ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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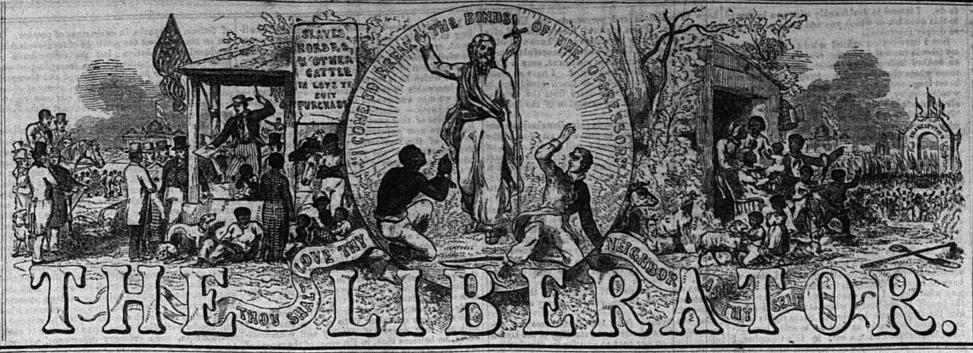
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financia ittee, but are not responsible for any of the debts. of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray of the Paints Quincy, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

Fig in the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of erer question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXV. NO. 11.



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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1855.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

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 PUCITIVE SLAVES-OR

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 repre-

senting 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.

WHOLE NUMBER 1078.

THE LIBERATOR.

GERRIT SMITH TO WENDELL PHILLIPS. Ретеввово', Feb. 20, 1855. WESPELL PHILLIPS, Boston :

MY DEAR FRIEND, -I have just been reading again sperison of your speech delivered in New York, 9th I do not suppose that you regard republican institu-

tions as less efficient than monarchical institutions to educate men and women to the highest point of moral Nevertheless, from the connection in which you use these words, you are exposed to this inference. You praise England for having, with her aristocratic institutions, abolished her slavery; and you raise the gestion whether, under a 'republican government, the soble education of which you speak can be attained, and so America be enabled to abolish her slavery. She may not be enabled to abolish it. But it does not follow that the moral excellence of her reformers falls below that of English reformers. It was little for England to abolish a slavery exterior to herself, compared with what it would have been to abolish a slavery inwoven with all her interests, and pouring corruption through her whole political, and moral, and social being. England was not debauched and ruled by her slavery-but American slavery has left scarcely one sound spot in American character; and it is, confessedly, the ruler of

The fact that the English 'never saw' the slaves when they emancipated, you make a prominent feature in the merit of the emancipation. But has it never occarrel to you that, had they seen them, they might have refused to emancipate them? ' Distance lends exchantment to the view.' The American Christian who now leather the American slave would be apt to fall deep in love with him were he several thousand niles off. Such a Christian is eager to bear his part in those foreign missionary operations which afford wide play to the romantic and sentimental. But deep degradation, when present, has less power to win the regard and melt the pity of such a Christian than to excits his disgust. I add, that it is only too probable that there is many an English Christian who, in this respect, is like such an American Christian.

No-I do not believe that our reformers will suffer in any fair comparison with the reformers of England. That they are as capable as hers of a high moral effort is manifest from the progress which they have made in many directions. They are as far advanced in the cause of Peace; and much further in the cause of Temperance. They have done much more to prove the right of the landless to a free share of the God-given soil; and much more to prove the identity of woman's right's with man's rights; and much more to open the eyes of Christians to the great-sin of their sectarian divisions, and to the indispensableness of Christian to the salvation of the world ; and I add, that ther hatred of slavery is more intense and self-sacrificing than is that of the English reformers. Now, when I have said these things, I have virtually said the American reformers have, at least, as much religion as the English reformers have-for these things, especialwhen taken together, are among the highest evirates that they, of whom all this can be affirmed, are actuated by the principles of religion. The prayers, and teaching, and machinery of the Churches, prove nothmore in favor of the Churches than do the tools of carpenter in his favor. What he has accomplished with his tools is the question for determining the merit the carpenter; and the effect with which the Churches have plied their tools and improved their advantages is casure of the merits of the Churches. Preaching, and prayer, and praise, are rather means of and means religion, than religion itself. Motives and influences the religious life are to be drawn from heaven as well searth. But the life itself is to be seen among men, soi can prove itself only in justice and goodness to

I simit that the movement to abolish American favery is a failure. But I believe that the movement sabolish British slavery had also been a failure, only hat it was so much less difficult to abolish that slavery ha it is to abolish ours. I admit that the American litionists are not educated to a sufficiently high point of moral life ' " to accomplish their object. But ny that the English Abolitionists were educated to higher one. It is true that we are not sufficiently , and devoted, and high-souled, for our arduous of sublime work. But English Abolitionists lacked much as we do the attainments and character for ath a work. I admit that it requires only a small inter of right-minded persons to sustain the Amerian anti-clavery cause, and carry it forward to victory, al that even this small number cannot be supplied. eteribeless, such persons are no more rare in America han in England. I referred to the fact that we needed but small band to make our success sure. With such a nase-a cause that speaks so clearly for itself-one tree man in each town of the North would be sufficient. but, it is only here and there a town can furnish such I he men of whom one should chase a thouand and two put ten thousand to flight' are not to be point up in every community; and it is only that rare this men who are capable of achieving, without brute ette, a conquest over American slavery. Blows that rould tell on so weak and yielding a thing as English latery are utterly impotent upon the strong and stubon slavery of America.

I have attributed to their low and false education the re of American Abolitionists to accomplish their Fri. Pardon me for improving this occasion to intire into the cause of this low and false education. I anct doubt that the popular religion is mainly responthe for it. This religion is so defective—not to say so perious—as to be incapable of fashioning the right men he our high and holy work. This religion dwarfs and determs men, instead of bringing out, as true religion a lone capable of doing, their fullest and noblest pro-The mere fact that it is a sectarian religion sifficient to condemn it. The religion which enburges, or so much as suffers, its disciples to escape ben the self-accountability, and stern duties, and un-Secharged obligations of individualism, into the convendeal discipline and personal irresponsibilities of party, a of little worth, notwithstanding it is so well-nigh unitral. Christianity requires her disciple to stand on his own feet, instead of leaning on others—in his a strength, instead of the strength of others; and

and buttresses of party his lack of self-reliance, nor to I must confess, however, that, as my first question in plead the merit of his party in default of his personal regard to a candidate would be whether he is wise and

pendent piety, which Christianity calls for. Indeed, a equally bad. sectarian Christian is but half a Christian. A whole But I propose to compare the 'Know-Nothing party' Christian will not consent to wear the yoke of party. A with the Christian sects; and, hence, I must say a few whole Christian, I add, identifies himself with the whole words respecting the latter. If that party is guilty of Christian brotherhood, and, therefore, cannot be a excluding men from the common rights of the human partisan. No more than Jesus Christ himself can he brotherhood, so is the Christian sect guilty of excluding refuse Church relations with any-even the weakest Christians from the common rights of the Christian and most erring-disciples of Jesus Christ. Nay, as brotherhood. The latter is, surely, no less intolerant, the Savior is especially concerned to bring such feeble, mean and criminal than the former. The Christian sect and mistaken, and perilled ones into the safety of His purposely builds its platform too narrow for all Chrisfold, so the Christian who is most like the Savior finds tians to stand on. The proscription of men by politipeculiar joy in welcoming to the provisions of the cians is bad. But the prescription of Christians by Church these 'little ones' and 'least' ones, who are Christians is worse; and it warrants the political proin greater need of those provisions than are other Chris- scription, so far as a bad example can warrant anything.

it not be inferred that I regard all sectarians as Chris- example. The world will be but little afflicted with partians. Of most sectarians it may be safely affirmed, ty politics after Christians shall have been educated to that nothing at all will remain of their religion after the point of non-sectarianism. The recognition of the you shall have withdraw from it all the interest, and rights of the human brotherhood will follow close upon mbition, and zeal, and strife of sect.

allowed themselves to be bewitched and befooled into divine bond between Christians is indissoluble? 'That the belief that these parties (which, if only from being they all may be one-that the world may believe that national parties, are necessarily pro-slavery) will work Thou hast sent me.' John xvii: 21. for the slave and deliver him. Well has party been de- Let me say, ere leaving the subject of party, that, fined to be 'the madness of many for the gain of the although I have condemned party in the popular sense few.' Truly, it is the curse of the world, notwithstand- of party, I do not condemn every association that is and strong in one's self, and to live a self-poised, in- listing the influence and power of numbers in behalf of

tion to party is so strong and common among Abolition- and servants of a party. It is, on the contrary, an asists. If Christians set the bad example of indulging a sociation of persons who prefer to remain themselves, partisan spirit, it is not strange that Abolitionists follow and who, therefore, refuse to become the members and it. If a Christian must band himself with the Presby-terian, or Methodist, or Baptist party, why may not an no-party party. I add that, for the like reasons, the Whig, or Free Soil party? If a Christian may sink Party,' may also be called a no-party party. It is true the theory and practice of party-membership,) why names. But they are only among us. They are not of may not an Abolitionist do likewise?

You and I lament that so large a share of the Aboli-Christian sects. Let us compare them.

participate in the choice of the rulers of their couny-and that, too, not in twenty-one years from the in five years-but now. Suffrage is not a mere privinan. Whether he shall be allowed to exercise it, in a e was born in that country or has lived in it twentyone years, or even five years, but solely on the question and every man has the right to make whatever country he will his country—then, if he has lived but a single year in it, he is not to be denied a voice in choosing its rulers. This will be acknowledged by all whose eyes are opened to the dignity of man and the sacredness of The weaker a man is among his fellows-whether it is a tyrant over his fellow-men. He rejoices in being their because he is poor, or ignorant, or a stranger—the more equal brother. all his rights.

It is true, too, that the plea for excluding foreigners as they do. He will vote right when they vote right.

It is often said that foreigners need to reside many cars in our country in order to become acquainted with

entitled to be voted for is quite another question than eternity is the room for his growth and developmentwhether he is entitled to vote. His simple manhood that there he is the oak, and here but the acorn—then

just, so would it be my last whether he is a foreigner or That Christians run into sects shows their disobedi- a native-a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. My exence to the plainest requirements of Christianity, and perience teaches me that foreigners and natives are heir false and low views of her spirit. Christians there about equally good, and that Roman Catholics and re - innumerable Christians - who are sectarians. Protestants are also about equally good. Or, to speak Nevertheless, theirs is not the vigorous, manly, inde- more correctly, it teaches me that they are all about

Oh, when will Christians set a good example, in this re-I have spoken of Christians who are sestarians. Let spect, before politicians? Mighty would be that good the recognition of the rights of the Christian brother-It is often said, that Abolitionists ruin the anticlavery cause by running into political parties. They avail to separate men from each other when they shall lo. Over and over again have they done so. Over have seen that Christians allow no dissimilarities beand over again have they suffered the attractions of the tween themselves to weaken their love for each other, or Whig and Democratic parties to overcome their sense of turn them away from each other. Nay, does not truth luty to the slave. Over and over again have they been justify the infinitely broader declaration, that men will seduced, by the prospect of personal advantage, to go be convinced that Christianity is from heaven-in other with these parties. Over and over again have they words, will be Christians-when they shall see that the

ing our great men, both in Church and State, teach that called a party. The association called the Garrison t is essential to the salvation of the world, and that it party,' I do not understand to be obnoxious to my coms especially the life of a republic. In the midst of plaints of party. That is not an association of persons teachings so pernicious, it cannot be easy to persuade who are ready to merge the man in the mass, and to the party man how much superior is the individual yield up his individualism to the direction of party. man, and how much nobler it is to stand collected, calm They are not seeking each his own advantage, by endependent life, than to exchange his individuality for personal interests, and by disguising selfish purposes the poor party-frenzied and party-controlled and party- with professions of public service. It is not an associstinted being which party doles out to him in return. ation in which men sell themselves away, in exchange We must not, however, be surprised that this addic- for the poor privilege of becoming members of a party Abolitionist identify himself with the Democratic, or little handful of persons under the name of Liberty himself in the current of party action (and this is both that mere partisans may come among us and wear our

I admitted that we have not the class of men adeionists have scampered off into the 'Know-Nothing par- quate to our peculiarly difficult anti-slavery work; and ty.' Well may we lament that they were educated to no I held the current religion mainly responsible for the igher point than to be guilty of such folly. But, what lack. I ventured the opinion, that its being a sectarian worse have they done than our poor party-crazy Chris- religion is enough to justify its condemnation. But tians do? I admit that this party is the most bigoted there are many other respects in which it is worthy of and intolerant of all our political parties. But I deny condemnation. How wickedly false is its low estimate that it is any more culpable, in this respect, than the of man! Rich man, intellectual man, learned man polished man, office-honored man, it is ever ready to It is true that the 'Know-Nothing party' would shut flatter and adore. But mere man it refuses to hold in ff men from one of the inherent, most important and honor. It affects to believe the Bible. But that ost sacred of the rights of men. For such is the right blessed book, whilst making no account of the distinc tions, however splendid, which fall off at the grave, stamps an infinite value on naked humanity. How ime of becoming an inhabitant of the country-no, nor idle for those professed Christians who withhold the Bible, and marriage, and parental rights, and filial lege-a mere franchise-but a right, belonging to every rights, from millions, and who buy and sell these millions, even as horses and hogs are bought and soldgiven country, should not turn on the question, whether how idle for such to claim that they believe the Bible? Equally idle, too, is it for them to claim to believe it who vote these millions into the hands of their oppreswhether it is his country. If it is only his country sors, and build negro-pews, and refuse to bury their dead where black men are buried. The sternest slaveholder, on coming to believe the Bible-to believe it with his heart, and to drink in its heavenly and transforming spirit-would immediately relax his grasp, and 'let the oppressed go free.' Show him in the Bible his rights. The right of suffrage may be called the right that the beings whom, but an hour before, he had preservative of all rights. Hence, to deny this right is classed with his cattle, are made but 'little lower than virtually to deny all rights. To postpone the enjoy-ment of this right in the case of him who has been our and are destined to outlive the stars, and the amazing countryman for only a short time, and for no other and subduing revelation puts an immediate end to all cause, is exceedingly unreasonable, unjust and cruel. his slaveholding. His heart is broken. He is no longer

does he need to wield that right, which is the defence of I cannot refrain from expressing, in this connection my grief that many Abolitionists have allowed their faith in the Bible to be shaken. The Bible abandoned, rom the ballot-box on the ground that, being foreign- and there will remain no sufficient bulwark against opers, they know not how to vote, is the height of dis- pression. If its great doctrine of the immortality and ingenuousness and nonsense. If, as is really the case, essential equality of men is lost, what hope can be left most of them vote as they should not vote, wherein do for the earthly lot of the poor, and ighorant, and weak ? they differ, in this respect, from native Americans? God help them, in their struggle with the rich and cun-The emigrant finds those around him voting for the pro- ning and strong, if the belief of a future existence fane, the intemperate, and the oppressive, and he votes shall be blotted out. Compared with that belief, how feebly does everything else plead for the exhibition of respect and kindness to them, in the present life! So long as men are valued not for that exalted and endless republican institutions. I do not think so. It is de- being disclosed by the Bible, and the Bible only, but rogatory to these institutions to regard them as so arti- merely for what they respectively are in this life, so ficial, complex and abstruse. They are natural and long oppression will abound; for so long the reasons obvious truths, and, with the help of an honest heart, against it must be at least comparatively unimportant are readily learned. But, however this may be, it is and uninfluential. If there is no redress and no existcertain that foreigners need not consume much time to ence for men beyond this life, there will be comparative learn how to vote. Voting, like every other of the ly little fear and little reluctance to oppress them. It realest and most responsible duties of men, is far more what they are here is all they are, then will it be com eart-work than head-work. 'He that ruleth over men paratively easy to conclude that to tax their muscles to nust be just;' and this same thing it is which is required of him who votes. An honest regard for the which perish, is the best use we can put them to. But rights of men and the rights of God is the great promp- if, on the other hand, we study the destiny and dignity ter which is needed at the ballot-box, as well as every- of man in the pages of the Bible, and see that this life is but the first link in an endless chain of existence-I would remark incidentally that, whether a man is that here man is but in his seminal state, and that

she will not permit him to supply with the sympathy gives him the right to cast a vote, but not to hold office. shall we feel the sacredness of his rights; and then, 1 The Abolitionists have not done shouting over recent the supply of it will always be proportioned to the de have no heart to oppress him. As, therefore, we would in these proceedings to cheer my desponding Abolition most impressive of all anti-slavery books.

of the bad character of the prevailing religion. That this, they but damage, instead of helping, the antieligion not only leaves unrebuked the abounding slavery cause. wickedness in politics-but the greatest of that wicked- Are these Wisconsin Judges honest? They hold (as ness is not too great for it to practice. That religion I am warranted in assuming) that it is lawful and obliwho can call on the American people to engage it. Suppose Georgia should enact that all who have

f the American Government and American Church, would not, they would prove themselves dishonest-Nevertheess, you are right. The religion which dishonest in sparing their own children, whilst giving the actual Government is on the side of slavery, the her whites as of her blacks, but Wisconsin has, confessbloodless abolition of slavery is impracticable. You edly, as much right, in this respect, as Georgia. Now, and I differ on the comparatively unimportant point of suppose a pro-slavery Legislature of Wisconsin shall

Bible Christianity is to be found in the fact, that whilst hand, be to their credit; but, on the other, it would the latter exacts the full measure of righteousness, as prove the dishonesty of which they are guilty, in acwell in political conduct as in all other conduct, the knowledging the obligations of slave codes, when others former bolds that religion has no jurisdiction of politics, and not themselves are to suffer from those codes. Men and is as impudent intruder and guilty usurper when- may lack honesty without so much as suspecting that ever she mixes herself up with polities. Preaching they lack it. Every one lacks it who admits slavery to tion of the principles of Christianity to politics, is con- mission in the case of himself, were he claimed for its strued into one of the strongest proofs of infidelity. A victim. Indeed, this whole question, whether slavery man may dabble ever so much in the dirty waters of can be lawful, resolves itself into a question of honesty. politics,' and yet be a prime Christian ! But how is it An honest man, having his eyes open to the claims and

And now, I ask whether, in the light of these and and that, hence, no slave code can be law. other mighty influences which are at work to check and Would the Wisconsin Judges admit that murder can pervert the growth of their manhood, it is at all to be transmuted into law? How dare they, then, admit iemselves unworthy of their work ?-deficient in the children were murdered than enslaved ? wisdom, self-sacrifice, magnanimity, confidence, charity, I have admitted that the Abolitionists have shown ecessary to achieve an object so great, so arduous, so

Cuba out of the Union, or to maintain, or restore, the Abolitionist several times as much, and another Abolitiever and anon, leaps over into new fields. Would hey treat any other piracy so respectfully and kindly? slavery. Not they. No, not if fifty Governments were to delare it law. Oh, had those able men and cordial slavery was never so strong as it is this day; and stronger and stronger will it continue to grow, so long number to be scarcely half a dozen. as even its enemies honor it as law. Mr. Garrison himself would more than neutralize all he is doing against

ter than a piracy and an outlaw.

