EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. AT THE

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

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F is the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of very question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

IF 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholdin

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES -- 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 constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXV. NO. 12.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1079.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the New York Journal of Commerce. THE REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

When the Constitution of Virginia was under discussion before the celebrated Convention of 1829-30, Chief Justice Marshall observed that a 1829-30. Chief Justice Marshall observed that a dependent judiciary was the greatest curse which Heaven could inflict on a suffering people. And what, we ask, is the independence of a Judge! The celebrated Gov. Giles, one of the most powerful delaters of the Senate of the United States,

thus answered the question : 'It is neither more nor less than this,—that, when he pronounces judgment, he shall do it with the certainty that he can neither gain nor lose by his decision.' The people of England-from whom we have caught in a great degree the spirit and tone of our institutions were careful, as a fundamental principle, to make the Judges independent; a principle which has been introduced into all our Constitutions. The Legislature of Massachusetts seem bent on reresing this just rule, and making the judiciary sabscrient and dependent. They seek to punish Judge Loring for his decision in the case of Burn's and so make him. lose by his decision. It is not pretended that the decision was wilful or corrupt, or in any way contrary to what the law and Constitution of the United States required. It was, however, against the spirit, such is alleged, of acts of Massachusetts legislation, which improperly at-tempts to impede and obstruct the execution of the Fagitive Slave Law, and they seek to punish him for not obeying the spirit of an unconstitutional art, instead of obeying 'the Constitution of the

United States, and the laws passed in pursuance M. which Judge Loring had sworn to support. But the is not the worst feature of the case. . Loring was a State Judge and a United States Comgissioner In the decision of the case in question, be acted in the latter capacity. The Legislature, however, is about to remove him in his former ca-pacity, under that clause of the Constitution which horizes his continuance in office until his right is forfeited by misbehavior. The example-if the reath of faction shall thus poison the fountains fjustice-will be fraught with the deepest misthefs, for it involves the destruction of judicial pendence, and is a practical nullification of the

laws and Constitution of the United States. Until the famous Kentucky case, when a whole Court was legislated out of office, no violations of the independence of the judiciary has been perpetrated either in England or the United States. That solitary case received for many years the just reprobation of all honest people out of Kentucky, who did not partake of the excitement which was manifested within her limits. If the remorseless, unrelenting, inexorable cry with which Judge Loring is now pursued by the fanatics who have risen to power in Massachusetts, shall be followed by his oval, the act will be a dark stain upon her fair which years cannot obliterate. The Abolifame, which years cannot obliterate. tionists of the North think they owe their present hold on power to the Fogitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Frederick Douglass lately offered up his thanks at a public meeting for the passage of these two measures. But the fact that they signalized their success by measarresofa revolutionary and dangerous character, ta-ten immediately after their elevation to power, mea tures which strike a blow at the most sacred principles known to the English and to American constituons, ought to warn the people of the United States to becare of longer supporting them. Fanatical rinciples, leading to confusion and anarchy, are presailing in every quarter in which Abolitionism a triumphant. All the great duties of Governnent are made subservient to the one idea of abol shing slavery-as if the short-sighted men who rould immediately accomplish this object, could t once substitute for the mild and efficient government of slavery, any other which would make the slate a useful laborer for himself or the communior could prevent the untold or wide-spread misels, to bond and free, to citizens of the United States, and of the world at large, which would for from immediate freedom. Capital and labor, in the Slave States, are now mutually dependent and harmonious. Immediatism would produce sepa-ntion and conflict. A superior and an inferior

race are now working together for mutual advantare, under more auspicious circumstances than are own to the negro in any other condition in which he is placed in any portion of the globe. Abolitiona would produce a war of races, and the extinction of the one for whose pretended advantage it is in-wheel, with great injury to the other. But yet, to complish so dangerous a purpose, every other lumble principle of American freedom, whether it ate to the independence of the Judges or the sumacy of the Constitution -must be broken down destroyed. Bounds ought to be quickly set to farther progress of this folly, and leave the restdy for slavery to the sure worker Time.

principles, we have no manner of sympathy the reckless persecution of Judge Edward G. ag, now going on in Boston under the auspices andell Phillips, etc., and fanned to a flame by tirulent articles of the New York Tribune. ladge Loring happened to be the proper author efore whom the question of the shony Burns, a fugitive slave, came to trial. Is calmly and dispassionately did his duty, and mier circumstances which would have tempted man to forswear his oath. Having certaining a man to forswear his oath. sire to enslave a free man, and in the fac raging mob and a scathing flood of popular finding from legal evidence that Burns as slave, he dared to send him back, though he that, by so doing, he perilled every worldly cepting his office, he swore to fulfil the law has simply-kept his oath !

Though by no means ' Northern men with South-

will ad-ton.

have no love for the Fugitive Slave Law, but, Heavens! is a man to be persecuted for aing a Cato-like integrity—unmoved by ta, unbribed by the tempting boons of pop-fame and political distinction! For what sire, except one of duty, could Judge Loring have has the course he did! And what have been the

ce the rendition of Burns, a vast junta of abo its, radicals, misguided men of all parties cets, have united to crush this one, humble al, feeble in comparison with the number and of his persecuters, but strong in duty perhave have deprived him of his law Proles-phave brought monster petitions for his remo-in the Judgeship, and would, of a verity, have old for a slave if they could. They have de-him of his reputation—will yet beggar his y; but they can never ruin his character—it ar beyond their rever

eyond their reach! is is very strong language for a paper so to political topics as our own, but we cananly persecution going on-un-the veriest wretch alive-witha single word in defence of the object it - Mountain Cove (Conn.) Herald.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH

HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. ON HIS MOTION TO

REPEAL THE PUGITIVE SLAVE BILL FEBRUARY 23, 1855.

