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e el three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penosylvanis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are autherived to receive subscriptions for the Liberator, The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts

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of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LORING, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENTELL PULLLIPS.

If in the columns of The Liberator, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. COMMITTUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

F'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their sesent 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 PUGITIVE 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 repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed ! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted 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 PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 28.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1043.

Delivered in U. S. Senate, Monday, June 26, 1854.

Mr. Mason-I had hoped, Mr. President, after Mr. Mason—I had hoped, Mr. President, after the compact (if I may so express it) which had been entered into between the various States of the confederacy in enacting this law, that debate would not again have arisen upon it; and I had hoped, also, that the dignity of the American Senate would not have been subjected to the assaults made upon it this day, by one who is a Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Sumner.] I say, sir, the dignity of the American Senate has been rudely, wantonly. the American Senate has been rudely, wantonly, grossly assailed by a Senator from Massachusetts, and not only the dignity of the Senate, but of the whole people, trifled with in the presence of the American Senate, either ignorantly or corruptly, I do not know which, nor do I care. Sir, that Sendator said that the law for the reclamation of fugitive slaves denied to a citizen the privilege of th habeas corpus, which was secured to him by the Constitution. I repeat, such a declaration in reference to that law was made, either ignorantly or corruptly, for a corrupt purpose. The law does not deny the privilege of the habeas carpus: and if

it did, it would have been a dead letter.

Why, sir, the experience under the law is, that the habras corpus issues, and there is nothing in the law which says to the contrary; and yet the Senator, discharging what, I suppose, he considers his duty to those who sent him here, has had the temerity to declare that this law violated the Constitution of the contract of the contrac stitution in refusing the habeas corpus. Sir, this writ is to inquire only into the legality of the detention, and the law so recognizing it basis its provisions only upon the question of the legality of the detention; and if it is proved that the fugitive was held to service or labor, and did escape, whether justly so held or no, under the Constitution, is to be returned whence he escaped. Sir, the proof establishes the legality of the detention, and is an answer to the writ of habeas corpus; and in this the Fugitive Slave Law does not depart from the policy regulating the administration of all pe-nal law. One arrested as a fugitive from justice is entitled, on his arrest, to a habcas corpus—for what!
To determine whether he committed the offence with which he was charged, at the place whence he escaped! Certainly not; but to determine only whether he was so charged in proper form of law to authorize his detention till a trial could be had; and proof that he was charged is then, also, an answer to the habeas corpus, and he must be re-manded without inquiring whether the charge is

I do not know whether the Senator claims to be a jurist; I know not his position at home; but I know something of his associations there from his Sir. he has denounced a gentleman from Virginia, who goes under the protection of the Constitution, and the sanction of the law, slave hunter from Virginia.

Sir, my constituents need no vindication from om such a charge, coming from such a quarter. The Senator from Massachusetts, in the use of such language here, betrays the vulgarity of his associations at home; and shall it be tolerated in the American Senate! Yes, sir, a gentleman from the South, who goes under the protection Constitution which the Senator has sworn to support, and which he just now declared he would a dog to execute or to recognize; a gentleman from Virginia, who goes to his State under the protection of the Constitution and the sanction law, to reclaim his property, may be subject to vulgar denunciation, but only by vulgar men.

Mr. President, I differ from the honorable Sena-tor from South Carolina, [Mr. Butler,] who said, as I understood him, that this law had not done its office. Sir, it has done its office. To be sure, there are instances where it has been violated by brutal mobs, as there are instances of other laws being eyaded by knavery, or silenced by brute force; but I say the law has done its office well, done it on a recent occasion in the very city of Massachusetts, which the Senator claims so worthily to represent : but the enlightened patriotism most of whose citizens, I believe, think of-him as I do. In that city, within the last fortnight, it has done its effice, and done it in the presence of a moh, which that Senator and his associates roused and inflamed to the very verge of treason, subject ing them to the traitors' doom, while he and his associates sat here, and kept themselves aloof from danger. Yes, Sir, it was executed under these cir-cumstances, and executed by that power that is bound to execute it-the government of the whole

Mr. President, I did not think I could be drawn into a debate upon this subject. I should not have engaged in it but that I thought it right to vindicate the law from the misconstruction which was placed on it by the honorable Senator, before the country, in reference to the habeas corpus. But, sir, say, neither that law nor any other law, could require vindication from attacks made by one, mad enough to announce to the American Sen-ate and the American people, that, although the Constitution provides that fugitives from service shall be surrendered up, be would recognize him-self as a dog were he to execute that provision. He had said so in the presence of that American Senate who witnessed his oath to support, protect and defend that same Constitution, and his appeal to God to witness the truth and sincerity of his purpose. Why, Sir, am I speaking of a fanatic, one whose reason is dethroned! Can such a one expect to make impressions upon the American people from his vapid, vulgar declamations here, accompanied by a declaration that he would violate

his oath now recently taken!
Well, sir, that Sonator attempted to institute a comparison between the stamp act, resisted by our common ancestry, and resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law. Sir, he was well answered by the honorable and distinguished Senator from South Carolina, that, in those days, the people he repre-tents now were slaveholders. I cannot believe he represents them now, although they are slaveholders no longer. Sir, I think I might venture upon the office of vindicating his own people from the aspersions their representative has cast upon them. Let the honorable Senator remember that he says he would be a dog to surrender a fugitive slave, although the Constitution imposes the duty on his

State, and he has sworn to obey it.

Let me recall him to that page in our history which shows that by the vote of Massachusetts, and the other New England States, the interdict was placed in the control of the contr was placed in this very Constitution against pro-hibiting the African slave trade. Sir, the New England States at that day, with Massachusetts at their head, knowing that the first act of the Amer-ican Congress would be to prohibit the African

I almost feel that I owe an apology to the Senate for having spoken in this debate. I know I shall owe an apology to those who sent me here, for noticing it from such a quarter and in such a pres-

#### From the Washington Union. THE WHIG PARTY AT THE NORTH.

If the indications already noticed do not sustain us fully in the hope expressed that the alliance be-tween the whigs and abolitionists of the North is about to be broken up, and that whiggery is about to make an effect to stand alone, we invite the doubtng reader to peruse the following comments of the New York Express on the late extraordinary avowal of Senator Sumner, that he recognizes no obliga-tion imposed by the Constitution on the subject of surrendering fugitive slaves. The Erpress has been but little behind the New York Times in the vioence of its opposition to the Nebraska bill; but having discovered the point to which Mr. Sumner would lead the whigs, it turns upon him, and deals the following heavy blows:

We have called this perjury—rank, unblushing, bold-faced perjury—and so it is. It is nothing else, if we are capable of understanding the English

· It is such men as Mr. Charles Sumner, and such "principles" and such loose morals as he and such as he inculcate, that have done more to strengthen the Slave Power in this country, than any other agency or agencies ever thought of, or put in motion by the South itself. It is such men as your Sumners that make Nebraska bills. It is such men as your Sumners that make all our Northern protests against that and other "iniquities" the shallowest and most hypocritical pretences. Why reproach the South with "bad faith," when our Senators in Congress openly acknowledge trea-son to the Constitution? Why charge upon the South the violation of "plighted faith," when we are openly advertising ourselves as "recognis-ing not even the fundamental law of the land"? the North in the moral struggle it is having with the Slave Power, and gives—involuntarily and un-intentionally it may be—but nevertheless gives to the South a moral prestige which it could never otherwise obtain. Hence, we repeat, freedom has of the Constitution, and the sanction of the law, no enemies more dangerous, no loss more formulate, into his State, to reclaim his property. He has the boldness to speak here of such a man as 'a the boldness to speak here of such a man as 'a constitution of the councils of the nation. They are the mit to an outrage of that sort, with all that is glorious surrounding her, and property of the Slave Power and the slave property. real props of the Slave Power and the slave propaganda, which they affect so much to rail against and denounce. Now, we cannot make up our minds that this perjured Senator is a correct expominds that this perjured Senator is a correct exponent of Massachusetts sentiment. He may represent Theodore Parker or Wendell Phillips, but he does not represent Boston; he does not represent you no injustice. We give you a full and equal Massachusetts; he does not represent New Eng- participation in all the benefits of this government, land. Were it otherwise-were this Mr. Sumner, indeed, a faithful exponent of the morality and the general views of the section of the country that has sent him to Washington-we should beg, for

# From the Boston Courier.

THE MAN WHO SWEARS TO SUPPORT THE CONSTI-TUTION, AND INTERPRETS IT TO SUIT HIMSELF. Senator Sumner, who is now where most people, who understand his character, always expected to find him-in the position of a man, who, in order to escape the imputation of perjury, is obliged to re-sort to a doctrine of interpretation that makes the question of perjury or no perjury of no consequence whatever—like his coadjutors and wire-pullers, Parker and Phillips, is doing what he can, in anticipation of another mob, to inculcate the idea that Boston is engaged in acting upon the very same principles on which she proceeded against the Stamp Act, when she resists a law of the United States. The character and influence of the Judi--the respect in which they are beld-stands in Mr. Sumner's way. He wants a state of things here, in which men will break down the barriers of the Constitution, resist the laws, and defy the au-thority of the Courts. So he finds all functionaries who have taken an oath to support the Constitution, are such old 'Tories,' or non, are such old 'lories, or old Fogles, as to think that their oath means something, very much in his way; and he proceeds in his characteristic fashion to place them in the same category with Governor Hutchinson and the 'Tories' who suported the Stamp Act.

Mr. Sumner thinks he has a good deal of power

as a demagogue. Perhaps he has. Parker and Phillips have power enough to stir up a mob, why not the Senator have it! Parker and Philips were perhaps within the scope of one of those charges to Grand Juries. of which Mr. Sumner peaks, and of which we all remember a recent one, which incitements to crime were treated of .-Mr. Sumner means that the judges shall understand not screen from judicial animadversion the ' recent proceedings in Boston,' and make the judges think of the power of mobs, it will not be for the want of Mr. Sumner's rhetoric and 'parallels.'

## PREDERICK DOUGLASS IN CONGRESS. The New York Tribune having intimated that Fred-

rit Smith in Congress, the Philadelphia Argus makes the following furious comments upon the suggestion :-

'It is time for the people of the North to look at the acts and purposes of these abolition traitors. They may think that the Union is too holy and inestimable a thing to be disturbed by the madness of those upon whose base hearts the sun of American patriotism never yet shone with its cheering beams. But there is danger when such men as Summer, and Seward, and Greeley will voluntarily sustain an open resistance to law, applaud when its officers are murdered, and, for the sake of still further agitating the public mind upon this subject, agree agitating the public mind upon this subject, agree to elect, if possible, a negro to the national House

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

So, whenever Christ, be not heart of the cause of freedom, by the help of God, be cause of freedom, by the help of God, be cause of freedom, by the help of God, be would lose no time in the cause of freedom, by the help of God, be would n Why, sir, they enjoyed that trade, as the carriers of the slaves from Africa, through those twenty years for which they had stipulated in the Constitution. They brought the slaves over, and, within a recent period, suits have been brought in Southern States on bonds executed on the purchase of slaves from these very New England slave importers.

Now; Mr. President, I believe that the Senate Name of the Union, when he is willing to protinuance of the Union, when he is will in the Union of th will agree with me, that, unworthy as the occasion and now they are phrenized with the idea that the may be, it is difficult to be silent; yet, I confess, I almost feel that I owe an apology to the Senate lieving this, the last act in the drama is about to be commenced. Fred Douglass is to be sent to Congress, a northern abolitionist nominated for President, and the camp fires of treason lighted, and the festival of traitors held in all the Northern and Western States. This is the programme about to be presented to the nation by the abolitionists. How will the people receive it! How by those whigs of the North and the South who have not yet sold their manhood, souls, and consciences to dishonor and disunion! Are they willing that a negro shall be sent to Congress as an acant courier for an army of traitors to shield them in their designs upon the Union! If they are not, let the alarm be sounded, and the real designs of the abolitionists upon the peace and prosperity of the nation ex-

### TENURE OF THE UNION.

In the recent blackguard speech of Senator Jones, of Tennessee, in the U. S. Senate, on the petition of twenty-nine hundred citizens of Boston, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, he said :

All I have to say to you, gentlemen, is-

'Lay on, Macduff!
And damn'd be him that first cries, Hold! enough!'

If it be your purpose to destroy the rights and the property of the South, strike like men; strike boldly; seek not to fire from behind masked batteries, but come out like men, and tell us that you wage the war to the knife, and the knife to the

Is there a man here who believes this Union could be preserved one hour—nay, sir, is there a man so stultified as to believe the Union could survive one moment—after the granting of the prayer of the petition which is now before you? Do you believe, is there any man who believes, that the South would so degrade and disho nor herself as to hold an association with any man, or set of men, who attempted to take from her the rights guaranteed by the constitution! To suppose so is to supt is such men as this man Sumner that disarm pose that the South is made up of a set of cravens, who deserve to be kicked by every vile abolitionist who may pass in their way. To believe that the South would stand by you one hour with such an innovation, such an encroachment on her rights by the force of numbers, is to believe that she is otherwise obtain. Hence, we repeat, freedom has by the two mean, too degraded for your associa-no enemies more dangerous, no foes more formidable, too low, too mean, too degraded for your associa-tion there higher law abilitionists, who worm their tion and companionship. Rather than see her sub-I would prefer to see the earth open and swallow the last Southern man between its gaping jaws.

in all its territories, and all its property. All we ask is, that we may enjoy the same right. To deny that to us is to deny that which is ours; and to take from us the protection which the coastitution very shame's sake, to hear no more about the wick-edness of the heathen—to be less our own eulogists sound the funeral knell of this Union itself. Withas a Christian people—to be less blatant in our boastings of civilization—nay, we should "call upon the rocks and mountains to fall down and hide us." sound the luneral knell of this Union itself. Without imputing to any man a design to dissolve the Union, I must say, with the convictions I have, that I can see no difference between such a petition as this, and one asking that this Union may be dissolved; for no sensible man believes that the Union could be preserved a single day after the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. You have trespass our feelings long enough; you have trespassed on our rights long enough. We have borne it patiently; but there is a point at which forbearance ceas s to be a virtue. I pray that we may never be driven to that point; but I tell you, in all frankness and kindness, that there is a point beyond which endurance itself will never go. Repeal the which endurance itself will never go. Repeal the Fugitive Slave Law if you choose: but the respon-sibility is yours, not mine, and the consequences must be on your heads.

# From the N. O. Bee, of June 24.

SIGNS OF RETURNING SANITY. That staid and faithful friend of the Constitution. the New York Journal of Commerce, notices among the indications of returning sanity at the East that the Common Council of Providence, who votad almost or quite unanimously to have the bells tolled on the Fourth of July, instead of the usual celebration, have reversed their decision by a vote of 14 to 7, and voted \$2,000 to aid in celebrating the day in the usual manner; and that the Massa chusetts Cierical Convention, which was projected in Boston during the week of religious anniversaries, to regulate the affairs of the nation, is likely to prove a failure or a fizzle. We are inclined to agree with the Journal in the belief that a healthy reaction in public opinion at the North cannot be

Moreover, we take it that all such excitement, factitious and forced as it was by incessant clamor and vile misrepresentation, is in its nature transient, and must ultimately subside. It would be impossible for our Northern brethren, even with the spur of the abolitionists continually pricking Mr. Summer means that the judges shall the jurors what he thinks of them, if they admonish the jurors and the people to obey the law of the land. 'To and the people to obey the law of the land. 'To and the people to obey the law of the land. 'To and the people to obey the law of the land. 'To and the people to obey the law of the land. 'To and the people to obey the law of the land.' The fact the spur of the aboutionists continued to the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of the sides of their intent, to maintain the killing the sides of deed, they are getting wearied already. The fan-atics blow their trumpets, and make a confounded din and hubbub, as before, but with less effect.— The people are getting accustomed to the strident blasts of these over-zealous gentry, and pay little heed to them. Anti-slavery would have no chance at all—not a particle more than it has had for the The New York Tribune having intimated that tree and the New York Tribune having intimated that the absence of all last two years—were it not that the absence of all political issues has, to a considerable extent, effaced party lines of demarcation, loosened the obliof following furious comments upon the suggestion:—

It is time for the people of the North to look at

After the election of officers of the meeting, and appropriate introductory exercises, (for an account of which, as at home, he had been consistent in the maintenance see LIBERATOR of last week.) Dr. HENRY O. STONE, of of his principles, that in no case had he ever betrayed Framingham, came forward and briefly addressed the the cause of temperance or anti-slavery. He had spoaudience. He said he had no wisdom, at this crisis, to ken roughly sometimes, but it was because down in his give counsel, he had no eloquence to inspire them with poor old Scotch heart, there had been a love of liberty nthusiasm; but he had a heart which welcomed them which it would take far more than Mayor Smith and his that free platform. He was sorry that he could not bid a little bit of Scotch thistle, which pricked him up to hem welcome in the name of all the people of the town, struggle for liberty, and he would do it as long as he but he had no authority to do so, and could only, in lived. (Applause.) behalf of a handful of abolitionists, and in behalf of the millions in bonds, bid them the very heartiest welcome. They bid them welcome with the tokens which were before them, representing Massachusetts in the attitude in which she now stands before the world,under the lash of Virginia, chained to the Slave Power with links of cotton. They presented Massachusetts in nourning, and bade them read and obey the admonition before them- ' Redeem Massachusetts ! ' He had said that Massachusetts was chained to Virginia with links of cotton. It was so; but he wished particularly to call their attention to one incident, which to him was of striking significance. When they first entered that grove, Massachusetts, as he had said, was chained to put William Lloyd Garrison there, [a portrait of there was something in being free, for once in his life, Virginia; but, all unconsciously, William C. Nell had Mr. Garrison hung between the banners representing Massachusetts and Virginia,] and broke the chain. (Cheers.) He took that as a token of what shall happen under the flag which he (Mr. Garrison) had unurled in the Republic-if it could be called a Republic. Dr. S. said he would welcome all, men and women,

o the meeting; and especially would be welcome any of the former opponents of the cause who might be resent. The great inundation of slavery, which had ecently swept over Massachusetts, over the dearest rights of the people, had lifted many men up from their feet, who thought they stood on firm ground. They were now looking about for a place to stand upon; and he would welcome them to that platform, as firm ground on which to stand. There they would find the purest atmosphere, and act with a really bealthy organization.' (Applause.)