I referred to the false and comparatively unimportpecessity of dining on the best of roast beef and plum oudding, nevertheless, they were martyrs.

For months, there has been a succession of rejoicings afraid to sympathize with these rejoicings, for I am of slavery. Gov. Seward will. Henry Wilson will. And I am afraid that even that old Liberty Party man, Charles Durkee, will. But, is it possible that even he.

The recent movement, in Vermont and other States, for virtually nullifying the Fugitive Slave Act, affords much joy to the Abolitionists, but none to me. That ovement is disingenuous, evasive, cowardly. I especially condemn it, because it implies two gross falsehoods: 1st, that there may be a lawful slavery, and a louful recapture of fugitive slaves ; 2d, that they who are engaged in the movement are prepared to stand by such a slavery and to take part in such recapture.

both for his own sake and his Maker's sake, we shall judicial proceedings in Wisconsin. But there is nothing ply ourselves and our fellow-men with the highest and heart. It is true that these proceedings deny that the nost influential motives against slavery, we must cling Fugitive Slave Act is constitutional. But they, neverto the Bible-to that infinitely most instructive and theless, imply that there might be a constitutional Fugitive Slave Act, and that slavery is capable of being I will advert to but one other of the many evidences invested with the sacredness of law; and implying

responsible for electing to the Presidency the man gatory to replunge into slavery those who escape from cheerfuly' in the super-devilish work of chasing down emigrated from the free States to her soil shall be slaves fugitives from the hell of slavery. That religion, in a | -- and suppose that among those who fly back to the free ord, is responsible for the pro-slavery action of both States before the terrors of this new enactment are our Government and people. children of these Judges-would these Judges hold it

You have been much censured for holding that the lawful and obligatory to return them? If they would, children of these Judges-would these Judges hold it iti-slavery cause can reach success only over the ruins they would prove themselves monsters; and if they olerates-nay, sanctifies-slavery, must, necessarily, up other men's children to oppression. But I proceed conquired ere the devotees and dupes of that religion to apply a still closer test. Not only has Georgia, conwill suffer slavery to be abolished. Again, so long as fessedly, as much constitutional right to make slaves of the true egal character of the Federal Constitution ; punish these, her anti-slavery Judges, by declaring them but we do not differ in respect to the ineffably guilty and their posterity to be slaves. Would these Judges character of the Government, which professes to idolize honor the statute, and bow their necks to the yoke of slavery ? Not they. They would sooner resist unto No small proof that American Christianity is not death. I admit that this bravery would, on the one politics,' or, in other words, insisting on the applica- be a law, for every one would refuse to make such adossible for him to be anything of a Christian who (al- scope of honesty, and especially to the duty of doing hough it is for the holy purpose of purifying those unto others as he would have others do unto him, canvaters) can be guilty of dragging down Christianity not fail to deny that slavery is lawful. I add, that no code which cannot be honestly administered can be law,

wondered at that the Abolitionists have proved that slavery can be? Would they not rather their

themselves deficient in the spirit of self-sacrifice. It is true that they have expended millions of dollars in the I admit that had the Abolitionists possessed the anti-slavery cause. They have employed thousands of needed wisdom, they would never have run off to side | lecturers, and flooded the whole North with their publiissues and subordinate issues, with the feeling that cations. His zeal for the deliverance of the slave has cost this Abolitionist five thousand dollars, and that Missouri Compromise line, or to do any other such onist ten, ay, twenty times as much. And, what is still incidental thing, was an essential part of their mis- more, there are thousands of poor Abolitionists who, in ion. But they would have seen that the great work | their devotion to this cause, have approached the standto which they were called was to grapple directly and of the woman who cast in all hat she had, even with the whole of American slavery ; to show no quar- all her living.' The pro-slavery newspapers often say er to any part of it; to deny the name and shelter that an Abolitionist is too mean to pay anything toward I law to every part of it; and to treat it, wherever purchasing the liberty of a slave. It is true that found, as the most atrocious piracy which ever defied there are Abolitionists-very worthy Abolitionists-God or outraged man. Alas, the delusion of the many whose principles will not permit them to join in such a good men who busy themselves in circumscribing purchase. But multitudes of Abolitionists contribute davery! They bow to its legality, wherever it now much in this wise. One has put a thousand dollars, and xists; and they seem never to suspect that it is ow- another five thousand dollars, and another ten thousand ng to such courteous and gratuitous concession that dollars, into the pockets of slayeholders; and no small slavery both continues to exist where it now does, and, share of Abolitionists have taxed themselves, more or less, to buy their fellow-men from under the yoke of

Considerable, however, as have been the pecuniary sacrifices of Abolitionists in their cause, they fall far naters of slavery-our Sewards, and Giddingses, and short of the merits of that precious cause. Then, again, Chases, and Sumners, -instead of confessing legal it is but a small proportion of them who refuse to pur obligations in its behalf, scouted the idea of its possible chase the cotton, the sugar, and rice, that are wet with legalization, then would they have left slavery weak in- the tears, and sweat, and blood of the slave. And when leed-but now they have left it stronger. American we count up those who have sealed with their blood their consecration to the anti-slavery cause, we find the whole

In none of the qualities of the best style of men-and that is the style of men needed to effectuate the bloodslavery were he to accord to it the rights of a law, or less termination of American slavery-have the Abolito regard it, in any part of the earth, as anything bet- tionists shown themselves more deficient than in magnanimity, confidence, charity. They have judged neither the slaveholders nor each other generously. Slaveholders ant issues which are made with the Slave Power. No are, indeed, great sinners, and we should not besitate wonder that the stress laid upon them deceives the peo- to say so-always remembering, however, when we do ple, for it deceives even the Abolitionists. During the say so, that we ourselves are not 'without sin.' The struggle on the Nebraska bill, even the Abolitionists re- | sin of slaveholding, like many sins of which we ourselves garded its opponents as the most trustworthy and effecture guilty, is largely attributable to a false education tive anti-slavery men; and as to the members of Con and the victims of this false education are to be quite as gress who voted against it, why, the Abelitionists much compassionated as condemned. Great as should themselves adored them as martyrs. Those members may ever be my abhorrence of the sin of slaveholding, I am have been ever so ready to vote for slaveholders and for always to temper my judgment of the slaveholder with fugitive slave acts, nevertheless, they were martyrs. To the thought that my nature is no better than his, and vote against the Nebraska bill was the most popular thing that, had our circumstances been exchanged, he would they could do. No other thing could have gained them so probably have been the Abolitionist, and I the slaveholdmuch political favor and so many votes ; nevertheless, er. It is not to be wondered at that most slaveholders

they were martyrs. Although the proof which these have but little and some of them no sense that slaveholdmembers of Congress gave of being moved by the spirit of ing is sin. The South tells them it is not sin ; and the martyrs in their vote against the Nebraska bill, was about North does likewise. The statesmen of the North, as as great as would be furnished by their submission to the well as of the South, and the clergy of the North, as well as of the South, tell them so. The quarrels of Abolitionists with each other, and

their jealousy and abuse of each other, would be far less mong the Abolitionists-now over the election of this had they more magnanimity, confidence, charlty. Many and now over the election of that anti-slavery gentle- of them delight in casting each other down, rather than man to one or the other Houses of Congress. I am in building each other up. Complain of each other they afraid to sympathize with these rejoicings, for I am must; and when there is no occasion for complaint, afraid that these gentlemen will all admit the legality their ill-natured ingenuity can manufacture an occasion out of the very smallest materials. Were even you, whose trueness to the slave is never to be doubted, to be seut to Congress, many of your Abolition brethren would be upon the alert to find some occasion for calling your integrity in question. And they would find it, too, if in nothing else than in your gentlemanly bearing toward your fellow-members. Again, as you are a very radical Abolitionist, the political press would take great delight in misrepresenting and carleaturing your Congressional life, and the more because the Abelitionists, having so little confidence in each other, and being very credulous and very silly, are eager to be fed in this wise. Slander, like corn and cheese, obeys the laws of trade ; and

On all questions connected with the abolition of

slavery, Abolitionists are slow to tolerate a difference of pinion. For instance, some of them believe that the Federal Constitution is pro-slavery, and others that it is anti-slavery; and this honest difference of opinion is ground enough for their saying the hardest things of each other. I have myself (if I may be pardoned an allusion to myself) been made the victim of this intolerance. So it was that I had long held that Cuba, geographically and commercially, belonged to us, and should, therefore, be made a part of our nation. So it was, too, that I said this on the floor of Congress. For having dared to say it, the Abolition crew instantly threw me overboard. This was my fate, because the Abolitionists held that the annexation of Cuba would strengthen slavery. In vain was my plea that I held the contrary. My doom was fixed. I was unprincipled and pro-slavery; and overboard I had to go. Of course, I admitted the liberty of the Abelitionists to show the unsoundness of my opinions. But this admission was not enough to pacify them. I had no right to hold opinions which the Abolitionists do not hold. Then, again, I am charged with gross inconsistencies for being in favor of the annexation of Cuba, whilst I am so frequently presenting as an evidence of the desperate proslavery wickedness of this nation its grasping after that island. The logic here is, that if I wish to get a dramshop into my hands, although it is for the purpose of transforming it into the abode of temperance and every other virtue, I stand on the same level with him who would get it for the purpose of making it still more a dramshop, and still more the resort and nurse of wick-

Since I am on the subject of Cuba, I cannot forbear ying how exceedingly anxious I am, as an Abolitionist, for her annexation to this country. Indeed, my est hope of the abolition of American slavery, since my hope of it at the hands of Abolitionists began to give lace to despair, has been in such annexation.

The type of slavery in Cuba is, in some respects, more rrible than in any other part of the world. The mily relation which elsewhere softens the horrors of avery, is, to a great extent, unknown among the slaves Cuba. The breeding of our own slaves is an alleviatng feature in our slavery, and slavery is light in the reeding States compared with what it is in the other, States. Plantation after plantation in Cuba has hunireds of males, and scarcely one female. The condition and character of the laborers on such plantations are, herefore, as brutal as they well can be. Again, so evere is the treatment of the Cuban slaves, that they lie under it in a few years. The slaves of our own country live, on an average, more than thirty years. The slaves of Cuba much less than half that time; and, bence, as I pity them, I would have Cuba annexed. ' I would have her annexed, too, as I pity Africa, who is every year robbed of thousands of her children to supthan all do I desire the annexation because I believe it will contribute mightily to the overthrow of the whole system of American slavery.

1. It will change Spain into an anti-slavery nation; nd, then, not only will she be arrayed against Amerian slavery, but other nations—especially France and England-disembarrassed by her change, will be far nore cordially and effectively arrayed against it than hey have hitherto been.

2. The Spanish troops that now uphold slavery in Cuba will then be recalled; and the creole population, more than half a million, will then be the dependence or maintaining slavery. But that population, never naving possessed political power, and, therefore, ignorant how to use it, having strong sympathies with the marter of a million of free blacks, both from being egally intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and from having but little more intelligence, (for the ree blacks haveschools,) and also from other causes, would be but a poor dependence for maintaining slavery. ndeed, where have Spanish creoles proved their readiness and ability to uphold slavery? Certainly not in Mexico and the South American States. There they proved themselves to be Abolitionists, after they had scaped from the control of the Spaniards. The truth s, that the Spanish creoles are too nearly on a level with the free blacks, in point of circumstances and inelligence, and, therefore, of power to be relied on to sphold slavery. There must, in some important repects, be a wide space between masters and slaves, or he slaves cannot be kept in subjection.

3. Cuban slavery is so different a thing from Amerian slavery, that it cannot coexist with it, unless rought into conformity with it. But to attempt the onformity would be most strongly to invite an insurrection. The Cuban slave has the legal right to go, every year, in quest of a new master. Moreover, it rests with an officer of the Government to fix his price, in case of disagreement on that point. He has the legal right to buy himself to buy himself all at once or in parts-a quarter at one time, and a half at another-as is most convenient for him. Then, again, if the slave-mother thall pay a small sum (I believe but twenty-five dollars) before the birth of her child, the child shall be free .-Now, will the slaves, will the free blacks, will the creoles, suffer these merciful features to be expunged from the system of Cuban slavery? Certainly not, until much blood has been spilt. I add, will the free blacks suffer their schools to be closed ?- for the closing of hem would be an indispensable part of the conformity of Cuban slavery to American slavery.

4. But it will be said, that if a standing army of wenty or thirty thousand Spanish troops can maintain lavery in Cuba, so, also, can a no greater standing American army maintain it there. A several times greater army than this will be required to sustain the attempt to impart to Cuban slavery the absolute characer of our slavery. Arouse the hostility of the free blacks, among whom are men of genius and education ; ambine with them the nearly half million of slaves, the very large majority of whom are from Africa, and ere as barbarous as when they left her shores ; and the victory to be achieved by our standing army would be no easy one. A bloody grave for slavery did these lasses of men dig in St. Domingo; and a no less loody one may they dig for slavery in Cuba. Morever, that grave may be capacious enough for the whole of American slavery. Let our infatuated Slave Power get Cuba if it can. I greatly mistake if, when she shall have added these new elements to our population,

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she does not find that sh thas got more than she cor tracted for. Ere leaving this head, I will say, that to propose, in the event of the annexation of Cuba, a standing army for the maintenance of her slavery, sheer nonsenses The days of our slavery, if not, indeed, of our republic, will be numbered, whenever we shall adopt the policy of a standing army for upholding

5. Havana is Cuba as emphatically as Paris i France. Admit that quietness-although, by the way, it is an ever-fearful and anxious quietness-is main tained there. We should, nevertheless, remember that it is maintained only by means of such a strict and stern police, and such an iron despotism, as would be impossible amidst the institutions and influences of our republic. Impose only republican restraints upon Havans, and anarchy would quickly spread through her and through the island.

6. Let it not be said that because the slaves of Louis iana and Florida passed quietly into our political juris diction, the slaves of Cuba will also. Not to speak of essential differences in their circumstances, the former slaves were but a handful compared with the latter.

I say no more of the annexation of Cuba. Whilst hope that it would help work the overthrow of slavery without violence, I am confident that it would help

But I must bring my very long letter to a close. Th Abolitionists have labored in vain-and yet not in vain They were the best men in the land-and yet the noblest virtues were not as ripe in them as was needful for the success of their undertaking. But they have prepared the way for higher attainments in their successors; and the work which they were themselves incapable of ac complishing, these successors (if not anticipated by th hand of violence) will accomplish. It is but too proba ble, however, that American slavery will have expired in blood before the men shall have arisen who are capa ble of bringing it to a voluntary termination.

But, notwithstanding we have failed, and will, in a probability, continue to fail, to accomplish our grea work, we, nevertheless, cannot abandon it. We mus persevere in it, if only to save our own souls. More over, dark as are the signs of the times, who can cer tainly say that God will not give us-even us, in all our unworthiness-the victory over slavery? And, then, amid all these dark signs, there are a few bright one As I have already shown, I do not number among the bright ones the recent election of so many anti-slavery members to Congress. For these members are pro slavery as well as anti-slavery. If they go against nev slavery, nevertheless, they stand up by old slavery. And so is it with those who elected them-with those stony-ground Abolitionists, who make up these sudden and immense majorities in Ohio and other States, but who, having no root in themselves, will endure but for a little while-for but one, or, at the most, for but two elections. At least half of these majorities will, by the next election, have gone back again to the naked pro-slavery side. Oh no, there is no bright sign here! But it is a bright sign that, in spite of all seductive influences, a few still adhere to the American Anti-Slavery Society and to the Liberty Party. Could I hear, this day, of the recent accession to either of even no more than one hundred brave, and earnest, and noble souls, my hope for a Christian and peaceful end to slavery would again

Nor, as I have already shown, do I number among the bright signs of the times those recent judicial proceedings in Wisconsin which have made the Abolitionists so glad. But I am frank to say, that I do number among them the heroic conduct of dear Booth and his associates. They knew no law for slavery; and, therefore, they yielded themselves to the law of humanity and delivered the slave Glover. This treatment of the pretensions of slavery, and the similar treatment of them in the rescue of Jerry at Syracuse, are worth more to the cause of truth and freedom than the election of ten thousand Senators who acquiesce in existing slavery, and fight against that only which is prospec

It is often said that such popular movements as delivered Glover and Jerry exasperate the slaveholder. They may, for the moment. But in the end, they make their ledgment in his conscience, and spread convictions of their justice through his soul. Every thoughtful slaveholder knows they are right-for he knows that they are what he would desire were he in the distress from which poor Jerry and poor Glover were so mercifully delivered. The slaveholder sees the honesty and an act as that wh izes the brave Booth ; for that every slaveholder knows that slavery is not law, is, as I have substantially said, in a former part of this letter, manifest from the fact, that he knows that he would not honor it as law were he himself so unfortunate as to be reduced to slavery. Again, that every slaveholder respects an honest and consistent Abelitionist is manifest from the fact that every slaveholder is at heart an Abolitionist. The biggest slaveholder, only attempt to make a slave of him, will loom up into the biggest Abelitionist. . Every man is an Abolitionist for himself; and this proves that every man is an Abelitionist.

