lest he should find he had taken a more objectionable name.

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ANTI-SLAVERY IN CANADA.

TORONTO, U. C., April 8, 1851.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Mr. May wrote you, I believe, an account of the most interesting Anti-Slavery meetings held in this city the last week. The American Abolitionists, Douglass and May, and the great English Philanthropist, George Thompson, have received a most cordial reception from the people of Toronto. They have given several soul-stirring addresses, and waked up more fully that strong love of freedom which has already given shelter to thousands of trembling fugitives from American tyranny, and brought into existence the 'Canadian Anti-Slavery Society.'

On Thursday evening last, Mr. Douglass gave a powerful address, which was most enthusiastically received.

On Friday and Saturday evenings, Mr. Thompson gave to full audiences, and with most satisfactory effect, his lectures upon British India.

The opinion he expressed of the boundless resources of the country, and his sentiments in relation to the comparatively pure and noble character of the Hindoo, and of his right to a government at once simple, just and equal, were received by his English and Canadian auditory with the most enthusiastic applause.

On Sunday, A. M., by invitation, Rev. S. J. May preached in the George street Unitarian Church to a good audience. His text was from Acts 17, v. 26:—'And God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' His theme was the universal Brotherhood of Man; and this was enforced by sound reasoning, and by most earnest appeals to the higher nature of man. He spoke of God's love for his children—*all* his children—and sketched in a vivid manner the perfect happiness which would ensue to the race of man, if this glorious principle of love to all should be carried out. He described most graphically Paul on Mars Hill, and the group of doubting, reasoning, hating, scorning men, who, on that memorable day, heard from his lips the truth in relation to that 'unknown God' to whom they had raised an altar, and who then heard perhaps for the first time, the truth that 'God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth.' He spoke of the bitter spirit of sectarianism, which kept men apart who would otherwise gladly join hands in every work of humanity and love, and rejoiced also at the manifestations already seen of the breaking down of that partition wall which sectarianism has built, and which has so long prevented men of differing theological views from coming together upon the broad platform of humanity.

On Monday evening Mr. May, by request, delivered an anti-slavery address to a large audience in the same church. He gave an acount of slavery as it is. He spoke of its horrible laws, which not only deny liberty to the slave, but also are so framed that not a ray of light shall reach his darkened mind. The man who teaches him to read the Bible is liable to the penalty of death. He spoke of the downward career of Daniel Webster,—sketched his character as it was when he stood upon the Rock of Plymouth on the 200th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and there uttered that memorable speech which has become a part of the literature and history of the country. He spoke of his downfall, in his lust for power and gold, and how the Slave Power had reduced him to the mean and pitiable position which he now occupies.

Mr. May then called upon the people of Canada to give their moral influence to the cause of the slave. He said he asked not for political interference; he asked only for the exercise of that moral power which every man and every community may bring to bear, if they will, wherever human right is denied, and humanity is cast into the dust. This influence they could exert in various ways. In their business with the Americans, their religious connection or intercourse with members and ministers of American churches, and in travelling through any of the United States, the Canadian lover of liberty could speak his honest opinion of slavery, and give it his utter condemnation wherever he goes.

He closed a most interesting and instructive lecture by appealing to them, as men and Christians, to do their duty to their colored brethren who are in the bonds of slavery. He thanked them for their kindness to the poor fugitives who had come to Canada to escape from American tyranny, and called upon them to co-operate with the friends of the slave in America in this great and glorious enterprise in which we are engaged.

Both of the addresses of Mr. May yesterday will do great good, without doubt. The necessity of having a strong sympathy and a system of co-operation in existence between the abolitionists of America and the people of Canada becomes each hour more apparent. The fugitive must find his home here, God alone knows how long; but certainly till the accursed Fugitive Bill is repealed or modified; and the utter want of principle among the influential people of the United States, and the tremendous efforts of the Slave Power to crush the last remnant of the spirit of Liberty, render hopeless any attempts to repeal that Law at present. And it is a matter of rejoicing that the formation of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society, and the visit of Messrs. Thompson, May and Douglass has already begun the work of *union* between the abolitionists of America and Canada; union for the amelioration of the sufferings of the fugitive, and the interchange of that moral influence which shall yet break the chains of the American slave.

Yours, &c., G. W. P.

LETTER FROM REV. S. J. MAY.

STEAMBOAT ON LAKE ONTARIO, April 10, 1851.

DEAR GARRISON:

I have just left Toronto, and dear Thompson, with his devoted friend Putnam. I have been with him ten days—and they are days long to be remembered. I have bathed in the effulgence of his intellectual light. I have drank freely from the exhaustless fountain of divine love that wells up from his great heart at every claim of suffering humanity. Much as I admired him when he was in this country before, I admire him more now. The wealth of his mental acquisitions astonishes me. The facility with which he turns them all to good account seems to me, at times, like inspiration. The consecration of all he is and all he has to the true and the right, commands my reverence. I esteem it a very rare privilege to have known such a man intimately. I am very grateful to our heavenly Father for raising up such a man in our day, to help us in our conflict with the powers of darkness. What blazes of light does he throw into the deep recesses, where they fain would hide themselves! And how does he often so announce a truth, that it is luminous in its own self-evidence! In public, he is glorious, standing like a high tower of strength, too mighty in its stability to be moved by all the assaults that can be made upon the cause of humanity. In private, 'all unwithheld, indulging to his friends the vast, unborrowed treasures of his mind'—he is as pure, innocent, playful, lovely as a child.

I need not assure you, that I have highly enjoyed my stay with him at Toronto. The only drawback to my pleasure has been, that I have not been able to save his strength more, by bearing a larger share of the burthen of our meetings. But where he is, one feels that the audience does not wish to listen to any other. And this feeling in me has been enhanced at Toronto, by the suspicion, which several circumstances awakened, that the anti-slavery ministers of that city, (all of whom are Orthodox,) were not much pleased to see me—a *Unitarian*—on their platform. I hope I did them injustice in this. If not, I earnestly pray that they may soon come to see, that an agreement in the great purpose for which Christ lived and died—*the redemption of mankind from sin and misery*—is of more importance than an agreement in the theological systems devised by men; respecting which, there have always been questions of doubtful disputation. Until they do come to see this, and act accordingly, they cannot be efficient fellow-laborers in the cause of human liberty.

I regretted the embarrassment which this apprehension caused me; especially because it crippled the little strength I might have brought to Mr. Thompson's aid, and threw the more labor upon him. I made but one extended speech, a copy of half of which I send you in the Toronto paper; and you will see the other half next week in the North Star or the Standard.

I left Thompson very much worn by his exertions, but he promised me that he would speak no more until he comes to us in Syracuse, some time next week.

I hope, when I get home, to find letters from you, informing me that the Anniversary of our Society is to be held in Syracuse. If so, I shall make, immediately, the best arrangements I can for your accommodation.

I have just heard the tidings of 'the new case' in Boston. The hour that is to try men's souls has come. May the friends of the right be found equal to the demands now to be made upon them!

Yours truly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

FAST DAY.

An interesting and well attended meeting of this Society was holden at Bridgewater, in the Town Hall, on Fast Day, April 10th, 1851—Bourne Spooner, of Plymouth, the President of the Society, in the chair.

A meeting of the Society was also held on the evening previous, in the spacious Town Hall, which was addressed by Lewis Ford of Abington, and by Parker Pillsbury.

The meeting on Fast Day was well attended by the energetic and persevering abolitionists of the Old Colony—all parts of it were fully represented. We noticed several clergymen present.

After some preliminary remarks by the President, on motion of N. B. Spooner of Plymouth, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to report on the time and place of holding the annual meeting of the Society, viz.—Lewis Holmes of Bridgewater, L. Ford of Abington, Rufus Bates of Hanover, and N. B. Spooner of Plymouth.

On motion, chose Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury and Lewis Ford a Committee on Business.

On motion, also, chose N. B. Spooner of Plymouth, and Lewis Holmes of Bridgewater, a Committee of Finance.

From the Business Committee, the following resolutions (to which we invite particular attention) were presented, viz:—

Resolved, That the formal observance of this day, as a day of fasting and prayer, by the people of Massachusetts, while they are in league with slaveholders and kidnappers, and while they consent to allow slave-hunters to run down men, women and children on their soil for Southern chains and slavery, and to join in the chase, is an observance which, for hypocrisy and impiety, transcends any thing recorded of the Jewish nation, in its most corrupt condition.

Resolved, That if this day were observed by the people of Massachusetts in fasting in the manner chosen by God, as set forth in the 58th chapter of Isaiah, to-morrow every inch of the soil of the Commonwealth would be sacred to freedom, and every fugitive slave among them would find ample protection against his pursuers.

Resolved, That the knaves who made the Fugitive Slave Law may repeal it when they can: we shall trample it under foot now and for ever; and we hold the authors and abettors of that law to be *hostes humani generis*—enemies of the human race.

Resolved, That, in civil law, protection and obedience are correlative right and duty; hence the Government that has ceased to protect any class of its citizens, has forfeited all right to their obedience.

Resolved, therefore, That it does not lie in the right of Massachusetts to find fault with the refusal, on the part of any of her colored citizens, to obey her laws; and that acts which might be crimes in others, are no crimes in them.

Resolved, That there is one reason why the fugitive slave may rightfully claim a higher place than the white slave of Massachusetts, in that he has at least attempted to recover his liberty.