The President of the day (Mr. Garrison) then ad-

ressed the assembly. [His speech was given last week.] C. L. REMOND said he did not rise to make a speech, nal shame on them! (Loud applause.)

he did, ten days in jail, on the charge of murder ! in his hand. thing more than talking.

for a real crime. The man who commanded those guar- feel it in his heart to support that institution. dians of liberty (!) was a wretch whom the cowardly The only remedy for slavery was, that those who of law, religion and freedom!

they were refused permission to send them to him, and blessing comes from justice. In this way, he account

at the Faneuil Hall meeting, as spies for the governfallen in, the water would have rejected him; he was to a great heathen temple, and not wishing to arouse

very friends knew, that since he came to this country, o that town, to that beautiful grove, and especially to emissaries to crush out. He had got within his breast

The Convention then adjourned for one hour.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At 2 o'clock, the meeting was again called to order, and, after the singing of a hymn, the President introduced to the audience Mr. Conway, of Virginia.

Mr. PHILLIPS said, that before the gentleman pro ceeded to address the assembly, he wished to say, that during that sad week in Boston, when a Virginian ruled the Court-House, the Vigilance Committee was not without a Virginian also; and that was the friend who now stood before them. (Cheers.)

Mr. Conway said that he was glad to have an oppor-tunity to stand on that platform, because he felt that to speak his thoughts freely on the subject of slavery, for hitherto he had had his lips padlocked, because, in Virginia, they not only had slaves, but every man with a conscience, or even the first throbbings of a conscience is a slave.

In reference to the statement that has been so often made, that he was admitted to the court-room during the trial of Burns, because he was a Virginian, Mr. C. said the story was true, though he had not himself laid claim to being a Virginian. He said he did not feel exactly like acknowledging the fact at that time, but his friend, and the friend of freedom, Charles G. Davis, of Plymouth, said, 'I will try the experiment.' He said to the policeman, 'Tell the Marshal this gentleman is from Virginia.' So he came, his face all wreathed with smiles, and said he, 'Admit that gentleman from Virginia.' They did not know, said Mr. C., that among the three or four hundred Virginians in that courtroom, there was one taking notes, and he would tell

Mr. C. said it was time that the people of the North but simply, as the humble representative of the Amer- and of the South understood each other. Some of his ican colored people, to give his hearty approbation of friends at the North had said that the way to get rid of the act of Mr. Garrison in burning the United States slavery was for the North and the South to meet togeth-Constitution. He pronounced the few individuals who er, and cooperate for that end, with the idea that the and interrupted Mr. Garrison with rowdyish exclama- North is willing to bear her share of the labor and extions, as negro-haters, and their sentiments not worth a pense. That would do very well, if it were not for two farthing. Every man knew, who knew any thing, that things. In the first place, the Southern people hated not only were the colored people outlawed under the the people of the North. It is a matter of Southern ed-American Constitution, but every man on that platform neation to hate a Yankee; to regard him as fit for nothalso. He was surprised that there was a single man ing but to catch slaves and do the will of the Southern with the impudence to oppose the act of Mr. Garrison, people. He knew that there was this hostile feeling, in that place. When the slaveholders had accomplish- and that it was rarely got rid of. In the next place, ed their present plans, they would kick these men out the South does not want to get rid of slavery; they of the Union they were now so eager to protect. Eter- never had the idea that it was something to be got rid of. If their fathers had it, the children had forgotten JOHN C. CLUER said he had been somewhat amused, it. Not one page that Thomas Jefferson wrote could and a little pained, to hear the remarks of some of the be read to a Virginia audience to-day. Men were now very great lovers of liberty (!) in the audience; and he building a statue to Washington at Richmond, and on rould tell those persons, that if they had been in that one side was Patrick Henry, with uplifted sword, and great focus of freedom in Boston (Court Square) on a on the other was Thomas Jefferson, with the Declaraertain evening in May, and had made one tenth part tion of Independence in his hands. But it was a dumb of the disturbance they have made here, if it was on the statue; it never would be animated with life : Thomas side of the slave, they would have found themselves, as Jefferson would never proclaim the great truths he held

He was arrested, he raid, because he was known to hold So far as the South was concerned, (Mr. C. continand express sentiments adverse to slavery. He had ued,) she had dissolved the Union long ago. She unites been in prison in England, but the government had to with the North only that she may use her as a tool to charge him, and those arrested with him, with some- carry out her projects. It was a characteristic of the hing more than talking.

Southern people to become insane on some subjects, and he believed that they were very nearly insane on the tending his arrest and imprisonment, and the character subject of slavery. People of delicary and tenderness of the men who were hired to do the dirty work of the in other respects, who have generally only kind feelings government. He said that one day, as he came up towards other people, as soon as any one mentioned that from the lock-up, he recognized among the guard a man subject, no matter if he were their own brother or even who, but a few weeks before, he had bailed in court, their child, they denounced him for it, if he could not

Mayor and police dered not touch ; a man who breaks hate the institution should be revolutionists, all of them. the law every hour, who keeps a large house of ill- (Applause.) Revolution was God's work, and not fame, and sends out his agents through the country man's. The first thing to be done was for every man villages of New England, to entice her daughters to to let it be a settled fact, that he will not be a slavepollution and death ! This man, said Mr. Cluer, shakes holder. Slaveholders, he found, were not confined to the police by the hand, and is cheered as the defender Virginia; he had found them wherever he had gone two feet in Massachusetts; and he believed he could go They might feel very comfortable about this but he back to Virginia, and find as many freemen there as he lid n't. When he was arrested, though he did n't de- had found in Massachusetts. As soon as each man had serve to be arrested,-by this he meant, that he did n't resolved to abolish slavery in his heart, the work would deserve the credit he got for being arrested; for, as be done. The cause had need of pious, holy men; things now are, he thought the man who lived to be nothing else was wanted. All that was needed was the fifty-one years old, without getting into jail, or, at influence of the Holy Spirit in the human soul. The only least, running the risk of it, could n't be good for much, religion, the only Christianity he knew any thing about (applause,)-and his counsel applied to see him, he taught that the love of justice was the chief attribute was refused permission, and was told that no one, not of God. The poor Indian, with his idea of the Great even his wife, could see him. When his family sent Spirit, had more Christianity in his heart than many him some tea and other little comforts for the body, an occupant of the pulpit. The Indian believes that every told that he could have nothing but jail allowance. His for the origin of Indian corn : A poor Indian maiden little daughter went to see him, and was refused admis- was suffering from hunger, and when another person, sion, and when she begged to be allowed the privilege, himself almost starved, met her on his way, he divided and asked, 'What harm can I do, if I see father?' the little food that still remained, and gave half to the the was rudely repulsed, and told, 'You can't see dying girl; and when he returned that way the next him.' The whole twelve were treated the same way. year, he found that on the spot where such a blessed Mr. Cluer said that, with all the experience that the charity had been bestowed, there had grown up a governments of Europe had had in such matters, he did great crop of Indian corn. That beautiful superstition not believe that they could get up such a system of es- showed what the Indian thought of the love of justice; plonage as had been lately got up in the city of Boston.

He had been informed that there were three reporters earth to bud and blossom like the rose. (Cheers.)

Old Erasmus tells a miraculous story, that once ment, and that they were also in Court Square the same when Christ was an infant in the arms of his mother, evening. One of them, he said, he had seen near the Mary and Joseph went up into Egypt, taking the infant Grove, on the shore of the lake, that day. If he had Savior with them. While on their journey, they came so greasy with rescality, he could not drown. (Roars the suspicions of the people, they resolved to go into of laughter and applance.)

I should prefer, Mr. Chairman, to make a speech this temple, where all the lesser and greater gods were entirely on the subject of money. I really do not feel

tongue to speak its horrors. The oppressed of other lands could give utterance to the wrongs they suffered; but here was an evil which there was no tongue to describe. It was criminal for the black man to tell of the wrongs he suffered. It was a crime, in Virginia, to teach a negro to read or write. Nevertheless, the speaker said, there were those in Virginia who had a higher law,' and when they had taught the black man to read and write, it was found that they could not be tried and convicted, because the testimony of a colored man against a white man was not admitted in Southern courts. That was another illustration of the workings of Providence-

#### · From seeming evil still educing good.' The great evil was, that the Northern people had no

faith. When the South pushed slavery against the North, they always found there was nothing but mush (laughter)-that there was nothing to stand against them. It was sometimes said that the abolitionists had stirred up the pro-slavery feeling of the South, and riveted the chains of slavery firmer than ever on the limbs of its victims. But how could that be, when no single line that they write can be carried into a slave State, except by stealth, and at the risk of legal penalties? All the talk about the pro-slavery sentiment at the South being strengthened by the efforts of the abolitionists was sheer hypocrisy.

Mr. C. said he believed the anti-slavery sentiment ras God's work. It was kindred with the sunlight, kindred with the trees, and would grow as naturally in the hearts of the people as trees come out of the ground. The important thing was, that they should all feel that they were men. He remembered that there was, in an ancient city, before the time of Christ, a great amphitheatre, where a new play was to be performed; and when the actor came forth, he said—'I am a MAN! think not any thing human a matter of indifference to me' (cheers); and a plaudit went up from that vast amphitheatre that still echoes in the corridors of time, and must find an echo in the hearts of all. That sentiment he proposed to them now. They had no right, until all men had their rights ; he sincerely believed that no man could be a slave in America to-day, if they were not slaves.

SOJOURNER TRUTH then took the platform, and said he agreed with the last speaker, that the evils of slaery could not be spoken; they could only be felt. She felt, while Mr. Cluer was describing his treatment in the jail, and telling them that his wife and little girl were not permitted to see him, that he would now be able to appreciate something of the sufferings of her feel the prick. (Laughter and cheers.) God would yet execute his judgments upon the white people for their oppression and cruelty. She had often asked white people why God should have more mercy on Anglo-Saxons than on Africans, but they had never given her any answer; the reason was, they hadn't got it to give. (Laughter.) Why did the white people hate the blacks? Vere they not as good as they were brought up? They were a great deal better than the white people had rought them up. (Cheers.) The white people owed he colored race a big debt, and if they paid it all back, they wouldn't have any thing left for seed. (Laughter.) All they could do was to repent, and have the debt forriven them. The colored people had labored and suffered for the white people, their children had been sold to help educate ministers of the gospel; and why did they hate them? If they could not answer that question now, they would have to answer it before God. Even the blood of one man, Abel, did not call from the round in vain. The promises of Scripture were all for the black people, and God would recompense them for all their sufferings in this world. One day they would meet the poor slave in heaven, ' his robes washed white in the blood of the lamb,' coming, through much trib-ulation.' ('you know who that means,' said Sojourner; it don't mean you; white folks don't suffer tribulation; it means the black people, and those friends who have suffered with them,') to peace and joy in the kingdom. 'Wait a little longer,' said she, 'and I shall hall you where slaveholders do not come, and where bloodhounds cannot enter.' (Loud applause.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS next addressed the audience, and a coming forward, was greeted with hearty applause. le spoke as follows :--

I do not know, ladies and gentlemen, that you will like the first part, at any rate, of my speech, which is merely to deliver a message to you from one who is going just now to invade your seats, in behalf of the anti-slavery cause. I come to tell you that Abby Kelley Foster is to be among you; and what she comes for, you know very well. It is for 'the sinews of war'-for the means of carrying this enterprise throughout the State. God has given us a text in the late events in the city of Boston, and now our object is, to take out the burthen of that rebuke, and preach a sermon upon it in every great town in Massachusetts, Massachusetts is ready to hear. The public car was never so theroughly aroused and awake as it is at this moment; you all know it; and in one form or another, either by our organization or by some other means, if we love the anti-slavery agitation, we are bound to make use of th mmer, when public attention is so much aroused.

to press upon all those who are turning their eyes, for the first time, to the claims of the slavery question, the nature and importance of that question, and prepare them for their duties, civil and political, as well as religious, on this question. We are importuned from every town in the Commonwealth, to send them lecturers; and if you will give us the means, we will try to do it. We will try to make Massachusetts worthy of the name she has always taken to herself, of an anti-slavery State. We will try to make her worthy to ser / back CHARLES SUMMEN to the Senate, if they shall think him worthy of expulsion. (Cheers.) I wish they would expel him; it would teach Massachusetts where she ands before the National Government.

-and that was not more than thirty years ago. Anti-

slavery is now at a great deal higher growth than ever

I think that the Fourth of July never was a day of Liberty-never until the Abolitionists used it. The Declaration of Independence is not a Declaration of Liberty; it is what it purports to be, a Declaration of Independence, and nothing more. It undertook to separate the connection betwixt the colonies and Great Britain. It ends off by declaring that therefore, [on account of these previous principles,] 'they [the colonies] are, and of right ought to be-States without slavery in them? Not at all: States where every man is a freeman? Not a bit of it-these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' That is what they fought for; that they got. Seven years they fought for it, and they succeeded; and ever since, these States have been ' free and independent' of all foreign power. That is what our fathers went to war for, and that they got. But it is not true, it cannot be made out from history, that our fathers had any hatred of African slavery in 1776. It is not in the record The allusion to the slave trade in the Declaration of Inde pendence, as one of the grievances forced upon the colo nies by the King, was struck out of that instrument Our fathers had just as much hatred of slavery as the Whigs of Boston have to-day; -that is, they hated slavery abstractly; they were willing that slavery should perish; but they were not willing to make a sacrifice for it. They would sacrifice neither the commerce nor the union of the country, neither the wealth nor the strength of the colonies, for the sake of abolishing slavery. They had the same hatred of slavery that the Daily Advertiser has to-day; -that is, a hatred that will round beautiful periods against it; that will make good speeches against it; but not a feeling that will sacrifice any thing for the anti-slavery cause; and there never was any such feeling in the country until the anti-slavery enterprise created it.

The fourth day of July has been exactly what our fathers made it-the jubilee of a nation for its independence. It becomes us, their children, to take one step further than they dared to take, and to add to 'Independence,' LIBERTY-which they dared not add. (Loud cheers.) They did not dare to risk the union of the country, they did not dare to risk their material prosperity, for the slave question. There were a few leading men that did : Jefferson, Adams, Wythe, Jay, and some other distinguished men. So there are now; in exactly the same circumstances. This is the use wish to make of the lesson : Do not imagine, because there are a few leading men, whose names are to go down to posterity, who are in favor of freedom-do not imagine, because Chase, and Hale, and Sunner, and our friend here, [Mr. GARRISON,] will leave their liberty-that it is any proof that Massachusetts, at the present moment, is an anti-slavery State; neither was it the case in '76, because John Hancock, and Sam Adams, and John Lowell, and Josiah Quincy, and a

few other men, hated slavery.

The reason Burns went back from Boston was because the men of Boston were willing he should gothere is no other reason; and we have nothing to do but to stand here day and night, and preach that lesson without intermission. The reason the slave is sent back is because the men of Massachusetts will it-nothing else. If it had not been so, why did n't you give us a Governor, and not a dish of skimmed milk in his place? (Laughter and cheers.) Had we had a Massachusetts Governor that week, Burns need not have gone back. (' Hear, hear.') Had we had a Mayor of Boston, instead of an uncooked hasty-pudding, (Roars of laughter, and cheers,) Burns need not have gone back. It we had had a will throughout the Commonwealth, that would have undertaken to say, 'The law shall not b executed ! ' Burns would not have gone back. If there had been an arrest at Richmond, Virginia, or at Charles ton, South Carolina, where do you suppose their Governors would have been ?-in those cities, or some where else, addressing a Sunday school? If you are really abolitionists, give as a Governor that has outgrown the Sunday School; give us somebody who can do something else than address a Bible Society, when the laws of Mas-

There is no reasonable hope of the success of the antislavery enterprise, until you make up your minds that it is not somebody else, but you, that return fugitive slaves. It is not Colonel Suttle, of Virginia; it is not Franklin Pierce nor Caleb Cushing, at Washington it is Massachusetts, that owns Massachusetts; and you that vote every year, in November, for laws and law-makers, choose to make this an anti-slavery State you can do it, next November, spite of all the Calet Cushings or Franklin Pierces that the Government car buy up.

Sachusetts are trodden under foot.