Would that all Abolitionists were like the rescuers of Jerry and Glover! Then would slaveholders quickly be brought to believe in the sincerity of Abolitionists and in the duty of abolition. It is no wonder that the slaveholders despise both us and our cause. Our cowardice, and vacillation, and innumerable follies, have, almost necessarily, made both us and it contemptible. The way for us to bring slaveholders right on slavery is to be right on it ourselves. The way for us to command the respect, ay, to win the love, of slaveholders, is to act honestly in regard to slavery and to all things else. But do I mean to say that slaveholders can be brought to love Abolitionists? Oh yes !-- and I add, that Abolitionists should love slaveholders. We are all brothers; and we are all sinners too; and the difference between ourselves, as sinners, is not so great as, in our prejudice on the one hand and our self-complacency on the other, we are wont to imagine it to be.

With great regard, your friend,

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON, IN THE U. S. SENATE, FEB. 23, 1855,

On the Bill to protect persons executing the Fugitive Slave Act from prosecutions in the State Courts.

Mr. PRESIDENT,—I have no desire to mingle in this excited and angry debate, which has so unex-pectedly sprung up—but the tone and temper of the remarks which the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Jones has seen fit to indulge in towards my frie from Connecticut [Mr. Gillette], and the extraordinary language he has applied to Senators from my section of the Union, should not be permitted to pass unnoticed. Sir, the Senator from with bitterness of manner, has denounced the Senator from Connecticut, and other Senators who oppose this measure, as 'a little band of traitors, men who are 'treacherous' to their country. This is extraordinary language, Mr. President, to apply to honorable Senators upon this floor, for acting in accordance with their convictions of public duty. That Senator may, if he chooses, class me with 'the little band of traitors,' for I assure him, the Senate and the country, that shall not shrink, in this hour of their weakness from standing side by side with men who, amid obloquy, sneers and reproaches, have faithfully and fearlessly vindicated the sentiments of the freemer whose representatives they are. Sir, the honor able Senator from Tennessee would do well to re-member that the Senators to whom he has applied auch language represent on this floor the opinion of at least one million of the intelligent voters of the Republic, and that they are sustained by the action of fifteen sovereign States. Cheered by the approving voice of the people and by the conscious-ness of growing power, the Senators he has taunt-ingly denounced will not be deterred by epithets, no matter how profusely he may apply them, from the vindication of their cherished convictions. 1 intend to tell you, gentlemen of the South, where we of the North stand upon this exciting and disturbing question of slavery, and what we puppose

bope to maintain and perpetuate the Union of these States. From boyhood, I have dreamed of a glorious destiny for my country. I have wished to see the flag of the Union wave in peaceful triumph over the North American continent, over a Conthose whom they represent. I trust that I have a heart large enough to embrace in its affections the whole country, and every man that breathes the air or treads the soil of the Republic, be that man black or white. I have no war to make, and those whom I represent have no war to make, upon the Senators from the South or the people.

To me, she to maintain and perpetuate the Union of these States. From boyhood, I have dreamed of a glorious destiny for my country. I have wished to see the flag of the Union wave in peaceful triumph over the North American continent, over a Confederacy of free Commonwealths. I have so much confidence in the people, that I have no fears from the annexation of territory and the extension of the boundaries of the Republic.

The Senator from Illinois [M- To me, she with the confederacy of the Republic of the whom I represent have no war to make, and those whom I represent have no war to make, upon the Senators from the South or the people of the South. To me, sir, the proudest master and the lowliest bondman are alike brethren and fellow-countrymen. Sir, I believe, and the people of Massachusetts believe, that slavery is a violation of the holy com-

believe, that slavery is a violation of the holy commands to love our neighbor, and to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. I tell you, frankly, that we of Massachusetts are unalterably opposed to African slavery in America, and we are in favor of all practicable efforts for its entire abolition. But we do not propose to interfere with slavery in the States. We believe that with slavery in the States. We believe that slavery in the States is a local institution—that we are not responsible for its existence, and that we have no legal authority to interfere with it in any have no terrors for us. We know that the people way whatever. I am content to leave slavery to will stand by the Union, even if slavery should be the people of the States where it exists. I recognize the Democratic doctrine of State rights in its application to slavery as well as to other local affairs, and while I have a seat in this Chamber, I shall resist all attempts to encroach upon the reserved rights of the sovereign States of the Union. friends in vindication of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, which they endorsed

at Baltimore in 1852.

I will tell you, Mr. President, just what our position is in Massachusetts. We stand upon the impregnable basis of the Constitution of the United States. We do not propose to encroach upon the rights of our Southern brethren but we claim that, under the express authority of the Constitution of the United States, we have ample power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. We of Massachusetts, and of the free States, are responsible for the existence of human slavery here national capital. Slavery exists here by the authority, or rather by the permission of Congress; and the people of New England, of the central States, and of the West, are as responsible for its existence as are the sons of Maryland and Virginia,

whose ancestors planted it here.
My friend from Connecticut, [Mr. Gillette] re ferred to the shocking and brutal sight of a woman led by a man on horseback along the streets near the Capitol, with a rope fastened around her body. The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Jones] poured out upon the Senator from Connecticut his indignation for calling the attention of the country and the world to that degrading spectacle, witnessed by the wife of the New England Senator and sev eral other ladies. Sir, that spectacle was witnessed in North Capitol street, only a few days State. It was my fortune to travel more than one ago, while the Representatives of the free States, thousand miles in that, my native State, a few days who have majorities in both Houses of Congress, were in session. The laws under which that woman was dragged through the streets of the supporters of the Administration did not dare capital of the Republic may be repealed by Con- in New Hampshire to defend the Nebraska bill gress. The people of the free States know that They denied it to be an issue in the canvass, and gress. The people of the free States know that they are responsible for the existence of laws under which this degrading act was perpetrated. Sir, do you think the men who read God's holy word will silence the voice of conscience, and the holiest and noblest impulses of their hearts, lieve there was then a single man, in either of these and tender to be an issue in the cantass, and by so doing they saved themselves from utter defeat, but they were not able to secure the Legislature of the State, so as to elect their Senators. The State of Connecticut voted early in April. I do not believe there was then a single man, in either of these and tamely permit this national ground to be dis-honored by such scenes! Sir, we of the free States feel that we have a clear, undoubted, constitutional though the Know Nothing party, as he calls it right to abolish slavery here, and we mean to do it. the American party—have taken no positior on the Yes, sir, we intend to do it, by securing a majority subject of slavery at all, yet the sentiment of that in this Senate and in the House of Representatives, State approaches unanimity, and I do not know a and voting you, gentlemen of the South, down .-We propose to do it in no spirit of unkindness, and there is not a Nebraska man in the delegation of if we repeal the laws, under color of which women may be dragged along the streets of the national

the United States we have absolute power and jurisdiction. I wish to read to you from a sound Mr. Douglas. democratic authority on this point, and you know in my State the tendency is towards democracy. I other sections bostile. Will be show me where hold in my hand resolutions written by the chairman of the National Democratic Committee of the United States, the Hon. B. F. Hallett, a gentleman of talents and national reputation, or he would not have been placed in a position so high—a gentle-man who was appointed Disiriet Attorney by the present administration. And, sir, this adminisation leans upon his arm to support it in that section of the country. I will read one or two of these resolutions: and I wish to say that, in regard to them, there is in Massachusetts hardly a States? dissenting voice. At the time they were written and adopted, Mr. Hallett was Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and Chairman of adherent of the American party supported the Nethe State Committee of Massachusetts. passed on the 19th of September, 1849.

Mr. BENJAMIN. Where! Mr. WILSON. In the State Democratic Conven tion at Springfield, on the 10th of September, 1849. They were published in the Boston Post, the leading Democratic organ of New England, then, and now, edited by Colonel Greene, a gentleman who was appointed Navy Agent by the pres- of the African race.

Resolved. That we are opposed to slavery in every form and color, and in favor of freedom and free soil wherever man lives throughout God's heritage.

Sir, the people of Massachusetts most heartily respond to this resolution, proposed by the chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and adopted by six hundred Massachusetts Democrats with shouts of applause :

United States, (in Prigg vs Pennsylvania, 16 Peters,) Is it Christianity! Democracy cares for the poo the state of slavery is a mere municipal regulation, founded upon and limited to the verge of the territorial law ' that is the limits of the State creating it.

Resolved, therefore, That as slavery does not exist by any municipal law in the new Territories, and Congress er to institute it, the local laws of any State authorizing slavery can never be transported there, nor can slavery exist there but by a local law of the Territories, sanctioned by Congress, or the legislative act of a State in its sovereign capacity.

Now, Sir, we, in Massachusetts, agree with these resolutions. We believe we have the power to abolish slavery in all the Territories of the Union; that, if slavery exists there, it exists by the permission and sanction of the Federal Government, and we are responsible for it. We are in man laws, and oppressed by the public sentimen favor of its abolition wherever we are morally or that enacts and sustains them. I thank God, sir favor of its abolition wherever we are morally or

act of 1850 an inhuman and unconstitutional en-actment, and we are in favor of its immediate and have; they go to our free schools, they enter all unconditional repeal. The extradition of fugitives the business and professional relations of life, they from labor should be left to the States, where we vote in our elections, and in intelligence and char believe the Constitution leaves it. I assure Sena- acter, are scarcely inferior to the citizens of this tors from the South that we do not propose to interfere in any way whatever with slavery in the States : but we are in favor of abolishing it wherever it exists under the jurisdiction of Congressto banish the question from the Halls of national

in this way.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] pronounces all the abolitionists disunionists. If he means to include men who think as I think, and act as I act, I beg leave to say to that Senator that

he mistakes us altogether.

Mr. Douglas. I have a letter in my possessio urged is that upon the question of the dissolution of the Union, that Senator would prove himself

Mr. Wilson. All I have to say is, that I never uttered a word in my life-to warrant such an assertion. Sir. I make no pretensions to any peculiar devotion to the Union over other men; but if I know myself, I would sacrifice all of life and of

dertaken here to-night to denounce all of us of the North, whom he is pleased to call Abolitionists, as disunionists. Now, sir, in my judgment, no part of the Confederacy is more devoted to the Union than the State I have the honor in part to represent. I believe that in my State the opinion in impartial liberty by threats, made here or else where, to dissolve the Union. These menaces

But the Senator from Illinois tortures our expressions of confidence in the stability of the Union into designs on our part to plot for its dissolution. Sir, the Senator has asserted what he cannot be lieve. That Senator understands the sentiment of will stand side by side with my Democratic the people of the Northern States quite too well to mean anything like that. The State of Ohio gave seventy thousand majority, at the last election, against his Nebraska bill. Does the Senator believe the intelligent people of Ohio, who gave that majority of seventy thousand—or eighty-four thousand, as the Senator at my side [Mr. Chase] reminds me—are enemies of this Union! He knows they would shed their blood this day quite as freely as he himself, or any other Senator, to perpetuate the Union. The great State of New York gave an almost uncounted majority in opposition to the Ne-braska bill. Does the Senator believe that the in-telligent freemen of New York are opposed to this Union! The State I represent on the Senate gave more than one hundred thousand ma-jority against the Nebraska bill at the last election. I do not know one disunionist among them all Hundreds of the men the Senator pronounces hos tile to the Union have perilled their lives and she

tile to the Union have perilled their livet and shed their blood in defence of the country.

Allusions have been made to the recent elections. The Senator from Illinois has been pleased to say here that, in his opinion, Know Nothingism has swept the Northern States, and not opposition to the Nebruska bill. It is not my purpose to underrate the power and influence of the organization to which he refers. I will say to that Senator, however, that the first State to yote after the introducever, that the first State to vote after the introduc tion of the Nebraska bill, was the President's ow preceding the election. I know something of th Nebraska man in the Legislature, and I an sure not believe that you will dissolve the Union the House, and on the floor of the Senate we are unit upon that measure. [A voice- No doubt about that.'] As to the organization of the American party, in some sections, it has had influence in Then, sir, we believe that over the territories of favor of freedom, in other sections, it has been hos

Mr. Douglas. The Senator says that in som sections they have been in favor of freedom, and in

Mr. Wilson. I understand they elected a Ne braska man in your district, sir, (Mr. Geyer in the chair,) and defeated Col. Benton, who was oppos-ed to the Nebraska bill.

Mr. Douglas. I am speaking of the Free States ture, or for Congress, in any district in the Free

raska bill.

Mr. Douglas. Did they in your own State!
Mr. Wilson. No. sir. I beg leave to tell the Senator from Illinois, we cannot run any other than an Anti-Nebraska man and get any votes. [Laugh

The Senator from Indiana (Mr. Pettit) has made a long argument to-night to prove the inferiority of the African race. Well, sir, I have no contest with the Senator upon that question. I do not claim for that race intellectual equality; but I say to the Senator from Indiana, that I know men of that race who are quite equal in mental power to either the Senator from Indiana or myself men who are scarcely inferior, in that respect, to any Senators upon this floor. But, sir, suppose the Senator from Indiana succeeds in establishing the inferiority of that despised race, is mental inferior ity a valid reason for the perpetual oppression of a race! Is the mental, moral, or physical inferiority Resolved, That by common law and common sense, as of man a just cause of oppression in republicated as by the decision of the Supreme Court of the and Christian America? Sir, is this Democracy the lowly, the humble. Democracy demands that the panoply of just and equal laws shall shield and protect the weakest of the sons of men. Sir, these are strange doctrines to hear uttered in the Senate of republican America, whose political institutions are based upon the fundamental idea that 'all men are created equal.' If the African race is inferior this proud race of ours should educate and elevate it, and not deny to those who belong to it the rights of our common humanity.

The Senator from Indiana boasts that his State

imposes a fine upon the white man that gives em-ployment to the free black man. I am not surprised at the degradation of the colored people of In diana, who are compelled to live under such inhu-Massachusetts is not dishonored by such laws legally responsible for its existence.

Massachusetts is not dishonored by such laws! In We of Massachusetts believe the fugitive slave Massachusetts, we have about seven thousand color proud and peerless race whose superiority we have heard so vauntingly proclaimed to-night by the Senators from Tennessee [Mr. Jones] and Indiana

[Mr. Pettit.] Now, sir, I assure Senators from the South, tha legislation.

I believe, conscientiously, that if slavery should be abolished by the National Government in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories, the District of Columbia, and in the Territories, the fugitive slave act repealed, the Federal Government relieved from all connection with, or responsibility for the existence of slavery, these angry debates banished from the Halls of Congress, and slavery left to the people of the States, that the men of the South who are opposed to the existence of that institution, would get rid of it in their own States at no distant day. I believe that if slavery is ever peacefully banished in this country—and I certainly believe it will be—it must be abolished in this way. men who cannot be seduced by the blandishments, or deterred by the threats of power; men who will fearlessly maintain our principles. I assure Senators from the South that the people of the North entertain for them and their people no feelings of hostility; but they will no longer consent to be misrepresented by their own representatives, nor proscribed for their fidelity to freedom. This determination of the results of the North beautiful of the results of the North beautiful or their fidelity to freedom. written from Boston, indulging in the most—I will not say fulsome—terms, of the Senator from Massachusetts, just elected, in which the chief merit urged is that upon the question of the dissolution and the annihilation of old and powerful politica organizations, should teach Senators that the days

Mr. Benjamin—I should be exceedingly unwilling to disturb the course of the Senator's argument, or interrupt his speech; but, as he is giving us what certainly is very interesting to the country, an exposition of those views which he entertains, and of which he is the exponent on this floor, would the honorable Senator be kind enough to state—that we may understand fally his views and those of his party—whether, in conformity with the that we may understand fally his views and those of his party — whether, in conformity with the principles of that party, if a Territorial organization were now superseded by a State constitution in any of the Territories of this Union, and, by that constitution, the people of the State should adopt slavery as one of their domestic institutions, it would be consistent with his principles to admit that State into the Union with that constitution!

Mr. Witsow—I will apswer the Senator frankly—

Mr. Wilson-I will answer the Senator frankly. I stand here ready to answer any questions put by the Senator from Louisians, or any other Senator. The party with which I act is a new organization. It has, so far as I know, in Massachusetts, and in

with one more question, if he will permit me. I they render periodical convaisions a matter of such will ask that Senator if, frankly and conscientionally, he believes that, in the event of the repeal of the fugitive slave law, the State and people of Massachusetts would adopt effective measures by which fugitive slaves from the South would be captured and fearlessness, as our astronomers fugitive slaves from the South would be captured and fearlessness, as our astronomers fugitive slaves from the South would be captured and fearlessness, as our astronomers for the south would be captured to their owners.

thay are unpleasant to him. Mr. Wilson-Not at all, sir, I am ready to an-

Mr. BENJAMIN-I should like to understand if.

er any circumstances ! Mr. Wilson-I certainly cannot say what Massachusetts would do, under any circumstances that may happen. But I will say that, in my judgment, she would fulfil the obligations which the Constitution imposes upon her.

Mr. Benjamin—That is a satisfactory answer.