MR. PRESIDENT, -On a former occasion, as Slav ery was about to clutch one of its triumphs, I rose to make my final opposition to it at midnight. It is now the same hour. Slavery is again pressing for its accustomed victory, which I again undertake for the moment to arrest. It is hardly an accident al conjunction which thus constantly brings Slavery and midnight together.
Since eleven o'clock this forenoon, we have been

in our seats, detained by the dominant majority, which, in subservience to Slavery, has refused to postpone this question or to adjourn. All other things are neglected. The various public interests which, at this late stage of the session, all press for attention, are put aside. According to the usages of the Senate, Friday is dedicated to the consideration of private claims. I have been accustomed to call it our day of justice, and I have been added that it our day of justice. been glad that, since these matters are referred to us, at least one day in the week has been thus set apart. But Slavery grasps this whole day, and changes it to a day of injustice. By the Calendar, which I hold in my hand, it appears that, at this moment, upwards of seventy-five private bills, with which are associated the hopes and fears of widows and orphans, and of all who come to Congress for relief, are on your table neglected, ay, sir, sacrificed to the bill which is now urged with so much pertinacity. Like Juggernaut, the bill is driven over the prostrate victims. And here is another

Bad as Slavery may be, it is not so bad as hunting slaves. There is a sceming apology for Slavery at me, in the States where it prevails, founded of the difficulties in the position-of the master and the relations of personal attachment which it sometimes excites; but every apology fails when you seek again to enslave the fugitive whom the master could not detain by duress, or by kindness; and who, by courage and intelligence, under the guidance of the north star, has achieved a happy Freedom. Sir, there is a wide difference between a Slaveholder and a Slave-Hunter.

But the bill before you is to aid in the chase of slaves. This is its object. This is its being's end and aim.' And this bill, with this object, is pressed upon the Senate by the honorable Senator from Connecticut, [Mr. Toucey.] Not from slave soil, but from free soil, comes this effort. A Senator from the North-a Senator from New-England -lends himself to the work, and with unnatural zeal helps to bind still stronger the fetters of the

Mr. Rusk. Will the honorable Senator allow me to interrupt him ! Mr. Sumer. Certainly.
Mr. Rusk. I ask him to point out the words in

this bill where Slavery is mentioned.

Mr. Summer. I am glad the Senator from Texas has asked the question, for it brings attention at once to the true character of this bill. I know its language well, and also its plausible title. On its face it purports to be 'a bill to protect officers and other persons acting under the authority of the United States;' and it proceeds to provide for the transfer of certain proceedings from the State court to the Circuit Courts of the United States. And yet, sir, by the admission of this whole debate. stretching from noon to midnight, it is a bill to bolster up the Fugitive Slave Act.

Mr. Rusk. I have not listened to the debate.

but I ask the Senator to point out in the bill the place where Slavery is mentioned. If the Constitution and laws appoint officers, and require them to discharge duties, will he abandom them to the

Mr. SUMMER. The Senator asks me to point out any place in this bill where Slavery is mentioned. Why, sir, this is quite unnecessary. I might ask the Senator to point out any place in the Constitution of the United States where 'Slavery' is mentioned, or where the word 'slave' can be found,

and he could not do it.

Mr. Rusk. That is evading the question. asked the Senator to point out in the bill the clause where Slavery is mentioned. The bill proposes to protect officers of the United States, you appoint, in discharging their duties. If they

are to be left unprotected, repeal your law.

Mr. Schner. I respond to the Senator with all my heart, 'repeal your law.' Yes, sir, repeal the Fugitive Act, which now requires the support of supplementary legislation. Remove this ground of nce. And before I sit down, I hope to make that very motion. Meanwhile, I evade no question propounded by the honorable Senator; but I do not consider it necessary to show that 'Slavery' is mentioned in the bill. It may not be found there

name; but Slavery is the very soul of the bill. Mr. Rusk rose. Mr. Sunner. The Senator has interrupted me everal times; he may do it more; but perhaps, he

had better let me go on. Mr. Rusk. I understand the Senator ; but I

nake no boast of that sort.

Mr. SCHNER. Very well. At last I may be allowed to proceed. Of the bill in question, I have little to eay. Its technical character has been exposed by various Senators, and especially by my valued friend, the Senator from Ohio, [Mr. Chase,] the State Rights, calculated to subvert the power

humanity, it should be regarded as an outlaw. It United States, are reserved to the States respect-may have the form of legislation, but it lacks every ively, or to the people; and since no powers are essential element of law. I have so often exposed delegated to the United States, in the clause reessential element of law. I have so often exposed delegated to the United States, in the clause re its character on this floor, that I shall be brif lating to the privileges and immunities of citizens,