Resolved, That, as Massachusetts men, we will stand by Massachusetts Laws, and give ourselves no rest till success crown our efforts to obtain Judges and Sheriffs willing and and able to sustain them.

The above resolutions called forth a very interesting and animated discussion, in which Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Lewis Ford and Rev. C. Bradford of Bridgewater, participated.

The speeches of Messrs. Garrison, Phillips and Pillsbury were bold, uncompromising, and delivered '*without concealment and without compromise*,' and powerfully adapted to the 'fearful' time through which we are now passing.

Mr. Ford's remarks were principally in relation to future action of the Society in the county of Plymouth. He wished the Society to hold meetings certainly as often as once a fortnight. The Old Colony he wished thoroughly canvassed. He named several towns where no anti-slavery meeting was ever held, and he wished the Society to hold meetings in these towns as soon as possible. He spoke also of the Society supporting in the field an agent, expressly in the county of Plymouth. He said we ought to do it, and he believed we could do it. For one, he went heart and soul for the movement.

Rev. Mr. Bradford spoke eloquently, and was very happy in his remarks, and elicited much applause. He believed in the 'higher law,' practically as well as theoretically, and had this day advocated it from his pulpit. The hopes of his country's redemption he believed lay in the hands of the primitive abolitionists. In the Free Soil party he had but little faith; but so long as we have the anti-slavery sentiment preached by the abolitionists proper, our country is safe. Their predictions had been fulfilled, and for them he had respect. His remarks were listened to with marked attention.

Pupils from the Normal School in Bridgewater, under the care of Mr. Tillinghast as Principal, favored the meeting with some excellent singing. As an evidence of the spirit of the meeting, we would state, that the Financial Committee collected $29 50.

Our thanks are due to Messrs. Holmes, Bradford, Tillinghast and Crocker for their co-operation and very generous hospitality.

At 9 1-2 o'clock, P. M., the Society adjourned to meet in Scituate, on Saturdey evening and Sunday, April 19 and 20, 1851.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. BRIGHAM, *Sec'ry.*

MEETING AT LYNN.—According to announcement, the citizens of the noble, liberty-loving city of Lynn, held a meeting on Saturday evening, at Lyceum Hall, to express their indignation at the recent base and cowardly exhibition of the slave power in Boston. At an early hour the Hall was densely crowded, and upon the announcement that the Mayor could not preside, in consequence of the indisposition of some members of his family, Mr. J. N. Buffum was appointed chairman. Rev. Mr. Shackford made an address prefatory to the introduction of a series of appropriate resolutions, which were adopted by acclamation. Addresses were also made by Rev. Mr. Colver and others, and after a glorious meeting, the citizens retired, more firmly resolved than ever before to resist the further encroachments of slavery, even at the expense of losing the custom of *Boston* and the *South!*

CONVENTION AT MANCHESTER.

One of the series of One Hundred Conventions was held in Manchester, Mass. on Saturday last, commencing in the evening, and terminating on Sunday evening, at 9 1-2 o'clock. It was the first time we had ever visited Manchester; and it gives us great pleasure to say, that we were most favorably impressed with the spirit and deportment of its citizens. Assisted by our able coadjutor, Mr. Charles Burleigh we held four meetings in succession, all of them being crowded by most attentive, intelligent and candid audiences, who seemed to be in very general sympathy with the speakers, in their advocacy of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law of the late Congress is a practical avowal of rank Atheism, inasmuch as it assumes that there is no supreme law of justice and benevolence, universally binding upon man, and consequently that there is no Supreme Ruler, infinitely just and good, whose very nature implies such a paramount law.

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law is a more flagrant violation of the rights of conscience than any which drove our Pilgrim Fathers from their native land to the shelter of the western wilderness, and that we should be most degenerate sons of noble sires if we should yield obedience to the iniquitous and cruel mandates of this infamous statute, or fail to resist its execution by all rightful means.

Resolved, That inasmuch as it is a maxim alike of law and of justice, that 'no man may take advantage of his own wrong,' and as therefore no man can, by enslaving another, acquire a right to hold him as a slave, or, having once so held him, acquire the right to re-enslave him, if he has escaped; it follows that to re-enslave a fugitive from bondage is as great a wrong and outrage as to enslave a freeman who never was in bondage, and all who aid in perpetrating that outrage ought to branded with the infamy which belongs to kidnappers and man-stealers.

Resolved, therefore, That the acts authorized and required by the Fugitive Slave Law are in moral character essentially the same as that which the law against the African slave trade condemns as piracy, and threatens with the penalty of death; and that these acts and their doers should be esteemed accordingly.

Resolved, That the circumstances attending the arrest, imprisonment, trial, and return to Southern bondage, of Thomas Sims, an alleged fugitive slave, in the city of Boston, prove that personal liberty in this Commonwealth has not a single legal safeguard left; that the Bill of Rights of Massachusetts is a dead letter; that the laws are powerless; that the judicial bench is occupied by those who are false to their great trust; that the military power is supreme; that the crime of kidnapping may be perpetrated on our soil with impunity; and that the Slave Power is as absolute in its purpose and sway in Massachusetts as it is in Carolina.

Resolved, That the Mayor and City Marshal of Boston are to be held specially responsible for the lawless outrage which has disgraced the metropolis during the past week, as it was solely through their instrumentality that Sims was seized, kept in captivity, and carried off to the South, at the point of the bayonet, in utter violation of their oaths of office, and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That these men, with their abettors, have levied war and taken up arms against the government, and therefore deserve to be arraigned and punished for high treason.

Resolved, That the conduct of the city authorities of Boston, in barring the doors of Faneuil Hall against a convention of the people, in favor of the repeal of the unconstitutional and tyrannical Fugitive Slave Bill,—is marked by every feature of meanness, injustice, and arbitrary power, and calls for the severest rebuke on the part of all in whose breasts remains a single spark of the fire of liberty.

Resolved, That the great prop which sustains the slave system is the religious sentiment of the nation, misled and corrupted by false teachers, whose guilt as far transcends that of the chief priests and scribes and pharisees in the days of Christ and his apostles, as the light of noon surpasses in intensity the dawn of day; and, therefore, until those wolves in sheep's clothing be unmasked, and that religious sentiment be purified, there is no hope of the abolition of slavery, except by a bloody process.

The liberal contribution of twenty-nine dollars, in addition to meeting the expenses of the hall and vestry used on the occasion, was made to the Anti-Slavery treasury.

SECURITY TO PERSONAL LIBERTY.

The following are the Resolutions which were offered by the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, in behalf of the Business Committee, at the State Convention held in the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Tuesday, April 9th, in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law—and which were adopted by acclamation:—

Resolved, That the people of the United States are entitled to all the 'rights and liberties' which, by *Magna Charta*, the *habeas corpus* act, the *Declaration of Rights*, and the *Common Law* of England, belonged before the Revolution to the free subjects of the British Crown; that it was not designed, in effecting the political Independence of the Colonies, to subvert or endanger, but, on the contrary, to maintain, secure, and perpetuate the rights and liberties of the people; that all statutes, the effect of which may be to change a free man into a slave, without the '*verdict of his Peers*,' and without judicial proceedings according to 'the law of the land,' are in violation of these rights of Englishmen, which the war of the Revolution was fought, not to part with, but to retain; which the Constitution was formed to protect, and not to destroy; and which we can never disown, desert, betray or compromise, so long as we remain worthy to be known as citizens of New England.

Resolved, That the existing enactments of Congress upon the recapture of persons claimed to have escaped from service, are an alarming usurpation of power, not granted by the people nor the States, are subversive of the ancient rights and duties of freemen, of the express provisions and reservations of the American Constitution, and of the fundamental maxims of a free government.

Resolved, That no person in any State of this Union can constitutionally be deprived of his liberty, without 'due process of law,' which process in the case of an alleged fugitive from service is a suit at common law, in which the person claimed is entitled to a trial of all the facts involved in the issue between him and his claimant, before a court of competent jurisdiction, by a jury of the vicinity where he is found; to be heard fully in his defence, to be confronted, and to cross-examine the witnesses against him; and to have the benefit of the rules of evidence as they are accustomed to be administered in the courts of common law; and that in the determination of such an issue, all presumptions of law and fact are, and ought to be, in favor of liberty.

Resolved, That it is the paramount duty of the law making power to maintain and secure the 'liberties' of the people; and that any enactment which discriminates against the 'liberties' of the people, in favor of property, is unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust; and that a law which discriminates against liberty in favor of one specific kind of property, thus giving to one class of capitalists (and those slaveholders) privileges which are inconsistent with the personal safety of freemen, and not shared by any other holders of property, can stand only upon the assumption, that there are no States in the Union but slave States, no people but slaveholders, and no property in the nation but slaves.

Resolved, That it is impossible to aid, by word or deed, in remanding a fugitive slave to bondage, without aiding to rob him of an inalienable right, without participating in the act of holding him in slavery, and thus without sinning against Christian light and against God.

Resolved, That the Act of Congress providing for the recapture and return of persons claimed as slaves, ought to be immediately and forever repealed.