I am not going to make a long speech; but I wi tell you the work which I would point out for Abolition ists to do this summer-the work which will make Mas sachusetts what she boasts herself to be, an anti-slavery State. When it is done, I will be proud of the old Bay State. I used to be proud of her. Time was, when took on my lips the name of the old Commonweal with a glow of conscious pride, that gave depth to the tones of my voice, and an added pulse to the heart. was proud of her; but my pride all vanished when saw that old Indian on her banner go floating dow State street, with the Slave Brigade, with Ben Hallett and the United States Marshal, and a chained slave. beneath him. I have lost all pride in Massachusetts till she redeems herself from that second day of June

Now, my friends, I will tell you what is left for us to do. Let us take this summer to roll up a petition that shall be a hundred thousand strong, to the Legislature that is to assemble in January, asking them to turn Edward Greeley Loring out of the office of Judge o Probate. (Loud cheers.) If we do not do that, w shall not be a decent State, to begin with. The secon thing is, let us ask them for a law by which any man who helps in any way the return of a fugitive slave. shall be for ever disqualified from bearing office in Massachusetts. (Great applause.) Let us ask them for a law that shall direct the judges of the Commonwealth to issue a writ of habens corpus just as often as the United States Marshal arrests a slave, no matter if they have to issue a hundred in a week, and take him out

his hands. Let us learn of South Carolina, and nullify I like her pluck. When she did not fancy Mr. Hoar the Fugitive Slave Bill on the soil of Massachusetts, she turned him out of the State. I am for turning ou Supreme Court would not do it, amend the Constitution, and elect another. When we are an anti-slavery when he comes to Boston on his infamous errand, an State, that is what we are to do.

to get up Liberty parties and Free Soil parties, stretch- we can afford to despise Caleb Cushing, and not til ing from the old Bay State back to the Mississippi. then. National politics is not possible. The Government has When we get anti-slavery law officers, we will fi got the better of us. Slavery has got fifty million dol-lars of revenue to spend every year: fifty millions of wit Caleb Cushing any day, and not get up till twelve dollars! We live in a country where, if you put a dol- o'clock in the morning besides. (Laughter.) We have lar on the other side of hell, the Yankees will spring got Massachusetts lawyers as sharp as Philadelphia for it, at the risk of tumbling in. (Laughter and cheers.) ones, if you will only show them you want them to ex-We live in a land of money-you know it; and do you ert their shrewdness. Our judges have law enough; does it take, in the city of Washington, to carry any time, Massachusetts is a peddling State-sells her wares vote? Not more than thirty. This very year, on the in the best market, and looks out she don't offend her Nebraska question, the votes of white men, white Dem- customers; and then comes home and congratulates ocrats, were bought cheaper, in the city of Washington, than you could buy black slaves. It is a literal fact, that Democratic votes were bought cheaper, in Washthirty years old. Now, do you believe that a Government with fifty million of dollars to spend annually can be checkmated? Never! The only way to checkmate it is to checkmate it at home. Massachusetts is ours, if we choose to make it so. We can nullify this Fugitive Slave Bill. We can put on that Supreme bench judges who will laugh to defiance the Congress of the United States, when they undertake to carry a fugitive slave out of Massachusetts.

A Voice- How will they do it? Mr. PHILLIPS-Give me an anti-elavery State, and I will leave it to anti-slavery Yankees to find out a way. (Cheers.) Do you suppose the men who make wooden nutmegs and cheat all the South, are not sharp enough to outwit her in any thing? Do you suppose the South outwits us, because her people are shrewder than Yankees? No! It is because we love to be cheated on this question; it is because our politicians are willing to compromise, and have been ever since '76. I will set a Yankee to have his way, and find the means to have it, against the world. And yet you tell me to believe in an anti-slavery New England that has been outwitted for sixty years! I do n't believe it. I believe that when New England wants a thing, and wants it 'with a will,' she will have it! (Loud applause.) The only reason why she has not had anti-slavery le gislation is because she has not wanted it. One man has been making brooms on the banks of the Connecticut, and another manufacturing cotton in Lowell, and another curing fish on the sea-board, and another making shoes up and down the county of Essex, and provided they made money enough, they let the Government have its way. And then we send Mr. Sumner to Washington, and we send gentlemen to deliver Fourth of July orations, to make it out that Massachusetts is an anti-elavery State. She is not! But the time has gone by when you can can smuggle a slave out of the State. Thank God ! you have got to smother down the anti-slavery sentiment of '54 with two thousand armed men in State street, before you can carry a slave from Court Square to T wharf. (Cheers.) That is growth. There is another evidence of growth. The spear of anti-slavery rebuke has pierced through even the hide of George T. Curtis, and proved that there is a living spot of moral life even in his body. (Applause.) It has disproved the old doctrine of Total Depravity. (Great cheering.) The old physicians used to say, Experimentum in corpore vili : '-you must try experiments on a worthless thing. We followed the counsel. We tried an experiment on the most worthless thing we could get, and the anti-slavery spear has the legend; and then she will revive the slave proved, by these very letters he writes, that there is a hope for all above him! (Great applause.)

so fond of praising ourselves; so fond of rejoicing at than Rhode Island, which will make it utterly impossi the indignation that we feel; so fond of the afterthought of next week; of telling how indignant the When we have done that, we can defy Congress. When a slave in Boston. I met a man a week after Burns of outside. 'Charity begins at home.' You know farwas surrendered, and he asked me, 'Mr. Phillips, was mers say, the man who takes a large farm, never cul-Burns really a Baptist minister?' Said I, 'He was, sir, a Baptist exhorter, regularly licensed.' Well, dertakes to cultivate a nation, fails. Confine your effective to continue the confine was but the confine to the confine which and we can hen I heard that Major General Edmands had sent back a brother Baptist, I could n't sleep.' He took no interest in the man-it was in the Baptist! He heard the mere fact of a human being surrendered as a chattel-and he went about his business; but when he heard that one Baptist had surrendered another Baptist, it disturbed his slumber ! (Laughter.) That is, to some extent, a fair specimen of much of the anti-slavery excitement we hear of about us. A week after Burns was sent away, we went down into State street. with a petition asking for the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from office, and we asked the gentlemen of State street to sign it; -(they were the very men who had volunteered, among themselves, to rescue Burns, and to tar and feather Suttle:)-but six days had rolled away, and they were not ready even to sign petition to remove Loring from his office as Judge of single week. This is the anti-slavery sentiment of Mas- dience that I am an invalid; but I would not refuse to

We shall never get any better, until we see ourselves say any thing on this subject to gratify any body. in an honest glass; until we get out of this habit of It seems to me that the great evil which has be praising ourselves. The people of Massachusetts are wrought in this country by slavery is the effect which ot Abolitionists but a very small portion of them. it has had on the moral sentiment and moral principle The State is a pre-slavery State, as a whole. The of the community in which we live. It has gone down Fourth of July is a pro-slavery day—a day meant to underneath all the old principles upon which law i commemorate the independence of thirteen States, in enacted and administered. It has bored down under every one of which there were slaves when the Declar- the hard pan and primitive granite of character, and est measure, for four years afterwards, to free a slave.

Now, gentlemen, I know that I might make a much speech that should raise your plaudits, perhaps, by praising some of our anti-slavery men and measures. I could praise, as he deserves, your favorite Massachueetts Senator, Mr. SUMNER, who has made a noble speech, and has grown an inch, at least, in moral stature, within the last fortnight (applause); but that is not what we want. I have had enough of anti-slavery plaudits. I lost my relish for them in the last week of May. I lost my relish for them when I saw a whole city lying prostrate at the feet of a Virginia slavehunter. We have got to begin over again, from the root. We do not want reformation; as Mr. CONWAY says, we want a revolution-just as real, and far more radical, than that which our fathers undertook to make.

Then there is another thing, as your work for this summer. Turn out Loring as the first thing; get a tution of the United States. These have raised them the third is this: appoint officers, and elect a Governor and Legislature, that shall be Massachusetts men. It would have been a refreshing sight if, any time during cred volume; you may appeal to the laws of God, a those seven days of anxiety and trial, we could have seen a MAN in Boston. You could not find one. You could not find a man who would take the slightest responsibility. The Mayor could not do any thing unless Mr. Hillard told him; -- and Mr. Hillard could not say any thing unless the Mayor asked him ;-the Sherifi could not do any thing unless Attorney General Clifford advised it :- and Attorney General Clifford could not give any advice unless the Governor asked him ;-and the Governor had gone up to Worcester, and nobody could find him! (Laughter.) During that whole week a dozen men employed the greater part of their time is hunting up Massachusetts officers, and beseeching then to do something. They all acknowledged that some thing ought to be done, but nobody could settle who ought to do it. We want a real Governor and Mayor and you can make them. We want a real anti-slave ry Legislature, not one that talks anti-slavery. W.

[A voice-'Amen.' Loud cheers.] If the present the men we do not like, not talking about them. I am for having half a dozen men wait on the slave hunter State, that is what we are to do.

It is in vain to make national parties. It is in vain Rhode Island, and then bid him a polite farewell. Then

suppose that a Government with fifty millions of dollars it is the people behind them that is wanted ;-it is to spend every year cannot buy up enough men in a South Carolina on the side of liberty; it is Virginia in year to carry any vote they wish to? How many men favor of the black man having his rights. In the mean herself that she is so very anti-slavery, because CHARLES SUMNER has made a good speech in Congress! Yes, we can make good speeches enough, good resolutions ington, for the Nebraska bill, than an able-bodied slave enough; what we want is a good executive here at

> We have had a Free Soil party in this State. They undertook to nominate Martin Van Buren for President: they did not elect him. Any party that undertakes to get up a national movement will be bought up, because slavery is inside the Government fortress, and has fifty millions of dollars to spend annually; and you never yet saw the land where, if you wanted a mean thing done, and had the money to pay for it, you could not find mean men to do it.

> I know I am talking of very low motives; but I am talking to Yankees ; I am talking to Americans, in the nineteenth century; I am talking of the men who put Franklin Pierce into office; I am talking plain matterof-fact, that we meet every day. You will never have an anti-slavery Government, while slavery has fifty millions of dollars to spend every year-she can buy us up. They say it cost ' mighty dear ' to get Burns back. Fifty thousand dollars !- horsibly dear! I think it was very cheap! She bought all Boston for fifty thousand dollars, and we threw the Governor in. (Loud laughter and applause.) She had our regiment, our mayor, our court-house, our judiciary, the whole Commonwealth-she only paid fifty thousand dollars for it! Cheap as dirt! Why, she can afford to buy States up at that rate for any length of time to come. If it costs only fifty thousand dollars to buy Boston what hope have we? And yet, it is literally true, that for that the United States Government bought the city.

My friends, I am now going to give place to others; but let me urge every man who loves the anti-slavery cause to confine his attention to his own State. State politics are within our control. We can put a Legisla ture into that State House that shall bermetically scal Massachusetts against the slave-hunter; and the mo ment we set the example, Ohio, Michigan, and young Iowa and Wisconsin will follow; and, State by State, we can defy the Fugitive Slave Bill. Try a little Nullification on our side ! Why, we are very slow scholars. The South has been teaching us for forty years, and yet we wont learn ! She says- Gentlemen, imitate me I never let United States law get executed, when i don't please me-why do you?"

My Free Soil friends who are listening to me are anxious to put another Senator into the United States Senate, and to put Representatives into the House. I entreat them to forget Congress for a little while. We can do nothing there; it is beyond our reach. The National Government has beaten us. It is a melancholy fact-but it is a fact. She has written ' Nebraska ' over the tomb of our hope; she will soon add 'Cuba' to pierced through the hide of George T. Curtis, and trade;—very little doubt of it. But, in the mean time though you cannot affect Congress, you can do this oral live spot even in him; and therefore we may With proper effort this summer, we can put a Legisla The great difficulty here in Massachusetts is, we are us a series of statutes better than Connecticut, better ble to execute that law in the State of Massachusetts rural districts' of the State are at the kidnapping of we have made her a free State, we can begin to think forts, friends, to a small Commonwealth, and we ca plough deep, and have a rich harvest. (Applause.) mean what I say. I believe that the politics of antislavery-if there be any politics with anti-slavery-is Nullification. That is the only politics that is possible in the present aspect of affairs. I commend it to you for your serious work-not consideration ; to the efforts, the continued labor of this summer, so that we may really be able to boast of an anti-slavery government here in the Commonwealth next fall. (Loud cheers.)

After brief remarks by STEPHEN S. FOSTER and LUCT STONE, (of which some account was given last week, and the delivery of an address (which we shall print hereafter) by HENRY D. THOREAG.

Rev. John Pierrony came forward, and was ceived with general applause. He said :-

MR. PRESIDENT,-I will not encroach long upon you Probate! So much had their zeal cooled down in a time. You have been so kind as to intimate to the au speak so long as the breath of life is in me, and I car

ion was issued; and not one of which took the slight- blown us all up. (Laughter.) There is not a single principle, that of old was deemed established, in law o in divinity, that the demon of slavery has not invaded nore acceptable speech to you to-day. I might make a and there are very few that it has not subverted : s that now the work, both of lawyer and minister, is to be done over again. We have to deal with primary truths, with great fundamental principles, that have been at tacked, contemned, overthrown, -not in the nature o things, but in the minds of the people of the United States. We have come to be, Mr. Chairman, with all our professions of religion, with all our vast array of theological denominations, practically a nation of athe ists. That is the bottom of the matter. We have comto be Biblioloters-worshippers of a book. Our divines have come to worship what they call the 'word God '-the prophecies and sayings of good men of old times, and of apostles of later days. Our lawyers have come to worship a book-a small one, to be surewhich we have seen burned here,-namely, the Const statute that shall nullify the Slave Law as a second ; selves, or been raised by the Slave Power, to a position above 'all that is called God.' You may appeal to the laws of God, most distinctly revealed even in the sawritten upon the soul of man, in opposition to the demands of the slave interest, and the reply is, ' The compromises of the Constitution!'

Now, what I wish to say is this: that, according to the known and established principles of religion, and equally according to the known and established principles of law, it is not in the power of man, nor, indeed in the power of any number of men, to enact any law, or to enter into any agreement, that does, in its nature, antagonise with the laws of Almighty God; and where oever any such agreement is made, by whomsoev entered into, and by whatever solemnity sanctioned all such agreements are in themselves actually and abolutely null and void, to all intents and purposes, as igreements, as covenants, as contracts; they cannot be recognised by a court of English law, but would be set a side by such court. Mr. Justice Blackstone, the disinguished author of the great elemental work on English law, 'Commentaries on English Law,' hitherto ant South Carolina over again, on the side of liberty.

and by every teacher of law in the United States, and am sorry for it all, and if I were to go back again, or wherever English law is known and administered,— this thing were to be done over again now, I would take Mr. Justice Blackstone says, in so many words, that if a different ground.' No, sir. You know there is that a Legislature enact a law which is contrary to the law in man's spirit, that will bear up bravely under such of God,—as, for example, enact a law demanding of a circumstances.
subject to murder a fellow-subject,—we are bound to I believe, Mr. President, that if you were to bring u disobey this law. That is the language of Mr. Justice a fugitive slave to-day before the judges of the Queen' Blackstone: we are bound to disobey that law, or we Bench in England, under the United States Constitu must violate both the natural and the revealed law.

Now, in what aspect do you look at the United States Constitution? Is it a concatenation or congeries of com- that Court would reaffirm the decision in the Somers pacts or covenants? If so, the same distinguished author says, in relation to contracts, 'A consideration that moves to a contract must be a thing that is in it- terly null and void, and without binding force, and the self lawful, or it is void.' Now, if the consideration man must be discharged. Put the administration of that moves to the fugitive slave cause in the Constitu- your government into righteous hands, and we have tion is to return fugitive blaves, which, in itself, is a nothing to fear por to ask. violation of the law of God, that covenant is, by the | Pardon me, my friends, for trespassing upon you very intent of the contract, void, to all intents and patience so long, with the little strength I have, either purposes. Grant that it was the intention of the Convention in Philadelphia to bind the States to return fu- I shall be allowed to speak to an audience so large a gitive slaves; grant it was so understood [I do not this before me to-day. But though there is snow or grant it]—but admit, for the sake of the argument, the head, there is some fire yet in the heart (loud ap-that it was understood by every member of the Conven-plause), and if I have but little strength, let that be fagitive slaves; grant, further, that it was the fixed if I may be permitted to behold their triumph, thenthe Constitution, in good faith to send back the fugitive eyes have seen thy salvation !' nothing at all; because no two men can bind them- taken his seat, in the position, that an immoral contract bind those who should come up in after generations. In regard to law, the same great principle obtains. All you have got to show in regard to any law enacted by any legislative power, is, that it is in violation of natural morality. When you have shown that, you have shown that you owe no allegiance to that law, and if you obey it, you obey it at your peril.

Admit, then, all that is claimed as vile in the Constitution : if it is a 'covenant with hell,' as our friend tution: if it is a 'covenant with hell,' as our friend As I do not concur in those complimentary resolu here [Mr. Garrison] says, you cannot bind yourselves tions to the Mayor, I think it my duty to give by a covenant with hell. If the 'Prince of the power of the air' should come up to you and ask you to enter beginning of the trial.

The fugitive was arrested on Wednesday night. into a covenant, by which you would give up your children to him at a particular period of their age, and you should write that covenant in your own blood, are you bound by it? No! God has taken you into his own hand long before that. We are all in his hand, will-he unaccountable reason, adjourned the case till th nill-he. He does not ask our 'sweet voices'-do you think he does? Hear the words of the Savior- No man can take them out of my father's hands.' No God, nor can we kick ourselves out of the traces he has put us into. We are his subjects; we are his servants, his laws bind us; and if we have been wicked enough to make an unrighteous law, and then add the iniquity of an oath that we will obey it, the wisest thing we can do, under the circumstances, is, to disobey it the first he had opportunity we have. (Cheers.) What says Shakespeare ?-[I do not mean to appeal to Shakespeare as a teacher of the principles of morality, but those principles are as old as the human race, and he recognizes them.] In Henry VI., the King says to Salisbury, 'Hast thou not sworn allegiance unto me?' 'I have,' replies Salisbury. 'Canst thou dispense with heaven for such an oath? ' asks Henry. What says Salisbury?