Rights. This very act is an assumption by Congress, of power not delegated to it under the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States. You will mark, if you please, the double aspect of this proposition, in asserting not only an assumption of power by Congress, but an infraction of State Rights. And this proposition. I venture to say, defees answer or cavil. Show me, sir, if you can, the clause, sentence, or word, in the Constitution, and power by Congress any power to legislate on which gives to Congress any power to legislate on which gives to Congress any power to legislate on the States of rights sequenced to the States respectively, or to the people; and such, I have already said, is the Fugitive Slave that nothing to do with Slavery. This is the doctrine which I have ever maintained, and which I have ever maintained and which I have ever maintained and which I have ever maintained. The Senator from Carolina, rindicate to Massachusetts, and every other than the Constitution of the United States; but if I were to put the lates as if he was disposed to maintain the Constitution of the United States. You have not have ever maintained, and which I have ever maintained, and which I have ever maintained, and which I have ever maintained and which I have ever maintained. The senator of the United States is the lates as if he which gives to Congress any power to legislate on this subject. I challenge honorable Senators to produce it. I fearlessly assert that it cannot be done. The obligations imposed by the 'fugitive' clause, whatever they may be, rest upon the States, and not upon Congress. I do not now undertake to say what these obligations are; but simply that, whether much or little, they rest upon the States. And this interpretation is sustained by the practice of Congress on another kindred question. The associate clause, touching the privileges of citi-zens,' has never been made a source of power. It will be in the recollection of the Senate, that, during the last session, the Senator-from Louisiana, [Mr. BENJAMIN,] in answer to a question from me openly admitted that there were laws of the Southern States, bearing hard upon colored citizens of the North, which were unconstitutional; but when I pressed the honorable Senator with the question whether he would introduce or sustain a bill to carry out the clause of the Constitution, securing to the citizens their rights, he declined to an-

Mr. BENJAMIN. I think, Mr. President, I have a right to set the record straight upon that point. I rose in the Senate on the occasion referred to, as will be perfectly well recollected by every Senator present, and put a respectful question to the Senator from Massachusets. Instead of a reply to my question, he put a question to me, which I answered, and then I put my question. Instead of replying to that, he again put a question to me. Considering that as an absolute evasion of the question which I put to him, I declined having anything further to say in the discussion. I was not here submitting to an interrogatory from a gentleman. I put to him a respectful question. He preferred to put one to me, instead of answering mine. I But I do not adequately expose the character of this bill when I say it is a sacrifice to Slavery. It is a sacrifice to Slavery in its most odious form. answer to my question, and I therefore let the matter drop.

Mr. Sunner. The Senator from Louisiana will pardon me, if I suggest that there is an incontrovertible fact which shows that the evasion was on his part. The record testifies not only he did not reply, but that I was cut off from replying by the efforts and votes of himself and friends. Let him consult the Congressional Globe, and he will find it all there. I can conceive that it might have been embarrassing to him to reply, for had he declined to sustain a bill to carry out the clause in question, it would have been awkward, at least, to vindicate the Fugitive Slave Act, which is derived from an identical source in the Constitution. And yet there are Senators on this floor, who, careless of the flagrant inconsistency, vindicate the exercise of power by Congress under the 'fugitive' clause, while their own States at home deny to Congress any power under the associate clause, on the 'privileges of citizens,' assume to themselves a comple right to determine the extent of its obligations, and ruthlessly sell into Slavery colored citizens of the Mr. BUTLER. Does the Senator allude to my

Mr. Rusk. No ; to mine.

Mr. BUTLER. If he means South Carolina, I will reply to him. This is about the fourth time, I think, that the Senator, and his predecessor [Mr. Winthrop] before him, have alluded to the laws of South Carolina. If that be his allusion, I intend to give some facts in relation to the subject, of hich I have put myself in possession since Winthrop formerly brought it here for discussion.
If the Senator intends to allude to South Carolina,

let him say so.

Mr. Sumner. I do allude to South Carolina, and also to other Southern States: but especially to South Carolina. Mr. Kusk. Does the Senator allude to Texas !

Mr. SUNNER. The Senator had better allow me to go on. When I have finished, he can make any explanation he thinks necessary.

Mr. Rusk. I will not take the trouble; I do not

think the game is worth the candle.

Mr. Summer. Very well. The Senator can do as e pleases. But let me say, that if I allude to these States, it is not to bring up and array the hardships of individual instances, but simply to show the position occupied by them on a constitutional question identical with that involved in the Fugitive Act. And now, at the risk of repetition, if I can have your attention for a brief n oment, without interruption, I will endeavor to state anew this

argument. The rules of interpretation, applicable to the clause of the Constitution securing to 'the citizens of each State all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States,' are equally applicable to its associate clause, forming a part of the same section, in the same article, and providing that 'persons held to service or labor in one State, under the latest the same section. er the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Of this there can be

If one of these clauses is regarded as a compact between the States, to be carried out by them respectively, according to their interpretation of its obligations, without any intervention of Congress, then the other must be so regarded; nor can any legislative power be asserted by Congress under one clause, which is denied under the other. This proposition cannot be questioned. Now mark the

equence. Congress, in abstaining from all power under the first clause, when required thereto, in order to protect the liberty of colored citizens, while it has who opened this debate. Suffice it to say, that it assumed power under the second clause, in order is an intrusive and offensive encroachment on to obtain the surrender of fugitive slaves, has shown an inconsistency, which becomes more monstrous when it is considered that, in the one of the States in the protection of the liberties of her citizens. This consideration alone would be case, the general and commanding interests of ample to secure its rejection, if the attachment to Liberty have been neglected, while in the other, State Rights, so often avowed by Senators, were not the peculiar and subordinate interests of Slavery utterly lost in a stronger attachment to Slavery. have been carefully secured; and such an exercise utterly lost in a stronger attachment to Slavery, there been carefully secured; and such an exercise But on these things, although well worthy of attention, I do not dwell. Objectionable as the bill may be on this ground, it becomes much more so increased, is increasing, and ought to be over-

may be on this ground, it becomes much more so when I regard it as an effort to bolster up the Fugitive Slave Act.

Of this act it is difficult to speak with moderation. Conceived in defiance of the Constitution, and the express words of the Constitution, in the tenth amendment, 'the powers not delegated to the states respector in the associate clause of the same section There is an argument against it which has especial importance at this moment, when the Fugitive or labor,' therefore all legislation by Congress, Act is made the occasion of a new assault on State

the citizens of one State the privileges and immu-nities of the citizens of the several States.'