These resolutions, as a whole, are excellent—the two last, every thing that can be desired. But the first resolution stultifies itself in the clause, 'all statutes, the effect of which may be to change a freeman into a slave, without the verdict of his peers, &c., are in violation of the rights of Englishmen.' But, by Magna Charta, the habeas Corpus Act, the Declaration of Rights, and the Common Law of England, no man can be changed into a slave, either by the verdict of his peers, or by any other form of trial; and, therefore, the clause which we have quoted should have been omitted in the Resolution, as it implies a different sentiment.

In the fourth Resolution, it is declared, 'that no person in any State of this Union can constitutionally be deprived of his liberty, without due process of law.' Did the Convention mean by this, that every slave in this country is illegally held, under the Constitution, not having lost his liberty by 'due process of law'? Or did it mean to admit that, by such process, a man may constitutionally be adjudged to be the property of another? The language is equivocal.

The last resolution but one of the series is worth all the rest, branding, as it does, the act of holding a slave in bondage, or aiding to return a fugitive to that condition, as a 'sin against Christian light and against God.' What puzzles us most is, how—entertaining views like these—such men as Horace Mann, Stephen C. Phillips, John G. Palfrey, and Charles Sumner, can swear to uphold a Constitution, under which they admit the slave-hunter has a right to capture every fugitive slave who ventures to make the old Bay State his place of refuge. The truth is, between supporting and repudiating the foul system of slavery, there is no alternative. In the former case, an oath to support the Constitution involves it; in the latter, the deed can be consistently and effectually done only by refusing to belong to the compact. 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically,' is the only consistent position.

WOMAN'S CONVENTION.

At a Convention of Women, held in Salem, in April last, it was

Resolved, That we, the Women of Ohio, will hereafter meet annually in Convention, to consult upon and adopt measures for the removal of the various disabilities, political, social, religious, legal and pecuniary, to which women, as a class, are subjected, and from which results so much misery, degradation and crime.

The undersigned were appointed a committee to issue a Call, and make the necessary arrangements for the Convention of the present year.

As men and women have the same origin and destiny, and can therefore have no legitimate aims or interests independent of each other, as their relations and obligations to each other are mutual, as the bonds that unite them are indissoluble, as whatever degrades or ennobles one has a corresponding effect on the other, it is fitting that men should co-operate with us in our efforts at emancipation from the ignorance and thraldom of ages. We, therefore, cordially invite all the friends of self-government and human equality, to meet in Convention at Akron, Summit Co., on Wednesday, 28th of May next, at 10 o'clock A. M.

To all the friends of Reform, in whatever department engaged, we say come, give your presence and counsel—give them for the sake of our cause—give them because none of the efforts to elevate humanity can fully realize their objects, while one half the laborers in reform are disfranchised by law, perverted by education, and degraded by the opinions and customs of society; war will continue to devastate the nations—slavery, political and personal, will crush humanity—intemperance and sensuality will pollute the earth, while so much of the moral power, which should be arrayed against them, is lost by the position which woman now occupies.

E. ROBINSON,
C. L. SMALLEY,
M. L. GILBERT.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

By the 8th article of the Constitution, it is provided that 'the annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct.' Hitherto, since the formation of the Society, the annual meeting has been uniformly held in the city of New York, and usually in the Broadway Tabernacle. So absolute, however, is the sway of the Slave Power in that city, and such the fear of mobocratic excesses, (stimulated by 'THE UNION COMMITTEE' on the one hand, and the lawless RYNDERS and his crew on the other,) that no meeting-house or hall, in that great city, can be procured, either for the love of liberty or for gold, for the accommodation of the Society. Neither in the adjacent city of Brooklyn can any suitable building be obtained for this purpose.

Leaving these cities to the historical infamy which awaits them, the Executive Committee, in accordance with the urgent request of the friends of impartial liberty in Western New York, hereby give notice that the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at SYRACUSE, (N. Y.,) on WEDNESDAY, May 7th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.—at which time and place they earnestly invite a full attendance of its members and friends; believing that the crisis is such, in the conviction of every intelligent mind, both as to the preservation of our own liberties and the emancipation of the millions who are still clanking the fetters of slavery, as to render needless any special appeal.

It is with great pleasure the Committee announce, that their distinguished and eloquent coadjutor, GEO. THOMPSON, M. P., has promised to give his attendance, and participate in the proceedings. The Rev. THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, has also signified his intention to be with us on the occasion, if practicable, as well as other able advocates of 'LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.' A series of meetings, of the most interesting and stirring character, may be confidently expected. Much reliance is placed on the readiness and determination of the friends of the cause at the West to improve this opportunity to commune with their brethren from the East.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*
WENDELL PHILLIPS, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, } *Secretaries.*

☞ Editors of papers are respectfully requested to notify their readers of the time and place of holding this anniversary.

A PROPOSITION.

DEAR GARRISON:

Can there not be some plan put into operation, by which Kossuth, the Hungarian, and Shadrach, the American, can meet at the World's Fair, and congratulate each other on their escape from oppression, and cause every lover of liberty to thank God and take courage?

March 6th, 1851.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. A crowded meeting of the opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law was held at Washington Hall, Friday evening. Earnest and able speeches were made by the Hon. Henry Wilson, President of the Senate, Charles List, William L. Garrison, Charles Lenox Remond, Mr. Kemp, (the most witty Irishman in America,) Parker Pillsbury, Rodney French, Esq. and S. P. Hanscom. The meeting continued until near midnight.—*Com.*

MEETING AT THE TEMPLE.

In spite of the driving storm on Tuesday evening, 8th instant, Tremont Temple was crowded with the friends of liberty—Rodney French, Esq., of New Bedford, in the chair. Among the resolutions adopted on the occasion were the following, sustained in a spirited manner by the Rev. Mr. Colver, C. List, Wendell Phillips, W. H. Channing, C. L. Remond, Elizur Wright, and others.

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Bill, with all its cognates, shall be blotted from the statute book of the nation on which it now stands, a libel upon both the Constitution and upon the genius of our government.

Resolved, That each and all of those men who bring commission to represent Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, and who by their speeches, their votes, or by a cowardly retreat from their post, in the hour of peril, contributed to the enactment of this law, have proved themselves traitors to liberty, to humanity, to the nation, and to the high trust confided to them by the citizens of Massachusetts; and that each and all of them shall, as soon as the ballot-box can reach them, be released from further service in the counsels of the nation,—to reap in their retirement the almost unsurpassed infamy to which their memory is doomed; that they have laid themselves upon the altar of Mammon, and the fire of heaven shall consume the offering they have laid there.

Resolved, That as men, as citizens of Massachusetts, and as citizens of the United States, we will never rest, until we rest in death, or in the accomplishment of this, our deliberate formed purpose.

GREAT MEETING IN CHELSEA.

At a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Chelsea, without distinction of party, called at very short notice on Fast-day evening, April 10th, 1851, the following resolutions were unanimously passed, and a copy of the same ordered to be sent by the officers of the meeting to his Excellency the Governor, the Sheriff of the county, and the Mayor of Boston, also the Boston Daily *Atlas* and *Commonwealth*, newspapers, for publication.

A petition was also circulated, which received the signatures of large numbers, praying his Excellency the Governor to remove from office all officers of the State who shall not promptly and without delay execute the laws of the Commonwealth.

The meeting was organized by the election of Hon. Francis B. Fay as President, and Francis D. Ellis, and Samuel Orcutt, Esq., as Vice Presidents; Benjamin Dodge, James P. Farley, Secretaries.

Resolved, That the act of Congress usually styled the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' is unconstitutional, unrighteous and inhuman,—a disgrace to its authors and supporters, and a foul blot upon the legislative records of the Republic.

Resolved, That the *fact* and the *manner* of executing that law in the metropolis of Massachusetts, in the case of the alleged fugitive Sims, now pending, is an outrage upon the moral sense of the people, and an infringement of their rights as citizens of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That our Court-House in chains is a melancholy and humiliating spectacle—especially as the chains that surround it are truly typical of Justice bound within, and Liberty prostrate in the person of the hunted victim of slavery!

Resolved, That Massachusetts cannot be free when her soil is desecrated by the blood-hounds that bay in the track of humanity; and we cannot be secure when the temples of Justice are, both literally and figuratively, bound in the chains of slavery!

Resolved, That it is cause of deep humility, sorrow and anxiety, that the municipal authorities of Boston have volunteered to call out the military; and incite them, by inflammatory speeches from the Mayor, to act with promptness and energy against their fellow-citizens, in case of any outburst of humanity, and converted their whole police force into slave-catchers.

Resolved, That in sad conformity to this volunteer service in behalf of slavery, is their recent act in closing the doors of Faneuil Hall against the friends of freedom, and the right of free discussion.

Resolved, That it is cause of deep alarm, that in the presence of the Slave Power among us, our State rights and statute laws are trampled under foot by our own officers, and the arm of executive power completely paralyzed.

Resolved, That we respectfully but firmly demand to know why the Sheriff of our county neglects or refuses to execute regular and legal processes issued under the statutes of our State, and thus perils the freedom of our citizens.

Resolved, That persons who act as officers of the law, either in a judicial, ministerial, or executive capacity, and use its sacred name and the power with which they are clothed; in *trick* and *stratagem* to defeat the laws of Massachusetts, and effect the return of Sims to bondage, are *kidnappers* and traitors to freedom and humanity!