'It is great sin to swear unto a sin ; But greater sin to keep the sinful oath.'

(Loud applause.) You did wrong to swear to do that which you knew to be a sin; but you will take a still protection of Mr. Brent and myself, who were more wrongful step if you keep the oath; for to sin in staying there. His reply was that 'he had no word, bad as that is, is not so bad as to sin in deed ac- force to spare.' cording to your word.

my own people in this regard, 'Friends, I don't want to and declared in the language of President Pierce, talk Christianity against the Fugitive Slave Law. I that the law must be executed.' This course go back to the earliest ages which history reaches. Go brought down upon him the curses of the Aboliback to Egypt, the original house of bondage, and see tionists, who abused him as a traiter, and failed to What did the midwives of Pharaoh's time do ? Pharaoh was king ; his word was law; and that law required that the son of every Hebrew house should be put to death. That was law. Doubtless, the Commissioners of that day-the visit that city. Curtises and Lorings of King Pharach's administration-went for the execution of that law; no doubt, they were ready to denounce any midwife who refused to obey it as a 'seditious and treasonable person'; but what did those women do? We are told that they 'feared God,' and spared the boy babies. They would bill, by a lafge majority, entitled 'An Act for the beat them into the Nile. So with those mighty Defence of Liberty,' that will, if strictly enforced, Hebrews, the noble men of Jewish theology and Jewish morality. Behold the old prophet Daniel, kneeling down with his window open towards Jerusalem, and all down with his window open towards Jerusalem, and all of the hand they hold, in the country of wooden Babylon gazing on, although the word had gone up from the throne in Babylon, that if any man dared to ing. Eminent and distinguished jurists have de-Daniel,-O, that all Daniels had been like him,-(Applause,)-did kneel down before his window, and did pray to God. Those three old Jews, Shadrach,-ah, Shadrach / we have had another since! (cheers)-and his two companions, though threatened with a fiery furnace, if they did not bow down to the image, (a worse conition than that which our friend Cluer has described !)-yet what did they do ? 'Be it known to you, O King,' said they, ' that we will not bow down unto that image, nor worship him."

Out of the pale of revealed religion, from old Atheism, both in Greece and Rome, went the paramount truth of any declaration, representation, or pre-authority of the Divine laws. Atheism itself cannot tence that any person, being or having been to this State as a slave, or owes or did owe service or lastand in antagonism to those great principles which I State as a slave, or owes or did owe service or laam now endeavoring to impress upon your mind. No
am now endeavoring to impress upon your mind. No
ed, except by the testimony of at least two credible vernment can stand-our own cannot stand longgovernment can stand—our own cannot stand long—witnesses testifying to facts directly tending to esno rights can be protected, no citizenship worth holdtablish the truth of such declaration, pretence, or ing, except it rest upon the positive, fundamental mo- representation, or by legal evidence equivalent rality, according to established principles, that the thereto. rality, according to established principles, the laws of God are paramount to those of man, and if maliciously seize or procure to be seized any free man dare, by his legislation, to antagonize with the Most person entitled to freedom, with intent to have person entitled to freedom, with intent to have

Mr. President, I do not want the Constitution detroved : I do not want to see it burned, even. I would ot burn the Constitution. Understanding it as I understand it, I do not want one letter altered ; I only want to put it into the hands of an anti-slavery and liberty-loving judiciary. The administration of the liberty-loving judiciary. The administration of the SEC. 5. Upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, any witness who shall, in behall under this act, any witness who shall, in behall the second and intending to aid him it Power. They have been a unit; they have united with one intent and one mind. They have given the Constione intent and one mind. They have given the Consti-tution their own construction. Let me give it mine, alave, or does or ever did owe service or labor to and while their construction has been directly in the any person or persons, such witness shall pay a teeth of the great principles of English law, mine shall fine of \$5,000, and be imprisoned five years in the be in harmony with them. Let me give that the properties of the many construction, and no slave could possibly be retion my construction, and no slave could possibly be rebe made against any person for any defence debe made against any person for any debe in harmony with them. Let me give that Constitution my construction, and no state could possibly defence furned to bondage. I have no objection to swearing to support the Constitution of the United States. I do not care a snap for consequences—they will come in duly issued for the arrest of such person; any person to make the complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person; any person to make the complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person; any person for any defence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person for any defence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person for any defence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person for any defence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person for any defence described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information. God's own time and way. Let us plant ourselves on son who shall hinder or obstruct the sheriff, deput His principles; and if man has any faith in God, he sheriff or constable in the service of such warrant His principles; and if man has any faith in God, he will be upheld in it. Some of us have known something of sacrifice; but did ever man make a sacrifice of his comfort, of his position, of his pecuniary wealth, on principle and for the sake of a moral cause, and of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate of years, or owes or did owe service as such an appropriate or constants in the service of such warrant, will be or shall aid such accused person in escaping from the pursuit of such officer shall be imprisoned one year in the Connecticut State Prison. principle and for the sake of a moral cause, and of years, or owes or did owe service as such an a afterward repent of it? That is a phenomenon, my friends, that has never yet come up. No man has ever hibited by this act, and no such declaration, pretending afterward repent of it? That is a prenomenous, my friends, that has never yet come up. No man has ever been heard to say, 'I have lost money, I have lost population that any person is or was such been heard to say, 'I have lost money, I have lost population that any person is or was such an apprentice, for such fixed term, or owes or distributed by this act, and no such declaration, pretence or representation that any person is or was such an apprentice, for such a such an apprentice for such as a such an apprentice for such as a such an apprentice for such as a such as

gnised in every lawyer's office in the United States, as a fanatical man,' and afterwards said, 'Well, I

tion, -supposing that Constitution to have been adopted by all the shires of England, Scotland and Ireland, case, and declare that all its compacts against natural morality, and in violation of the laws of God, are ut

tion that it was intended to bind the people to return laid on the altar of the great reforms of the day, and purpose of every citizen of every State that adopted 'Lord, lettest now thy servant depart in peace, for mine

slave; grant all that, and the agreement was of no more binding force than a cobweb; nay, not so much, for a remarks. He said that while he cordially agreed with cobweb can bind the unwary fly, but this could bind his highly esteemed and venerated friend, who had just selves to do wrong, still less can ony two men bind a is null and void, still, no advantage is to be taken of it third to do wrong. As our friend Foster said, the by one party against the other. The only fair and stream can never rise higher than the fountain.' You honorable course to be pursued, in such a case, (taking cannot raise water by hydrostatic pressure, in Bos- the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution between ton, higher than Cochituate lake in Framingham. If, the North and the South as an example,) was, not to then, the individuals who constituted the Convention twist language from its meaning, as understood by the that framed the Constitution, could not bind them- contracting parties, but to acknowledge the wickednes selves to any act of iniquity, still less could the Con- of the agreement, and to declare the partnership at an vention bind the people of the States. Equally true end. The only remedy in our case is A DISSOLUTION is it, that no State could bind itself; still less could it OF THE UNION. Any thing short of this is only like one beating the air.

The meeting then, after singing a hymn, adjourned

#### LETTER PROM COL SUTTLE To the Editor of the Alexandria Gazette:-

I see by the newspapers that resolutions have been passed in several of the counties of Virginia commending the course of Mayor Smith of Boston

and brought before the Commissioner on Thursday. After the identity of the negro had been established, and he had repeatedly acknowledged that he belonged to me, the Commissioner, for som following Saturday. During the next day, Friday the Abolition newspapers and the fanatics of Box ton were actively engaged in manufacturing excite man can take them out of my father's hands.' No ment against me. The Mayor was applied to for Convention can take us out of the hand of Almighty the use of Fancuil Hall, and requested to preside over their meeting. He gave them permission to use the hall, and said 'nothing would give him more pleasure than to preside over their meeting, but that he had an engagement for the evening which would prevent his doing so. He assured them, however, that all his sympathies were for the negro;

he had none for kidnappers.'

After the meeting had assembled, and by a unanimous vote had declared that they would rescue the fugitive, and attack us at the 'Revere House,' he was called upon by the U. States Marshal for part of his Police forces to protect the Court House, (where the negro was kept in the custody of the officers.) He replied that he had no force to spare. There was no mob in the street, and he had no right to anticipate a riot: his duty was to have the streets cleared, if a mob assembled. The proprie-tor of the 'Revere House' also called upon him after of the 'Revere House and asked for a police force to protect his house, as well as for

On Saturday morning, his honor finding the re ording to your word.

Spectable portion of the community censured him for his course, and no doubt smarting under the Not Christian principles, exclusively, for I have said to conviction that he was to some extent accountable my own people in this regard, 'Friends, I don't want to the respect of the law-al

> I take this occasion to return my the proprietor of the 'Revere House' for his kindness and attention during my stay in Boston, and beg that he may not be forgotten by Southern men who Yours, truly, CHAS. F. SUTTLE.

Alexandria, July 3, 1854.

# CONNECTICUT AHEAD.

The Connecticut Legislature recently passed nake slave-hunting a rather dangerous game to play at in that State. Those who have any proper-ty of that kind at stake, had better be very careful utter a petition to any other than the King, he should clared the hill to be perfectly constitutional, and be thrown into the den of lions; and yet that stern old there will doubtless be no trouble on that ground

to prevent its operation. The following is the law entire :

AN ACT FOR THE DEFENCE OF LIBERTY. SECTION 1. Every person who shall falsely and maliciously declare, represent, or pretend that any free person entitled to freedom is a slave, or owes service or labor, to any person or persons, with in-tent to procure, or aid or assist in procuring, the forcible removal of such free person from this State, as a slave, shall pay a fine of \$5,000, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State Prison.

SEC. 2. In all cases arising under this act, the

such free person sold into Slavery, shall pay a fine of \$5,000, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State Prison.

SEC. 4. Upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, no deposition shall be admitted as evidence of the truth of the statement in such

of the party accused, and intending to aid him it his defence, falsely and wilfully, in testifying, repre Connecticut State Prison.

sition. I have lost favor, I have lost office, by my attachment to the Temperance cause, or the Anti-Slavery fixed term, shall render any person liable cause, and I am now poor, contemned, and regarded penalty under this act.

THE CRISIS OF PREEDOM

In our last number, we warmly commended a Ser. mon, preached at the Free Church, in Lynn, on the Sanday succeeding the rendition of Anthony Burns, by SANUEL JOHNSON. 'I pronounce it,' writes the General Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, "the best, the most valuable publication we have had on the subject Its lofty ground, its clear perception and distinct per trayal of the existing danger, its suggestion of reas dies and work to be done, &c. &c., make it an extend ingly timely publication. Rend the following extract.

A fortnight ago, men thought the Fugitive Ad was dead, in Boston; public sentiment, they said was against it, and so was Massachusetts lay For all that, Authony Burns was not saved. What help were law and sentiment to him? Slaver help were law and sentiment to him! Shrer was in the Government of the land. Massachusata had her hand clasped in the slaveholder's clutch she dared not withdraw it, because the Starchilde she dared not withdraw it, because the Starchiller was the Government. And so long as we are under a stateholding Government, that clutch will not be shain off. Massachusetts should have understood this long ago; she has not, and here is the issue.

What crushing evidence she has stood out against.

What crushing evidence she has stood out agains!
The government has been the Pandemonium of
Slavery for years, yet she has fancied herself a
Free State. Freedom has no inch of soil on which it can set up for even a peculiar institution; is not even so much as sectional; is swept out of the territories, and browbeaten and crushed in the coventions, and bullied and out-voted in Congress and turned into an outlawed Pariah, to be cheated scorned, beaten, left for dead every day. Mass. chusetts has bowed her head to the voke, and kissed the rod every stroke it gave. Massachusetts is an integral part of the government, though trampled one. And yet she was boasting that the Thomas Sims, that no more slaves would be returned. What a foolish boast was that! The Feg. tive Law was but getting refreshed while it slept. It starts up in the midst of our philanthropic and religious festivals, stretched and swollen beyond religious resitvais, scretched and swollen beyond its natural proportions of hideousness. Overriding Constitutional provisions and State Laws: tranp-ling down habeas corpus, jury trial, personal repavin; frightening our executive officers out of the discharge of their functions, with its bribed judge, and its arbitrary process, atheistic and diabelial and its arbitrary process, attende and danoual, consigning a living man as property into the hasts of ruffians,—this Fugitive Law, comprehending u-der a new significance for soul and body both, at the horrible stories of barbarism we can remember -of infants thrown into rivers, passed through the fire to Moloch, exposed to mountain wolves, the tie tim's heart torn out by Aztec priests, the gran tim's heart torn out by Aztec priests, the grain human holocaust of Druid worship,—this Fuguin Law starts up in our paradise of Churches, Schools, Laws,—and clutches its victim. It brings the scum of the city purlieus about the Court lloss to expel the people; points cannon and bayones at them, to show that an upstart demagogue, here as in Europe, may open his coup d'état with a masacre : blockades the ways of business with instaves, and treats the peaceful citizens with brail dignity. Worse than that,—worse, because me incredibly shameful,—it finds among the thousand of that great city a judge, who is ready to do all its pleasare, and then give it more help out of pan love and fear; who lends the man-stealer the ba-efit of a clause in the Statute which he had no right to claim; and then, when every other means of gratifying the Slave Power at Washington, by the sacrifice of his brother, is wrested from him by the unexpected mercy of counter testimony, and the noble fidelity of skilful counsel, dares to condens the innocent out of his own lips, and on evidence of a person who had come hundreds of mile that the kidnapping might not fail :-- a judge, who has recourse to proving a man a chattel, by assuing him a man, competent to bear testimony; a man, having a free conscience and a free mind, which may be trusted as witnesses to prove that he has neither! Such a judge it finds, more cruel ast unblushing than the law. Then glorying in having found fit instrument for work so foul, it summs the whole military force of Boston, to protect in insolent menials from the indignation of the pople, to open them a way down State Street. oran spot where the dead stones seemed to join to living multitude, to cry shame !—in order the Boston might be forced to set her own seal to outrage on her laws, and that so, heaping all free of humiliation on her head, this one bold rolls might drag off his prize in triumph, sole master Massachusetts that day. The Fugitive Slave latis king. The Mayor obeys it with blind preciption; proclaims martial law against the popular instincts of liberty, and vests illegal and monstrate powers in the military to shoot down the citizen the end whereof is a series of outrageous person al assaults, and almost a massacre and civil en And there stood the wealth and respectability of Boston to see it done: this dastardly deed the patriotism, this brutal incendiarism their law and order! They kidnapper, and did his will. Conscience had been voted a prejudice long before, and the Union higher than the Christian Law of Love, and now the kidnapper had come to judgment, holding them to their bond. The Mayor might have warned his out of the city, had they repented and said the word. The Governor might have summoned the Legislature, or at least executed Massachests laws, in order to thwart this wicked process. The made these subservient officers to do Christia things, bold to do tyrannical and inhuman thing that kidnapping might not be offended. Then they stood, and saw the deed. So loyal Bond pays divine honors to a slave-catcher. Meanwhile New England captain, no abolitionist, as Ilean, s frightened out of Alexandria by a mob, for the sin of his northern birth. Slavery understand what masters can do, and what slaves will ben But Massachusetts has understood nothing. See has only gone on boasting, in one breath, of her loyalty to the Union, and of her Anti-Slaver, which had ' made the Fugitive Law a dead letter.

and confess it.

The men who had sought peace before party. be beaten to death in Georgia, that State Street might prosper,—and the Clergy who had let had might prosper,—and the Clergy who had let that deed go unrebuked, and who still, while the deed go unrebuked, and who still, who still, discussing Trinity and Unity, and bandying statics of tracts and funds,—knew that they were ceiving their reward. From that poor head slave, set upon by a whole nation that he might despoiled of his humanity,—there went up a reform of judgment against every compromise of covardice and gread, which no man, it seemed, could be ice and greed, which no man, it seeme?, could be so dull as not to hear and take to heart. This it said, ' is the *Union* you have called sacred, and set up above the law of God, never to be more This is the Peace for which you have sold you freedom, and sacrificed your mercy and your faith. This is the 'great American Idea' of Liberty, which reconciles Northern Schools with Southern score. es, and stands at once for the sum of all brutal pressions, and the inalienable rights of may which your pulpits have called Christianity and your political leaders and Fourth of July orange. Patriotism. See what it has made of you and make the second second particular than the second

She needed this spectacle to teach her that therecand

be no such thing as a Free State, North or Such

nothing but a little section of a slaveholding Union.

that the Heart must rule the members, and that

Slavery, that will drive the truth in upon as it bitter judgments, until every soul of us shall fel

Let the pulpit, the press, and the platform, it all moral energies, all political concert, all gious zeal, rally to the defence of Freedom. among us doing the part his conscience prescries, and his abilities allow. Sustain and home the public men, who are standing nobly to their duty in face of such towards. in face of such temptations and perils as need fore assailed American statesmen. Gird put households with a wall of fire, against the recites and blue the state of the state fore assailed American statesmen.
households with a wall of fire, against the redist and blasphemous political maxims, the terror as the bribes of power; against the new assumption of authority over the conscience, which are all the more perilous to the young for their preteasis in the name of Democracy and Law. And let as still look hopefully to humanity, and in steadfast fail to God. The hidden mystery of iniquity is a their driven forth into broad day, with its plots and driven forth into broad day, with its plots and driven forth into broad day, with its plots and the section of love he roused to labor and to bear. Lies and the omnipotent weakness; hide them ever so deep. And while ever so high; root them ever so deep. And while ever so high; root them ever so deep. And si broken sceptres and fallen palaces are play the of the storms of ages, the Soul has lost no tile its power. Its laws are the overruler of kings the sovereign appeal from Constitutions, the patient Fate that shapes and saves the world.

# THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JULY 14, 1854.

FIRST OF AUGUST.

The approaching Anniversary of one of the nobles The approaching the holest deels which have ever graced the history of all holless and of our Race,—the voluntary and peaceful Nations and of our Race, and community and peaceful EMANCIPATION of EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND MANUFALIDA West India Islands, -will be duly orated by the Massachuserrs Anti-Slaveny Society, by a Mass Meeting at the beautiful Abington Let us so fitly use the occasion, as largely to greet, Let us a saling, whose rising tide shall soon sweep sway every vestige of American Slavery.

SPECIAL TRAINS, at half the usual fares, both for adults and children, will be run by the Old Colony for adults and canarell, will be can by the Old Colony Plymouth at 91, A. M. Returning, leave the Grove

The following persons have been chosen a Committee The belowing persons and Jackson, Samuel May, of Affangements.

Jr., BOURNE SPOONER, THOMAS J. HUNT, LEWIS FORD. PRILASDER SHAW, BRIGGS ARNOLD, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE.

Further particulars bereafter,

A MEAN AND DISINGENUOUS CRITICISM The Conmonwealth of the 5th inst., referring to the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham on the 4th, makes the following ridiculous outcry :-

At the close of Mr. Garrison's speech, he burned the At the close of Mr. Garrison's speech, he burned the Fugitive Slave Act. Commissioner Loring's decision, and the Constitution of the United States. The burning of the Slave Act and Loring's decision was received with decided approbation; but the burning of the Constitution was witnessed with disgust and indignation by a large number of those who were assembled.

tion was witnessed with disgust and indignation by a large number of those who were assembled, some of whom cented their feelings by hisses and outcries.

It is no more than fair to state that Mr. Garrison said that he did not do this as the act of the meeting, but as his own individual expression of opinion. But this furnishes no excuse for the proceeding. By the printed natice of the meeting, all "friends of Impartial Frenches and Universal Employment, and Universal Employment and Universal Employment." "All who reprinted notice of the meeting, all "friends of Impartial Freedom and Universal Enuncipation," "all who reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man," were invited to be present at Framingham. Under this invitation, anticiavery men, who hold that the Constitution of the United States farnishes no aid, whatever to slavery, and that he is the most region and space of the united states. er prairie turnishes no act, whatever to stavery, and that under it, the most radical anti-slavery action is legal and proper, had a right to be present, without having their feelings and principles insulted by such a perform-ance. We speak now only of the gross act of discourtesy; whether it was worth while to perform an act, at this time, which could gratify only a few men, and mos this time, which could gratify only a few men, and most inevitably tend to increase the odium under which all true anti-slavery men have to labor, is another question which we do not now discuss. We take the occasion, speaking, as we have no doubt we do, in behalf of a very large majority of the "friends of impartial freedom and universal emancipation," in this community, to rehave no sympathy with it or approval of it.

This deprecatory twaddle is so characteristic of th Commonwealth as to require but a brief rejoinder. In the first place, the assertion that 'the burning

the Constitution was witnessed with disgust and indignation by a large number of those who were assembled, is atterly untrue. It was ratified by the vast assembly by a general shout. True, there were ' some who vented their feelings by hisses and outcries '-not exceeding half a dozen-and these, as far as they could be identifel on the spot, were plainly animated by a rowdy spirit-vile interlopers, who were there for an evil purpose, and with the hope of creating a disturbance, and with whom the Commonwealth reveals itself to be in patriotic (!) sympathy, so far as our 'glorious' Constitution is concerned.

In the second place, no other person was responsible for the deed I performed but myself, as I expressly took all the responsibility of it upon my own shoulders, and, therefore, as it was my testimony against what I conceive to be the most oppressive instrument ever devised. as affecting the destiny of millions now growning in slavery, and millions more yet unborn, and also the liberties of the world, no one, present or absent, had a right to complain of my course, if professing to be the friend and advocate of the slave. I was true to my own judgment of the Constitution, and the judgment of the nation ever since its adoption-true to my convictions of duty and the duty of the North-but the Commonus incapable of appreciating a morally consistent and highly conscientious act, and can more easily sympathise with pro-slavery rowdyism, if thereby it can find a fresh opportunity to vent its ill-will against

In the third place, for several years past, every num ber of THE LIBERATOR has proclaimed, in stereotyped capitals, that ' the U. S. Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.' In giving it to the consuming fire at Framingham, it was only making the same declaration in another form. It was a new mode of stating an old allegation-nothing more. Howrificulous, then, this outery! The Commonwealth publishes, with great satisfaction, the fact, that the effigies of Commissioner Loring, B. F. Hallett, Seth J. Thomas, Franklin Pierce, and others of the same stamp, have been burnt in various places; but it is sorely indignant that I should be so 'discourteous' as to treat a blood-stained paper instrument in the same manner !-

Hos very nice and marked the distinction ! Finally, the Commonwealth, with patriotic indignation and affecting solemnity, 'repudiates this act of Mr. Garrison, and has no sympathy with it or approval of it.' In this, that paper will not be singular nor solitary. There is not a pro-slavery journal, nor a slaveholding ruffian, in the land, that will not join in the same outcry. Here is a diatribe, which appears in a Boston paper, rightly named ' The Know-Nothing,'of which I have seen only the last number, but the general tone and spirit of which are comprehensively and accurately defined in one word, viz .- INFERNAL :-

GARRISON BURNING THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION We take it that it is hardly necessary for us to introduce to our readers the notorious WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON the fanatic abolitionist, traitor and disorganizer. He is known everywhere, and for just what he is a mad-

We have an incident: On the Fourth of July, the We have an incident: On the Fourth of July, and day so sacred to us all, the abolitionists, numbering some six hundred persons, held a gathering in a grove at Framingham, Mass. Among the speakers was Garrison. He made, as usual, one of his inflammatory, ultra, ridiculous and treasonable speeches. Of this, hebody cared, for nobody is affected by them. But he did one thing which insulted the nation, and corry patronic man in it. he coully, maliciously and every patriotic man in it—he coolly, maliciously and wilfelly BURNT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, at the same time heaping it with curves long and loud! And this on the birth-day of the Nation! So atrocious an act; so prinfully outrageous in every phase, we have never known surpassed, performed by an American: The Catholic priest who burnt the Bibles in Western New York, was a saint and patriot beside, this control of the disposical to the disposical riot beside this monster Garrison. Let the diabolical act be sounded over the country, that its infamous perpetrator may be known and appreciated.

The Commonwealth will have to try again, or else to knock under to its more 'patriotic' bottle-holder.

The Rev. and pious Boston correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce, who is ready to sanction any act of pro-slavery scoundrelism, however atrocious, writes to that paper in the following exulting strain :-

writes to that paper in the following exulting strain:

'How happened the Fourth to be so universally celebrated in Massachusetts and New England? Garrison, Parker, Phillips and Co. undertook to abolish the day, or, at least, to have it one of universal mourning. This is, probably, the gist of the matter. So, on the whole, the observance of the day may be set down as another sign of returning sanity in the East. Every flag that was given to the breeze, with its stars and stripes—every bell that was rung—every gun, and even cracker, that was discharged—every vocal and instrumental note that was struck—every illumination of the heavens, go to show that the people are yet sound, and declare anew for the Union, the Constitution and the Laws.
'It was not a little amusing, that the Garrison Abolitionists, after doing all they could to prevent celebrations.

It was not a little amusing, that the development celebra-tionists, after doing all they could to prevent celebra-tions of the day, had a celebration themselves at a grove at Framingham. The proceedings were of the most fanatical kind. Garrison, at the close of his harangue,

amused himself and the spectators by burning copies of the Fugitive Slave Bill, Judge Loring's and Curtis's Charges, and, finally, the Constitution of his country! His course is more bold than that of one of our Senators, who goes to Congress, and takes an oath to support the Constitution, and then openly declares that each one is to interpret it to suit himself; but is it any worse?"

UNION MEETING AT UPTON.

At a meeting of the citizens of Upton, on Wed day evening, June 21, in which individuals of the ferent political parties participated, the following 1 lutions were adopted, without a dissenting voice:—

'Resolved, That the time has come for the forms

Well, let the lines be drawn-let all parties stand unmasked-let the heart of the nation be revealed in all its deformity. 'No Union with Slaveholders!'

LETTER PROM MR. PILLSBURY. LIVERPOOL, June 21, 1854.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON : I have hurried from Miss Martineau's, at Ambleside, the principles of universal liberty. to get further accounts from you at Boston. I found the New York Herald and Tribune at Wilmer & sentiment at the North, that shall 'crush out,' with Smith's, and my heart sinks within me at the fearful scorn and indignation, the Lorings and Halletts, and disclosures. But as Nelson said at Trafalgar, 'It is too others of their kind, that no man, without hazard of hot work to last long.' How I do long to be with you outlawry from decent society, shall dare play the bloodat this moment! I can hardly bear to be kept back— hound for the slaveholder. and indeed the very first steamer should bear me there, could I be of the least service at such a crisis. But my chest and left side are absolutely too weak for any exertion. Even writing is a labor for which I feel quite unequal. My system has at some time been strangely

shattered and broken. I am trying, however, not to be wholly idle at such a moment as this. Britain, you know, is now at war of late become exceedingly unpopular among his contle, with occasional news of victory, prevent the people, gy in this place, having, instead of boots, an immense with Russia; and the stamp of armies, the din of batin great measure, from hearing anything else. But the terrible octachords of your Boston battle-storm have for the moment drowned the voice of contending powers in the Baltic and Bosphorus-and the nation listens to you. The British Press and people are speaking out as becomes them. I will see that you are furnished at least with specimens of their utterances of rebuke and horror. Even the London Times can no longer be silent. The Daily News had a capital article yesterday, which I will forward you at once; and it will redeem its promise to give others. The Morning Advertiser is never silent, and you will receive good accounts from it. And, wherever I go, the sentiment is united of deep indignation at such unheard-of outrages, and of despair at the success of republican institutions. Indeed, those who have been loudest and longest in their demands for it here, are silent now. Irish Repeal and Scotch Chartism were superseded by movements less violent, and, as many believed, more hopeful, because enlisting the sympathies of larger numbers of the more wealthy and influential. But all these too have hung their harps upon the willows. The demand for democratic institutions will no more be made at present on the European continent. In this country, should the question of Republicanism or Monarchy be submitted to the people to-day, the vote for the former would not amount to a decent mind, at first, to make some reply through your c scattering.' The United States government is now a

But I cannot write as befits your columns at such crisis, when every one of them should blaze like streams of lightning. Talk of the Revolution of 1776, and of tea chests emptied into Boston harbor-why, it was all 'child's play,' compared with what you are doing. Be assured the blessing of God and all the godly are with you in earth and heaven. It is little that I can do now; O, how little !- but I will live and die, at least looking on the foe; and, in strength or weakness,

I am yours, PARKER PILLSBURY.

A CONSIDERATE CLERGYMAN. DANVERS, June 18, 1854.

We have had, of late, a slight development, in this region, of religious anti-slavery. It has created no little merriment, and has hardly raised the reputation of our go-to-meeting friends, as faithful sentinels on the watch-tower of religion and liberty.

The Third Congregational Society in this town can into being with the reputation of possessing some slight anti-slavery proclivities, and with its 'solid men,' its elegant house and graceful steeple, etc., just courteous enough to ' liberal preaching,' and just scornful enough 'Comeouterism' to keep the balance of respectability evenly adjusted, it was in the full tide of successful experiment. The 'President's Minister' from Concord. N. H., came to preach to this Society, after having refused to sign the Clergymen's Remonstrance, and the occasion afforded an excellent opportunity for a manifestation of the anti-slavery fidelity and attachment to principle professed by, and attributed to, this Society. A meeting was held, and a committee chosen to request the 'President's Minister' not to preach to them. Faithfulness was in the ascendant-vitality was above par. Those who thought the church lacked fidelity were to be silenced, and the Come-outers were to be as-

tonished by an attachment to principle, Above all Greek, above all Roman fame

as the people did not know the circumstances. He had about 500 pages, of which the whole city may justly be an excellent reason for refusing to do his duty; in fine, proud, both as to its style and completeness. The care, he was like Irving's old Chancery Lawyer- he hadn't labor and expense required in preparing such a work fired his great gun.' He had received an invitation to must be very great, and call for a generous appreciapartake of the President's hospitalities at Washing- tion of it on the part of our citizens, by a prompt purton, and he thought, and a number of clergymen also chase of the entire edition. At least, every business esthought, he should, for this reason, refuse to sign the tablishment should have a copy of it, and no attempt

against the commission of an infamous sin-whether a names added amounts to 14,654, the number expunged that the Gospel was after him'; in a word, whether a number of alterations being 86,975! The work is a 'spiritual guide' should refuse unblushingly to perform fine proof of the steady and vigorous growth of Boston. a plain, palpable duty in behalf of millions who are suf- Price, \$1.50. fering untold miseries in this world, and, (on his own grounds,) are in imminent danger of endless misery in the next world; all these are small matters. But the was enough to turn a minister from his known duty, allay anti-slavery excitement, scatter all real and vitality. The Society 'caved in,' and the minister preached. And we are left in wonder and derision. One or two thoughts suggest themselves.

How much this priest, on the route to Washington, resembled St. Paul going up to Jerusalem, 'not knowing what should befal him there'! How calculated to make infidels of our children are such developments! With the educational facilities they possess, they will be above the by-gone superstitions, and will immediately

We deeply commiserate the condition our colored fellow-citizens exposed to the dangers of the Fugitive Slave Law. The least we can do is to retuse any aid in executing the atrocious provisions of that Law, and to relieve, to the extent of our power, the suffering it pro-

In behalf of the Society of Friends in Ameshury, JOHN G. WHITTIER.

See the articles in the Refuge of Oppress on our first page. A land of liberty ! Glorious Union

At a meeting of the citizens of Upton, on Wednes erent political parties participated, the following reso

Resolved. That the time has come for the formation of a great Northern party, whose purpose shall be to make no truce with the Slave Power, until Kansas and Nebraska are rescued from the clutches of slaveholders and restored to freedom; the infamous Fugitive Slave Law forever repealed, and the National Governmen cease to be the propagandist of despotism, and become the instrument for the conservation and perpetuation of

Resolved, That we will labor to establish a public

H. D. JOHNSON, BENJAMIN ADAMS, Secretaries.

HALLETT AMONG HIS CONSTITUENTS. NORTH WILBRAHAM, June 15.

MR. EDITOR-Perhaps it may be of some interest to the readers of your paper to know that Ben Hallett has stituents.' Last evening, that worthy was hung in effipair of cloven feet. Upon the breast of this effigy was placed the following :-

BEN HALLETT, Prime Minister of the Devil. If you can notice this fact in your paper, please d ALL WILBRAHAM. so, and oblige

NOTE FROM REV. MR. BURTON.

MR. GARRISON: DEAR SIR-I thank you most heartily for the exculpatory note which you so considerately and kindly appended to the communication from Concord, N. H., in your paper of June 30th. I was indeed quite miscon strued by your correspondent. All I intended to convey was this, that if the ladies, from diffidence or any other cause, felt that they could not take a leading and more public part in Educational Reform, they might, nevertheless, do excellent service in a quiet and less noticeable way. My remarks were not in a set lecture, but in an extemporaneous speech, admitted by the courtesy of the Association, nearly all of them entire strangers to me before. My time was brief, and I could not say as much as I liked. If I used the phrase 'secret' influences, it was in the pressure and inadvertency of the moment. I certainly intended no meaning at which the writer, G. M., need have taken offence. I had umns, but the public could have no interest in a greater curse to mankind than any other on the globe; small disparagement of so humble an individual as m and a World's Concert of Prayer should be held for sell; so my cooler judgment counselled, and I refrait its speedy overthese. Such is even now the prayer of universal humanity, with groanings that cannot be will have been ample caution to readers. Again I thank you for your own candor and goodness to

Very respectfully and faithfully yours, WARREN BURTON. Cambridgeport, July 6, 1854.

LECTURES ON ROMANISM, being Illustrations and Refu tations of the Errors of Romanism and Tractarian ism. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D , Minister of the Scotch National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden, London. Boston: Published by John P Jewett & Co. Cleveland, Ohio: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. 1854. pp. 728.