Massachusetts, and every other State, determine for itself whether the other clause, relating to the surrender of 'persons held to service or labor,' be really applicable to fugitive slaves, and may solemnly deny its applicability.

no court, howsoever endowed with judicial quali-ties, or surrounded by public confidence, which is strong enough to lift, this act into any permanent ly, that peace can never prevail until you do let us ment, to accomplish the reat. Its decision may be from Congress by the triumph of Freedom—until enforced—amidst tears and agonies. A fellow man may be reduced anew to Slavery. But all will be freedom is made national instead of sectional—and until the National Government is brought back to entirely vile, so absolutely atrocious, would drag an angel down. Sir, it must drag down every court, which in an evil hour ventures to sustain it.

United States, when there was no Fugitive Act,

And yet, sir, in zeal to support this enormity, and the national flag, as it floated over the national the States, we have heard whole States arraigned, sure under consideration, I shall cle

heart. In prohibiting the use of the county julls in these hurried moments, I forbear. heart. In prohibiting the use of the county jails and buildings as barracoons and slave-pens; in prohibiting all public officers, holding the commission of the State, in any capacity—whether as chief justice or justice of the peoce, whether as Governor or constable—from any service as a slave-hunter; in prohibiting the volunteer militia of the States simply exercise a power under the Constitution, recognized form, from any such service, the States simply exercise a power under the Constitution, recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States, even while upholding Slavery, in the fatal Pring case, by Positive Prohibition, to the order of the Constitution of the States, and which for a time, was passive and acquiescent, now lifts itself everywhere in the States where the act is sought to be enforced, and demands a change. Already three States, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Mich-

on be there a dead letter.

Mr. President, since things are so, it were well

o remove this act from our statute book, that it words: may no longer exist as an occasion of ill-will and a point of conflict. Les the North be relieved from 18, 1850, usually known as the "Fugitive Slathis usurpation, and the first step will be taken towards permanent harmony. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Benjamn] has proclaimed anew to-night what he has before declared on this floor—that Slavery is a subject with which the Federal Government has nothing to do. I thank him the opinions which it seems the gentleman from tasshing the Senate in the sems the gentleman from tasshing the Senate in the sems the gentleman from tasshing the Senate in the sems the gentleman from tasshing the Senate in the sems the gentleman from tasshing the Senate in the sems the gentleman from the sems the sems the sems the gentleman from the sems the se that Slavery is a subject with which the Federal Government has nothing to do.' I thank him the opinions which it seems the gentleman from for teaching the Senate that word. True, most Massachusetts entertains, be it so. I assure him

I might go further, and, by the example of South Carolina, vindicate to Massachusetts, and every other State, the right to put such interpretation upon the 'fugitive' clause as it shall think proper. The Legislature of South Carolina, in a series of resolutions, adopted in 1844, asserts the following proposition:

'Resolved. That free negroes and persons of color are not citizens of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, which confers upon the citizens of one State the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.'

Ality, by the Senator from Louisiana. The senator for Louisiana. The senator for Louisiana. The senator from Louisiana. The senator from Louisiana. The senator from Louisiana. The senator that the proceeds to declare that tall that the moderate. And I say, for the North, that all that we ask is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alone. Do not involve us in the support of Slavery. Hug within your own States, until it stings you to a generous remorse, but do not compel us to bug it too; for this, I assure you, we will not do.

But the Senator from Louisiana. The senator from Louisiana. The senator for Louisiana. The senator for Louisiana. The senator for the North, that the weaks is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alone. The view ask is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alone. The view ask is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alone. The view ask is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alone. The view ask is to be let alone: Yes, sir, let us alo

the citizens of one State the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.'

Here is a distinct assumption of a right to determine the persons to whom certain words of the Constitution are applicable. Now, nothing can be clearer than this: If South Carolina may determine for itself whether the clause, relating to the privileges and immunities of citizens' be applicable to the colored citizens of the several States, and may solemnly deny its applicability, then may been there, through the exercise of usurped power, nowhere given under the Constitution: for I am this conclusion, I doubt not, will yet be affirmed by the courts. And yet, the honorable Senator usurpation by Congress under the 'fugitive' clause asks: 'Did we ever bring this subject into Congress the Constitution, and to warn you against regress!' The answer shall be plain and explicit. newing this usurpation. But I have left untouched those other outrages, plentiful as words, which enter into the existing Fugitive Slave Act, among which are the denial of trial by jury; the denial of the writ of habeas corpus; the authorization of indexest corpus in the congress, when, shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, you which the denial of the writ of habeas corpus; the authorization of the constitution o tion of judgment on exparte evidence, without the sanction of cross-examination; and the surrender so cloquently exposed to-night. You brought Slave-of the great question of human freedom to be de-ry into Congress, when at the same period you actermined by a mere Commissioner, who, according cepted the cession of territories from North Caroto the requirements of the Constitution, is grossly lina and Georgia, now constituting States of the incompetent to any such service. I have also left Union, with conditions in favor of Slavery, and untouched the hateful character of this enactment. thus began to sanction Slavery in Territories within as a barefaced subversion of every principle of the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. You brought humanity and justice. And now, sir, we are asked Slavery into Congress, when, at different times, to lend ourselves anew to this enormity, worthy you usurped a power not given by the Constitution, only of indignant condemnation; we are asked to over fugitive slaves, and by most offensive legislaimpart new life to this pretended law, this false tion thrust your arms into distant Northern homes, act of Congress, this counterfeit enactment, this You brought Slavery into Congress, when, by exof legislation, which draws no life press legislation, you regulated the coastwise slave from the Conititution, as it clearly draws no life trade, and thus threw the national shield over a that Supreme Law which is the essential founding traffic on the coast of the United States, which on that Supreme Law which is the essential founain of life to every human law.