Resolved, That as friends of the Union—of freedom and humanity, and for the protection of ourselves, and the benefit of posterity,—we protest against the Fugitive Bill, and all proceedings under it, and demand its unconditional repeal.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to pray it down, to talk it down, to act it down, to live it down, *to vote it down!*

BULLETS AND BAYONETS.

The Military have answered to the call to sustain the laws with a degree of promptitude which does them infinite credit. The Boston Light Guard, Capt. Clark, were on duty during Friday night, and on Saturday morning they were relieved by the Pulaski Guards, Capt. Wright. This company were relieved by the Massachusetts Volunteers, Capt. Poore, and at 9 o'clock, last evening, they were relieved by the Warren Infantry, Capt. Williams. We visited Faneuil Hall, yesterday afternoon, and found every thing in readiness to give a warm reception to any persons who might be possessed with the idea to possess themselves of the State arms and munitions. Two sentinels were posted at the door, and three others in different parts of the hall, and the boys were all ready with the new percussion lock-muskets and ball-cartridges. From all these indications the deduction is reasonable that any attempt to rescue the fugitive now in custody would be attended with considerable difficulty.—*Times of Monday, 7th.*

The Police under Drill.—Captain Adams, of the Police, drilled his corps yesterday morning in Court Square, much to the admiration of those who had the smartness and good fortune to be up at 6 o'clock. The manner in which hollow squares, lines, platoons, and a great many other movements, the names of which we do not know, were formed, was a lesson to tacticians not to be snuffed at with common macaboy. We like these drills. They are useful. The times want them.—*Boston Times.*

Mayor Bigelow Inciting the Military.—On Saturday night, Mayor Bigelow visited Faneuil Hall, where were rendezvoused the City Guards, Capt. Thompson, detailed for enforcing the Fugitive Slave Bill. He made a speech, notifying the men present that they *might* possibly, not be called upon to act, but if they *were called* upon, he wanted them to act promptly, and like men. Mr. Bigelow is a great man—over the left.

☞ It is stated that the New York merchants intend to have a statue of Webster erected. The Commonwealth thinks it should be made of india-rubber, and that this would be quite as satisfactory to Webster as one by Powers, if he could be allowed to pocket the difference in the prices. *Dough* is the most appropriate material.

OBITUARY.

The subject of this notice, SARAH BABCOCK, was born in South Kingston, (R. I.) in the year 1809, and died in Providence, (R. I.) April 2d, 1851. By the death of her parents in early life, the responsible charge of providing for a family of brothers and sisters devolved upon her. Placing a firm reliance on her Heavenly Father, she was sustained in this arduous duty, which she performed with affection and fidelity, and lived to see the objects of her charge come forward in life, virtuous and respected. Her task is done. 'The silver chord is loosed—the golden bowl is broken,' and she is now gone to reap the reward of the faithful. When quite young, she became a disciple of Christ, and a member of the First Baptist Church in this city, and was ever found a firm advocate in the cause of her Redeemer. By her amiable and gentle manners, she gained the confidence and respect of all who knew her. Many sympathize with the bereaved family; and while their hearts are bowed in sorrow, they are consoled with the thought that their dear departed sister has made a happy exchange. With her last expiring breath she gave testimony of her faith, and willingness to depart and be with Christ. Her death-bed was a happy one; for there her Christian principles were fully developed, and enabled her to sustain her sufferings with fortitude, in humble submission and resignation to her Heavenly Father's will. 'May I die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.'—*Communicated.*

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

HAVERHILL, (Essex Co.)
Saturday and Sunday, April 19 and 20.
This Convention will be held in connection with the quarterly meeting of the Essex Co. A. S Society. *See Notice.*

SCITUATE, (Plymouth Co.)
Saturday Evening and Sunday, April 19 and 20.
Will be held, probably, in the Town Hall, and attended by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, LUCY STONE, and others.

DEDHAM, (Norfolk Co.)
Thursday, April 24.
To be held in connection with the annual meeting of the Norfolk Co. A. S. Society. *See notice.*

WORCESTER, (Worcester Co.)
Saturday evening and Sunday, April 26 and 27.
☞ This Convention will be held in the City Hall, in connection with the Worcester Co. (South) Anti-Slavery Society. *See notice.*

WORCESTER COUNTY, NORTH DIVISION.

The annual meeting of the Worcester County (North Division) Anti-Slavery Society will take place at Westminster on Saturday and Sunday, (May 3d and 4th,) commencing on Saturday P. M.

Friends of freedom! men and women of Worcester North! Need one word be said to induce you to give your attendance at this convention? While the national government is doing all in its power to uphold the monstrous evil of slavery by infamous legislation; and the national religion stands, with outstretched arms, eager to sanction and sanctify such legislation; while, by it, the slaveholding tyrant is not only *permitted*, but *encouraged* to pursue his victim, and, even upon the soil of New England, reclaim and re-enslave him; while we are subjected to fines and imprisonment for feeding and clothing the hungry, thirsty, naked and destitute stranger, whom in Christian charity we have taken in; while a man is threatened with personal violence, scandalized by pulpit and press, because that, being by accident of birth a native of another land, he has a heart to feel for and plead for the oppressed in our own land, and the moral courage to denounce the system, (although fostered by the national government,) out of which this oppression grows, and all enactments passed to sustain it; while all this and more is true of us and our land, shall one word be needed to induce us to do all in our power to crush this terrible evil, and hasten the day of universal freedom?

The names of speakers will be given in a future number of the Liberator.

JOSHUA T. EVERETT, *President.*
JOHN A. MIRICK, *Sec'ry.*

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR IN PLYMOUTH.

The Anti-Slavery Women of Plymouth propose to hold a Fair at Leyden Hall, in that place, commencing on Wednesday, April 16, and continuing through that and the two succeeding days. During the evenings of the Fair, addresses may be expected from Wm. L. Garrison and other distinguished speakers.

Admission 12 1-2 cents. Season tickets, 25 cents.

At the close of the Fair on Friday evening, there will be a Levee, at which Wm. L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips have engaged to be present and deliver addresses.

Tickets for the Levee, 25 cents.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY, AWAKE!

A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Scituate, (probably in the Town Hall) on Saturday evening, and Sunday, through the day and evening, April 19 and 20.

C. C. Burleigh will be present, and N. H. Whiting is expected.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. BRIGHAM, *Sec'ry.*

NORFOLK COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Norfolk County A. S. Society will be held at Dedham, in Temperance Hall, on Thursday, April 24, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to continue through the day and evening. Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, May, Pillsbury and other speakers are expected to be present. It is hoped that the present momentous crisis in the affairs of the State and Nation will call together a great assembly of the enemies of slavery in Norfolk county, and from other parts of the State.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*
ANNE W. WESTON, WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, } *Sec'y.*

ESSEX COUNTY.

A quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Haverhill, on Saturday and Sunday, April 19 and 20, commencing at 7 o'clock, A. M., at the Town Hall.

Wm. L. Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, and other speakers, will attend the meeting.

A full attendance of all the members and friends is earnestly requested.

In behalf of the Executive Committee,
E. J. KENNY.

WORCESTER CO. (SOUTH) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this Society, for the choice of officers and other business, (unavoidably postponed from the regular time,) will be held in WORCESTER, in the City Hall, commencing at 7 o'clock on Saturday evening, April 26, and continuing on Sunday, day and evening.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, LUCY STONE, and other speakers, will attend.

The members and friends of the Society are requested to give a punctual attendance.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President.*
JOHN H. CRANE, *Secretary.*

AID FOR CHAPLIN.

The Chaplin Committee, being anxious to refund the money to those friends who volunteered loans to effect his liberation, have engaged LORING MOODY to collect funds for this purpose; and he will lecture on Slavery, and take contributions for this object, in

Uxbridge,	Saturday evening,	April	19.
Millville,	Sunday,	"	20.
Blackstone,	Monday,	"	21.
Woonsocket,	Tuesday,	"	22.
Valley Falls,	Thursday,	"	24.
Pawtucket,	Sunday,	"	27.

Friends in the above places are requested to make all needful arrangements for the meetings.

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

South Natick,	Tuesday,	April	22.
Holliston,	Wednesday,	"	23.
Southboro',	Friday,	"	25.

NOTICE.

Rev. DANIEL FOSTER of Concord, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Westfield,	Friday	April	18.
Chester Village,	Sunday,	"	20.
Cummington,	Tuesday,	"	22,

and in other towns in the vicinity, on each evening of the remainder of the week; of which due local notice will be given.

DANVERS.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in Danvers, (South parish,) on Sunday next, April 20.

THE HIGHER LAW DISCUSSED!

The People's Sunday Meeting, at Cochituate Hall, will discuss, next Sunday afternoon, the question whether it is the duty of the people to obey the Higher Law, as a rule of political action, or the laws enacted by the Government? The public are invited to attend, and take part in the debate. Fifteen minutes to each speaker.

☞ CHAS. SPEAR will deliver an address in the Universalist Church in Roxbury, next Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock, on his Mission to England.

CLOTHING!

NEW STORE,

No. 107, : : : : CAMBRIDGE STREET.

LEWIS HAYDEN

HAS opened the above Store, and keeps a good assortment of

MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING,

of superior quality. Formerly a slave in Kentucky, he trusts that all will lend him a helping hand; as it will be his constant endeavor to keep for sale a good and cheap article on hand, both at wholesale and retail. tf April 4

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

LINES

On the occasion of the Hon. Daniel Webster's Visit to New England.