Mr. WELLER-Yes, if they would do it; I do not believe they would. (Laughter.)
Mr. Wilson-I have confidence in the fidelity of the people of Massachusetts to the obligations imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Rusk-Will the honorable Senator allow me to interrupt him a moment? As he is explaining the opinions of a new party, which will be important for good or evil, I desire to ask him : questions. First, does that party regard the States and their citizens as equal in rights under the Con-

Mr. Wilson-So far as I know the sentiments of the members of that party, they regard the sover-eign States of this Union as equals under the Constitution. This is the true American doctrine; and I certainly think they will go for the equality of the citizens of all the States.

Mr. Rusk-I desire to ask him another question.

although I assure him I am reluctant to interrupt Does the party recognize the right in Con gress to exclude, either directly or indirectly, the citizens of any State from equal rights of person and property in any of the Territories of the Uni-

Mr. Wilson-So far as the party with which ! act in Massachusetts is concerned, it has never taken any position upon this subject; but I will say that I do not know a man in the ranks of that party who does not believe that the Congress of the United States alone has the power to legislate for those Territories, and that nobody has a right to carry a slave there and keep him in bondage without the permission of Congress. In my opinion, Congress has no right to establish slavery in the Territories, or to allow the people to estab-

Mr. Rusk-My question is answered.

Mr. WILSON-I have spoken, Mr. President, in no spirit of unkindness towards our fellow-citizens of the South, of the sentiments, feelings, and purposes of the people of the North. I do not refer to the action of political parties. I refer to the thousand clergymen, instead of ever again receiving people without distinction of party. Party combisuch a document with anger and profaneness, even nations are not strong enough to repress the ut-terance, or to control the action of the people in it as an additional safeguard of quiet and sub-aroused at last to the vindication of their rights. mission, till the time comes for making another If politicians here, or elsewhere, believe they can make any political combinations that shall ignore of the leaders in the sure onward march of despotthe issues forced upon the people of the free States, I tell them frankly that they will ignominiously fail. The people of the North are beginning to realize the responsibilities and duties imposed July enthusiasm for the rights of man, may at any upon them by the condition of the country. They feel that the hand of proscription has been laid upon them, and they will no longer consent to be proscribed for holding opinions sanctioned by pa- have it magnificent

triotism, humanity, and religion. These sentiments and opinions are the matured fidelity, and support them with firmness. I hope at all times to meet honorable Senators from the South in a spirit of kindness and conciliation; but no fear of denunciation, reproach, or ridicule, here or elsewhere, no hope of personal influence or po-litical power, will ever defer me from the vindication of opinions which my heart and conscience

From the Independent of March 8. THE SURE AGGRESSIVE TYRANNY OF STAVE LEGISLATION.

The Session of Congress just now closed is markable for the proposal and failure of a bill introduced by a Senator from Connecticut, for insurattempted oppression by the Government of the country. A villain who designs to break into a house or a bank, will always, if possible, have the bolts withdrawn or the bars sawed by an accomplice inside. The Senator from Connecticut makes the apt plished burglars to make use of. The character of the bill has been effectually demonstrated by Senator Seward ; but the development of the intensest despotism would not have defeated it, if there had been time for the requisite influences and tactics of slavery to have been brought into play. The matter deserves a most attentive regard, for it is destined deserves a most attentive regard, for it is destined not to sleep; and doubtless this bill, apparently still-born and buried, will, ere long, have a resur-rection in perhaps a worse shape. The slave-power adhers with fatal tenacity to the maxim. Keep all you have got, and get all you can.' It advances but does not retreat, and never once has been de feated in any great measure it has undertaken. It always finds accomplices and traitors, even within the citadel of our Northern liberties. Men like Senator Toucey will probably never be wanting, till this round globe is purified by fire.

John Randolph once prepared a toast for a lie occasion, in these words, ' STATE RIGHTS. mortuis nil nisi bonum.' But all that happened in his day to imperil the sovereignty of the States, and the people's rights under State protection, was but a small circumstance in comparison with the dar-ing steps of despotism since then taken. These upon us by our own Senators and Representa and we look at one another as if there were no help for it, while the meshes of a central consolidated power, at the instigation of the supporters and pro power, at the instigation of the supporters and pro-pagators of slavery, are woven and thrown over us. We are really not aware of our condition; we help to forge our own chains, and therefore do not yet feel them; but if these things were forced upon us from abroad, or attempted to be forced, they would rouse the whole country in a revolution. The cancer is in our own vitals; it is in this way always that the liberties of a country are overthrown. We

Where is all this to end! A hundred odious

laws can easier be made than one repealed; and this habit of bad legislation, as soon as it becomes chronic, although through the strong constitution of the patient, the statutes administered may for a season remain a dead letter, must result in ruin season remain a dead letter, must result in ruin. An immoral law cannot yet be attempted or executed without an internal convulsion, almost an external revolution, that, with some positive wrenches, throws it off. The old Romans used to take an emetic, and so prepare themselves for dinner; a profound, variegated, and gluttonous meal; but they must the more hastily have eaten themselves into their any graves. It has, so far as I know, in Massachusetts, and in all the other States, never expressed any opinions or assumed any position on the question of slavery. I cannot, therefore, speak for it. The members of that party in my own State, in their individual capacity, would be decidedly opposed to the admission of slave States into the Usion.

Mr. Benjamin—I shall trouble the gentleman with one more question, if he will permit me. I will ask that Senator if, frankly and conscientionally he believes that, in the event of the repeal of dinner; a profound, variegated, and gluttonous meal; but they must the more hastily have eaten themselves into their own graves, by such monstrous antagonisms, notwithstanding their robust-ness of frame and capacity of stomach. And the moral emetics by which our immoral laws operate, only accustom the patient, after all, to such a horrible diet, unless such a course of life be stopped; they render periodical convulsions a matter of such commonness, such ordinary occurrence, without danger of actual rebellion or revolution, that desact should be repealed, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will fulfil her constitutional obligations, but she will do it in her own ways. out the least anxiety as to any distorbance among but she will do it in her own way, so as to protect tion of its medicines, as well-knowing, having fully the rights of every man within her jurisdic-learned by experience, that the spasmodic action Mr. Benjamin—I fear the Senator may think that these interrogatories are unfair encroachments upon his time, and I shall not push them, if they are unpleasant to him. the throes of Etna, when they were contemplating some vast wrong; the conscience of New-England that never quite lost its terror, even over Mr Webster's mind, not even after he had succeeded Mr. Benjann—I should like to understand it, under his own convictions, under the principles without an instantaneous uproar of revolution, in entertained by those whom he represents, or by the audacious experiment of telling a Boston audience, from his chariot, that they must learn to really believes that, in the event of the repeal of the fugitive slave law, a fugitive slave would be captured and restored to his southern owner, unwithout an instantaneous uproar of revolution, it phesied, if there were an attempt to repress and ride over it, would thunder like an earthquake, would burst like a volcano ; even that conscience after a few more experiments, will be regarded only as the safety-valve of the central despotism, a protection against explosion, instead of an excitement to it; a let-off, and an insurance of endurance, however high the steam may be carried. Senator Toucey himself may be set astride the slavery locomotive, and play whatever antics his masters at the South propose, and there shall be no danger. Some, indeed, have thought that our propaga

tors of the slave-system were a little imprudent were in danger of urging matters a little too far but after all, the instinct of despotism is keen, and in the oppressed party, the power of a habit of passive emotion without corresponding action, is paralyzing, hardening, and destructive of the love of freedom. Despotic legislators grow stronger with each successful experiment. Even a re volting conscience may only serve the purpose of a Roman vomit, just clearing out the victim, and preparing only a great, hungry, Northern Oliver Twist, to ask for more. Edmund Burke, the foremost man among the

greatest and profoundest of statesmen, once said that 'it was in the most patient period of Roman servitude, that themes of Tyrannicide made the orlinary exercise of boys in school.' Another warn ing that he gave may also be applied to ourselves. though with a conclusion somewhat different. 'I confess to you, sir', said he, 'I never liked this continual talk of resistance and revolution, or the practice of making the extreme medicine of the Constitution its daily bread. It renders the habit of society dangerously valetudinary; it is taking periodical doses of mercury-sublimate, and swal lowing down repeated provocatives of cantharides to our love of liberty. When it comes to that, the instinct of despotism knows that the power o liberty is gone, and that nothing but talk is to be apprehended. Our slave-legislators will at length glad to see the people of the North mixing canthatides and agitation with their daily food, finding that the more there is of it, the more surely does it waste itself in emptiness, and prevent any bold and positive resistance or reform. Discovering that the Northern conscience satisfies itself ith a remonstrance containing the names of three experiment, and another advance. Moreover, some ism, may remember and apply another of Burke's memorable sayings; apply it to whatever uproarious flurrah in the praise of freedom, or Fourth of time be witnessed : 'Hypocrisy of course delights in the most sublime speculations; for never intending to go beyond speculation, it costs nothing to Whenever anything is done, then something may

be apprehended. If, for example, the Slave-Comconvictions of my judgment, and while I have a missioner Loring should be put out from his Judge-seat in this Chamber I shall adhere to them with ship in Massachusetts, for his conduct in remand ing a citizen of that State to slavery, this would be positive proof that conscience has not merely vomited the patient, and left him weaker than before, but that the medicine has roused the heart. and gone to the brain, and provoked indeed a pow-erful and lasting reaction. Nothing but such proof of life will induce any of our despotic legislators to change their course, or to be of opinion that this Government and our Constitution were established for the protection of freedom and not of slavery.

Again we ask—Where is all this to end! Some

men, babitually sanguine, or striving to be so, affirm that in spite of all the apparent slave-progress, the end will be peace and freedom; but we cannot share such confidence. The insidious advance of slavery into Northern law and Northern Courts, administered as the Central Government wills, at ing the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law by the the will of slavery, is gloomy and ominous beyond crippling of those powers of our State Courts which expression. The striking down of Habeas Corexist for the protection of our citizens against any pus, and the proposed removal of slave-causes. or causes-of-right, in conflict with Federal oppression, out of the State Courts' jurisdiction to the charge of Judges under the Central Government, are tre mendous movements. This is the conquering of citadels in the heart of a beleagured country, and pioneer with the sappers and miners in the cause of despotism; a good and pliant tool for accom- expelled.

'The principles of free government in this country, said John Randolph, have more to fear from over-legislation than from any other cause. Yes, sir, they have more to fear from armies of legislators and armies of judges than from any other or from all other causes. Among all these lawyers, judges, and legislators, there is great oppres sion on the people, who are neither lawyers, udges nor legislators. Sir, I never can forget that, in the great and good Book, to which I look for all truth and all wisdom, the Book of Kings succeeds the Book of Judges.'

When the time comes that our ancient laws for the protection of freemen are modified or nullified to meet the demand for greater security of proper ty in slaves; when our Courts are altered, crippled, surrounded with chains, and their powers of jurisdiction diminished, for the convenience of slavery; when our judges are chosen and retained with special reference to their pliancy to the slave-power, their capability and alacrity as slave-commissioners, and their orthodoxy of opinion as to the chief end of the Constitution being slavery and not freedom, then the form of kings will be no more needed for the perfection of tyranny; our despotism will be more complete and absolute under a republican form, without them.

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER TO WENDELL PHILLIPS, published herewith, we commend to the attention of our readers. Some things in it invite comment, but we have not room for a word. Mr. Smith appears to us to be laboring under an entirely erroneous idea, in supposing that his integrity has been called in question by those Abolitionists who differ from him in opinion on some points, or question the wisdom of some things done or said by him while a member of Congress. If any Abolitionist has ever doubted his entire sincerity and hones. begin to be accustomed to laws that, if imposed by litionist has ever doubted his entire sincerity and hones try, we are not aware of the fact.—A. S. Standard.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders

BOSTON, MARCH 16, 1855 ANTI-SLAVERY SALE,

AT HENNESSY'S ROOMS, 15 WINTER ST. To continue through the 14th, 15th, and 164

of March. The Managers of the recent Anti-Slavery Bane le The Managers of that the Boxes which were dear leave to announce, sind ed, owing to the withdrawal of the Canard steam-him have arrived, and will be offered for sale at the sign

mentioned place an I time. They contain very large and beautiful collection They contain to from Edinburgh, Perth, London, Leigh, Bolton, ad from Edinourgu, to the unnecessary to enter upon any other places. It will be unnecessary to enter upon any other places. It was not the articles; we will stay assure our friends, that they equal in value and elepa any former contributions from the same sources,

We will mention a few articles not to be found to where. Tabourets and coffres & bois, of the most degant embroidery ever offered for sale in this county, Garden Chairs, Satin wood Reading Stand. Free L. bor Gingham. Low priced and pretty Basket ret. Very beautiful Scotch Shawls, same blue and white Very beautiful Scotch An exquisite engraing the introduction of Christianity into Britain; Centents Meeting of the Methodists; very valuable Autograph. Meeting of the Author Walter Scott, Joseph Buille, Rogers, Macaulay, Sir David Brewster, Artenn, Jane Montgomery, and other distinguished persons

rested missis Then, chars spect excep missis time man o'cloc Virgi N. Slave result office here. It is about certification of the again certification of the again certification of the again certification of the again that was to start was t

The sale will open on WEDNESDAY MORNING, de 14th, at 10 o'clock, and will continue THEOTER TRA AND THE TWO POLLOWING DAYS, but will not round open during the evenings.

The remonstrance from Scotland, signed by minister on behalf of 40,000 remonstrants, against America on behalf of 40,000 temperature and American Slavery, will be offered for exhibition. The axiograph signatures are valuable and interesting. On behalf of the Managers,

A. W. WESTON

ABSENCE OF MR. GARRISON Mr. Garrison has now been about ten days abset, it

the State of Maine. His first visit was to the city of Bangor, where he appears to have had a most cords and gratifying reception, having lectured three times to very crowded audiences; and on Sunday morning lag having occupied the pulpit of Rev. Mr. Battles,-h which gentleman the thanks of all friends of trus. form are due, for his repeated and very effective oferation. Mr. Garrison has also visited Orone, Huns. den, and Oldtown, lecturing in each. He will probable speak in other places on his return, and be at his not again early next week .-- M.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S OPINION OF JUDGE LORING, AT THE TIME BURNS WAS KIDNAPPED

Mr. Dana denies the correctness of Mr. Philippi description of Judge Loring's conduct. Mr. Thesian Parker, Charles M. Ellis, Esq., and Robert Morris, Esq. agree with Mr. Phillips; so that, as a point of evilence, it stands four to one, all eye-witnesses

Mr. Dana asserted, in his defence of Judge Loring. that no one, during the Burns week, judged Mr. Long as Mr. Phillips now judges him; and that, if Burnshi been set free, no one would have found fault with the manner in which Judge Loring conducted the eranin. tion. Mr. Phillips denied this on the spot, and referred to a speech made by him during the Burns week, while many thought Burns would be set free, in which is criticised the trial for the very reasons that he now abjeots to it. Upon this, the Salem Register remarks as

"He [Wendell Phillips] complains of Judge Loring for the manner in which, as Commissioner, be conducted the trial of Burns, giving in his own testimony of alleged improprieties, public and private. Yet I remember to have heard Mr. Phillips, in addressing a public assembly on the last evening of that trial, speak in high assembly on the last evening of the trial, speak in high assembly on the last evening of the trial, speak in high assembly on the last evening of the trial. commendation of the Commissioner. He spoke of him as one of the most unexceptionable of them all for siting in judgment on the case; and said that if they-ize Mr. Phillips and those who acted with him-could have lad their choice among them, probably he was the contary would have chosen. He said there was some slight hap -it was but slight-that Burns might go free; but m a word against the Commissioner in any way whaten.
How differently he speaks of him now, you have sen.
This does not look well; for the facts to which he my testifies were as well known to him before as since that

"Wendell Phillips made the closing argument, and was amazed to hear him, state most positively that is said in a great public meeting, as the trial of lura was going on, respecting Mr. Loring, what I have pened to know, as said above this morning, was mine y at variance with fact."