Sir, the bill before you may have the sanction of Congress; and in yet other ways you may seek to sustain the Fugitive Slave Act. But it will be in vain. You undertake what no legislation can accomplish. Courts, too, may come forward, and lend it their sanction. All this, too, will be in vain. I respect the learning of judges; I reverence the virtue, more than learning, by which their lives are often adorned. But nor learning, nor virtue, when, with mistaken force, bent to this purpose, can avail. I assert confidently, sir, and says that the South only asks to be let alone. Sir, purpose, can avail. I assert confidently, sir, and says that the South only asks to be let alone. Sir, ask the Senate to note my assertion, that there is the honorable Senator only borrows the language ntil this subj ment, to accomplish the feat. Its decision may be from Congress by the triumph of Freedom-until

And yet, sir, in zeal to support this enormity, and the hattonial large, as I hoated over the hattonial Senators have not hesitated to avow a purpose to break down the recent legislation of State, calculated to shield the liberty of their citizens. 'It is difficult,' says Burke, 'to frame an indictment against a whole people.' But here in the Senate, where are convened the jealsous representatives of and to remove all occasion for the proposed meaas if already guilty of crime. The Senator from to say with a motion to repeal the Fugitive Act. Louisiana. [Mr. Benjamin,] in plaintive tones has Twice already, since I have had the honor of a seat set forth the ground of proceeding, and more than in this floor, I have pressed that question to a vote, one sovereign State has been summoned to judg- and I mean to press it again to-night. After the ment. It would be easy to show, by a critical in- protracted discussion, involving the character of uiry, that this whole charge is without just foun- this enactment, such a motion seems logically to

dairy, that this whole charge is without just found this enactment, such a motion seems logically to define the legislation, so much condemned, is as clearly defensible under the Constitution, as it is meritorious in purpose.

Sir, the only crime of these States is, that Libersition, I discussed it at length, in an argument, y has been placed before Slavery. Follow the which I fearlessly assert has never been answered harge, point by point, as this will be apparent. and now, in this debate. I have already touched In securing to every person claimed as a slave the upon various objections. There are yet other things protection of trial by jury and the habeas corpus, which might be urged. I might exhibit the abuses they simply provide safeguards, strictly within the province of every State, and rendered necessary by number of free persons it has doomed to Slavery; the usurpation of the fugitive Act. In securing the riots it has provoked; the brutal conduct of the aid of counsel to every person claimed as a slave, they but perform a kindly duty, which no rangement of business it has caused, interfering phrase or word in the Constitution can be tortured even with the administration of justice, changing to condem. In visiting with severe penalties every court-houses into barracks and barracoons, and malicious effort to reduce a follow-man to Slavery, filling streets with armed men, amidst which law they respond to the best feelings of the human is silent. All these things I might expose. But heart. In prohibiting the use of the county juils in these hurried moments, I forbear. Suffice it to

United States, even while upholding Slavery, in to be enforced, and demands a change. Already the fatal Prigg case, by rositive prominition, to withdraw its own officers from this offensive business.

For myself, let me say that I look with no pleasure on any possibility of conflict between the State and National justidiction; but I trust that, if the interests of Freedom so require, the States while I speak, comes the solemn judgment of the will not hesitate. From the beginning of this Supreme Court of Wisconsin—a sovereign State of this Universal after claborate argument, on will not hesitate. From the beginning of this controversy, I have sought, as I still seek, to awaken another influence, which, without the possibility of conflict, will be migitier than any act of Congress and the words of the National Government. I mean an enlightened control of the Constitution of the Constitution. Congress and the words of the National Government. I mean an enlightened, generous, bumane.
Christian public opinion, which shall blast with
contempt, indignation, and abhorence, all who, in
whatever form, or under whatever name, undertake to be agents in enslaving a fellow-man. Sir.
such an opinion you cannot bind or subdue.
Against its subtle, pervasive influence, your legislation and the decrees of courts will be powerless.
Already in Massachusetts, I am proud to believe,
it begins to prevail; and the Fugitive Act will
soon be there a dead letter.

be a violation of the Constitution. In response to
public Opinion, broad and general, if not universal at the North, swelling alike from village and
city, from the seaboard and lakes—judicially attested, legislatively declared, and represented, also,
by numerous petitions from good men without disconvictions, I deem it my duty not to lose this opportunity of pressing the repeal of the Fugitive
Slave Act once more upon the Senate. I move, sir.
to strike out all after the enacting clause in the portunity of pressing the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act once more upon the Senate. I move, sir, to strike out all after the enacting clause in the pending bill, and insert instead thereof these

. That the act of Congress, approved September

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I have no idea of

to pass a law to deliver up fugitives from Slavery?

Mr. Sunner. The Senator asks me a question, and I answer, frankly, that no temptation, no inducement, would draw me in any way to sanction the return of any man to Slavery. But, then, I leave to others to speak for themselves. In this respect I speak for myself.

Mr. Butler. I do not rise now at all to question the right of the gentleman from Massachusetts to hold his seat, under the obligation of the Constitution of the United States, with the opinions which he has expressed; but if I understand him, he means that, whether this law, or that law, or

he means that, whether this law, or that law, or any other law prevails, he disregards the obliga-tions of the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Sunner. Not at all. That I never said. I ecognize the obligations of the Constitution.
Mr. Butler. But, sir, I will ask that gentleman one question: if it devolved upon him as a repre-sentative of Massachusetts, all Federal laws being put out of the way, would be recommend any law for the delivery of a fugitive slave under the Con-stitution of the United States!