Thou beaming star, how hast thou set in darkness!
 Thy light departed, and thy glory gone!
Shorn of thy rays, disrobed of all thy brightness,
 Hid in the clouds thou hast around thee drawn!

Is this the man whose title was 'The Godlike'?
 The foe of tyrants?—he whose voice went forth,
Booming in thunder-tones amid the nation?
 Is this the glorious statesman of the North?

Is this the man who saw that Shaft uprising
 From Bunker's battle-ground, and point to heaven,
And, standing there, extolled the god of battles,
 Who had to trampled freemen freedom given.

Weep, weep! Alas! how hath the mighty fallen!
 The precious gold is lustreless and dim;
Mighty thou wast, like the bright Son of Morning;
 Fearful thy fall, for thou hast fallen like him—

To rise no more. The fabled bird of story
 Up from its ashes soars again to light;
But thou has blighted all thy fame and glory—
 Thy sun's last rays have set in endless night.

Thou seekest now thy home; Oh! haste thou hither,
 To look upon the ruin thou has wrought;
See where in dust all thy proud laurels wither—
 Weep tears of blood that thou with gold wast bought.

Lo! yonder shameful sight that waits before thee!
 Behold the *chain around yon Temple* thrown,
While that proud pile where Liberty was cradled
 Is dumb; and this fell work is all thine own!

Come hither, thou who once was Freedom's glory;
 Come hither, thou, once Liberty's fair son;
To former greatness, say, what can restore thee?
 Ah! not that blood-stained gold which thou hast won.

Come hither, thou whose name, once proudly spoken,
 Now brings a blush to every freeman's face,
From Justices's Temple bid those chains be broken,
 And bear them with thee to that sacred place

Where thou didst stand, and bless the God of heaven
 For men whose blood had dyed the oppressor's steel,
And with thy hand, before the indignant nation,
 Bind them around the shaft on Bunker's hill.

Then tear from that false brow the withered fame-wreath
 That erst was thine, and cast it far from thee,
And kneel, thou recreant, on yon hill of battle,
 In shame, where sleep the glorious and the free.

Weep, fallen man! on those green graves where sleepeth
 Beneath thy feet, the mighty and the brave,
And angel voices then shall say he weepeth,
 And God in mercy even *thee* canst save.

LUCY CECILIA HAMILTON.

From Burritt's Christian Citizen.

A MELODY OF SADNESS.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed simple, touching and beautiful song, I take pleasure in sending to your paper, thinking it possible you may not all have met with it.

I understand it has been published, with the music, for some months past: but owing to the influence of the 'blessed' institution over the press, the circulation has been so limited, that I believe some sale has been effected of the plates, to an Eastern publisher. Of this I cannot speak with certainty. But if the 'ballads' of a country have more to do in forming the habits of the people than its 'laws,' you may think it advisable to open this spring, for the healing of the nation.

LEE-RA-LOO.

POOR SAMBO'S LAST PLANTATION MELODY.

I.

They say this is a pleasant place,
 That heaven has gracious been
To Sambo, Cuffey, and to Grace,
 And Sue, our coal-black queen.
We do not doubt that Heaven is kind.
 We're thankful for its good;
But man has broken all its laws,
 And turned its sun to blood.

REFRAIN.

And while we sing our lee-ra-roo,
The heart declares our words untrue,
And sorrow clouds our lee-ra-roo,
 O lee-ra-loo!

CHORUS.—REFRAIN REPEATED.

And lee-ra-loo—and lee-ra-loo,—
Though Massa laughs at lee-ra-loo,
The heart is sad—Oh! lee-ra-loo,
 O lee-ra-loo!

II.

Rich fruits and flowers the earth adorn;
 The streams with silver run;
The gold and amber of the morn
 Surround the glorious sun.
But me! I feel the storm of wo;
 My Sue and babes I mourn;
For sold! to distant fields I go,
 Ah! never to return.

REFRAIN.

And should I sing the lee-ra-loo,
My tears would say, 'Remember Sue,'
To her and all,—a long adieu;
 O lee-ra-loo!

CHORUS.

And lee-ra-loo—and lee-ra-loo,—
Though massa laughs at lee-ra-loo,
The heart is sad—Oh! lee-ra-loo,
 Oh! lee-ra-loo!

III.

And when I see, at silent night,
 The stars like glow-worms shine,
And heaven and earth look sparkling bright,
 No clouds in view but mine;—
I think that heaven could ne'er design,
 (So pure its light appears,)
To give to earth such woes as mine—
 Such bondage, stripes, and tears.

REFRAIN.

And when I sing the lee-ra-loo,
The lash—the lash is in my view,
And saddens all my lee-ra-loo,
 My lee-ra-loo!

CHORUS.

And lee-ra-loo—and lee-ra-loo,—
Though massa laughs, &c.

IV.

The birds are free through air to roam,
 The fishes through the sea,—
The wild bee murmurs to its home,
 All—all are glad but me!
The lightning dances in the clouds,
 The winds of heaven are free;
All beings sing their praise aloud;
 All—all rejoice but me!

REFRAIN.

Then sing no more the lee-ra-loo,
Till freedom rises to the view;
My heart weeps blood—Oh! lee-ra-loo,
 Oh! lee-ra-loo!

CHORUS TO REFRAIN.

And lee-ra-loo—and lee-ra-loo;
A long adieu to lee-ra-loo,—
No more I sing my lee-ra-loo,
 My lee-ra-loo!

The Liberator.

MIDDLESEX CO. A. S. SOCIETY.

The Middlesex County A. S. Society held its Annual Meeting at Concord, Thursday, April 3d, in the Orthodox Church. On account of the unfavorable state of the weather in the morning, there was no organized meeting in the forenoon. At 2 o'clock, there being a goodly number assembled, the meeting was called to order by the President, and a short, comprehensive, and heartfelt prayer was offered by Mr. Foster, the pastor, through whose influence the house was opened to the Convention. Some very appropriate remarks were made by the President, Mr. Whiting, in relation to our duty as citizens of the free States in regard to slavery, and particularly the Fugitive Slave Bill.

A Committee, consisting of Mrs. M. M. Brooks, of Concord, J. G. Dodge, of W. Cambridge, and Andrew Wellington, of Lexington, was chosen to select a list of officers for the ensuing year, who, in due time, reported the old list, with the exception of Miss Sophia Thorou, in place of our deceased sister, H. G. Smith:—

President—WILLIAM WHITING, Concord.

Vice Presidents—WOODMAN C. CURRIER, W. Cambridge; WILLIAM A WHITE, Watertown.

Recording Secretary—LEVI D. SMITH, Stoneham.

Executive Committee—R. Lake, Jr., Stoneham; Horatio W. Foster, Lowell; Sophia Thorou, Concord; M. M. Brooks, do.; A. J. Fuller, Cambridge; J. G. Dodge, W. Cambridge.

Speeches were made by Messrs. Quincy and Buffum, which it must suffice to say were characteristic of the good sense, sound reason, clear heads and benevolent hearts of these men.

Wendell Phillips offered the following resolutions, and advocated their adoption in a speech like himself, the eloquence of which it is vain for me to attempt any description:—

Resolved, That we confess to a prejudice in favor of justice to the outraged and mercy to the oppressed; and that no interests, however valuable, no voice, however eloquent, shall ever induce us to yield up these honest prejudices, to join in trampling on the weak, in cementing a Union in the blood of the slave.

Resolved, That in regard to the recently enacted Fugitive Slave Law, our minds are made up. Let those prove it unconstitutional who choose; constitutional or unconstitutional, we mean to disobey it. Let the knaves who made it repeal it when they can, we shall trample it, now and for ever, utterly under our feet.

Mr. Dodge made some remarks in connection with a motion to raise a financial committee, which consisted of Messrs. A. Wellington and G. W. Symonds, of Lexington; who took collections through the house to defray the expenses of the Convention, and aid the Massachusetts Society.

Rev. Mr. Foster, of Concord, made a thrilling speech, well worthy the head and heart of a Christian minister. He evidently feels that he *must meet* his fugitive brother at the bar of God, and he is willing to suffer the odium which is so profusely cast around the path of an abolitionist, for the sake of being an honest man. God give him strength and manly courage to sustain his perilous position!

Rev. Mr. Frost, the Unitarian clergyman of Concord, made some pertinent remarks relative to the inhuman prejudice against color which exists in the hearts of the people of the free States, as having no foundation in truth, and exhibiting a hostility and disbelief in the principles of Christianity.

A vote of thanks to the Society worshipping here was voted unanimously, for allowing the free use of their house to the Convention, when an adjournment was made to 7 o'clock, at the vestry of the Unitarian church, to enjoy a festival prepared by the ladies of Concord for the occasion; for particulars of which read the following account, by Miss Whiting.

LEVI D. SMITH, *Rec. Sec.*

☞ We are kindly permitted to publish the following private letter to a friend, written by one of the young ladies present at the entertainment.

CONCORD, April 6, 1851.

DEAR FRIEND:—

I regret exceedingly that the pressure of professional duties prevented your presence at our festival. Never was Tea Party arranged under more uncertainties. We had to work out an equation with *three* unknown quantities; and, what was hardest, to wait a month for the result. These quantities were, first, the state of public feeling towards our enterprise, a knowledge of which would enable us to calculate the number of guests to be expected; second, the amount of provisions which would be contributed by those who had not, hitherto, aided our efforts; and lastly, the kind of weather we should have on the eventful evening. The only known quantity was *faith*, and with that we worked out a triumphant result.