Mr. Phillips spoke from memory. The correctness his recollection and the inaccuracy of the correspondent of the Salem paper are curiously proved. It happens that the speech referred to, made Thursday, June 1st, though never printed, still exists, in the manuscript of the well-known phonographic reporter, Mr. Yerrinta. We give an extract, showing that Mr. Phillips's views of Judge Loring, then and now, agree exactly. This testimony taken at the time, as truly as the meagretstract which Mr. Dana selected from his Diary. It will be observed that Mr. Phillips opens with an intination, repeated in another part of the speech, that Burns would probably be freed. He ought, therefore, according to Mr. Dana, to be entertaining most favorable sentiments

. There is some hope that this man (Anthony Borns)

of Judge Loring. Hear him :-

will be discharged by the Commissioner from the satrant issued against him. If he is, it is not irreverest to say, that it is by the Providence of God ;-for the saddest feature - it is hard to say which is the saddestbut one of the saddest features about this transaction is, that the Commissioner, being a man of fair character hitherto, one whom we should have picked out as a gentleman who, from his sympathies, and past conduct, was not likely to be the ready agent of the Fogicie Slave Law, -yet, even he is found to issue a warrant, which is served at 8 o'clock in the evening, - fits ignrant, helpless, hunted fugitive is kept from every friendly countenance and voice, in the midst of some dors armed men, until morning-and at nine o'clock, with the Commissioner in his seat, and the United States Marshal in his, the slave-claimant and his witness before him, and sixty odd policemen occupying the Court,-not a friend in it,-the trial begins. ("Shame" "Shame !") If a man is put on trial forhis life, behalf some fourteen or twenty-one days for preparation; is has a list furnished of the witnesses against him ; and the very first thing that the Court does is to ask him whether he has counsel, and if he has not, to a sign his counsel; and recently, when a man plead guilty, the Court erased the plea, not deeming him in a fit state to make it ;-and in the commonest cases of debt, a man has from seven to fourteen days' notice, and then poet into an open court, where the chances may be he sill find a friend ; qr, at any rate, where his friends can get at him ;- but this man, with more than life at stake-more than life-is actually barred out from his friends, and then set down in the middle of these sixty odd policemen, and his trial commences. By accident simply by accident—some four or five men connected with the anti-slavery movement in this city are arrested in the streets by the message that a slave is on trial I happened to be going to the depot, to take the cars Mr. Dana was out on an errand ; Mr. PARKER chancel to be at home. Six or eight friends of the slare met is the court-room; and it was only by the perseverists unintermitted, not-to-be-gainsaid urgency of Mr. Dana-to whom the fugitive and the anti-slavery com munity are indebted beyond the capacity of ever pay ing-(prolonged cheers)-only by that was the case arrested, and the fact brought to the notice of the Comniscent, that the man was not in a state to be tried. The as you may have expected from his common character for humanity, as well as from a decent recharacter for the forms of justice, that prevail every where meet for the Slave Commissioner's slave-pen, the Commost in a plate Commissioner's stave-pen, the Comthat to choose counsel. But for this accident, the may certificate would have been signed by twelve min's certained would have been on the way to

Sow, this is the best thing we can expect under the Sive Law, from a Commissioner, perhaps the very best gos could select in the United States of America, all not hope to find a better man occupying that could not soppying that conse; yet here, but for the urgency of these two or three men-Mr. Panara going once or twice to the fugitive, and repeatedly pressing upon him that he should not underrepeatedly prome away his freedom from fear of those take to most and Mr. Dana urging the Court again and spain against the indecorum of its proceeding, - that sgain agains, that seem signed on that very

of this case turns out as some of us are begin sing to hope, and the fugitive be discharged, through the accumulation of evidence which seems to have from ap around his counsel unsought for in a single tance, and the numbers of which I hardly exaggerate shes I say, could have been doubled, if they had been she i say, coar their case was closed, the names of witness who have volunteered their services sincemen whose faces we never saw, -- with such a case as men whose that the best Commissioner we can ever this, remember that the hurried that man away, in espect to find, would have hurried that man away, in less than twenty-four hours, probably, from the time that he was arrested! And that is the justice of the Fagitive Slave Law, in its very best form ! That Comoper actually said to me, that the case was so clear, that we were not justified in resisting it. There rat so little ground for the hopes of the man's friends to staff upon, that, throwing aside for a moment the reserve of his judicial character, he undertook to decare, in a case not yet tried before him, that he did not think there was enough in it to justify counsel in endesvoring to interpose ; and yet, as day after day has gone by, it not only happens, but is actually fixed, by the evidence,-proved, not by black men, merely, who are to be doubted always, it is thought, in a question like this, but by members of the Common Council, members of military companies, members of the police, merchants of this city, and by men, too, not called, but whose names are with the counsel, whom they did not hear of early enough to call-I say, it is actually fixed. that this is a case which, on the mere legal aspects of the evidence, as it stands before us, is much sooner to pore this Col. Suttle a kidnapper, than Burns a slave. Great cheering.) Taking that evidence, as it lies bebre the Commissioner, with no right to step out of that Court, as he would not-and I know of nothing out of that Court that can contradict it-there is more evidence to show that Col. Suttle is a kidnapper, than to they that Borns is a slave."

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All this was said in the Melodeon, before hundreds, m June 1st, Thursday, the day before Burns was de-Everel up, and while most persons believed he would be fred. Mr. Phillips spoke the universal opinion of the Anti-Slavery public then and now. He spoke their solalon, also, when, in Fancuil Hall, he said, the very by after that cruel scene at the opening of the Slave Commissioner's Court-

'He [Barns] was arrested early in the evening, night before last, as he was returning from his work, by seven men, with the customary lie that he was taken up for ing into a store, and that if he would submit quietand be examined for half an hour, there would be no

difficulty. The unfortunate man was carried into Court before an infamous Slave Commissioner, Edward G. Loring-a as whom the State of Massachusetts appoints a Judge of Probate, to the special protection of orphans; and he knows so little of the functions to which he is called, that this friendless and orphan fugitive, who has sought refuse in the streets of Boston, finds his first enemy in a Judge of Probate. (Nine groans for him were given, with considerable unction.) Let us remember, Mr. Chairman, next winter, that we go before the Legislature of Massachusetts, and demand that such a Judge of Probate shall no longer disgrace the State. (Cries of "good, good," and loud applause.)

After reading this, can Mr. Dana assert that no one julged Mr. Loring then, as the Abolitionists judge him out Is not this exactly the strain, are not these exartly the points, of Mr. Phillips's recent accusation of wige Leting? Let the reader judge which has changed his opinion, Mr. Dana, or Mr. Phillips.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. We would again say to all friends in New-England who desire tracts for gratatans distribution, that the least expensive way of ameuring them is to call at our office in person, or to mest friends coming from their respective towns to do sa. Where no opportunity of the kind easily occurs, we will endeavor to supply all applications by sending by upress. In sending orders for tracts, please name the number of each kind wanted, and give full particuhis etnames of persons and places.

Residents in the States of New York, New Jersey, ke, will do best to send to the New York Anti-Slavery 05se, No. 188 Nassau Street.

Besidents in Pennsylvania, Delaware, &c., should sed to the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North-Fifth Street.

Five tracts have been published, and five more are in process of stereotyping, some of which will be ready in a very few days. The five printed are as follows: 1 The United States Constitution. 2. White Slavery in the United States. S. Colonization. 4. Does Slavery Christanize the Negro ? 5. The Inter-State Slave

Society ' in Barre.

dure the Rev. Charles E. Hodges from that society and agiand born men and women generally consent to be

The article signed C., in another column, from Independent, is from the pen of Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, of New York, and should have a careful reading. Its blency may be too sombre to fall in with the views of Pacy; but, to our mind, these successive and conmally more daring aggressions of the Slave Power are just what is needed to startle the stupid indifference and self-satisfied piety of our Northern conservatives,holy of men and women more deeply guilty in regard this very subject, than any other we know of, - and them to the dangerous measures which are fast arounding them, and which, if successful, are certain sleave an inheritance of shame and loss to their chil-

Hon. Anson Burlingame will give his lecture on Ministippi Valley, on Wednesday evening next, March 21st, at the Tremont Temple. We understand the Mr. B. has kindly volunteered this service in behalf of a friend who is about to remove to Kanzas. Adhittance, twenty-five cents.

To CORRESPONDENTS. Several communications await

JUDGE LORING.

The old adage that 'birds of a feather flock together,' verified in respect to the Boston remonstrants, and their action in the case of Judge Loring.

It is not less worthy of observation to note how thing of similar character and tendency uniformly rally in their support and approbation the sympathy and serthe pen of the notorious Rev. Charles Edwards Lester vice of similar men and cliques. The Boston remonstrance against the dismissal o

Judge Loring, contains many names which may be found appended to documents, for the past twenty years the object and aim of which were for the defence and perpetuity of slavery. In 1835, Elward G. Loring, and many others, were

signers for the Fancuil Hall meeting, called for the pur pose of 'crushing out' Anti-Slavery men and sentiments in Boston; thus favoring trade here, and supporting negro slavery in the South.

They protested against granting the use of Fancui Hall to the Rev. Dr. Chauning and others, in 1837, for the purpose of noticing the murder of Lovejoy at Alton; and in all similar cases, have stood forward to belie freedom and apologize for slavery; until their crowning act of infamy, by which they tendered their public thanks to Daniel Webster, for his efforts to enact the Fugitive Slave Bill, and his labors to eradicate those old-fashioned 'prejudices' of the New England mind, viz., love of justice and hatred of slavery.

Now, it is germain to the case in hand, that thes men should sympathize with Judge Loring. They landshould they not sustain Judge Loring in its execution

curiosity, and possibly of instruction, to publish a sample, at least, of the names of those who signed the letter of 1850, Edward G. Loring being one of them, publicly thanking Daniel Webster for his seventh of March speech, endorsing Senator Mason's slave-catching Bill. & Co. with all its proposed amendments, to the fullest ex tent.' We have copied nearly 200 of the same name from the Webster letter, who now remonstrate against Judge Loring's removal. Here they are-Charles Jackson

James Jackson

Josiah Bradlee

J. V. Bacon

William Hayden

N. H. Emmons

C. Curtis

B. P. Reed

A. E. Belknap John R. Bradlee

Charles Lyman

Ebenezer Dale

A. C. Fearing John H. Foster

William Lang

James Timper

Peter McIntire

Z. Hosmer

F. M. Weld

Lewis Mills

N. B. Gibby

T. J. Clark

J. W. Brown

D. Townsend-

H. Upham

F. Bacon Vernon Brown

George Bacon

E. Wood

R. A. Lamb

James Dillon

Peter C. Brooks

Edward G. Loring

W. Bridge

R. J. Bailey Horace Bates Samuel Bigelow Charles Brooks Joseph H. Adams J. Bigelow Samuel Bradlee Dexter Babcock George Brown Elijah D. Brigham Edward C. Bates C. J. F. Binney Francis Boyd Benjamin Bruce E. F. Bradlee Thomas B. Wales N. F. Frothingham W. L. Beal William Sturgis R. C. Hooper Benjamin Howard Benjamin Seaver James Savage Thomas C. Amory Charles Henshaw S. Austin Francis Bassett Samuel F. Cooledge William P. Mason Thomas Curtis George W. Coffin John L. Dimmock corge R. Sampson Henry Atkins Joseph Hay John H. Eastburn Philo S. Shelton J. S. Wiggin William Worthington Albert Fearing Ephraim Lombard Robert Hooper Samuel Henshaw John Adams Charles L. Andrews P. T. Jackson A. C. Lombard James K. Mills George R. Minot Thomas Motley Charles H. Mills William S. Eaton Elisha Preston Lewis W. Tappan Samuel Whitwell Henry Wainwright Ebenezer Wright Robert Williams E. R. Seccomb C. L. Richardson Joseph Whitney Lyman Reed William Pratt "Charles Fred'k Adar Charles H. Allen William Merriam Stephen W. Dana Simon K. Hewins Adolphus Davis Joseph Eustis W. H. Poster William Stearns Henry Penniman Daniel Henchman L. H. Felton Charles Nichols William Davis, Jr. W. H. Wilson J. B. Libbey John S. Wright J. H. Cunningham Rufus E. Cheney Jarvis Slade John W. Shaw John Bradbury Charles Cunninghan Emmons Raymond Nathaniel Walker Ebenezer Manson Nathaniel Merriam William A. Hyde Richard F. Wyman Henry S. Hallett Charles Merriam John R. Kimball Paul Sears, Jr. J. W. Rogers H. K. Haughton Lyman Nichols Charles Larkin Robert Rogerson, Jr. John Brooks Parker George L. Pratt Stephen Tilton, Jr. Timothy Hall James L. Gorham Andrew Cunningham Charles Homer Edward F. Weld John D. W. Williams George W. Badger John K. Hall Charles Torrey John S. Tyler William Underwood Samuel Wheeler bert B. Williams

Joseph Dix Charles Davis

A. W. Conant

H. Ammidown James T. Baxter

W. J. Loring Henry Lincoln David B. Jewett

Richard D. Rogers

C. O. Simpson

John Tilton Thomas Simmons

Samuel Hatch-Charles F. Bradford

and many others.

MERITED ENCOMIUM. R. H. DANA, Jr. Esq., in his very telling and effective tract. argument in the case of Judge Loring, last week, paid a warm and generous tribute to that noble friend of the slave, and of all who are oppressed, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Binne, Mass. Mr. M. G. Kimball, late of the Cam- Esq., which was alike honorable to the speaker, and to ide Divinity School, has received a unanimous invi- the distinguished gentleman to whom he referred. Mr. DEAR MR. GARRISON: tion to become the paster of the 'Free Congregational D. said. The real reason why the removal of Judge Distance cannot separate me in spirit from those Loring is asked for undoubtedly is, because he sent whose souls are enlisted in all that renders life worth This Society, we understand, has been recently or- Anthony Burns into slavery. The gentleman who sits living for, viz.—the great efforts of the 19th century Palitel, and consists, in the main, of persons who have at my right, (Mr. PHILLIPS,) with the habit of mind of for the reformation of society. very lately been members of the First Congrega- a statesman, and the knowledge of a lawyer, has cast I have been much disappointed in the character of the had Society in Barre. Unwilling to be even silent these reasons in a different form. It is in no ordinary emigrants here, as I have told you. I have almost wished beniers to the overbearing policy which recently sense of compliment that I say this ; for I have regret - that I had never left my New England home, so great ted that he has not given to the Bar the illumination of is the difference between the best people here and those the consecuent of his manly stand in regard to slave- those splendid talents which have won for him the ad- with whom I have been in the habit of associating a they have withdrawn from the old society, in great miration of the world ;—I have regretted that he has the East; but, having absented myself from the soci inbers, and formed this new one ;—a hopeful augury not given to the Legislature the advantages of that elo-Fool to the town and neighborhood. When New quence and erudition, which, whenever he has an der to do good here, I have not been at all disposed to re opportunity of presenting them before the public, are turn, without doing something for the object I had in passive subjects and instruments of a few moneyed received with so much favor and respect; and while I view in coming here, viz.—the making of Kansas a free representing the pro-slavery spirit of the land, respect-fully, thoroughly respect-the conscientious- State. Recent events, however, have somewhat cheerthe shall feel that we have reason to despair of freedom's ness which has led him to say—"I will read the Consti-That day we hope never to see. The signs of tution of the United States correctly, be the consequen- rence people will really conclude that they are under the times are happily indicating quite the opposite re- ces what they may; and if that entails upon me retireand, (what is of more consequence,) from the life of an eas. intellectual man at the Bar, to which I was educated, retirement from the halls of legislation, and from all that is open to an honorable ambition, and from the opportunity to associate an honorable name with honorable achievements, I will surrender it all,"-I again say, that it is in no ordinary sense of compliment between man and man that I speak of him as I have."

> THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION. The latest advices received up to the hour of our going to press indicate a total and ignominious defeat of the Administration. The returns, embracing 105 towns, make the aggregate for Metcalf, Know Nothing, 18,667; Baker, Democratic, 18,267; Bell. Whig, 2,078; Fowler, Republican, 510. in the State, but most of them are small. The Repre-2 classed as 'Opposition.'

> thirds or more of the members of the House.

NEW BOOKS.

STANHOFE BURLEIGH. The Jesuits in our Homes. A Novel. By Helen Dhu. New York: Stringer & Townsend. This work is evidently intended to cater to the Kno Nothing spirit of the times. It is believed to be from

The Boston Christian Freeman says-

'The story professes to show the manner in which the Jesuits operate to get females of wealthy Protestant families into convents, and by such means get possession of fortunes, which go to swell the treasury of the "Society of Jesus." Thus far, the work is one of interest. But prominent men of liberal principles are introduced as political intriguets, who bargain with the leading Jesuits, in order to receive the Catholic votes. Horace Cambes it and the world. Greeley is made to figure as a hypocrite, using his world-known reform principles to cover his political trickeries!

Of course, such a contemptible attempt to lampoon one
of the best representatives of a Max in the world can do
Mr. Greeley no harm; but it covers the book (which
might have been made useful) with infamy. The attempted caricature is a miserable failure, and must cause even the opponents of Mr. Greeley to throw down the book with the strongest disgust. Nothing, but personal enmity, steeped in venom, could have produced such a villanous mess of blackguardism. In using a novel to cover personal attacks, Helen (?) Dhu shows but little talent in the jesuitical art.

MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY, &c. A new edition this old but always interesting narrative, adapted to show the influence of the Bible at Pitcairn's Island, has been published by John P. Jewerr & Co. The com ed Webster for enacting the Fugitive Slave Bill, why piler of the book feels confident, that whoever may wish for a connected account of the settlement on that We have thought it might at least be a matter of island, will find nowhere a more complete or faithful one than in this little work.

> CHILDE HABOLD. A new edition of this poem Lord Byron has been published by PHILLIPS, SAMPSON

SOLOMON NORTHUP, of Saratoga county, N. Y. speaks this (Friday) evening, at the Meionaon, Tre mont street, and we hope that every seat in the hall will be occupied. Slavery has made this man an historical character, and an object of no little interest Most of our readers will not need to be informed that this is the man who was entired from the State of New York to the city of Washington, there drugged and sold to a slave-dealer, who in his turn sold him to go to New Orleans, where he was purchased by an Arkansas plan ter and taken to the Red River country, where he remained a slave, often suffering great hardships, and repeatedly in peril of his life, for twelve years; and might have remained to this day, but for providential circumstances which are so interestingly told in his narrative, 'Twelve Years a Slave,' and which he will doubtless recount in his address this evening. A small fee will, we presume, be charged for admission, and will be most worthily bestowed. The kidnappers of Northup are now in Saratoga county jail; the facts of the kidnapping have been fully proved, and they are waiting the decision of the Court on their case .- M.

We learn that, at the request of a number of ladies who attended his recent Course, and others who are desirous to attend, WM. S. BROWN, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Chemistry in the N. E. Female Medical College, will give a Course of eight familiar and practical Lectures, on Anatomy, Physiology, and Health, illustrated with the Apparatus of the Institution, at the Female Medical College in this city, commencing at 3 o'clock, P. M., Saturday, March 17th, and continuing at the same hour, on successive Saturday afternoons. Tickets for the Course, \$1, to be had of Dr. Gregory, the Secretary, at the College, 274 Washington street.

We trust our friends generally will attend the Levee at Union Hall, March 23, in aid of our friend CHARLES SPEAR. He has long labored in the cause of humanity, and he well deserves encouragement. He has visited prisons, and aided, not only the slave, but the prisoner. We trust the Hall will be well filled For price of tickets, see notice.