Mr. SUMNER. Never.
Mr. Butler. I knew that. Now, sir, I have got exactly what is the truth, and what I intend shall go forth to the Southern States.

MR. DANA AND MR. LORING.

Many persons are much surprised, and, indeed, not a little puzzled, at the very different views taken of the conduct of Mr. Edward G. Loring in the Burns case, by Mr. Ellis, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Morris and Mr. Parker on the one side, and by Mr. Dana on the other. Some persons seem to think that between these parties there is a conflict of testimony, whereas there is only a conflict of opinion. There is little or no difference as to the facts; but the same facts seen, through a different medium, lead to very different conclusions.

The four gentlemen first named in their view of this transaction look at Mr. Loring as a Massachusetts Judge of Probate, and at Anthony Burns as a man under the shield of Massachusetts law; and they view the whole transaction, not in a professional light, but in the light of humanity. Mr. Dana, on the other hand, looks at Mr. Loring simply as a slave-catching Commissioner, and at Burns simply as a run away slave, who had no defence against his master's claim; and he views the whole transaction with the even not of a men. the whole transaction with the eyes not of a man; but of a lawyer. So it is no wonder, if that same Mr. Loring, who to the eyes of the first four gen-tlemen seem to sink below the horizon into the blackness of darkness, is, by the refracting power of the medium through which Mr. Dana looks at him, elevated, if not indeed to the zenith, yet quite above the fog and vapor of the least breath of re-

proach.

First.—According to the system generally followed by slave-catching Commissioners, which consists merely in acting as blood-hound for the claimant. Ir. Dans might well enough regard as extraordinarily kind, gracious, and indulgent, conduct which, in a Massachusetts Judge, would be set down, and justly so, as most unconstitutionally harsh and cruel. In a slave Commissioner the delay of an hour is quite a stretch of benevolence, ch more the delay of three or four days-where as a Massachusetts Judge can't proceed to try a suit to recover twelve and a half cents, without giving the defendant at least seven days to prepare himself. That in point of fact Burns did suffer from want of time, is made perfectly clear by a circumstance tenderly alluded to by Mr. Phillips in his closing speech, that a fatal defect in the record escaped the attention of the learned counsel, thus hurried to trial without sufficient time for thought and study, and remained to be pointed out and demonstrated in a communication published in the Boston Atlas, after Burns had been illegally sent back-a view of the case generally endorsed by the bar of Suffolk as good law.
Second.—Mr. Dana, looking at Burns simply as

a runaway from Suttle, who did not know that any defence could be made in his case, and who was very doubtful as to the policy of making any, thinks it mighty gracious in Mr. Loring, that he allowed any delay at all—that he did not, Ingra-

allowed any delay at all—that he did not, Ingra-ham like, surrender Burns up after the mere for-mality of hearing the papers read, and examining a single witness as to the identity.

The view taken by the other gentlemen is totally different. If Burns, being claimed by Suttle, without any warrant issued, had chosen to admit the claim and to go back, that was Burns' own af-fair; but after the issue of a warrant, and an appeal to the law, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had an interest in the matter. It was the right of Massachusetts to insist that whatever might be Burns' private inclination, or however he might, after the warrant had been abandoned. have chosen to return to Virginia with his friend Col. Suttle, yet that he should not be carried away un-Suttle, yet that he should not be carried away under process of law, or frightened into yielding by process of law, unless a case, both upon the law and the evidence, were fully made out against him.—
Being a Massachasetts judge, Mr. Loring, even while acting as U.S. Commissioner, was bound to remember and to protect the rights of Massachasetts. Burns might yield up himself, but he could not yield up the rights of Massachusetts. He might have been ten times the slave of Suttle, and a hundred times a runaway, but he could not, cona hundred times a runaway, but he could not, consistently with the rights and honor of Massachusetts, he surrendered, especially by a commissioner who was also a Massachusetts judge, unless the claim of Suttle was first made out to the ninth part of a hair. Third .- Mr. Dana looks at the whole transaction

Third.—Mr. Dana looks at the whole transaction with the eyes of a lawyer, and everybody knows that lawyers and Judges have a code of morals of their own, according to which a great many things are professionally proper and right, which same things done unprofessionally, or in unprofessional transactions, would be highly scandalous. The lawyers flatter the bench, the bench flatters the bar. It is all in the family. Mr. Dana lamented bar. It is all in the family. Mr. Dana lamented that Mr. Phillips' peculiar views withdrew him from the practice of the bar, which he seemed to think was the most glorious occupation to which a man's talents could be devoted. But, in fact, Mr. Phillips lacks one of the most essential qualificaions for legal practice : he knows not how

'crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, That thrift may follow fawning.'

But while Mr. Dana thus persists in looking at Mr. Loring merely as a U. S. Commissioner, at the same time, with a confusion of ideas, to which he is a little liable, he insists upon throwing over Mr. Loring's shoulders, as slave commissioner, that mautle of protection which belongs exclusively to a Massachusetts Judge. Mr. Dana admits that

will look into our friend Spear's book, or Dr. Cheever's book, or any book on this subject, on either side, you will find that there are as many a twelve different interpretations of it. No two of the great lights of oriental learning and the Hebrew language have been able to agree upon an interpretation. One says that it means one thing, and another another thing; and from Calvin and Lather down to our own

and from Calvin and Lather down to our own day, there has been no unaniment agreement among scholars as to the meaning of this sentence. Is it not rather singular, gentlemen, that you should be asked to upset the whole theory of the American Constitution, to support a law which it is confessed transcends the American idea of the power of government, that you should be asked to take a right,—

one of the most doubtful ever exercised, ever if it should appear to have existed in any hu

man government,—on the faith of a single line of a dead language, three thousand years old, about the meaning of which no two schol-ars agree? If God meant to issue a oummand

to last for all time,-a command which was

so imporative that all governments, in all en-cumstances, were to be obliged to obey it,— would be not have stated it so that its mean-

ing might be plainly understood? Some say it means, "whatsoever," Dr. Kraitsir, one of the most eminent living philologists in the world, undertook to show in his lectures, only

world, undertook to show in his lectures, only two years ago, that it only forbids cannibal-ism—the eating of men; and perhaps, on a question of language, there is no single name in all Christendom that has the weight of Dr.