This voluminous work embodies fourteen Lecture by Dr. Cumming, besides various miscellaneous Essays. follows :- I. The Teaching of Cardinal Wiseman II. Cardinal Wiseman, ' his Oath, and its Obligations. III. What is Popery? IV. Is Tractarianism Popery V. Romish Plausible Pretensions. VI. Apostolical Suc cession. VII. The Unity of the Church. VIII. The Fathers. IX. The Nicene Church. X. The Bible, not Tradition. XI. The Invocation of Saints, XII. Transubstantiation. XIII. The Sacrifice of the Mass. XIV. Purgatory. Miscellaneous-The Barnet Discussion Review of Dr. Newman's Lectures; Romish Miracles Romanism not the Patron, but the Persecutor of Sci-

The numerous volumes, on various religious matters by Dr. Cumming, which have been presented to the great reading public of America within the past year, by those enterprising publishers, J. P. Jewett & Co., have already won for their author a high reputation for learning, ability, zeal, and eloquence. With the deep and wide-spread feeling in regard to the growth of Romanism that is now prevailing in this country, the present work will obtain an eager perusal.

THE BOSTON DIRECTORY, for the year 1854-embrac ing the City Record, a general Directory of the Citizens and a Business Direction, and also much other interest ing and valuable information-has just been published by our worthy and enterprising fellow-citizen, George But this 'spiritual guide' demanded an explanation, Adams, 91 Washington street. It makes a volume of should be made to substitute for it the last year's edi-Whether a religious teacher should remonstrate tion. Indeed, this would be futile; for the number of President's Minister' should make said President 'feel to 10,711, and other changes to 12,610—the whole

SUPERIOR INE. Some of the best ink we have ever made use of is ' Weeks' and Rideout's United States Indelible Writing Fluid.' Its merits are-it will not in vited to the President's house, (and such a President!) the least degree corrode steel pens; nor mould in inkstand or bottle; nor gum in the inkstand; nor crust on the pen. It flows freely, and is perfectly indelible; no acids can obliterate it. For sale by White & Potter, Spring Lane.

> Connection. In publishing the lists of payments and pledges made at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, the name of A. M. Chase of Canton was erroneously given for a pledge, when it should have been for a donation of Twenty Dollars.

draw comparisons between the practice of 'the Church' and the teachings of the New Testament, until they become convinced, that

'The Church volunteers as the tyrant's abettor, And lends her bold sanction to loftiest crime.'

WM. ENDICOTT.

AID FOR THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

AMERICAT, 2d 7th ino., 1854.

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq.:

Dear Friend—The circular signed by thyself and others of the Boston Vigilance Committee, was read in our meeting-house at the close of the meeting, and the enclosed sum of seventeen dollars contributed. The sum is not large, but our meeting is small, and some of us had previously forwarded our mite for the same object.

We deeply commiserate the condition our colored fell-weight of the dancers of the Engitive Slave Mr. Fessender presented a petition from New Hamp-shire, praying for a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. He said that the petition was not open to the objections of locality which had been urged against the memorial of the men of Boston. It came from a town whose population was about 2000, and was signed by over 300 voters, which he supposed comprised all its voters. Mr. Sunner, by consent, was allowed to present a memorial from the men of Pepperell, Mass.. the home of Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, praying for the repeal of the 'odious, inhuman Fugitive Slave Mr. Adams. I move to lay it on the table.

Mr. Adams. I move to lay it on the table.

Mr. Adams. I move to lay it on the table.

Mr. Adams withdrew his motion, and the petition was referred.

Mr. Adams withdrew his motion, and the petition was referred. WASHINGTON, June 29.

A street preacher, called the Angel Ga-A street preacher, called the Angel Cabbriel, lectured in Bath, Me., a few evenings since, against Popery. At his last lecture, the crowd was large, and a disturbance occurred. A large number of men and boys proceeded to the 'Old South Church,' used by the Catholics as a place of worship, broke open the doors, rung the bell, and displayed the American ensign from the belfrey, and afterwards set the church on fire, which was burned to the ground. No further destruction of property took place, but a mob of nearly 100 paraded the streets, yelling and hooting till nearly morning. No persons were arrested.

New Hampshire stands as firm as her granite hills. The noble men who have vindicated their own convictions of right against the corrupt appliances of power, have given the traitors to liberty, and these who would reward the freason, their quietus for this year, and the people will take care of them hereafter. All bonor to the incorruptible freemen who have achieved this triamph?

On the 5th inst., the Nebraska resolutions were debated all the afternoon in the House. A motion to substitute a series of resolutions, committing the Whigs to the principles of their platform of 1852, was defeated. The first resolution, reiterating the principles promulgated in 1850 by the House, declaring against the introduction of slavery into free territories, and against the erection of any Territory without its prohibition, was put to vote, and adopted by 160 to 118.

The second resolution was passed by a vote of 155 to 149. It deprecated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

On Thursday the 6th, the tenth and eleventh ineffect-

On Thursday the 6th, the tenth and eleventh interval to the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the religious faith, the unit trials for the choice of U. S. Senator took place, after which, the Administration men abandoned the attempt in despair. A motion to indefinitely postpone was made by Mr. Nesmith, of Franklin, (Whig.) which was adonted by 150 to 147. A motion to reconsider the was abouted by 150 to 147. A motion to reconsider the was adopted by 159 to 147. A motion to reconsider the vote was negatived, 157 to 144. So the Senatorial quesvote was negatived, 157 to 144. So the Senatorial ques-tion is settled for this session. All the exertions of Pres-ident Pierce and his followers, to induce the Legislature of New Hampshire to elect an advocate of the Nebraska fraud to the U.S. Senate, have been signally frustrated. Considering all the circumstances of the case, no Presi-dent ever received so tremendous a rebuke as has Frank Pierce from his own State of New Hampshire.—Salem

A Supposed Outbreak. The Natchitoches, La., Chronicle, of the 24th ult., says:—For the last three weeks, there has been an increasing excitement among the planters and citizens in the neighborhood of Campte and Grapp's Bluff, arising from rumored reports of insubordination and outbreak among the slaves. There appears to be a conviction in the minds of the citizens that there is some truth in the reports, but, as yet, we cannot see anything positive to cause alarm. They have taken precautionary measures, appointed committeee of vigilance, and organized active patrols. White men are implicated as the leaders of the blacks; but so far, no overt act, committed by them, has been discovered Yesterday a large party of the citizens proceeded to the bank of the river where the State hands were at work and arrested sixteen of them; they were conducted to Natchitoches, and placed in jail; there is as yet no charge made out against them; they are suspected of complicity in the contemplated outbreak. These negroes will probably be examined in the course of a few days.

SAFE FROM THE BLOODHOUNDS. The Montreal Pilot

the above notice, is now in Montreal, but however much the slave-catchers may want him, they had better not seek him here, or they will assuredly find more than seek him here, or they will assuredly find more than they calculate upon; perhaps a ducking-stool and bath in the St. Lawrence would cool their Southern zeal. We can confirm all that is said of Moore's ability and intelligence. He is an exceedingly favorable specimen of his kind. He is now working at his trade, in St. James street, and is a very skilful operator, besides being a steady and well-informed man. Moore has a wife and three children, and as it would be unsafe for him to return to any part of the United States, he had better settle down permanently in Montreal. Being a complete master of his trade, his network in the Estates. to return to any part of the United States, he had better settle down permanently in Montreal. Being a complete master of his trade, his patrons in the Eastern States, and philanthropists in the provinces, could not do a more kindly act than to provide him with means to bring his family to Montreal, and to start him in business. We shall be ready to add our own mite in aid of so good a movement, and to do anything else that can forward the movement.

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN has been merged in the THE PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN has been merged in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. It is with deep regret that we part with the Freeman. It has ever been clearisighted, prompt, hold and faithful. It has done its work effectively, and has truly represented the company of true-hearted abolitionists in Eastern Pennsylvania, who have sustained it. The Pennsylvania Society has been one of the most effective anti-slavery instru-mentalities in the country. And to this efficiency the Freeman has been an indispensable contributor. We Freeman has been an indispensable contributor. We earnestly hope that the present arrangement may result in all the advantages which its friends confidently anticipate for it. The Standard gives evidence every week that there is combined upon it a great amount of labor and talent, and yet further improvements are contemplated in its mechanical appearance and in its editorial department, so that we doubt not it will be one of the first, in neatness, ability, and adaptation to its all-lated work. At a recent meeting of the Pennsylvania A. S. Socie

At a recent meeting of the reinsylvania A. S. Socie-ty, the following resolution of sympathy and well-mer-tited approval of Gyrus M. Burneton, the late editor of the Freeman, was adopted. We most earnestly join in the prayer for his restoration to health and to his anti-

Resolved, That this Society highly appreciate the faithful services performed by Craus M. Burleigh, in his office of editor of the Pennyslvania Freeman; that we deeply regret that impaired health has compelled him to relinquish that office; and that we assure him of our sympathy and earnest wishes for his restoration to the anti-slavery field, where he has so long and so de-votedly labored."

A MISTAKE CORRECTED. It was not a black man who betrayed the n ne unhappy fugitives of Cincinnati, lately; but a white man, who meanly informed the slaveholders, and then with additional meanness, charged his own crime upon a faithful colored man, who acted as guide to the escaping ones.—A. S. Bugle.

Mr. SUMNER, last week, in the Senate, made exhibition of more 'back-bone' than before in his whole sen-atorial career. He brought down an avalanche of over-seeism upon himself, by indignantly declaring that he would not aid in the return of a fugitive slave. But he stood fire heroically. A 'union' in the Senate with such blackguards as misrepresented and insulted him, must be delightful to Mr. Sumner.—Ibid.

and defender of the Fugitive Slave Bill, has received and defender of the Fugitive Slave Bull, has received from a Virginia College the honorary title of D. D. He will make a worthy Doctor of the Slave-breeding Divinity that pervades the Old Dominion. No man knows better than he how to 'mingle fiendish deeds with blessedness'—to hallow the foulest iniquity with oily speech, intermixed with phrases of holy cant.—A. S. Standard.

We dare not proclaim to our readers that abolitionism is dead or dying. We believe the abolitionists to be more numerous, bold and potent now, than ever be-

Thus speaks the Savannah Georgian, in commenting upon the 'signs of the times.' There is a good deal of truth in what it says, and we have been trying for months to press it upon the administration presses of the South. The Southern people, we trust, understand it.—N. Y. Nulional Democrat, THE MEN WHO MAKE THE LAWS. 'No right-feeling

citizen who visits Washington, but must be shocked and humiliated on account of the drunkenness and pro-fanity (to say nothing of other vices) which prevail among so many members of Congress.

So says a correspondent of the New York Evening

A 'Prople's Mass Convention' has been called in Wisconsin, to be held at Madison, July 13th, to take measures against the alarming encroachments of the Slave Power. The Milwaukie Democrat says, 'There is but one sentiment pervading the mass of the people, and that is, that we must bury all past political differences, and unite to maintain our liberties, and put an end to the domination of slavery.'

Rev. LYNDON KING is dead. Another brave an Rev. LYNDON KING is dead. Another brave and good man has fallen on the battle-field of reform. He was true to his convictions of duty, and suffered the loss of all things for his integrity. Without endorsing all his theories, we regard him as one of the true-hearted of the earth. We deeply sympathize with his afflicted family.

If Southern gentlemen would not be instrumental in the political prostitution of their sons, they should not send them to Harvard for law, nor to Yale for sci-ence.—Richmond Enquirer. Is there no gratitude extant? Does not the Enquirer know that Loring teaches law at 'Harvard.'—Com-

TWENTY-PIRST National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

TO BE HELD IN BOSTON, MASS.,

DURING THE CHRISTMAS WEEK OF 1854. The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Bazza beg leave to present their appeal for aid and sympathy once again to every lover of Freedom, whose eye this paper shall reach. We do it in the spirit of that hope which is power, pledging our own most earnest exertions in the slave's behalf, and feeling therefore at liberty to implore the same at the hands and hearts of others.

The present is no time for faithlessness, or delay, or inaction. Its thronging events announce that the Hou draws nigh which is to decide, in this nation, the great conflict of Freedom with Slavery. In such an hou mist.

The third resolution, approving of the course of conflict of Freedom with Slavery. In such an hour measures. Kittredge and Morrison, in Congress, in voting shill Men be wanting? Shall it find a people weak, Messrs. Kittredge and Morrison, in Congress, in voting shill Men be wanting? Shall it find a people weak, Messrs the Nebraska Bill, passed by a vote of 156 to timid, selfish, alive only to material success and enjoyment, or shall it be able to summon to its emergency ment, or shall it be able to summon to its emergency the heroism, the self-sacrifice, the religious faith, that

The cruelty, the baseness, the danger of slavery, i fast becoming apparent to the whole North. Her next lesson must be, that no human legislation can sanctify crime; that if, indeed, slavery be a sin against God and an outrage on man, all laws for its support are part and parcel of the original atrocity, and are to be disobryed at all hazards.

The most abominable crimes ever perpetrated against humanity have been committed in the name of and under the sanction of Law. The persecutions of the early Christians, the persecutions of all the seceders from the dominant church in centuries gone by, the Inquisition Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Witchcraft Delusion of New England, the recent imprisonment of the Ma diai, are examples of the truth of what we say. The legal enactments of their day gave sanction to them all even as to the Fugitive Slave Law now.

For the authors of these deeds, shall it be more tole rable in the day of judgment that they trampled under foot the commandments of God, legally ?

It is as individuals that people must learn their duty touching this matter. The impious and shallow folly which supposes that men as Commissioners, or Marshals, or Soldiers, or Attorneys, can aid in the execution of atrocious enactments, without the same amoun of guilt before God and man as if it were not 'iniquity framed by law,' must be met and exposed. When me give account to God for deeds done in the body, this —after copying an account of the successful escape of a fugitive slave, named Moore, who had been tracked by his pursuers to Manchester, N. H., where he had been residing for some time, earning an honest livelihood—duty of individual responsibility, that no man shall say he sinned ignorantly.

The diffusion and support of those great principles of justice that underlie the universe is the work that now claims our labor. For our foundation principle, we as-

MARY MAY, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, SUSAN C. CABOT, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS. SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, MARY WILLEY, SARAH RUSSELL MAY. E. C. VON ARNIM. ELIZABETH GAY, ANN GREENE PHILLIPS. LOUISA LORING, HELEN E. GARRISON, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS, LYDIA D. PARKER, CAROLINE WESTON, ELIZA F. EDDY, EVELINA A. S. SMITH. ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, MARY H. JACKSON. ABBY FRANCIS. ANN SHAW GREENE.

Merrill, or Murrill, the man who kidnapped Solomon Northup, was arrested at Sandy Hill, NY., last Friday. Our readers are familiar with the par ped Solomon Northup, was a refamiliar with the party, last Friday. Our readers are familiar with the particulars of Northup's case. He was a free citizen of New York, and being kidnapped, was held as a slave. He recognizes Murrill as his kidnapper. New York, and being kidnapped, was held as a slave twelve years. He recognizes Murrill as his kidnapper. The fellow had recently made his appearance in that vicinity. He was armed with pistols and bowie knives, but the arrest was so sudden and unexpected that he

ALBANY, July 10 .- J. L. Russell, captain of a cana boat, has been arrested, charged with being an accomplice of Murrill in kidnapping Solomon Northup. He admitted that he was at the inauguration in Washington in 1841. He was ironed and taken to Ballston Spa

SLAVEHOLDERS are the natural allies of all other tyrants. Their affinities will show themselves. A correspondent of the New York Times, writing from Mississippi, says: 'You would be surprised to know how general, among the planters in Louisians and Mississippi, is the sympathy with Russia, and the heatility to England. Great apprehensions are had that a protracted European war will be ruinous to Southern interests; reducing the price of those staples of which they are purchasers.'

Rev. Samuel Iraneaus Prime, for many years chief editor of that organ of the Pharisees, the New York Observer, the bitter and malignant libeller of Mrs. Stowe, and defender of the Fugitive Slave Bill, has received

The Cincinnati Gazette says that Miss Delia A. Webster, who eloped from Kentucky a few weeks since, where she had been again arrested on a charge of assisting slaves to escape, was taken on Satur-day week, and lodged in jail at Madison, to await the re-sult of a writ of habeas corpus.

LORING MOODY will speak on the relations the North to Slavery, in Groveland ...........Sunday, July 16. West Newbury.....Tuesday, Georgetown.....Thursday, Newburyport. Sunday,
Amesbury Tuceday,
Ipswich Thursday,
Essex Sunday,

STEPHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold a meeting at VALLEY FALLS, R. I. on Sunday, July 16.

HENRY C. WRIGHT. will hold meetings in

ANNIVERSARY NOTICE. The Twelfth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Salem, Ohio, commencing at 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 26th of August, and continuing probably three days. EDMUND QUINCY, of Boston, is among the speakers expected to be present.

DIED—At his residence in Salem, (Ohio,) on the 5th instant, AARON HINCHMAN, late editor of the Homestlead Journal. Mr. Hinchman had been laboring, for several months past, under a pulmonary disease; its fatal termination we are now compelled to announce. He was ever a friend of freedom, and a most realous advocate of land reform, and of the rights and interests of the laborer. The temperance cause, too, found in him a firm and consistent advocate.—Bugle. In Portland, 18th ult., Mrs. ELERA J., wife of NEW-ELL A. FOSTER, and daughter of the late David Allison, of Concord, N. H., aged 36.

In Wrentham, on the morning of the 4th inst., Mrs. FARWELL, wife of deason William FARWELL.

Songs for the Times.

I. A NATIONAL SONG : Being a poetle description of the American Congress, and a history of the action of that body, in behalf of Slavery, during the last twenty years; showing its entire servility to the South.