The closing Lecture of the course on Slavery at the Tremont Temple will be delivered on Thursday evening, March 29th, by Hon. CHABLES SUMNER, who will by particular request repeat the same Lecture on the following evening.

The lecture of next week will be delivered on Friday evening (28d), by Hon. HENRY WILSON.

Tickets, at 50 cents each, admitting the bearer a lady to Mr. Sumner's Lecture, on Friday evening, March 30th, may be obtained at Ticknor's and Jewett's Bookstores.

ANOTHER AND FINAL POSTPONEMENT. F. In order to secure the attendance of some speakers, whose absence on the occasion from the meeting would create great disappointment, it has been deemed advisable to postpone the NON-RESISTANCE CONVENTION, at WORCESTER, to SATURDAY and SUNDAY, March 24th and 25th, instead of March 10th and 11th. This postponement will be FINAL, and it is hoped the friends of peace on earth and good will to men' will make it the occasion for a strong rally. We trust nothing will occur to prevent our attendance. REMEMBER THE TIME NOW FIXED UPON.

The fifth Tract in the series of the American Anti-Slavery Society for gratuitous distribution, has been published, and is ready for distribution. It is on the Inter-State Slave Trade, and has been prepared by the Hon. John G. Palfrey. We need not say it is a

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Feb. 8, 1855.

ment from the influence, the honors and emoluments, of them profess to have had in view in coming to Kan-

An Anti-Slavery Society, having for its object the union of all in favor of making Kansas a free State, has recently been formed here. The following is the substance of the preamble to the Constitution :-

Whereas, according to the provisions of the Nebras-ka Bill, the subject of slavery in the territories is to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, there-fore, we the undersigned, inhabitants of Kansas, one of the territories above-mentioned, do form ourselves into a Society, for the purpose of disseminating truth upon the subject of slavery, so as to prevent, if possible, its totroduction into our fair domain.

The above is very simple, and easily understood. I proposes the abandonment of no principle, whatever, but merely a union of all who, from whatever motive, Metcalf's majority over all, 2,817. There are 213 towns are in favor of making Kansas a free State. I had the honor of drafting the preamble, and have been stigmasentatives, as far as heard from, stand as follows:— tized by some as compromising principle, because I did Know Nothings, 123; Democrats, 29; Whigs, 3; and not go into a long dissertation on the evils of slavery, in the preamble. You must bear in mind that we are The Patriot (the organ of the Administration) concedes the election of Metcalf, the three opposition Con- any prospect of uniting with us the 'black law' men. gressulen, nine or ten of the twelve Senators, and two- The most we can do is to avoid all side issues, and join with our heathenish neighbors in making Kansas free

by law, and then we shall be prepared for other and aps greater reforms, of an anti-sisvery nature I say, the most we can do is this, because, as you are doubtless aware, nine-tenths of our population are not from New England, and many of those who are, are not remarkably strong abolitionists. I am well acquainted with one man who is a great friend to Dougas and the Nebraska Bill, and yet he is in favor of Kansas being free.

The 'Emigrant Aid Company,' although loud in its professions of desiring the freedom of Kansas has bee just as willing to forward pro-slavery as anti-slavery men, provided they would pay as much. Consequent ly, even from the East we have a quantum sufficit of men afflicted with the awful disease of colorphobia. it an abandonment of principle to hoe corn with the best implements at hand, when no others can be obtain ed; or is it better to leave the corn unhoed until patent cast-steel hoes can be obtained ? For my part, I prefer having Kansas made free, by

the tote of the pro-slavery 'sovereign squatter,' who, for pecuniary reasons only, votes that way, rather than not to have it made free at all. If the devil will vote for freedom, ought we not to be willing to receive his aid, even if he does it only to make money? So in this matter. There are but very few strong abolitionists of our school in the territory, and but comparatively few ' Free-Soilers'; but the bulk of the population composed of such materials as make up the majority of the so-called Free States-men who do not deeply interest themselves in any thing but the making of money. Such is my opinion, from inquiries and personal ob servation, where I have travelled. Many of the inhabitants are foreigners, some of whom are drinking men. but still will vote against the introduction of slavery from motives of self-interest. The Eastern emigration business is a mere farce, as far as the peopling of Kansas is concerned. There are not far from 5000 people in the territory, and perhaps five hundred are from New England and Pennsylvania. Of course, their votes car effect but little, either way. Our Society has appointed for its agents men who assume higher ground than the majority of those composing the Society, but whether they are to be depended upon as wise men, in the present crisis, is what I am unable to say. One of them is a Mr. Taft, formerly a clerk in the Commonwealth office. Another is a smart young lawyer from Ohio, by the name of Wood. . The officers of the Society are about equally divided between ' Association' men and the anties-a politic move, on the part of the 'insiders,' for if any one of their number had been appointed president, the 'outs' would have been suspicious. It is a very difficult matter to strike the balanbetween such bitter enemies as the 'insiders' and 'out siders,' as the friends and foes of the Emigrant Aid Company are termed. However, the 'insiders' have done nobly in this case; they accepted, by an almost unanimous vote, a preamble prepared by an 'out, and appointed an 'out'-president, vice-president, and one of the secretaries. Then the executive committee have appointed one 'out' and two 'ins.' as agents: so that there is some prospect of harmonious action. Yet I do not anticipate much from any of their movements. Nearly all are for self more than for the cause. If I learn of any great movements on the part of the So

Yours, for the slave, P. S .- Do not advise people to emigrate here in co panies. Let them come very few at a time. This send ing large companies is a very foolish business, for many

ciety, I will inform you.

A 'POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY.' MILFORD, N. H., March 5, 1855.

DEAR SIR,-The people of this village and vicinity have recently been favored with two lectures from Mr and Mrs. STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

To you, who have so often listened to these friend of the forlorn and bleeding slave, I need not speak a word in commendation of their great fidelity to the cause of suffering humanity.

For this devotion and self-sacrifice, posterity shall record their names among the saviors and benefactor of the world. In the lectures alluded to, it was clearly shown that the 'vital and animating spirit of the government' is pro-slavery, being based upon a proslavery Constitution, and that the only moral ground upon which we can stand is outside this accursed Compact. The arguments upon this point (as remarked to me by a prominent Whig) were unanswerable; and the compact of the c no one attempted to answer them. But Mr. Foster's subsequent position, relative to the formation of a

Federal Government, except in the matter of revenue, which he tells us we should continue to pay, 'until we become sufficiently strong to dictate to the South the

ness of stealing horses, and for this purpose they incur ness of stealing horses, and for this purpose they incur various expenses; two of the party say they won't steal the horses, but that they will help 'pay the bills.' Will friend Foster say that the two are less guilty than the ten? Are they not all 'horse-thieves'? This Government is engaged in the business of stealing men, women and children. Friend Foster says to the North, the firm ortises more than an inch on either side. There were 800 people in the hall.

The loss of life, and injuries to limb, are indeed terrible. Six men are so badly injured that they are not expected to live many hours; and forty persons were severely hurt. It is stated that the injuries of some of those included among the forty are such as to place them in imminent risk of their lives. come out from this business, "dissolve the Union," but if the South prefer to carry on the theft, you must

Does he not see that the only true position for the North is that of active, open, and entire rebellion against the Federal Government?

to an exhortation to every citizen who believes in the right of armed, forcible, resistance, to use those in endless fruition, to enjoy the reward consequent upon leasures to repel the outrages of this government, and a well spent life. For her the grave had no terrors. thereby dissolve the Union. To my own mind, this Possessed of that faith that overcomes the world, the is the only way the bloody Compact can ever be dis- sting of Death was taken away; and earnestly did she solved, and if Northern hearts had not been bleached desire the quiet repose of the silent tomb, where all sorin cowardice, and stultified by servility to tyrants, this result would have been gained long ago. See the old Bay State' humbled at the feet of South Carolina and hath done, shall be told as a memorial of her.' In con-Virginia! Behold the citizens of the North imprisoned, templating the life of the deceased, we cannot well for tarred and feathered, thrown into the water, and bear further expressions : although aware of our inabiltreated with indignities that would shame cannibals— ity to pay an adequate tribute to one who will long yet how tamely we acquiesce! Mr. Foster truly said live in the affections of many a survivor. To the poor that we are conquered ! There is, indeed, no true love and needy she was a friend indeed, as very many can of liberty in the breasts of the people. Now, I believe bear witness, who were relieved by her charity. Seldom in the right and duty of the people to resist the perhaps, had the destitute appealed to her generous na usurpation of government, whenever it becomes sub- ture for relief in vain. Nor were her sympathies conversive of the rights of a single human being. . Indeed, fined within a narrow circle. The sufferings of her felthe endurance of the masses is the only limit of govern- low-creatures, whether near or far off, awakened in her mental abuses. A nation of cowards will always be mind feelings of commiseration; and for many years, he governed by tyrants. I believe that God, and the soul was alive to the wrongs inflicted upon millions o spirits of the just made perfect,' rejoice over the death the human family, who, in this professed land of liberty, of tyrants. Why are we so ticklish about killing the ' are toiling on, toiling ever,' in cruel and hopele oppressors of the poor helpless negro, while we glorify servitude. And so great was her abhorrence of the sys every body who has ever redened his sabre in human tem of slavery, and the oppression of its victims, that she gore in defence of pale faces? See how we canonize long avoided using the products of their unrequited toil. them! We carve them in marble, cast them in bronze, In a word, her every day walk in life gave evidence of a and record their names on the monuments of fame ; concern to live out practically the requirements of the but human life becomes exceedingly sacred, when it is Gospel, which brought into exercise many of the noble jeopardized or sacrificed in defence of colored men. virtues which go to adorn the Christian character. The blood of Jesus was not too precious to be spilt for Those who watched by her bedside, who witnessed her the salvation of the white races; but the polluted, de- entire composure, perfect resignation, and firm reliance generate blood of your Hallett, Loring and Curtis—oh! on the mercy and goodness of her Heavenly Father, who does not shudder at the thought, that its sacrifice doubted not, that to her the language of the Divine

be regarded as a 'man and a brother,' entitled to the clothed me ; sick and in prison, and ye administered same rights which we claim for ourselves!

Yours for the slave, against all usurpation,

IS SLAVERY CONSTITUTIONAL ?" 1. All power belonging to the American Sovereignty serived from the People.

is derived from the People.

2. All such power is limited to the purposes and principles of Freedom—the government merely tolerating slavery from urgent reasons of State Necessity.

3. Every exercise of power by Congress, by which slavery is authorized in any territory, or tolerated there after a specified time, or by which a fugitive slave is forcibly carried back to a slave State, is unconstitutional.

The people, in their sovereign capacity, made a Con titution declaring every slaveholder one and three-fifths instead of one man; also providing for the continuance of the slave trade for twenty years, and for delivering up fugitive slaves to be carried back to a slave State.

That they acted wisely or justly in so doing is not retended ; but by so doing, they formed a pro-slavery Constitution. Still, we like the American Citizen's samphlet. If the original thirteen States had adopted he principles of this pamphlet, our country would have been in a most righteous condition.

We do not see the right that Congress had to form any new slave States, or to allow slavery in any territory; and we presume the iniquities were fostered in part by the compromising spirit of the Constitution itself. It is too much to expect our representatives in Congress to abolish slavery, even though they could do t constitutionally.

We doubt not that the interests of the people demand mmediate emancipation-demand the slave-representation article to be stricken out, and the legislation for slavery for many years past reversed; but a new Convention of liberty-loving citizens must agree to all this change, before Congress can be expected to do anything for freedom.

* Letter to the President on Slavery, &c .- 1855.

PURTHER DISCUSSION DECLINED.

Picrou, Nova Scotia, Feb. 19th, 1855.

Mr. GARRISON :- DEAR SIR .- The controversy be ween Francis Barry and myself must end. I will not onsent to furnish him with opportunities to pen proanity. If he cannot conduct an argument without descending to terms of abuse in relation to the Christian's God, thus degrading your columns, and shocking the moral sense of your readers, he must be content without Yours, truly, a reply from

ALEX. MCARTHUR.

Speech of Wendell Phillips. Upon our first page SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. Upon our first page will be found a good abstract of Mr. Phillips' triumphant answer to the fallacies of Mr. Dana, at the recent hearing before the Legislative Committee on the case of Judge Loring. At the end of an exhausting session of five hours, Mr. Philips rose, and without a moment for premeditation or preparation, took up and refuted, one by one, the positions which Mr. Dana had advanced in an elaborate graces of four hours. an elaborate speech of four hours. The report which we print gives the substance of what he said. We regret that we cannot convey to our readers an adequate im-pression of the masterly eloquence which adorned his arguments, and drew forth from the audience a storm of applause, in spite of the efforts of the Committee and the Sergeant-at-Arms to suppress any demonstrations of the popular feeling.—Eve. Telegraph.

The Boston correspondent of the New York Evening Post says-' According to Mr. Dana's account, Judge Loring used Mr. Burns in the tenderes possible manner, sending him back to stripes and bo age in the most approved style, and with all, regard to his feelings that circumstances would allow. I have no Mr. Burns felt as happy as a captive in the hands of a Fejee islander, who should be assured by his captor that he should be roasted scientifically, and eaten with none but the best sauce. And yet people call the judge harsh !"

Death of James Brown .- We regret to learn that James Brown, one of the senior partners of the eminent publishing and bookselling house of Little, Brown & Co., died at his residence in Watertown on Saturday afternoon, at a quarter past five o'clock. He had long been afflicted with a painful, incurable disease, from which, however, he had no reason to apprehend so speedy a termination of his earthly career. He re turned from a visit to Washington only a few days ago and on Friday evening was not supposed to be in dan ger. He was 57 years of age. Mr. Brown was highly respected and beloved in this

ommunity. He was a man of remarkably pleasing manners, and possessed a great deal of intelligence and taste, as is amply proved by the success and high position of the firm of which he was a member, and for which it is understood he had the control of ts literary arrangements and purchase of books. He was remark

Arrest for resisting the United States Marpolitical Anti-Slavery party, was not (to my own mind)
so clearly defined, nor so well defended.

Mr. Foster urges the duty of the non-slaveholding,
or Northern States, to divorce themselves from the

Relevant Community of the sum of \$1500 for his appearance for trial
in March next.

Terrible Accident at Meredith, N. H. While the vote for Moderator was proceeding in the ew Town House at Meredith Village, on Tuesday, a terms of agreement or union.'

Now, does not friend Foster see that this plan directly conflicts with the doctrine of 'No Union with Slave-holders'? Here are twelve men engaged in the busi-The tenons of the cross joints had not been inserted in their mortises more than an inch on either side. There

but if the South prefer to carry on the theft, you must

pay your part of the expenses?!

Why is not friend Foster consistent on this point?

M. HYATT, in the 63d year of her age, relict of James

How truly it is said, ' that in life we are in the mids of death.' Only a few days since, the deceased was When he says 'dissolve the Union,' it is tantamount emoving among us in active life and health. Now she

would be but a faint and partial atonement for their unspeakable wrongs and outrages to the refugee slave! Shame eternal, cover all our professions of republicantion of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me ism and civilization, until the imbruted bondman shall meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye unto me.' Will not the living be encouraged to emulate her example, and 'Go and do likewise,' that they also may receive the promised reward ?- [Com.]

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the new series of Tracts. John C. Boynton, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Sarah H. Earle, Worcester, Mass.,
John Myrick, Princeton)

John L. Whiting, Boston,
Samuel May, Jr.,

" (sale of tracts)
J. G. Wyatt, Concord, N. H.,
Rev. Joseph P. Fessenden, South Bridgeton, Me.,
H. & A. Parmenter, Newport, R. I.,
Isaac Jacobs, King's Ferry, N. Y.,
Thomas Cole and Mary T. Cole, Salisbury, Herkimer County, N. Y.,
Ira Comstock & wife, Salisbury, Herkimer Co., N.Y. I.
Two Friends,

" " 0

Two Friends, Friends, Kalamazoo, Michigan, by Lucy Stone, Benjamin Cheever, Portsmouth, N. H.,
Dr. Jefferson Church, Springfield, Mass.,
Rev. Robert Hassell, Mendon,
Joshus G. Dodge, West Cambridge, FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

Antices of Meetings. &c.

MEETING OF THE N. E. NON-RESIST-ANCE SOCIETY.

ANCE SOCIETY.

A Meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society will be holden in Worcester, Mass. in Horricultural Hall, Saturday and Sunday, March 24 and 25, commencing at 10 o'clock, A.M., on Saturday, and ending on Sunday evening. On Saturday evening, an address on the general subject of Christian Non-Resistance will be delivered by Address and Address experience and evening, there will be addresses, discussions, exhortations, and remarks, accompanied by singing, and such other devotional exercises as persons in attendance may feel it a privilege to offer.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Henry C. Wright, and we hope many other able speakers, will be present on the cocasion. As many of the friends from the Hopedale Community as can conveniently attend, especially speakers and singers, are earnestly requested to be present.

The discussions will be radical and earnest. All the bearings of the great doctrine, Total Abstineed From

bearings of the great doctrine, TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM INJURIOUS FORCE, Individual and Social, Moral and Political, Conservative and Reformatory, will be in order.

The few veteran Non-Resistants who still remain true

to their standard, (being a precious few.) will need no urging to be present. The whilem Non-Resistants and Peace Men, (not a few.) who have progressed round the moral zodiac into the constellation of INJURIOUS Force you Rightmousness' Sake, are requested to come and tell us their experience, that the remnant of us may see their 'more excellent way.' Finally, we tender a welcome to all who seriously believe that the human welcome to all who seriously believe that the human race cannot be governed, protected, improved, and regenerated without a dernier resort to The Sword and Penal Vengeance. Come and give us your strong reasons. Come and hear ours in favor of never doing evil that good may come—never resisting injury with injury.