the most eminent oriental scholars have never been able to agree upon an interpretation, is enough for me. I say, is it n t singular, that

one writer, and then by another. But here is this single sentence—nothing else; we have got to hang on this; we cannot find it anywhere else. Our Savior says, reiterating the great command, "Thou shalt not kill." But here is an exception, according to this theory. Get rid of this sentence, and there is no trouble any where else in the Bible. Now, I say, that if that was a command to centrol all governments, to trample under foot all circum-

ernments, to trample under foot all circustances it would be natural to conclude the

individual man; and when the Jews were or ganized into a nation, they found this origina command, according to this interpretation resting on each man to kill whoever had killed

his nearest relative. You know that, all through the Pentateuch, you have frequen references to the old right, before government

references to the old right, before government existed, of each man to kill the person who had taken the life of his nearest of kin. This command, then, is addressed to individuals;—it is a command to the nearest of kin to kill whoever slays his relative. If this is a com-

maintained here?
That is a command add essed to every individu l. There was no sheriff then; re-county courts; no government; no legislation. There were but six or seven men on the face of the

earth, and God promulgated a law. It was addressed to every human being; and it was to be obeyed. It is universally recognized in the Old Testament in the sense I have stated;

the Uld Testament in the sense I have stated; and it was exercised in that sense for fifteen hundred years. Where is the exception, gen-tlemen, to that! If the gentlemen who have appeared before you against the abilition of the death penalty will stand on that statute, so will we. Let us see what sort of a govern-ment you will produce. Whenever a man has

ment you will produce. Whenever a man has taken life, the nearest of kin of the murdered person will avenge him, according to his own idea, and government has no right to interfere. Whose ver sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Not "whose ver

unswares, that he die, he mas a right to fly into a city of refuge, and stay there a year and a day, or until the death of the High Priest; and provided he stays, there during that period, the nearest of kin cannot kill him. There six nities shall be a refuge, both for the children of Israel, and for the stranger, and for the contents are the sources.

the extradition of Burns was not justified, either by the facts, or by the law of the case, as they ap-peared on the hearing. The decision was wrong, but it was not malicious or corrupt; and Judges. he argues, are not responsible for mere mistakes. Now it is true, that, for the sake of the independence of the judiciary, Massachusetts does not hold her Judges answerable for mistakes. Every body else is supposed to know the law, and is held strictly to that supposition. Ignorance of the law excuseth no man—except a Judge; for Judges are at liberty, acting as Judges, in which character they are supposed to be clothed with a sort of inspiration—and, according to the ideas of some nations, between folly and inspiration it is impos-sible to draw the line—to make infinite blunders at other people's expense, for which they cannot in be called to account. But this immunity

extends to them only in their character of Massachusetts Judges. In every other character, they are supposed to know the law like other people, and are held accountable to it.

Now Massachusetts has a perfect right to say this to Mr. Loring. Sir. it was going to the atmost verge for you to act at all under the act of 1850 as slave Commissioner, so detested by our people. We have at least a right to insist that, if you act under that bloody statute, you shall conform to the law and the evidence with the utmost strictness. To send back a man under that act against the lav and against the evidence, is the worst sort of kidand against the evidence, is the worst sort of kid-napping. Ignorance of the law does not excuse the vulgar kidnapper, neither will it excuse you. You have no judicial privileges under that act. The very ground on which you uphold your juris-diction is, that this 'extradition,' as you call it, is not a judicial proceeding, for if it were, a Com-missioner, merely, could not act in it. You have sent of this merely, could not act in it. sent off this man against the law and against the evidence. Now acting as a slave Commissioner is delicate business. An ignorant man, who under-takes to cut a leg off, and kills the patient in the process, is guilty of murder. For an ignorant per-son to undertake to act as slave Commissioner, and to send a man into slavery against the law and against the evidence, is a gross malice. It makes him legally, if not morally, a kidnapper. That, Mr. Loring, is your position: and that being your position, Massachusetts does not want you as a adge of Probate. This is the view, or one of the views under which the removal of Mr. Loring is asked; and with this view I fully sympathize, though even admitting all that Mr. Dana says of Mr. Loring's good conduct as Commissioner-nay, going still further, and admitting all that the

Mr. Dana's apology for Mr. Loring, that he went only a little further in trampling on the law and sentiment of Massachusetts than many others went at the time of the Sims case, may answer very well as a rhotorical and personal blow at those others, but it does not help Mr. Loring. I know it was decided by Judge Lawless, of the U. S. District Court of Missouri, in the case of the negro burnt to death in St. Louis, that no indictme birnt to death in St. Louis, that no indictment would lie against anybody for that act, because the majority of the citizens of St. Louis participated in it. But I have yet to learn that this decision is good law; and, besides, if it were, how would it help Mr. Loring, who did not begin to act till the excitement and delusion were over, and then acted against the public sentiment, and not with it?