The morning of April 3d was not very promising, as you remember, but gradually the clouds parted, and at last the sun shone out and gladdened many an anxious heart. Meanwhile, busy hands and swift feet were engaged in preparing the tables for the evening. In the afternoon, the doors of the Orthodox meeting house were opened, for the first time, for the use of an anti-slavery meeting. How spacious, and airy and lofty it seemed, in comparison with the half buried, ill-ventilated vestry to which we have been limited for these many years, I leave you to imagine. But higher and broader, like the o'erarching heaven itself, seemed the spirit of that man by whose voice and influence alone its portals opened to receive us. Long may he remain, a *Foster*-father to his people, and a pillar of strength to the town, till he draw around him an impregnable phalanx of the true-hearted!

The meeting was addressed by the speakers expected from Boston, and by others from our own and neighboring towns. The logical clearness of Quincy, the great-heartedness of Buffum, and the magical, electric eloquence of Phillips, could not fail to make a deep and abiding impression. A faithful report of these speeches should be made, for the benefit of all who were unable to hear them. But it is time to go to the Tea Party. Arrived at the door, instead of the usual aspect of a lecture room, we beheld long tables spread, nicely arranged, and laden with a variety of tea-table luxuries, and at least a hundred people seated by them, while the buzz of merry voices reminded one of a hive of bees in swarming time. Soon the two hundred and twenty seats were filled, while many waited, supperless, for a vacancy. Swift-footed Hebes brought delicious, smoking tea and coffee, and the flow of 'almighty talk' swept on in resistless current. And here let me give one hearty hallelujah (not *a la* Miggs) for our 'domestic institution,' the Anti-Slavery Tea-Table! Here, in the humble recognition of the physical needs of humanity, we acknowledge our social ties also; and while smiles and words of good will and affection draw us together, a magnetic chain binds us, which forms the readiest and swiftest conductor for the lightning of true eloquence. If anti-slavery women earnestly desire to influence people who have hitherto remained passive, let them make these parties in every town throughout the State. A half dozen can set the ball in motion, and many a hand will afterwards help to roll it onward. But to proceed. Suppose three quarters of an hour or more to have passed in the merriest way, while the tinkling of cups and spoons played the part of cymbals and castanets to the soprano sallies and laughter of the women, and the thorough-base responses of more powerful '*organs*.' Rap, rap, rap, was heard, and all eyes were turned towards an elevated table, where stood Edmund Quincy, the natural and elected King of the Feast. With a dignity and grace peculiar to himself, he called the attention of the meeting to one of its legitimate objects, and introduced Wendell Phillips.

If you suppose that I shall attempt a description of his speech, you will be disappointed. I should be sure to make a failure. The secret of true eloquence is, that it takes you off your feet, out of the region of self-consciousness, to an elevation where the sky is higher and the horizon wider; and when you are set down, you can give no satisfactory account of your journey, but you know that henceforth you will stand on a higher plain, and walk forward with a stronger step and a more fearless heart. Wendell Phillips, whose name has been, in this town, by the majority of the people, honored with the epithet of agitator, firebrand, and similar appellatives, for the first time spoke to the ear and heart of the *people*, and, true to itself and to humanity, it responded to the call—as earnest eyes and burning cheeks and breathless attention fully testified. Henceforth, Whig conservatism will talk to less credulous ears. The *people* here will look into this matter for themselves.

Speeches followed from Lewis Hayden, Mr. Buffum and Mr. Thomas Russell. All the sermons in Christendom could not send conviction home to the heart with more power than the simple, earnest statement of Mr. Hayden, himself a fugitive slave, and under bail for supposed aid to Shadrach, and in daily personal peril of being kidnapped, with his wife and child. It seems as if the shriek which at that moment rang through the streets of Boston from the victim in the gripe of the slave-hunter, must have echoed through the chambers of his soul, and striven to find vent in his earnest, heart-rending tones. Then, while his words were still ringing in our ears, Mr. Russell responded to the call of the President in a forcible and eloquent speech, for which, alas, I must again refer you to the printed report. Mr. Buffum, owing to indisposition, was unable to make a response which was satisfactory to himself, but his fine, benevolent face, spoke eloquently in behalf of suffering humanity.

But how shall I convey to you an idea of the genial humor that formed the cement in which was embedded these fine mosaics; of the sallies of wit which flashed from the *throne*, and were answered back with telegraphic despatch; of the little, good speeches, and the great, strong one of our noble Foster; of the hearty response with which our honored and respected FROST identified himself at once and for ever with the good cause? To all these contributions of sympathy and encouragement was added a letter of Mr. Emerson to one of our ladies, expressing regret that he was obliged to be absent from this Liberty Meeting. Therein is contained proof enough, if any were needed, to repel a quondam assertion that he is an imitator of Goethe or Carlyle. For the former never raised his voice, in the trying hour, in behalf of the liberties of the country, and the latter is known to be nearly, if not quite dead, with ossification of the heart, as far as the misfortunes of one portion of the human race can effect it. But this letter separates the good and the wicked of this generation and nation with a sword as keen and relentless as that of the Angel in Paradise. This cool, philosophical Rhadamanthus dismisses the hosts to their different circles in his Inferno. Who occupies the lowest deep of these infamous depths, those know full well who have heard him express his unconquerable, mortal aversion to see the face, even, of that fallen Angel!

I must not close this letter, long as it is, without telling you that Walden Pond, and Sleepy Hollow, and the Cliffs, and every hill and valley in our neighborhood, sent us a message through the heart and pen of our woodland poet, William Ellery Channing, which bade us remember that we trod on consecrated soil, which still held in its bosom the remains of beloved children, whose life-blood flowed that we might be, to-day, a free and happy nation. Not unheeded shall be the voice of exhortation and encouragement, so reverently heard and faithfully transmitted to us. And now, why tarry we longer? It is after eleven o'clock. People are retiring. The President begins to look a little anxious to dissolve the meeting. The last words are spoken, and with mutual congratulations on past enjoyments, and anticipations for another and larger gathering on April 3d, 1852, we wend our joyful way homeward.

[We have been kindly furnished with the letter of Mr. Emerson, referred to above:—]

NEW YORK, 18th March, 1851.

DEAR FRIEND:

I had more reasons than one to regret leaving home at this time, and, if my present engagements were not of two seasons' standing, I should have made every effort to relieve myself. For your Liberty meeting, I think it has a certain importance just now; and, really, at this moment, it seems imperative that every lover of human rights should, in every manner, singly or socially, in private and in public, by voice and by pen—and, first of all, by substantial help and hospitality to the slave, and defending him against his hunters,—enter his protest for humanity against the detestable statute of the last Congress. I find it a subject of conversation in all cars and steamboats, and every where distributing society into two classes, according to the moral feasibility of individuals on one part, and their habitual docility to party leading on the other. I do not know how the majority of to-day will be found to decide. Sometimes people of natural probity and affection are so warped by the habit of party, and show themselves so unexpectedly callous and inhuman, that it seems we must wait for the Almighty to create a new generation, a little more keenly alive to moral impressions, before any improvement in institutions can be looked for. But, as far as I have observed, there is, on all great questions, a tide or undulation in the public mind—a series of actions and reactions. The momentary interest carries it to day; but, presently, the advocates of the liberal principle are victorious,—and the more entirely, because they had persisted unshaken under evil report. And, as justice alone satisfies every body, they are sure to prevail at last.

If the world has any reason in it, it is forever safe and successful to urge the cause of love and right. I know it is very needless to say this to you, and others like you, who cannot, if they would, help serving the truth, though all the world be gone to worship Mammon. But it is the only answer I know how to make to our mathematical compatriots. So, wishing you a day of happy thoughts and sympathies on Thursday, I remain,

Yours respectfully and gratefully,

R. W. EMERSON.

A PROPHETIC WARNING TO AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS.

OHIO, March 19, 1851.

DEAR GARRISON:

Has the future ever been foresignified to you with the distinctness of present reality? So it has been with me for some time. The future history of this Republic has been impressed on my mind with living and fearful precision. Sleeping and waking, it has been ever before my mental eye for two years. I have lived amid scenes yet to be enacted in this nation, and have experienced the deep emotions which those are destined to feel who are to be the actors in those scenes. I have hardly dared to give utterance to the record of the future touching this Republic, as it is inscribed on my spiritual being, as an ever-living, ever-present fact. I have struggled to throw off these distressing forebodings, but I cannot. They have entered into my soul, and become elements of constant thought and feeling. I do not any more wish to get rid of them. They give vitality and energy to my feelings and actions as an abolitionist. I cannot, I would not if I could, close that history of the future. On the contrary, I wish to read from it a few pages in the ears of American slaveholders.