ADIN BALLOU.

TO THE BENEVOLENT.

A young woman, now at 'Deer Island,' to which place she had voluntarily withdrawn from the tempplace sae and voluntarily withdrawn from the temp-tations of the city, wishes a place in some respec-table family in the country as sempstress. She has been formerly under the guardian influences of several benevolent institutions in the city—the 'Rutland St. Refuge,' the 'Guardian for Friendless Girls,' &c., and is well known to be accomplished in the use of the needle, and well disposed in regard to her own reformation.

Any family disposed to encourage or receive such a

person, may learn further particulars of the case on application at this Office, or at the 'Guardian of Friendless Girls, 1099 Washington street, or to J. T. SAR-GENT, Agent for the Guardian, 70 Dover street.

Mrs. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, of New York, will lecture on Sunday afternoon, 25th inst., at the ringing of the second bell, in the lecture-room of the Music Hall. Subject—HUMAN RIGHTS, and the results of their violation on the South and on the North, as exemplified by SLAVERY. In the evening, Mrs. Rose will lecture at the same

place, at seven o'clock. Subject—The Education, So-cial Position and Legal and Political Rights of Woman. Admittance, 10 cents, to defray expenses. LEVEE AND SOCIAL ASSEMBLY, for the

benefit of CHARLES SPEAR, the Prisoner's Friend, at Union Hall, Friday, March 23. Tickets for gentlemen, \$1; ladies, 50 cents; for sale at the Liberator office. An Anti-Slavery CONVENTION will be held in

CUMMINGTON, (Hampshire County,) on Saturday evening and Sunday, March 17th and 18th, at Meeting-House of the Independent Congregational Society. It will be attended by STEPHEN S. FOSTER, and

lavery Society, will speak in Exeter, N. H., Sunday, " Newmarket, .. Tuesday,

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-

BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL MRS. H. BIBB WOULD inform her friends and former patrons, that she has resumed her school at Windsor

W that she has resumed her school at Windsor, where she has made arrangements to board, in her family, pupils from a distance.

Having procured an assistant in the Sewing Department, instruction will be given in the following branches: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar, Physiology, Philosophy, History, Plain Sewing, Knitting, Worsted Work, Leather Work, Pencil Drawing, and Colored Crayon Painting.

and Colored Crayon Painting.

Persons in the States wishing to cooperate with Mrs. Bibs, will please address her at Detroit, Michigan in Canada, Windsor, (Canada West.)

March 2, 1855.

GET THE BEST!

WEBSTER'S

QUARTO DICTIONARY.

W HAT more essential to every family, counting-room, student, and indeed every one who would know the right use of language—the meaning, orthog-raphy, and pronunciation of words, than a good English DICTIONARY?—of daily necessity and permanent

WEBSTER'S UNABRIDGED

is now the recognized standard, 'constantly cited and relied on in our courts of justice, in our legislative bodies, and in public discussions, as entirely conclusive,' says Hon. John C. Spencer. Can I make a better investment ?

Published by G. & C. MERRIAM, Springfield, Mass. Sold by all booksellers. February 24.

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. NEAR UNION STREET,
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Particular attention given to custom work.

Two Mill Privileges.

POR sale in Southboro', two Mill Privileges, one in Parkersville, about one-half mile west of Southboro' meeting-house, and three-fourths of a mile from a Railroad Depot, having a saw-mill, grist-mill, with two run of stones, cracker, with shed, shop, hay-scales, &c., and about one and one-half acre of land, situated in a first rate business location.

The other about a mile cast of the meeting-house, and within about one-half mile of Fayville Depot, with a crist-mile, cracker, &c. The above property will be

and within about one-half mile of Fayville Depot, with a grist-mile, cracker, &c. The above property will be sold separate, or together. A bargain and leng payday given. For further particulars, inquire of the subscriber at Parkersville.

MOSES SAWIN.

Southboro', Feb. 23

PENN MEDICAL UNIVERSITY.

PENN MEDICAL UNIVERSITY.

THE Ladies' Institute of the Pean Medical University of Pennsylvania, located 419 Market street, Philadelphia, will commence its Spring Term on the first Monday in March, and continue four menths. The facilities for acquiring a sound medical education in this Institution are of a superior order; the teachings are liberal, and free from all sectarian dogmas. Ladies desiring such an education are respectfully invited to give it their attention. For aunouncements, containing terms, further particulars, &c., please address

JOS. S. LONGSHORE,

410 Market street above Eleventh, Philadelphia.
February 9.

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For the Liberator. PETER DE HAGENBACH.

Peter de Hagenbach, a man notorious for his crime and cruelty, was Governor of Scratte and Haute Alsace, under the Duke of Burgundy. He was at last overtaken by justice, tried by a council of knights, de graded from the dignity of knighthood, and publicly

He took from him his knightly spur, His ring, and chain of gold, And, striking him upon the face, Bade all true knights behold

The doom of one who had not kept His Knighthood's sacred vow, And charged them to beware the fate Of him before them now.

Then at midnight's solemn hour, Beneath the open sky, By the torches' murky glare, They led him forth to die.

Firm and undaunted was his step, He quailed not at the throng. That with fierce and eager faces Followed fast along.

Yet his was not the courage. Which Innocence bestows; For, by many a cruel deed. He'd made these men his foes

He'd lived a life of war and lust, He knew the furious crowd That pressed so closely at his side, Were thirsting for his blood.

Yet he bore himself right gallantly, Though he'd lost his knightly name, And strode forth with a fearless heart, To meet his death of shame. But ere he on the scaffold knelt.

He spoke with voice so loud and clear. That all, above that surging din, Its ringing tones could plainly hear 'I fear not Death ; I always knew To him at last I needs must yield ;

But never thought to meet him thus,

Without my sword and shield. 'I care not for this blood of mine, Which you will shed to-night, But the vengeance which my lord will take

Will surely not be light. . When he shall hear of this night's work, And what you 've done to me, By fire and sword, by blood and tears, Avenged shall I be.

'This I regret, and not the life Which now must cease to be; " Whate'er I am, I was a man, And therefore, pray for me !

He knelt him to receive the blow : The headsman's sword gleamed bright, And severed, with a single stroke, The head from that false knight,

Who, through all his bloody life, Had been the foe of other men. But yet, at last, had felt the tie Which bound him unto them ;

And felt, despite his sins and crimes, Despite his life of shame, That he had once a human heart, And now their prayers could claim.

'Tis always thus ; no sin or crime Can ever quite efface, Those strong and deeply-rooted ties Which bind us to our race.

We feel our want of human love. Our need of human aid ; We cannot, if we would, forget That we are brother's made.

> For the Liberator. TO W. L.TG.

A loyal subject, thou, to that bright Queen, To whom the homage of thy soul is paid; Long to her cause devoted hast thou been, And many a sacrifice for her hast made Thy chosen Queen, O champion of Truth, Should be th' acknowledged sovereign of all ; Her first commands should fire the heart of youth, And graver age list heedful to her call. Thou, who so bravely dost her battles fight. With truer weapons than the blood-stained sword And teachest us that greater is the might Of moral warfare, noble thought and word, On thee shall rest the blessing of mankind. As one who nobly dost the Right defend ; Than thee, thy chosen Queen shall never find

LOVE'S PAIRY RING. BY GERALD MASSEY.

A truer subject nor a firmer friend.

While Titans war with social Jove, My own sweet wife and I. We make Elysium in our love. And let the world go by ! O, never hearts beat half so light With crowned Queen or King ! O, never world was half so bright, As in our fairy ring, Dear love !

Our hallowed fairy ring. Our world of empire is not large, But priceless wealth it holds; A little heaven links marge to marge, But what rich realms it folds ! And, 'scaping from all outer strife, Sits Love with folded wing, A-brood o'er dearer life in life, Within our fairy ring, Dear love! Our hallowed fairy ring.

Thou leanest thy true heart on mine, And bravely bearest up ! By mingling Love's most precious wine In Life's most bitter cup! And evermore the circling hours New gifts of glory bring ; We live and love like happy flowers, All in our fairy ring, Dear love !

Our ballowed fairy ring. We 've known a many sorrows, sweet ! We've wept a many tears, And often trod with trembling feet Our pilgrimage of years. But when our sky grew dark and wild, All closer did we cling ; Clouds broke to beauty as you smiled, Peace crowned our fairy ring,

Dear love ! Our hallowed fairy ring. Away, grim lords of murderdom Away, oh Hate and Strife ! Hence, revellers, reeling drunken from Your feast of human life ! Heaven shield our little Gosben round From ills that with them spring, And never be their footprints found Within our fairy ring, Dear love !

Our ballowed fairy ring.

SELECTIONS.

From the Evening Traveller, 27th ult. LECTURE BY A LADY .-- SCENE AT THE MEIONAON.

Last night, Mrs. Oakes Smith, author of 'Ber-tha,' 'The News Boy,' and other literary produc-tions, delivered a lecture at the Meionaon, on Margaret Fuller, the late Countess d'Ossoli. There

was a very limited attendance.

Mrs. Smith, who is a very graceful and engaging speaker, began by the assertion that in this country, all kind of talent was acceptable, from the country, all kind of talent was acceptable, from the ability to construct a mouse trap to a magnetic telegraph, but genius was regarded with distrust and aversion; people were afraid of what they did not understand. Coming to the subject of her lecture, she compared Margaret Fuller, intellectually, to Daniel Webster,—a man who had left his shadow upon the age, but would be remembered rather for the great designs of the man than for any actual achievement. She met her first at a large party at the house of a literary friend in New York. A group was collected about a thin, pale woman, whose personal appearance she thought re-

woman that she ever met impered with a sense of grandeur.

Each of her features was good, yet she was by no means handsome; and she found the reason to be in her early culture, an over-tasked brain, which had destroyed the health of the body, and had had destroyed the features the expression of pain; given her fine features the expression of pain; more than that; it had marred the healthfulness of her mind also. She was oracular and dictatorial in her language, a peculiarity which the lecturer ascribed to her having been robbed of her childhood, and kept by her father at her books, when she ought to have been consorting with girls and boys of her own age and chasing butterflies. The result naturally was that she over-rated the advan-tages of study. She was fond of combatting with learned men, to show her learning. Now men (she did not say husbands) do not like that a woman should think for herself; it was an invasion of

their prescriptive right of ages.

They had always huddled woman into the background, and decided themselves what was essential for her to learn. Man had told her what should be her theology, and if she did not adopt what they described, they had burned her with faggets and flames. He had told her what to do and not to do, and had punished her with stripes and imprisonment for disobedience; and what is worse, in olden time, when no organ of complaint was would never have given to woman powers of mind left her but her tongue, they had condemned her to be the equal companion of man, had He not de to the ducking stool for the free use of that. signed that she should work alongside with him to the ducking stool for the free use of that. (Laughter.) Times are changed, but there is an embittered public opinion brought to bear against a woman who speaks her own thoughts. Really and truly, if a woman be incapable of thinking for herself, she (Mrs. S.) knew of no law by which she ought to be bound. She was morally irrespectively. she ought to be bound. She was morally irresponsible, and the law was justified in ranking her with children and idiots. She was morally and mentally disqualified from being the friend and companion of man, and as such, he should beg and implore of the Deity that he might give up another of his ribs, for the sake of a more fitting creation. (Laughter.)
Margaret Fuller was transcendental, self-poised,

she became associated with the New York Tribune, rest of the papers, she had nearly said almost all cored. It taxatan without representation was of the pulpits, put together. But with the highest qualities, she yet nehieved little; her thoughts, pure as they were, lacked system. A large-souled woman, neither the desire of gain or applause woman, neither the desire of gain or applause. What woman is in every country, man is, and we woman, neither the desire of gain or applause woman, neither the desire of gain or applause would have induced her to have uttered one iota of an untruth; and we might have had a Sappho or a Sybil in her, but for the mistake of her early training. Nature evidently intended her for great the state of the things, but she did not achieve them. As a woman tree of life, it would have been ungathered to this of genius, she might be called a failure; but as a day. (A laugh.)
woman, the character of Margaret Fuller stood out Men confessed to a difficulty in finding employ woman, the character of Margaret Fuller stood out in bold, beautiful relief. She needed the magnetism of other minds and hearts in immediate contact with her's to draw out her powers, and her forte lay in conversation. Fit to be the companion might work in factories, and there were other mental subscriptions. of Plato, as she assuredly was, she was always a menial and subordinate offices which they might good companion on a rainy day—a great trial of character; for those of ordinary talents on such occasions do nothing but read old letters, talk of old times and old friends, and good housewives make up old clothes. She had a deep mystic element in her, but was oracular without inspiration.

Mrs. Smith then treated of the disprepartion be-

ing school in Boston, which impaired her health,

right to thunder. In America, she met with little but abuse, but the penalty of labor whenever they could. abroad she was everywhere greeted as a woman of rare attainments, and even grew more beautiful under more genial skies, and a more thorough appreciation. She was in Rome during the revolution, and the heroic element in her character was about in bright waistcoats, and showy cravats and displayed by her becoming a Madame Roland, and rings; and were as fond of starched ruffles as a binding up the wounds and closing the eyes of dy-ing patriots. In the few years of her wedded life, workshops, and then it would do to talk of the she lived what would be an age to many women.

ment in her, but was oracular without inspiration.

was beginning to open for those who advocated the of women. They had no money: they were all perfect equality of woman with the other sex. One beggars. From the dainty dame who carried a proof of this was the large sale of works from fe-silken purse (which she had got from her husband male pens; so much was this the case, that she advised her literary brothers, if they wished to succeed, to write under a female nom de plume.

(Applause.) At the close of her lecture, she again check and keeps her a good girl by withholding chest and keeps her a good girl by withholding arose, and said she would be much obliged to any one in the audience who would explained to her, if they could, how it had happened, that there should be so small an attendance at a lecture intended to illustrate the life and set forth the genius of a distinguished townsymment. tinguished townswoman!—A gentleman rose and capacity for. She might choose to command said it was always the case in Boston, when a lecture was given for the lecturer's own benefit, and five years on the coast of England, and had never not under the auspices of some association.—Mrs. met with a disaster. She might choose to farm

ously made by the lecturer, that any one should cor- came a menial domestic, dependant in some house rect her if she had appeared wrong in her estimate hold: if married, she was an adjective during the of the subject of her lecture. He could not agree life of her husband, and when he died, she was that Margaret Fuller's genius, or her life as a woman, had been in any sense a failure. He believed
that she had moved, by her spoken word, and by
her printed word, many, many hearts, and he benod noble deeds in life, through the press and in that very room, than any other person who had spoken in it. He had always been anxious, although he had never till now found a proper time, to correct a wrong impression as to her earlier life. Injustice was done to one of the most tender, one of the kindest and most judicious fathers, and as a son of that father, and as a brother of that sister, who loved that father deeply, and would never have done his memory the slightest injustice, he must say, (although unprepared, having heard only insay, (although unprepared, having heard only incidentally of the lecture that alternoon,) that in her early life, she had the advantage of a father of consumptions, of tight lacing, thin shoes, and who deeply loved her, and who was wiser in his a thousand causes for that mortality, causes which care of her than was generally supposed. He wished to say, too, that she did not talk merely fur the sake of argument, or to show her superiority but because she loved truth better than the opini of the world, and she sought to advance that which she thought true before anything else. He supposed it was natural for any one who deeply loved another, and of whom the memory was so tender and so precious as the memory of a sister must be to every brother who had a heart in his bosom. to feel pained at seeing a lack of appreciation in some respects, and sitting beside a mother whose heart must have been wrung by it, he could not avoid saying thus much. But he must at the same

perfectly and truly loved her; and desired to do justice to the name, the high character and the sphere of woman, by seeking to bring what his sis-ter had written, what his sister had said, and what ter had written, what his sister had said, and what his sister had done, to the knowledge of her own sex, and therefore he hoped that the lecture would be useful. He trusted that those present would read her Life, if they had not done so, and he might there mention the fact that her volume, 'Woman in the Nineteenth Century,' and other papers relating to the condition and duties of her sex, had been this very week forwarded to New York for publication.

Quite a sensation was produced by this speech and by the presence, so unexpectedly announced, the mother and one of the brothers of the author

York. A group was collected about a thin, pale woman, whose personal appearance she thought remarkable. She was talking in a low, continuous tone, carnest, and with a grave, serene utterance, which seemed to rivet attention. She replied with asperity to the remark of a young poetess. She (Mrs. S.) watched her movements particularly, as one woman will scan another, (a laugh;) and no woman that she ever met impressed her so much with a sense of grandeur.

Each of her features was good, yet she was by means handsome; and she found the reason to still fell short of the height she might have attainstill fell short of the height she might have attained; but that if one so conscientious, so true, so devoted in her life, failed after having done so much, how very little, how infinitely small, are those women who are content with fine furniture, and being petted like little children. That was the woman's labors had done, and how much one great woman's labors had done, and how much more she was capable of, under better auspices.

Mrs. Smith lectures again in the same place, on the 'Dignity of Labor,' on Wednesday evening.

From the Traveller of the 1st inst. LECTURE ON WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.

Last night, Mrs. E. Oakes Smith again lectured at the Meionaon, taking as her theme-The Dignity of Labor. There was rather a fuller attendance than on the

former occasion. Mrs. Smith began by asking what was the proper sphere of woman and answered it by stating that it was just what she was able to make it. God should now claim the rights, dignities and emolu Margaret Fuller was transcendental, self-poised, in other words, a stand-alone woman. After teachand beauty, even, which comes through work.