IL A MASSACHUSETTS SONG: Being sentiments suggested by the recent slave-hunt in

III. THE FREEMAN'S APPEAL TO FREEMEN: In which the friends of Humanity are urged to keep

. THE PIOUS SLAVEHOLDER'S PRAYER: Being a masterly piece of satire, in which a 'man-stealer' is represented as praying in harmony with the alave system; showing, in the clearest light, the utter incompatibility of slaveholding with Christianity. Just the thing for this crisis.

For sale at many of the Book stores. May be had by the hundred at Redding & Co's, 8 State street, and at the office of the Liberator. Price, \$4 per hundred. Let the friends of Freedom send in their orders.

# The Tyranny of Slavery.

DOES ANY PERSON DOUBT IT, AFTER THE RECENT SCENES EXHIBITED IN THE CITY OF BOSTON ! IF SO, LET HIM READ

Despotism in America IBY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ., A new and powerfully written exposure of the workings of the SLAVERY SYSTEM, from the for-

Nebraska Villany.

This volume is a complete Magazine of Facts. We doubt if any one can peruse its pages without being fully convinced that the leading idea of our corrupt politicians is, and has been, for years,

SLAVERY PROPAGANDISM.

How much longer will Northern men, with Liberty principles, allow themselves to be trampled into the dust by the tyrannical exactions and domineering in-solence of this the most despotic power on earth? THE NORTHERN PRESS Has spoken in strong terms of this masterly work of Mr. Hildreth, as follows:

'This work presents a profound and instructive exhibition of the principles of American slavery. No other book in the language can take its place, and its republication at this crisis is highly seasonable.'—N. Y.

'This is a masterly discussion concerning the nature and legal basis of the slaveholding system in the United States.'—Zion's Herald, Boston.

'A work which will amply repay a thorough peru-sal.'-State Reporter, Concord, N. H. 'A work written with great ability.'-N. Y. Mirror. A timely and able work.'-Morning Star, Dover.

The masses will seize and read this book, and it will trengthen their scorn for despotism."-Hingham Jour. A book literally crammed with statistics and argu-

. We wish every body would read this work.'-Chris-

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON. JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON,

CLEVELAND, OHIO. GIVE THE PEOPLE LIGHT!

For it is now hoped that their eyes are now opened to see, and their ears to hear. A great change has come over our people since Friday, the second day of June, a day never to be forgotten. Therefore let us embrace this favorable moment to disseminate the great princi-

TRUTH AND FREEDOM! from the printed page. The following books may be read with great profit, covering, as they do, the whole field of discussion of the

SLAVERY QUESTION!

Despotism in America. BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ. Price, 75 cts.

Judge Jay's Writings on Slavery, In one very thick volume. Price \$1. Giddings's Congressional Speeches During Fourteen Years in Congress. One volume.

Autographs for Freedom, In one volume. Price 75 cts. Uncle Tom's Cabin, In all its various styles—varying in price from 38 cts.

Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin. A complete Magazine of Facts. 50 cts. 90th thousand. Sumner's Nebraska Speech, In elegant style. 38 cts.

Nebraska--- A Satirical Poem Price 12 cts. PUBLISHED BY

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., BOSTON. JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO June 16.

WATER-CURE AT NEW IPSWICH, N. H. MRS. LUCINDA HATCH, having had long experimence in Water-Cure treatment, now announces to the public that she has lately made additions to her accommodations, and is prepared to treat successfully patients that may place themselves under her care. Her residence is three miles from Mason Village, the present terminus of the Peterboro' and Shirley railroads.

Terms, more favorable than at most establishments of the kind.

of the kind. New Ipswich, June 9. New Era in Healing. CURE BY NUTRITION.

DYSPEPSIA, Consumption, Headache, and all forms of Diseases, successfully treated by NUTRITION, without medicine. To LAROY SUNDERLAND :

To LAROY SUNDERLAND:

DEAR SIE—I take this opportunity to inform you that you have completely cured me of chewing and smoking tobacco. I am now in perfect health, having gained thirty pounds during the three months I have been under your treatment by Nutrition. It is worth any amount of money to me, and I thank you a thousand times.

H. H. CLARK.

South Adams, Mass. May 16, 1854.

Pamphlets of Information, respecting this new method of Cure, for sale at the office of this paper, and sent by mail, free, for one dime, prepaid.

June 9.

DISCOURSES

Rendition of Anthony Burns. THE following publications on this atrocious out-rage on the rights of man and the law of God are for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornbill

for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornbill —

'The New Crime against Humanity'—A sermon by
Theodore Parker, Price 25 cts.

'The Rendition of Anthony Burns. Its Causes and
Consequences.' A discourse by James Freeman
Clarke. Price 10 cents.

'The Crisis of Freedom.' A sermon preached in Lynn,
by Samuel Johnson. Price 121 cts.

'The Bad Friday.' A sermon preached in West Roxbury, by Edmund B. Willson. Price 121 cts.

'Messachusetts in Mourning.' A sermon preached in
Worcester, by T. W. Higginson. Price 10 cts.

POETRY.

From the New York Tribune HAIL TO THE STARS AND STRIPES [On June 2, 1854, the Government cutter Morris was ordered by Franklin Pierce, President, to carry Anthony Burns from Boston, Mass., to Virginia, to be enslaved forever.]

Hall to the Stars and Strines ! The boastful flag, all bail! The tyrant trembles now, And at the eight grows pale; The Old World groans in pains, And turns her eye to see Beyond the Western main. The emblem of the free. Hail to the Stars and Stripes! Hope beams in every ray ! And shining through the bars

Of gloom, points out the way; The Old World sees the light That shall ber cells illume, And, shrinking back to night, Oppression reads her doom. Hail to the Stars and Stripes! They float in every sea, The crystal waves speed on

The emblem of the free! Beneath the azure sky Of soft Italia's clime, Or where Auroras die, In solitude sublime All hail the flaunting lie!

The stars grow pale and dim, The Stripes are bloody scars, A lie the vaunting hymn ; It shields a pirate's deck, It binds a man in chains: It yokes the captive's neck. And wipes the bloody stains. Tear down the flaunting lie! Half-mast the starry flag !

Insult no sunny sky With Hate's polluted rag; Destroy it, ye who can ! Deep sink it in the waves ! It bears a fellow-man To groan with fellow-slaves Awake the burning scorn ! That till a better morn

The vengeance long and deep, Shall neither tire nor sleep ! Swear once again the vow. O. Freemen! dare to do! God's will is ever now ! May HE TRY will renew ! Enfurl the boasted lie! Till Freedom lives again, To rule once more in Truth, Among untrammelled men ! Roll up the starry sheen, Conceal its bloody stains, For in its folds is seen The stamp of rustling chains. Be bold, ye heroes all ! Spurn, spurn the flaunting lie, Till Peace, and Truth, and Love, Shall fill the bending sky; Then floating in the air, O'er hill and vale and sea, 'Twill stand forever fair,

> CALL THE ROLL. BY MRS. SARAH T. BOLTON.

The emblem of the Free!

Brooklyn, L. I., June 3.

Who is ready for the contest? Who, with helmet, sword and shield. Will go forth to conquer Error, On Life's battle-field? Who will strike at Superstition, In his goblin-haunted cell, And unloose the myriad victims Fettered by his spell? DEC MERCE Call the roll.

Who will strive, on God relying, With unwavering faith and hope, To pull down the gory scaffold. And the gallows rope? Who will break the yoke of bondage, Saying to the trembling sinner, 'Go, and sin no more?' Call the roll.

Who, forgetting self, will listen To sweet Charity's appeal? Who will labor for the lowly With untiring zeal-Casting bread upon the waters, Not for human praise, Trusting Heaven again to find it. After many days? Call the roll

Who will put what God has given Wisely to the noblest use? Who will clothe the homeless orphan, Fill the widow's cruise, And, like him of old Samaria, Help the stranger in his need. Reckless of his name and nation, Reckless of his creed? Call the roll

Who that finds a child of sorrow, Heir to penury and wo, Will not tarry to inquire What has made it so, But he freely shares a pittance From his meagre, hard-carned store, Or bestows a cup of water, If he cannot more? Call the roll.

Who, when Slander's tongue is busy With an absent neighbor's name, Will excuse his faults and failings, And defend his fame? Who will view poor human nature Only on the brightest side, Leaving God to judge the evil Charity would hide? Call the roll.

ODE FOR THE POURTH OF JULY. Ye sons of Columbia ! oh, hail the bright day Which burst your tyrannical chains, Which taught the oppress'd how to spurn lawless sway And establish'd equality's reign. Yes, hail the bless'd moment when awfully grand Your Congress pronounced the decree, Which told the wide world that your pine-cover'd lan-In spite of coercion, was free.

Those worthies who fell in the heart-cheering cause, To the true sons of freedom are dear; Their deeds the unborn shall rehearse with applaus And bedew their cold tomb with a tear. Oh ! cherish their names, let their daring exploits And their virtues be spread far and wide; And if fierce-eyed ambition encroach on our rights, Again shall her schemes be destroyed.

Should men who have felt the oppressor's hard hand Who for freedom all perils did brave, Be still, while one foot of America's land Is disgrac'd by the toll of a slave? Awake then to justice, to righteousness too. That 'Man is but man, and whatever his hue, He is man, and should therefore be free!"

THE LIBERATOR they are so plainly scriptural, that any one who calls

LETTER PROM JOSEPH BARKER. No. III. BETLEY, (Eng.) June, 1854. I now propose to give you a little of my daily life, during my sojourn here in England. I have thus far spent the greater part of my time, since I landed in England, at Betley, the birth-place of my wife, and the

home of her mother and sisters. It is a small township, containing but a thousand acres, and about a of North Staffordshire, and is separated from Cheshire by a small stream. It has its old parish church, with its piled-up grave-yard; a Methodist and a Primitive Methodist chapel; and seven public houses,-four at Wrinehill, and three at Betley proper,-where the people can drink themselves drunk. It used to be market town, and is so still in name; but its market has gone down, and most of its fairs have long since ceased to be attended. One has been lately revived. It is quite in the country, and there is no other market town nearer than Nantwich on the north, seven miles off, and Newcastle under Lyme on the south, eight miles off. The priestly absolutism were taught as divine revelations Staffordshire Potteries, one of the most remarkable collection of manufacturing towns in England, are about ten miles off, on the south or southeast. The society is much the same as that of most other small country towns in England. There is, first, the Squire and his family, who live in a large, aristocratical house, cut off from the village by lofty walls, high hedges, and plantations of trees, and fronted by lawns, ponds, gardens, and a park. It bears something of the same relation to the village, that the old baronial castles did to the neighborhoods round; and the Squire and his family bear a little of the relation to the villagers that the old baronial families did to their farmers and their serfs. It is the shadow of the past. There is, next, another large, aristocratical house, near the centre of the town, too near the public road to be wholly hid from passers by, called Betley court. This, too, was the residence of a Baronet, Sir Thomas Fletcher, some time ago, and is still the residence of a Squire and of a portion of the ancient family. It is surrounded by trees, which are called the Wilderness, and connected with it are fields ed I might some day be able to call her my friend, and and gardens, but no park or pond. About a quarter of a mile from the centre of the village, on the west, is a small lake, covering forty or fifty acres, perhaps, called Betley Meer. Two hundred yards beyond the Meer runs the railroad, connecting Liverpool and Manchester with Birmingham and London. About one mile south of the village are the remains of Healey Castle, placed on the brow of a high rock, steep and precipitous in front, but on a level with the fields behind. A deep moat surrainds the back part, dug out of the solid rock, and it seems likely that the front was formerly secured by a natural lake and the steepness of the rock. The country round Betley is rolling, and presents many beautiful views. From the hills, you can see for twenty or thirty miles in different directions. You see Mow Cap and Beeston Castle, and the black, bleak hills about them, -both in Cheshire, but forty miles apart; and in another direction, you get a beautiful view of Shropshire. The land is generally rich, and the country is so feathered with trees and its beautiful green hedges, that it is difficult to Imagine more delightful pictures than it offers to your view. Many of the houses are white, and the buildings on the farms are in good repair, and the land is in a high state of cultivation. The village is one of the prettiest country villages and which is a disgrace to the cause of Christianity in in England, and the country round is as beautiful. It was not without reason that a part of the township was called Paradise, though I see no reason why the name should have been withheld from the rest of the township, for it is all, so far as the outward appearance United States, we heartily sympathize with the pro-

ty, which you look for in vain in America. The people, like their houses, are of all ranks, from the Squire down to the pauper. Some are mechanics, some are shopkeepers, some are publicans, some are farmers, and some few are what are here called gentlefolks-people with no occupation, but living on incomes derived from property. There is no equality. The two squirearchal families and the parson's visit each other; but they visit no one else in the town, and no one else in the town visits them. Members of the two big families may or to give help in time of sickness, or to collect the gos- thority;sip of the neighborhood; but they never meet with them on terms of equality. You might just as reasonthem; and they have not much more intercourse with peace of the city, and maintaining the supremach of the poor than the families of the properties of the city, and maintaining the supremach of the laws—an honorable and responsible duty the poor than the families of the upper two nave when them. They speak to those who have worked for them, discharged.

From what necessity or cause these soldiers were them. the poor than the families of the upper two have with when they meet them in the street; and some of them, more noble, and less haughty than the rest, will shake hands with them, and show a real interest in their welfare; but as for meeting with them as their equals, either in private parties or in public places, it is another matter. Neither class would ever dream of such a thing. Deference and submission are so habitual to the poor, and assurance and precedence so habitual to the poor, and assurance and precedence so habitual to the hat they seem to be the state of their acts attaches,—are questions which have been publicly discussed, and which it is not improbable that you may be obliged to investigate. The law applicable to them I shall endeavor as price, that they seem to be the state to you. rich, that they seem to both parties to be natural. They are, in fact, parts of their religion. They are your practical duties, the occasion seems to b taught them in the schools and in the churches. The opportune, so far as it may aid in diffusing jus poor are taught by their catechisms, that to behave themselves lowly and reperently to all their betters, or to all who are richer, or seem to be richer, than themselves, is enjoined by God in the ten commandments. considered not only as bad manners, but as impiety. For men to claim equality, either in the Church, the infidelity. Hence all republicans or democrats are look- conduct. ed upon as infidels. The Government preachers teach that Divine Providence fixes every man's lot, -that it makes one man poor and another rich; places one on a should abide in the calling in which he is called. They account of an anticipated riot.

The fact that a riot has previously taken place believe that the Constitution and Government of Great Britain, and the old distinction of ranks, and the whole system of established superiority and inferiority, of au-

sidered sinful and dangerous. These dectrines have been preached from the pulpite

that are given to change. All change, except a gradu-

al change in favor of the rich and ruling classes, is con-

the state of things, at this day, in the town where I am writing. There are a few families, perhaps three or four, in the town, who have read some of my publications, and embraced my democratic views; but they are looked upon as given up by God to the delusions of the devil, and as doomed to eternal torments in hell. I am myself considered by the rich and ruling classes as one of the most wicked and mischievous of all men. The look on me with borror as well as hate. My works are thought most damnable. All that they can do to get thousand people. It is situated on the extreme bounds people to refuse to read them, or to burn them, they do. Persons that would as soon drown themselves a think of equality between rich and poor, will visit the poor, sit in their houses, seem infinitely humble, for the purpose of getting to know who has read my wicked books, who lent them, sold them, or brought them into the town, and who has spoken in their favor.

In this town, and in the midst of a society thus o ganized, and under the influence of a religious and political system such as I have described, was my wife born and reared. In schools and churches in which the principles of a subordination of ranks, and political and she had her education. Her family was of the wealthy class. Both father and mother were land-owners. But fortunately for my wife, she never experienced deep and thorough work of grace. Both from her fa ther and mother she inherited a measure of sound sense self-will, good nature, and a love of right, so that sh was always better than her teachings. She got many scolding, when a child, for playing with children of ar inferior rank, and even after her childhood days had flown, she incurred reproof for want of a due regard t her social standing. How she became my wife, and how I myself, in spite of grace, become so frightful democrat and infidel, and how my wife has kept me company in my political and theological heresies, I am not about to explain. It is enough to say, that I camto this part of the country about twenty-five years ago as a Methodist travelling preacher, -that I saw the lady in the church,-that I spoke to her when the ser vice was over, -that I never failed to look at her again when she came within reach of my vision,-that I wishdid not think it enough, -that I lost myself somehow and never found myself again till after I was married and that my marriage was the happiest event of my life being born and getting religion not excepted.

JOSEPH BARKER. Yours, truly,

TRANS-ATLANTIC TESTIMONY. The following resolutions were passed, unanimously, at a meeting of the Leeds (Eng.) Anti-Slavery Association, held May 80th, 1854 :-

Moved by Wilson Annistrad, Esq. : seconded by

1. That we deeply and most sorrowfully lament, and feel imperatively called upon to utter our solemn protest, in the name of humanity, against the attempt now making, in the United States, to legalize slavery throughout an immense area of their territory, where it has not yet existed, and thus open the way for a very large extension of an institution which has resulted in countless crimes and miseries wherever it has been toleratedwhich is uniformly acknowledged to have acted as a blight and a curse in every land where it has existed, that country and throughout the world.