I am moved, INSPIRED to say to them, THIS UNION SHALL BE DISSOLVED! It was formed, avowedly, 'to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty'; but from its inception to the present hour, it has been the perpetrator and patron of injustice and slavery. The first false step was the admission of slaveholders to an equal participation in its management. As voters and office-holders, they are entitled to all the privileges of membership. Then, not content with admitting them on terms of equality, the non-slaveholders consented that they might have power in the confederacy in proportion to the number of human beings whom they could reduce to slavery. Also, that they would not protect, but would help to return their slaves, if they ran away. And also, while the Union was based on the doctrine that 'Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' the Confederacy entered into solemn written compact, sanctioned by an oath, that they would shoot the slaves if they resisted the slaveholders. Here, then, is a governmental organization, calling God to witness its intention to extend equal protection to liberty and slavery—to justice and injustice—to truth and falsehood—to good and evil—to commerce in cattle and goods, and to traffic in the bodies and souls of men. It places thieves, robbers, adulterers and pirates on an equal footing with pure, true, just, and honest men. Can such an Union stand? No matter by whom, or for what purpose it was founded, it shall be dashed in pieces, and consumed forever. Why do not slaveholders and their allies see in the component elements and foundation principles of this confederacy its certain overthrow? God hath separated slavery and liberty; and that political confederacy whose object is to unite them, shall be broken. It is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' and shall be blotted out. Preparatory to the downfall of this republic, several events shall transpire. The national religious combinations shall be broken up. This most desirable object is already being accomplished in reference to the three leading sects, i. e., the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian. As *national* parties, their doom is sealed. The God of the oppressed has pronounced on them the sentence of death, and it is about to be executed. Each of them shall be rent asunder, and slavery be the dividing line. Throughout the non-slave States, slaveholders shall be excluded from church-fellowship. There shall exist Northern and Southern, as well as non-slaveholding and slaveholding Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian organizations. The smaller national sects must follow the same track. All *Christian* fellowship between the North and South shall be dissolved—all religious ties be broken. There is but one alternative before the Northern branches of these national religious parties; their religion, their worship, their God, must become objects of contempt and loathing to all without the pale of their communion, and to all sincere, honest and pious spirits within it; or slaveholders must be excluded from their religious fellowship. They must stamp slaveholders as the most criminal of all earth's criminals, and treat them as they treat robbers, murderers and pirates, or themselves consent to wear the brand of 'A BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES.' The former shall come to pass. Southern slaveholders shall be regarded and treated by Northern religious bodies as they now regard and treat horse-thieves, highway robbers, and assassins. Many leading minds among the clergy, and multitudes of the single-hearted lay members of the churches, are beginning to see that Christianity must, in *name*, as well as in FACT, be dissociated from slavery, or it must itself be rejected, at least in name, by the growing humanity of the age. Humanity, against slavery, shall triumph over all religious predilections and combinations in favor of it, and also over all that is called God. Also, the national POLITICAL parties shall be dissolved. This desirable event, if it does not precede, must succeed the dissolution of the religious combinations. It *may* precede, since, as facts have shown, it has been easier to induce men to break off their political than their religious connection with slaveholders. As politicians, members of political organizations, men have shown more willingness to renounce allegiance with the South, than as religionists, or members of churches. They are less attached to the great American system of robbery and piracy, as Whigs and Democrats, than as Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians. But the two great national parties,—Whig and Democratic,—have in them the seeds of death, and the symptoms of their dissolution are unmistakable. The Northern sections cannot go far enough in support of slavery to please the South; the Southern will not go far enough in support of liberty to satisfy the North. The South must become more insolent and overbearing towards the North, in proportion as the North becomes more saturated with the spirit of liberty. The South shall refuse to support Northern candidates for office, unless such candidates are sworn beforehand to the support of slavery. The North shall not support candidates for office, unless they are pledged to the support of liberty. Inevitably, the politics of this country must, at no distant day, settle down into Northern and Southern parties, divided, not only by a political, but by a territorial boundary. The settled rancor and hostility of Northern politicians towards those of the South shall be deep, bitter and energetic, in proportion as their former sycophancy had been mean and obsequious. The national political parties are daily growing weaker and weaker. The advancing spirit of liberty in the North shall sweep before it all political and religious ties between it and the South.

Much reliance is placed on the commercial and social ties that bind the North to the South. These are multitudinous and strong; but when the price of their continuance is seen to be that the entire North shall be a hunting-ground for slaveholders—that our kitchens, parlors, bed-rooms and nurseries shall be thrown open to the incursions of ruffianly slave-catchers, and we ourselves become kidnappers and the supporters of slavery and the enemies of freedom, and that we must be fined and imprisoned as felons, if we defend ourselves, our families and friends against ruthless ruffians, these ties shall all be broken, as cobwebs before a tempest.

Slaveholders have presented the issue distinctly to the North—*Make your laborers slaves, or we shall dissolve the Union.* That moment which brings this issue home to the minds of the Northern laborers, settles the doom of this republic. Soon as the idea is fixed, as it shall be, that their enslavement must be the price of the Union, they shall spurn all alliance with those whose friendship is to be bought by such a price. Rather than become absolute slaves themselves, they will see the republic buried in ruins. Slaveholders are doing what they can to drive Northern laborers to embrace this distinct issue. Once embraced, it can never be eradicated from their minds. There it will be fixed, and be the watchword of revolution.

The recent Fugitive Slave Law, together with the atrocities perpetrated in its execution, and the use made of it by abolitionists to show up the insolent demands of the South upon the North, and the certain doom of the latter if it abides in the Union, is working mightily to facilitate the final result. Every fugitive seized and taken back, every man fined and imprisoned for aiding men to escape from slavery, and every effort made to prevent slaves from gaining their freedom, do but serve as arguments to alienate men's minds from this God-defying Union.

Thus saith the God of the oppressed, the God of justice and love: The religious, political, commercial and social ties that bind the Northern States of the American Republic to the car of slavery shall be broken before the anti-slavery movement, and the uprising of the spirit of liberty; preparatory to the coming of that great day of God Almighty, which shall be ushered in by the shout—The American Republic is fallen! God speaks by me as truly as he ever spoke by man, and says—'THIS UNION SHALL BE DISSOLVED.'

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

From the Wheeling (Va.) Weekly Luminary.

FREE NEGROES IN MARYLAND.

'Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.'

We suppose they intend this with some of the hot heads of the present age. There are some 70,000 free negroes in the State of Maryland, and they are accumulating so rapidly as to excite the alarm of the Convention now assembled for remodelling the Constitution. A provision will be incorporated looking to their ultimate expulsion from the State, whether they are willing or not. This precaution is deemed necessary, because the abolition agitation increases the danger of insurrection, &c. In the event of their expulsion from the State, it is calculated that they must be an annoyance to the abolitionists of the free States, and they will be punished for their interference. But the free States are already banishing the free negroes, and should the slave States adopt this policy, it will produce the same action in the free States. What, then, must be the result? Force them to Africa at their own cost—expatriate them! Now, who are these free negroes, and whence come they? They are the offspring of the institution called slavery. They, or their ancestors, were slaves, and worked long and hard for their masters. Many of them bought their own freedom; others were set free by will and donation; and many were born free. No one doubts their freedom. They are the mere creatures of circumstances; their liberty has been acquired and maintained under peculiar disabilities. The abolitionists did not set them free—could not; if they had done it, the slaves, thus free, could not remain in the State. Her own citizens have done this work, at their own option. Some of the negroes paid the market value of themselves to their masters, and thus, with a *great* sum, they purchased the limited blessings they now enjoy. They came into the possession of these privileges under the constitution and laws of Maryland; they have been protected in them by those laws, and we do not hesitate to say, that any law now passed, or passed hereafter, expatriating them, is *ex post facto* in its essence, and unconstitutional, and can never be enforced without a violation of that document, and trampling under foot justice and humanity. If they are willing to go, let them go, or send them; but no law should ever pass expelling them from the State. Such acts and dispositions only tend to widen the breach between the North and the South.

But if expelled, it is a mistake to suppose that they will be less dangerous in the free States than at home. Now they are peaceable and friendly; but expatriate them, and you rouse all their animosity, a desire for revenge becomes predominant, and the result no man can see.

What the end shall be we know not. The most of the free colored persons are poor; the South ejects them—the North rejects them; and they have no means of help. Salvation must come from some source. It will come, as surely as there is a God in heaven, who deals justly with all men. It must needs be that offences come, but wo to that man by whom they come; and wo to that nation on whom the judgment shall fall.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

THE DETHRONEMENT PLOT IN HAYTI.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, March 17, 1851.

An extensive conspiracy has recently been detected, and persons have been apprehended here, and also brought from the different towns to the capital for trial. Among the number, the most prominent personage implicated is M. Francisque, till within a few days, Chief Justice of the Empire, and one of the three Cabinet Ministers.

After a short trial, by a *Court Martial*, he, with four others, was condemned to death. The next day the proceedings were reviewed, the decision annulled, and a new trial ordered at a small village about twenty miles from this place, where the ex-minister was conducted yesterday, on foot, under the guard of a large body of troops. His fate has not yet been reported.

Baltimore, April 3d.—At the meeting of the Maryland Reformers, at Annapolis, the committee on the colored population reported articles giving power to the Legislature to pass laws for the removal of free negroes, and for their registration; that the population be made incapable of holding real estate by title acquired after adopting this constitution, and all deeds purporting to convey to them real estate to be null and void, only allowing them to lease an estate for the term of one year; no slave to be manumitted unless on condition of leaving the State within thirty days, and no free negro allowed to come into the State to reside.