Mrs. Smith then complained that woman hat - a paper which, in the lecturer's opinion, has done more for the good of humanity than all the rest of the papers, she had nearly said almost all cored. If taxation without representation was

and thundered as if she thought no one else had a tween labor and its results to the operatives of the two sexes. In our cities, we had men who dodged

lords of creation. The enfranchisement of Italy was her morning and Then we had women highway robbers; we had evening prayer. She went long journeys to see to female pickpockets, too. She had herself seen one her child and to the safety of her husband, who was abstract a pocket-book, and walk off with it in the engaged in opposing the siege, wrote letters to the palm of her hand. Had it been a man, she was no New York Tribune, a work on the state of Italy at sure but she would have shouted 'stop thief,' but the present day, and had prepared a series of lectures which she had intended to deliver here. This (Laughter.) Then, too, she observed that two was unaccomplished, and her sad death, as she women had been arrested in New York for having. by shipwreck into the remorseless in the language of the law, given their husbands depths of the sea, was a fitting climax to the failure unmerciful beatings. (Laughter.)
of her life.

Mrs. Smith next commented on what she called

In concluding, Mrs. Smith said a better prospect the total and entire absence of pecuniary resource

Smith thought the fact was not complimentary to the Athenians.—Another gentleman thought that the lecture had not been sufficiently announced.

Mr. Fullist ther rose, and said he would like to avail himself of a request which had been courtenantly made by the lecture, that any one should contain the sain from industry, by making it remunerative. Nothing was degrading but ignorance, and work of any kind was the available to this. Woman, if unmarried, often because was a major dependent in some house.

eacher in a school, he might get about a thousand

recreation, less of freedom, and the result was an expenditure of life terrible to think of. We talked exist only among the wealthier classes; but amids the laboring class, excessive and protracted toil was the only cause;—the rearing of a family, the burden of responsibility, was theirs—days of toil, nights of watching, years of endurance and self-denial, years of hopeless suffering, and at length the obscure grave, formed the entire history of the working woman. (Amplayers) working woman. (Applause.)
Mrs. Smith exborted her sex, while asserting th

right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap piness,' not to be vixens, not to be termagents, no to do anything unlovely, and therefore unwomanly but to assert their right nevertheless to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let them spurr dependance as despicable and demoralizing; and time do justice to the lecturer. He thought that dependance as despicable and demoralizing; and her lecture had afforded evidence that if she did hold their affections, their whole soul and life, aloof not understand Margaret Foller's character, she from the spirit of flattery; but toil, as a means to

working out their own redemption, and those who might come after them. Let them teach their daughters to feel that the industry that supplies all their own wants is ennobling and womanly, and they would recoil from that kind of marriage which were made true.

and they would recoil from that kind of marriage which was made up of commercial considerations, as an insult to their womanhood. Let woman give a free-will offering to work, rather than be a victim at the marriage altar, making vows which were perjury unless coming from a true heart.

Woman was the true husband of a family, as the word meant house-bond, or bond of the house. She knew many clergymen who preach sermons of their wives' suggestion, and many of their wives' writing, and show their sense in doing so. She knew wits and poets who used their wives' brains of writing, and show their sense in doing so. She knew wits and poets who used their wives' brains as sort of fund from which they regularly extracted their material. It was a woman who discovered the process of casting shot, but she had to pretend that it was revealed to her in a dream, or her husband would have given no credit to her invention; and now every shot tower in the country seemed to her (the lecturer) not to be a shot tower, but a monument to that wise woman's discretion.

The men would have to work now with their intellectualism to keep pace with should not wonder.

And Railroad Accident.—Four persons Killed.—On Monday evening, as the train from Lawrence was passing Mace's crossing, three miles from this city, the engine struck a carriage which was crossing the track, containing two men and two woman, all Irish. They were instantly killed. Their names were Owen Cox, Mrs. Gibney, and Mr. and Mrs. Fagan, all residents of this city. The deceased had attended a funeral at Ballardvale, and were returning when the accident happened.—Lowell Courier.

Sudden Death.—Asa Bennett, Esq., a weal the city of a stage has

seemed to her (the lecturer) not to be a shot tower.

The men would have to work now with their intellectualism to keep pace with women. She should not wonder to see them mounting the rostrum in defence of men's rights by and by. She had seen several times the order of nature reversed. She had seen a wife casting up the accounts of a shop, with a pen behind a pretty ear, whilst her husband, dressed like Mantilini, was sitting at his ease, smoking a cigar in the adjoining apartment. She had seen a woman making baskets, while her husband diligently rocked the cradle. (Laughter.)

When misfortunes overtake a family, woman was When misfortunes overtake a family, woman was the first to tax her energies to meet them. Really, she did not see that men were very much their superiors, even in physical power. Woman would endure more than man: she would live through what would often kill him entright. Mrs. Smith read here an extract from a Maine paper, giving an account of a female leaving her husband, who was delicate, in charge of their six children at home. and setting off herself to California. She had cooked on the voyage out, and sent home 50 dollars.

Mrs. S. said she was a little proud to quote this, being a native of Maine herself. She was no respecter of persons; she would not go a step out of her way to see Victoria, Queen though she was; but she would go many miles to kiss the hard, brown hand of that noble representative of woman!

The lecturer said she saw no redemption for the race unless it comes through associated, systematic work on the part of women. She had often been shocked to see the girls of a family idle, while their father or brother were bent with the toil requisite for their support. This was not only selfish, but indelicate. There was no reason why a girl should not support herself as well as a boy, and when the marriage relation comes, it would be higher in consequence. She would place women in such a position as not to be bought by marriage or in any other way. She must cease to look to a marriage as the means of her support. Marriage should be the crowning joy of life, divested of all commercial relations, and when woman knew her own value, she would no longer be the bond-woman, the Hagar of her husband, a beggar to man for bread, a begof her husband, a beggar to man for bread, a beg-gar for his love also; but she would toil ' manfully' for the outward life, that she might preserve the woman fully in the inner life, and thus assume the

true dignity of woman, mother, citizen.

At the close of the lecture, a gentleman rose and said he wished the fair grater would correct a misapprehension which prevailed; she had spoken as if justifying the plucking of the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden. (A laugh.) Now, he was a woman's rights man, but did not think that was one article of their creed.

Mrs. Smith replied that to discuss that question would occupy till morning.

The company then broke up.

DEPERRED ITEMS.

A Large Negro Funeral .- A colored mar A Large Negro Funeral.—A colored man named Samuel Betterson, an ordained Deacon of the 3d Colored Baptist Church, was buried yesterday afternoon. A very large number of his colored friends followed him to his grave. We noticed in the procession three uniformed fire companies, and another joined them on South Common. The Porter's Association, of which he was a member, turned out, and wore black scarfs with white rosettes. We also noticed in the procession two or three female benevolent associations, distinguished by suitable dresses. A spectator counted thirty-five carriages, well filled, besides a number of other conveyances, and many on horseback, following the hearse. It is estimated that between two thousand and two thousand five hundred colored persons were in the procession.—Sacannah Neus.

named James Watson, alias James B. Baker, Moore, was arrested on Friday, by Sheriff W. C. Baker, under a requisition from the Governor of Connecticut, on a charge of bigamy. It is stated that Watson was on the point of being married to a young woman of this city, when her parents received information that he had a wife living at Bridgeport, Ct., and another in Toronto, Canada. He was discovered in the attic of a shed in Southao street, and attempted to raise the sympathy of the neighborhood by proclaiming himself a 'fugitive slave.' He cried to no purpose, however He was conveyed to Connecticut for trial.

Death from taking Ether .- At Lynn, or Tuesday, Mrs. Mary Farley, wife of Michael Farley, visited the office of Dr. Davis, dentist, who administered ether preparatory to operating on her teeth. Per-ceiving that respiration had ceased, batteries and other means were used to restore the patient, but it was to means were used to restore the patient, but it was too late, and she died in the operating chair. A post mortem examination was made by Drs. Newell and others, who found that one of the lungs adhered to the side, which prevented the free action of that organ. The deceased leaves two young children. The ether was not sulphuric, but chloric.

The Steam Fire Engine .- On the 3d inst., a 3 o'clock, P. M., an immense concourse of people assembled at the corner of Park and Tremont streets, to wit ness the first operations in Boston of the steam fire engine called the 'Miles Greenwood,' which was built by order of the corporation, at Cincinnati, at a cost of about nine thousand dollars. At 3 o'clock the match was applied to the wood beneath the boiler, and in the space of seven minutes afterwards a stream of water issued from a 5-8 pipe, and was thrown an immense height. There were hand-engines present, which, fo brief periods, sent water to as great an altitude, bu brief periods, sent water to as great an altitude, but the stream from the steamer was of greater volume and exhaustless. The apparatus was tested as to its capa-city in throwing one, two, three and four streams of water, and its performances gave general satisfaction. It will prove a powerful auxiliary to our fire depart-ment, and will be most useful in cases of fires in high buildings. There is, as yet, a little feeling against 'Miles,' but that will die out if the machine proves itself an 'improvement' unon the old contrivances for itself an 'improvement' upon the old contrivances if the extinguishment of fires.—Courier.

The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, for March, is received. This number presents a very interesting and able table of contents, viz:
Auguste De Gerando, by M. Lowell Patnam; An Ecclesiastical Crisis in Germany, by Edward J. Young;
Reflections, by Edward Wigglesworth; Facts from the last Census, by W. J. A. Bradford; Barnum's and Greeley's Biographies, by W. H. Hurlburt; Neander's Church History, by Nath'l L. Frothingham, D. D.; Arius and Athanasius, by Rev. Rafus Ellis. Notices of

Recent Publications, Literary Intelligence.

The Examiner is published in a very neat and readable style by Crosby, Nichols & Co., and ably edited by Rev. George Putnam, and Rev. George E. Ellis.

Slavery Abolished in Peru.-The revolu-Slavery Abolished in Peru.—The revolutionary movement in Peru having triumphed, the new
government has issued a decree giving freedom to all
those slaves who did not volunteer to serve in the army
of the former President. The Government pledges itself
to pay the owners for their property (1) in five years.
Public opinion is said to be divided as to the propriety
and justness of the measure, but the new Government
has, no doubt, rightly interpreted the spirit of the revoolution. It has certainly given a pledge of its sincerity
in professing to hate the tyranny of the former rulers of
the country.—A. S. Standard.

Theodore Parker's Tabernacle Lecture as reported for the Standard, by E. P. Underhill, one of the reporting corps of the N. Y. Daily Times, occupies the first page of the present issue. It would be uperfluous to commend it to the attention of our readers, for it will be eagerly devoured by every one of them, it is full of arguments and facts, grouped with masterity skill and made to glow with the eloquence and energy which characterize all Mr. Parker's public efforts.

— Ibid.

Miss Martineau, the eminent English uthoress, was, according to the papers brought by the anada, liable to die at any moment, from enlargement

The African Slave Trade.-The Hon, C. The African Slave Trade.—The Hon. C. F. Mercer, in a letter to Rev. B. R. Gurley, dated Londen, Dec. 15th, says:—'Perhaps you do not know, as I am but recently informed, of the vast extent of the Northern African Slave Trade. My friends, Mr. and Mrs. Abbott S. Lawrence, met at the upper cataract of the Nile, three hundred African girls, of great beauty, in one coffie, brought sixty days' journey over the burning sands of Zahara, for the Egyptian market. Their feet were raw, their bodies nearly naked, their countenances haggard. Such is the fruit of the traffic.

Execution of a Desperate Negro.—The negro Artis, who was seutenced to death for murdering his daughter, was executed at Sydney, Shelby county, Ohio, on the 23d ult. He fought desperately with the officers on his way to the gallows, and tore the coat completely off the deputy sheriff in endeavoring to resist the efforts made in putting the rope around his neck. It took six men to secure him upon the scaffold, and, when at last he was swung off, he managed to get hold of the rope with his hands, which prevented the fall from breaking his neck. After struggling violently for some time, he was choked to death, when his body was taken down and burned.—Cin. Columbian.

Auful Steamboat Explosion .- The principa matter of interest, says the Alta California, of the 1st inst., since the sailing of the steamer of the 24th ulti-mo, has been the explosion of the steamer Pearl, near mo, has been the explosion of the steamer Pearl, near Sacramento, on Saturday, the 27th January, by which about seventy lives were lost. Forty-three dead bodies have been found, and upwards of twenty are missing. Among the killed are several men of note: Colonel An-Among the killed are several men of note: Colonel Anderson, a distinguished lawyer of Nevada, and Mr. Hinckley, the County Judge of Shasta. It is asserted that at the time of the explosion the Pearl, was racing with the Enterprise, but this is denied by the agent of the steamer. Both boats were, on their way from

in Committee of the Whole, adopted the first clause of a prohibitory liquor bill, which affirms the principles of the measure, by a vote of 44 to 25. The vote on the second reading of the bill, last December, was, yeas 90, nays 5.

Gen. Jackson's Sword .- The Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post says that the sword of Gen. Jackson, which was recently present-ed to Congress, was bequeathed to Gen. Armstrong, by whose heirs Congress obtains possession of this intering relic.

Bishop Ives .- This gentleman, formerly Bishop of North Carolina, and who gained some notoriety about two years since, by deserting the Episcopal faith for that of Romanism, is now in a state of extreme destitution. We learn from reliable authority that his condition is such as to compel him to solicit alms for his daily sustenance, while his scanty apparel plainly exhibits his true condition. He is now, we believe, in New York city.—Newark Advertiser.

The Last Survivor of Braddock's Defeat .-Died, in Williamstown, Jan. 27, Ishmael Titus, colored, of the extraordinary age of one hundred and nine or ten ears. He was born a slave in Virginia, and when Gen. Braddock set out on his ill-fated expedition, the master of Ishmael was employed by the commissary to transport subsistence stores for the army.—Correspondence of the Springfield Republican.

The fire at Col. Benton's House .- A special espatch to the Advertiser states that the fire at Col. stroyed all his manuscripts, including part of the 'Thirty years in the U. S. Senate,' and much of the material for completing the week completing the week for completing the work, consisting of original correspondence of the earlier Presidents and other public Arrest of a Bigamist.—A colored man men. The old hero, however, bore his loss philosophically, and busied himself the night after the fire in alias writing a speech.

Smith, the Slaver .- In the U. S. Circuit Court, New York, on Saturday morning, Capt. Smith, found guilty of being engaged in the slave trade, the penalty of which is death, was granted a new trial.

Stant and ample notice will be taken of the affants. The following extract from the Editorial Addresses braces the fundamental principles of the Empire-

Slave-Catchers Arrested .- The city of Harrisburg, Pa., was thrown into a state of great excitement on the 24th ult., in consequence of a daring attempt to kidnap a free colored boy. The attempt was made by a white man named Snyder, and he had two colored men as confederates. The boy was enticed to an upper room in Snyder's house, where he was told that he was to be taken back to his master, whereupon he set up such a screaming, and resisted the three men so stoutly, that the attention of the people in the street was attracted, and he was rescued.

There not being at present an outlet for the coal in Schuylkill county, Pa., some amateur ar-tists in Ashland have been converting it to a new use. A Mr. McAndrew has carved the bust of an African out of a block of coal, and also several busts of well-known colored persons in the town, which had been considered so good that he has received orders for more specimens of his 'black art,' at the rate of fifty dollars per bust.

Caleb Cushing .- The 'Bee' gives the followng pithy explanation of Caleb Cushing's political career, which contains the reason why, notwithstanding his talents and his prodigous industry, he has failed to secure the confidence or the respect of the public: *Cushing's plans almost invariably fail, because, having no integrity or sense of honor himself, he never

makes any allowance for their existence in others. He proceeds on the basis that all men are rogues, and so fails just as often as he chances to encounter an hones man, which is whenever he fails in with any one whol-

Horace Mann, President of Antioch College, Ohio, has become a communicant and a preacher in the church known at the West as 'The Christian Denomination,' (a sect combining the theology of the Unitarians with the peculiar zeal of the Methodists,) and has recently officiated as a clergyman in several

Painesville, Ohio, March 3 .- Fatal Railroad Accident.—Captain Andrew Andrews of Rich-mond, while stepping from a train last night, fell under the car wheels, and was so badly injured that he died

Boston, March 3.—The baggage car on the Dedham train was thrown from the track this morning, and William Richardson, a brakeman, was instantly

A man named John Driscoll, when returning from gunning excursion last evening, was run over by train on the Old Colony road and killed.

A Ring in an Unusual Place .- Capt. Laven der, of the schooner Elizabeth Ann, of Provincetown, while fishing last summer on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, took from the stomach of a codfish a lady's plain gold finger ring, perfectly bright and smooth, and which had not apparently been there long.— Boston Adv.

Horrible Suffering .- The Pittsburg Gazette describes the death of thirteen persons in Alleghany City from exposure to cold and starvation! They were German emigrants.

The British army estimates for the cur rent year are published. The total British camp, in-cluding all foreign auxiliaries, except those in India, is 194,000 men. Expenses, £13,500,000 sterling. Last year, they only cost £7,000,00. An increase of 85,000 men is proposed. The Navy is not included in the

The Randolph Negroes .- A corresponden of the N. Y. Tribune writing from Shelby county, Ohio, says that the emancipated slaves of John Randolph are now mostly living on their own lands, in prosperous and improving condition. They are giving attention to education, living comfortably, and giving promise of im-

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The Woman's Rights movement having become one of so much importance as to enlist almost every variety of character and shade of opinion, it has been deceded needful, in order that a correct history of its progress might be preserved, its demands truthfully present, and its philosophy thoroughly treated, that there should be one periodical through which those most deeply interested could have utterance.

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THE UNA has been free in its character, admitting almost every variety of opinion, and the treatment of almost every subject that might, with propriety, come within its province to investigate and discuss. Such it will continue to be. Art, Science, Literature, of Association, or the Reorganization of Society, and individual development, will each receive their due share of annotant.

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Jan. 26.