2.—That whilst the iniquitous system of slavery has hitherto found some of its most realous advocates amongst the professing ministers of the Gospel in the tests against the extension of slave territory, which have The houses are of all sizes, from the Hall and the been forwarded to the American Congress by thousands Court, down to the hut with a single room, built of of the ministers of religion, as well as by vast numbers mud, or boulders, or conglomerate, and thatched with of laymen, who had hitherto taken no part in efforts straw. But almost every house has its little garden, for the abolition of chattel slavery, and we would exwith its vegetables, flowers and fruit trees; and the press an earnest hope that they will, henceforward, lowest, and least, and oldest of them has a kind of bean- openly avow themselves in favor of the freedom of their unjustly enslaved fellow-creatures.

JOHN WILSON, Esq., MAYOR OF LEEDS, President. JOSEPH LUPTON, Esq., Vice President.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY POWER CHARGE OF JUDGE E. R. HOAR.

Extract from the recent Charge of Judge Hoar to the Grand Jury of Massachusetts, with particular reference to the Military Power, and its relation to the Civil

Gentlemen, recent occurrences in this city have them on terms of equality. You might just as reasonably expect the heavens to fall, as to expect the upper ject, of the highest importance to the peace and seably expect the heavens to fall, as to expect the upper two to meet or greet even the wealthiest families in the town on terms of equality. They do not even see you when you meet them in the street or on the way. One is so short-sighted that she can see no one, she says: though it is likely she means no more than that she can not see any one less than a squire or state priest. The shopkeepers and gentry are about as much above the poor laboring classes as the family of the squire is above the peace of the city, and maintaining the supremacy that they are about as much above the peace of the city, and maintaining the supremacy bonorable and responsib whenever it is lawfully assumed, and faithfull-

briefly and plainly as possible to state to you.—
And, gentlemen, while the chief reason for so do
ing is on account of the hearing it may have upon

tions seem to prevail.

With the holiday soldier—the bright array, the This is part of the explanation given in the catechism and homilies of the Church of England, of the commandment, 'Honor thy father and thy mother.' Another duty which the catechism says is enjoined by these er duty which the catechism says is enjoined by these words is, to obey our spiritual pastors and teachers, the law, the last resort of the civil government of its authority, we are and all who are in authority, and to pay our taxes with happily unfamiliar. The cases in which it has been happily unfamiliar. the law, the last resort of the civil government to assume any thing like equality to a person of a rich civil government of this Commonwealth have been family, or to behave towards a member of a rich family, or to behave towards a member of a rich family with any lack of lowliness and reverence, would be necessary to resort to an armed force to sustain the cretion of those who were entrusted with civil an thority, and the firmness, forbearance, and exem For men to claim equality, either in the Church, the plary deportment of the soldiers, have been such as State, or in social intercourse, is put down as a sign of to lead to no discussion as to the legality of their

There is no law in this Commonwealth by which makes one man poor and another rich; places one on a throne and another on a dunghill; that to repine at our lot is to murmur against God; that to try to rise to a higher rank is to fight against God; and that every one should abide in the calling in which he is called. Then

unless it be continuous and existing, will not alter the rule of law. And if it shall be made to appear the rule of law. And if it shall be made to appear to you that a military force has been so employed within the county of Suffolk, and any man has been assaulted or injured thereby, or forcibly pretroduce a change in favor of democracy or republicanism is an infidel and a child of the devil. No text is more frequently preached from by the established clergy, and the more conservative portion of the dissenters, in times of political excitement, than the text, 'Fear God and honor the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change.' All change, except a graduther of the rule of law. And if it shall be made to appear to you that a military force has been so employed within the county of Suffolk, and any man has been assaulted or injured thereby, or forcibly prevented from enjoying his ordinary rights as a citizen, without other justification under the law, every soldier who may have committed any such act of violence, and every officer, military or civil, who shall have ordered, requested, caused or procured it to be done, is, subject only to the qualification which I shall presently state, to be held responsi-

ble therefor.

But it is asked, whether in a case where no man doubts that a riot or unlawful assembly is impenddoubts that a riot or unlawful accounty are obliged ing, the civil and military commanders are obliged the civil are military commanders are obliged These dectrines have been preached from the pulpits, to wait until irreparable mischief is done, till a and taught in schools and families for ages back, and prisoner is rescued, a building destroyed, or blood spilled, before they can fully interpose. A sufficient answer may perhaps be found in the statement, that they may employ all the ordinary and peaceable means of enforcing the civil authority, and may have, in readiness for instant employment, any amount of military force which the exigency shall demand. Further than this, the law does not shall demand. Further than this, the law does not shall demand. go, and the magistrate or officer cannot. It may seem to many worthy and prudent men, that more power should be granted; but it has not been thought preserved. thought necessary or expedient by the framers of our Constitution and laws. The principle of American institutions is not restraint—not intimidation—but responsibility for acts done. In relation to freedom of speech, for example, and of the press, we do not, as in some countries it is done, estab-lish a censorship, and determine beforehand what

lawfully conferred upon him, except as to the tails of executing a specific service, upon which he is lawfully ordered. And this is in strict conformity with the requirements of the Constitution, that the constitution, that the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.' It is for the civil magistrates only to determine whether an unlawful assembly exists, and whether military power is needed to suppress it. If any civil magistrate should direct the com-

mander of a military force, lawfully called out to aid in suppressing an anticipated riot, to take pos-session of a city or district, dispose of his force there in as he should think expedient, and then, when-ever in his judgment a riot should commence, or an unlawful assembly be gathered, to fire upon or disperse it—leaving the whole question of the occasion and the necessity to the discretion of the commander—such an order would be of no legal validity, and the military officer could not justify any act done under it, which would not have been legally justifiable, if no such order had been given.

The details of military service must of course b left to the officer commanding the troops—but the service required must be designated by the civil authority. Thus when a riot exists, the civil magistrates competent to act, may say to the officer, lear this street-dislodge the occupants of this building-disperse this assembly-arrest these rioters—protect these buildings—and the officer re-ceiving the order may employ his force to execute it in such a manner as he may think best. He may send one file of men, or ten; he may charge bayonets or sabres; he may fire blank cartridges or bullets; he may, unless the order is countermanded, decide how many times he shall charge or fire, and when the assembly is sufficiently dis-persed. But a general direction to preserve the peace of a city, and sustain the laws, can give to military force no new protection or power. On the other hand, if the orders given pr

from a competent civil authority,—although, in my judgment the law clearly contemplates that the resources of the civil power should usually be applied, so far as they reasonably can be, before resort is had to the military, yet a discretion is given to the civil magistrates to determine when military force is needed,—and even if they have judged erroneously, the soldier who obeys those orders is protected—and the correctness of the decision candata and the correctness of the d not be questioned to his prejudice.

The statute further provides, that the discretion in the use of an armed force which it confers, shall be exercised by two of the officers named in the first section jointly. It cannot be assumed by one alone. And further, the action of the two must be direct and positive. It is not section in the two must be direct and positive. It is not section in the direct and positive. It is not section in the direct and positive. It is not section in the direct and positive. It is not section in the discretion is destruction of property, no serious that it would be harsh and unwise to subject to first section jointly. It cannot be assumed by one alone. And further, the action of the two must be direct and positive. It is not section in the use of an armed force which it confers, shall personal injury inflicted, no sacrifice of life—and that it would be harsh and unwise to subject to first and further. be direct and positive. It is not sufficient that one shall be merely consulted by the other, and approve, or not object. Both must act—both must community cry out against it. But when law is assume the responsibility. It must be the order of disregarded by its own guardians and supporters, both. Not that both must speak or write, but if it is wounded in the home of its friends, and all one speaks for the two, it must be with a direct authority to speak in the name of the other.

The law plainly requires that both should be present. Not, of course, that they should be between the soldiers and the mob—not that they hould ride with the military commander, or charge with his troops—but present in a reasonable sense of that phrase applicable to the nature of the case present as a commander is present on a field of bat tle: present, so that they can have perfect personal cognizance of the fact that military force is necessa-

distinctly expressed as would be desirable, that the Governor, Judge of a Court of Record in any county, or Sheriff, may not only call out the militia, but, in case of an existing riot, may give specific but, in case of an existing riot, may give specific orders in regard to its suppression. This view is confirmed by the statutes of 1839, chap. 54, sec. 1, land, moved to act against the enormities of slavery and the slave-trade, issued a plain, temperate, and powerful address on those subjects to all professed powerful address on those subjects to all professed powerful address on those subjects to all professed powerful address. be executed, and it is a common thing to invest the Judge of a Court of Record with powers which it requires two inferior magistrates to exercise. It also seems to me that the actual presence of these higher officers of the State could not be contemplated or required. They must act upon evidence and information; and the legislature must have supposed that the nature of their ordinary duties, and their relation to the Commonwealth, would ensure a competent knowledge of their legal pow-

er, and caution in its exercise.

The question has, I believe, no immediate practical bearing-but a statement of it seemed necessary to a complete view of the subject.

In Suffolk County it could hardly arise, except in

obedience to the command of his superior, that command being given without lawfol authority! Friends was received with the following endorse lawfully called out to aid the civil authority, to fire

Messes, Josean Forster, John Charles, and Western and Western Louis Charles, and Charles upon a crowd, or to drive back any persons who are passing along or across a street, or to clear a building, or the like, and the captain has no order from the commander of the force which would authorize him to give such a direction, or the com-mander himself has no legal authority from the civil magistrates, would the private soldier who should in good faith obey the order, be protected? Unquestionably, the person with whom the illegal order originated would be responsible to the fullest extent; and in respect to the subordinate, I shall instruct you substantially in the language of a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the

United States.

Upon authority, and upon principle, independent of the weight of judicial decision, it can never be maintained that a soldier or military officer can justify himself for doing an unlawful act, by producing the order of his superior. The order may palliate, but it cannot justify. If the power exercised by the superior were within the limits of a discretion confided to him by the law, the inferior would be justified by the order, even if the commander had abused his power. But I have already said that the law does not confide to him a discre tionary power, except as to the mode of executing the lawful commands of the civil authorities. But there are cases in which a soldier may be called upon to act in a sudden emergency, without the possibility of learning with absolute certainty the origin of the orders given him. If, in such a case, the subordinate acts in good faith, and with due diligence, acting upon such information as he had a right to rely upon, and upon all the information reasonably in his power to obtain, and which, if re-liable, would render his act legal, the order of his superior will exonerate him from any criminal responsibility, although the information should afterwards be discovered to be false or erroneous.

A point which may incidentally arise respects A point which may incidentally arise respects
the occasion upon which the troops were called
out on the 2d of June last. It may be found that
they were called out in aid of the civil authority,
to preserve the peace of the city, which was endangered by a threatened resistance to the execution of
a process of the United States. A few words upon
this subject are all that are necessary.

We are all of us not only citizens of Massach setts, but citizens of the United States. Our re-lation to the government of the United States is a relation as individuals, except where the Constitu-righ tion and the laws of the Union have otherwise

official capacity, with executing the laws of the United States. United States officers, if resisted in the discharge of their duty, may call upon citi-zens of the State to aid them in executing process, and it would be the duty and right of each citizen to obey the call, unless he were lawfully excused. A lawful excuse would be, that the person whose aid was required was engaged in a public duty under the government of the State. Congress may confer upon officers of the United States powers lish a censorship, and determine beforehand what shall be spoken or published, but we leave men free to say or print what they please, and held them accountable for any abuse of the liberty.

In the next place, gentlemen, the statute confers no discretionary power upon any military officer, under the Commander-in-Chief, nor can any be of State laws, or to control or exercise any automatical description. thority over any State organization, or to assume the specific functions of any State officer.

But, on the other hand, all acts done by an offi-cer of the United States in the discharge of his duty, are to be regarded as lawfully done under the laws of the State. And if, in resisting the execu-tion of the laws of the United States, any breach of the peace should occur, or any other violation of State laws, it is the duty of the State officers to repress or punish it, as they would if it were hap pening to the injury or disturbance of any other

citizens lawfully employed.

Thus, to apply these principles, the United States
Marshal of a district has no official relation, as
such, to a Massachusetts Justice of the Peace, or to the Mayor of a city, or Sheriff of a county. He cannot call out the militia of a State, nor give them any legal order when mustered, either alone, or in any legal order when mustered, either alone, or in concurrence with any State officer. Although Con-gress has conferred upon him the authority of a Sheriff, this obviously can only mean the same functions in executing the laws of the United States that a Sheriff has in relation to the lawsof a State. He cannot serve a writ from a State Court, nor undertake to execute a State law. But these principles are too clear and well settled to re-quire further illustration. And now, gentlemen, it remains for you to apply the rules of law which I have given you.

If our citizen soldiery, lawfully mustered in th

public service, have been assaulted or injured, see to it that the aggressor, if he can be discovered, shall not go unpunished.

If it shall be made to appear to you that any as

sault has been committed, or violence done, or for-cible obstruction of lawful business occasioned, by any part of the military force, 'diligently enquire, and true presentment make' concerning it. Ascertain under what order or by what authority it was done. Trace it to its source. Consider what is its justification. Extend the full protection of the law to every thing which a liberal construction of the law can justify or excuse. But if you find the law has been violated, and that there has been an in vasion of private rights, or an infringement of pub-

gency, an imminent danger: that riot and blood-shed were prevented, that there has been no consuperficial view of the matter. All right-minded sentiments of reverence for law in the public mind are weakened.

The old Latin maxim tell us, oppose beginnings - Obsta principiis. Occasions where the gravest consequences have not followed, and the strongest passions are not excited, are the best to establish

principles, and define duties.

And if the facts which shall be laid before you

require it, I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you will be ready to show to the people of the State, that laws are not made for those only who crowd ry: that they may direct its application, and be enabled to decide upon new exigencies as they arise, and to determine when the terrible necessity is ended.

There is, in my judgment, strong and clear implication, from the language of the 12th and 129th ehapters of the Revised Statutes, although not so distinctly expressed as would be desirable that the

From the Philadelphia Register.

ROWDYISM IN CALIFORNIA.

by Christian governments. This address was pro-sented, by deputations appointed for the purpose, to most of the sovereigns of Europe, and also to the Emperor of the Brazils. By all these, it was re-spectfully and kindly received. In 1853, the Friends thought it a matter of religious duty to circulate the address in the United States. Four of their members, William Forster, Josiah Forster, John Chandlet and William Holmes, were accordingly sent on this mission. These gentlemen were among sent on this mission. These gentlemen were among the most intelligent, grave, and influential mem bers of the Society, fitted to command not only respect but veneration. After waiting on President Pierce, they visited in person all the middle and Southern States, seeking conferences with the Governors. In Tennessee, one of their number sickened and died. The others continued their labors. In Suffolk County it could hardly arise, except in the case of the Governor or a Judge; as there is probably never a time when some Judge of a Court of record is not found within this city, and the Sheriff would not therefore be called upon to act alone.

Another question of much practical importance is, how far the private soldier or the inferior officer is answe able for an act of violence done in obedience to the command of his superior, that

MESSES, JOSIAH FORSTER, JOHN CHANDLER and WM Messes. Josian Forster, John Chandler and Wm. Holmes—You may have attained to years of manhood but not to years of discretion—under the guise of Christian Philanthropists you would do the work of the most hellish incendiary—your fanaticism is founded in the grossness of your ignorance—your pretended charity is of a piece with that which now crowds the infernal regions with damned souls. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad! Can you not bend your efforts to the laudable purpose of collecting means for the crection and maintenance of a lunatic asylum in the City of Brotherly Love? Do try; and you will doubtless be among the first to realize and partake of some of its advantages.

Satan never fails to furnish mischief for idle hands—try and employ your's as becomes men, Americans

try and employ your's as becomes men, Americans and Christians—such stuff as is contained within finds no sympathy or favor ih California.

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE.

Sacramento City, 25th April, 1854.

Mr. F. S. McKinney, a Secator from Santa Clare County, sent back the address with the following written on its blank margin : Sins-If the within is the evidence of your honorabl

mission to this country, I would suggest to you that you and better return home. Respectfully,
F. S. McKINNEY, Assembley, Santa Clara Co. Sacramento City, April 17th, 1854.

Not content with this insult, the same gentlems forwarded the Committee certain pro-Nebra and bill resolutions then pending in the Senate of Cali fornia, accompanying them with the following note. We publish it verbatim et literatim:

Srns-I send you the following resolutions, and the reflect the sentiment of the people of this State in regard to those matters, and you will risse govern yourself ac cording. Respectfully.

Mr. McDuffee, a member of the Assembly, ambi-tious to vie with his brother of the Senate, sent a copy of the resolutions alluded to above with these words written on them, after the style of a law paper indorsement; Sac. Cirr, April the 17, '54.

gents—Enclosed you will find my views and for the surron you will pleats not trouble me with yours.

You can rest assurd that the Resolutions will pass with a risw Abolition exception.

McDuffee's views seem to be cloudy on human rights and good manners as well as on orthogra-

MOTORPATHIC CARD. R. H. HALSTED, formerly of Halated Hall 1) ester, N. I., well known as the author of the tem of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the of chronic and femule discuses, has recently peaks and removed to the celebrated ROUND HILL was and removed to the celebrater ROUND HILL walls.

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pathic Treatment.

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tients who are beyond the reach of Hydrogathy as. This has been made apparent in the cure of very memory or and spinal affections herefolies unracied of Dyspepsia and Paralysis, and the numerous complicated diseases of the liver and kidneys.

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which can be seen by those who desire. Boston, May 18. REV. THEODORE PARKER'S GREAT SEE-

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dress delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Feb. 24, 1864, by William Lloyd Garrison. Prior, 6 cents, single—60 cents per dozen—\$1 00 for 25 cepts. March 17. VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

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