Libel Suit.—Richard H. Sheckell, of Georgetown, D. C., has sued Messrs. William Jackson, F. W. Bird, John P. Jewett, and Dr. S. G. Howe, late Trustees of the Commonwealth newspaper, for libel. The Commonwealth asserted or intimated that the plaintiff had induced a colored man, named William Ringgold, to leave Massachusetts and visit his friends in the District of Columbia, for the purpose of arresting him and selling him as a fugitive from bondage. Damages are laid at $5000; the writ returnable to the Supreme Judicial Court to be holden at Springfield, on the last Tuesday of the present month.

Remember he is not the Abolition Candidate.—This was the announcement in the tail of a handbill posted up in town on election day. It was remembered, and he who was not the abolition candidate, stood the lowest on the list in the number of votes received for Aldermen in that Ward.—*Chicago (Ill.) Citizen.*

A Singular Call.—A lady in Cambridge died on Wednesday last—so the physicians said—and was laid for burial in her winding sheets; but from the fact that the body still retained an apparent warmth, though there was not the slightest appearance of respiration, interment was suspended. On Sunday, the lady opened her eyes, and called on her husband,—'Albert, give me some water!'—*Boston Herald.*

☞ No. 2 of Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion is, if possible, even superior to the first number. It contains large and beautiful engravings, representing Faneuil Hall in Boston, Franklin Square in Philadelphia, Sacramento City, the wreck of the Elizabeth—and also a full length portrait of George Copway, in Indian costume, with a sketch of his life.

Dead.—We regret to learn the death, on the 31st ult., of Benjamin T. Congdon of New Bedford, Register of Deeds for Bristol County. Mr. Congdon was for several years publisher of the New Bedford Courier, and at various times held offices under the General and State Governments. He was a worthy man, and much esteemed.

☞ Rev. Dr. Jarvis, formerly of St. Paul's Church in Boston, died at his residence in Middletown, Ct., on the 29th ult.

Death of F. S. Hill.—We learn that Mr. Frederick S. Hill, of this city, died yesterday very suddenly. He was formerly a printer and publisher in Boston, and afterwards became an actor and theatrical manager, of some celebrity. We did not learn the immediate cause of his death.—*Boston Mail, 8th inst.*

Pennsylvania Legislature.—The Senate of Pennsylvania, by a vote of 17 to 8, has passed a bill to repeal the law of 1847, so far as it prohibits the use of the jails of the Commonwealth for the safe-keeping of alleged fugitives. Propositions to repeal other parts of the bill were lost.

☞ Galveston dates to the 28th say that a large number of negroes in Colorado county have succeeded in escaping into Mexico; and the late extensive plot was only partly frustrated.

Rhode Island Election.—There is bad news for the Whigs from the Rhode Island election on Monday. The Democrats swept the State, on local issues. Allen, the Democratic candidate for Governor, had 636 majority over all others. In the Western Congressional District, R. B. Thurston, Free Democrat, is chosen to Congress by 953 majority over all others. Mr. Thurston was formerly elected to Congress by a coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats, and voted right on all the great questions. In the Eastern District, King, the Whig candidate, was chosen by 150 majority. The Democrats have the Senate and the Whigs the House. The figures are—Senate, Democrats 17, Whigs 13, no choice 2. House, Democrats 33, Whigs 35, no choice 4.

Shocking.—Early on Friday morning, 4th inst., the house of Mr. Phillips, in North Woodstock, (Mass.,) was destroyed by fire, and three of his children were burnt to death, and another severely injured. Mr. P., whilst endeavoring to save one of his children, had his ten toes completely burned off. His wife barely escaped uninjured.

☞ Rio Janeiro dates to Feb. 11 report an explosion on board the French ship Eliza, from Havre for San Francisco, by which ten persons were killed outright, and twenty severely wounded.

☞ The number of men comprising the French army at Rome for the ensuing year is set down in the estimate at 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. These are for the protection of the Pope.

'EVERY FAMILY SHOULD HAVE A BOX HANDY IN CASE OF ACCIDENT.'

THE RUSSIA SALVE VEGETABLE OINTMENT.

INTRODUCED IN 1806.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS' EXPERIENCE HAS ESTABLISHED THE RUSSIA SALVE AS THE VERY BEST REMEDY — FOR — CUTS, BURNS, SCALDS, CHILBLAINS, FLESH WOUNDS, CHAPPED HANDS, BOILS, FELONS, SORES, INJURY BY SPLINTERS, FROST-BITTEN PARTS OF THE BODY, SORE EYES, OLD SORES, PILES, &c.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER BOX.

THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

EDWARD YOUNG, cabinet-maker, 58 Carver st. In the year 1842, was injured by a plank falling on my leg; it caused the leg to swell and become inflamed, and caused the most awful ulcers and sores, that defied the skill and treatment of the best physicians of Quebec, the place of my residence at that time. Dr. Douglas, one of the most popular surgeons of Quebec, assured me there was little hope of my recovery.

I came to Boston; my limbs were now both affected. I applied to Dr. Phelps: he tried his skill, but without any success, and I was then induced to call upon Dr. Warren, who gave me some relief; but after some time, I grew quite disheartened, my limbs were almost a mass of sores from my knees down to my ankles, scarcely allowing me to sleep or rest, day or night. I had read a good deal about Russia Salve, but having used so many advertised plasters and salves, and tried so many things, that I felt little interest in the Russia Salve; although repeatedly advised by my friends to try it, I was too skeptical to do so. At length, a man brought me a box of Russia Salve, which I applied to my limbs, as the directions implied. I really began to feel a sensation of peculiar pleasantness about my raging sores. I went down to Redding & Co's, 8 State street, and bought two boxes. I have used, in all, nearly four boxes of this great Salve. My limbs are now, with the exception of the scars, as perfect as ever they were. The ulcers have healed up, the sores have nearly all disappeared, and I hesitate not to say, that by the time I have used the fourth box of the Russia Salve, I shall be cured. I consider my case one of the severest tests the Salve could possibly encounter.

I would add, that having the Salve in my house, and a member of my family suffering very much from Piles, I recommended the use of the Russia Salve, which cured them with great ease, and in a very brief space of time.

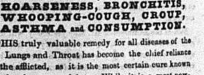
Yours, very respectfully,
EDWARD YOUNG,
58 Carver street, Boston.

To Messrs. Redding & Co., 8 State st., Boston.

Wholesale Retail Agents for the United States, REDDING & CO., 8 State st., Boston.

This Salve is put up in neat stamped metal boxes, with an engraved label illustrated with the above cut, without which none are genuine

April 11



CHERRY PECTORAL

For the Cure of

COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA and CONSUMPTION.

THIS truly valuable remedy for all diseases of the Lungs and Throat has become the chief reliance of the afflicted, as it is the most certain cure known for the above complaints. While it is a most powerful remedial agent in the most desperate and almost hopeless cases of *Consumption*, it is also, in diminished doses, one of the mildest and most agreeable family medicines for common coughs and colds. Read below the opinion of men who are known to the world; and the world respect their opinions.

FROM PROF. HITCHCOCK.

James C. Ayres: Sir—I have used your 'Cherry Pectoral' in my own case of deep-seated Bronchitis, and am satisfied from its chemical constitution that it is an admirable compound for the relief of laryngial difficulties. If my opinion as to its superior character can be of any service, you are at liberty to use it as you think proper.

EDWARD HITCHCOCK, LL.D.,
President of Amherst College.

From the 'LONDON LANCET.'

'AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL is one of the most valuable preparations that has fallen under our notice. After a careful examination, we do not hesitate to say we have a large appreciation of its merits, and the fullest confidence in its usefulness for coughs and lung complaints.'

Dr. Brewster, of Windham county, Conn., sends us the following testimony:—

Dr. J. C. Ayer: Dear Sir—I have enclosed you a certificate from Mrs. Catharine A. Cady, a highly respectable lady of this village, wife of Mr. Seth Cady, Deputy Sheriff, Windham county, Connecticut. The cure in her case was very prompt, and has attracted general attention.

W. A. BREWSTER, M. D.

DIRECT EVIDENCE.

Dr. J. C. Ayer, Lowell: Dear Sir—Feeling under obligations to you for the restoration of my health, I send you a report of my case, which you are at liberty to publish for the benefit of others. Last autumn, I took a bad cold, accompanied by a severe cough, and made use of many medicines without obtaining relief. I was obliged to give up business, frequently raised blood, and could get no sleep at night. A friend gave me a bottle of your Cherry Pectoral, the use of which I immediately commenced according to directions. I have just purchased the fifth bottle, and am nearly recovered. I now sleep well, my cough has ceased, and all by the use of your valuable medicine.

E. S. STONE, A. M.,
Principal of Mt. Hope Seminary.

From Dr. Bryant, Druggist and Postmaster, Chicopee Falls, Mass.:—

WEST KILLINGLY, Conn., Sept. 28, 1848.

This may certify, that I was afflicted with a very severe cough in the winter of '47-48, which threatened to terminate in consumption. I had tried many medicines in vain, and was cured by the use of *Ayer's Cherry Pectoral.*

CATHERINE K. CADY.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass. and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine throughout the country.

Dec. 20. tMar.27

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CLOTHS, CASSIMERES and VESTINGS. Also, a general supply of Fashionable and Ready-made CLOTHING.

JOHN CURTIS.
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April 11. tf