Mr. Dana admiss that for the access of States.

warmest friends of Mr. L. can allege, that the act of 1850 is technically constitutional, and that Mr. Loring's decision under it conformed to the

law and evidence—I should still confidently main-tain that Mr. Loring should be removed, for having

ventured to act at all; thereby setting himself in opposition not merely to the letter of a Massachu-setts, statute, but to the moral sentiment of her

Mr. Dana admits that, for 'reasons of State,'
Judges may be removed by address. The reason
for removing Judge Loring is precisely a 'reason
of State.' There is a conflict between Massachusetts and the United States, as to their several powers and rights in relation to fugitives from labor. Until that controversy is settled by the re-peal of the obnoxious act, it is just as incompatible for Mr. Loring to be at the same time a Massachu-setts Judge and a slave Commissioner, as it would have been in 1765 for the same recommissioner. been a Massachusetts Judge and a Stamp Act Commissioner. Mr. Loring does not regign, and he tells the Legislature that his very eath as Judge of Probate obliges him to enforce the new stamp act. What can the Legislature do, except remove him by address from a position in which he thinks his very oath of office obliges him to take sides with the other party !

MR. DANA'S PLEA FOR JUDGE LORING. Referring to Mr. Dana's plea in behalf of Judge Loring, the Boston correspondent of the New York Erening Post says-

Mr. Dana is a fine speaker and debater, a very and language. I have frequently heard him in the lecture room and in the court room, heard him in his eloquent plea for Burns, and have admired him, and confidently predicted a distinguished career for him. But upon this occasion, I did not recognise him.

Hesitating, halting, repeating, he stood four mortal hours less fifteen minutes, before a packed

audience of legislators, citizens, and ladies; the greater part of the time being spent in re-examin-ing the facts of the trial of Burns, and striving to convince the committee that Mr. Loring conducted himself upon that memorable occasion as an upright, cool, remarkably humane man and judge And what do you think was one of his argument against the removal of Mr. Loring? Listen! Why, forsooth, we must not be hard upon him, but remember who his associates have been; that he did not bring upon that bench the instincts of freedom and humanity! A pretty plea, surely, for retaining in office a Judge of the Probate Court, whose dealings are with widows and orphans. Ay! who may any day, and must often, have to examine slave widows and orphans, and be made the depository of their secrets, on which hangs their very

It is a dreadful suggestion, that a man who a sociates with gentlemen, well born and bred, all whose antecedents would seem to be a guaranteagainst the possibility of such a course, could use information gained in such a way, to betray a poor black orphan or widow into slavery! But as Mr. Parker very properly urged, would it not have seemed, aye, been equally monstrous a few year ago, to have suggested that a Boston gentleman have sat as fugitive slave commissioner when the very terms of the commission, to say nothing of the nature of the duties, are an insult to any decent man!

I confess, the distinction is too nice for my ap

prehension; and, as Mr. Parker further said, what is to prevent the next Congress from passing a law that it shall be the duty of all the commissioners to disclose all that they know of the whereabout of fugitives, (or, as Mr. Getchell, of Alabama calls them, fugatives?) Of course, many bad motives are ascribed to Mr. Dana for his inexplicable course upon this occasion, not one of which does

How Mr. Dana, after his preamble, fell insens blg, as it were, into the tone of advocate of Mr. Luring, which required, bo, admissions apparently so irreconcilable with the distinct recollections of all those associated with him in the defence of all those associated with him in the defence of Borns and the preparation therefor, must, for the present, remain a mystery. One charge—that he wished to curry favor with the Curtis chique, is ab surd on the face of it-and could only have original nated with some one who left the room before Mr Dana reached the extraordinary point of his defence before alluded to: for nothing ever published was so severe, so scathing, as his quiet allusions to

the instincts of the man, and his advisers or clique When Mr. Dana came to examine the arguments of the opposite counsel, he did once forge the rules of good breeding, which is certainly ex ceptional to his general conduct. Speaking of the assertion of Mr. Poillips, which he had made under oath, before the committee, that Mr. Loring, when applied to by him (Phillips) the day after Burns' arrest for permission to visit Burns, answers You will not be justified, Mr. Phillips, in putting any obstacles in the way of his being sent back, as he probably will be. Mr. Dana, perhaps, for the moment, unmindful that Mr. Phillips had made this statement under oath, very improperly and discourteeasly introduced a rumor that Mr. Loring denied this.

We never heard a more impressive and dignified defence than was contained in Mr. Phillips' few words, when he came to notice this insult. How columns the narriage of our deceased friend Mr. Dans will ever reconcile his statements of jutor to Manganer Johns, of Philadelphia.

fact, his opinion and feeling with regard to the occurrences at the time of this trial, with the recol lections of his associate counsel Ellis, of Phillips, Parker, and the other friends of Burns, or with his, Dana's, own conduct and speech at the time remains to be seen. In a word, and in conclusion remains to be seen. In a word, and in conclusion on this head. Mr. Dana appeared, to those who knew him, to be talking against his instincts and conviction; he never made so poor a figure since he came to the har, and he has disappointed and saddened his friends, hurt his professional reputation, and, without doubt, made implacable enemies

he came to the bar, and he has disappointed and saddened his friends, hurt his professional reputstion, and, without doubt, made implacable enemies of a family not noted, it seems, for generous instincts.

Where he is to find his reward, I know not; for, though I cannot explain his conduct, I am not of those who think that any mean motive lay at the bottom of his most eccentric action. The committee had sat from three to one-quarter of eight, when Mr. Dana sat down. He was followed by Weodell Phillips, who, without an intemperate word, gave his argument a searching scrutiny, a terrible and utter demolition. He showed that his argument, made a week previous, and published, had not been shaken in any point, and Mr. Dana must have felt more than ever the truth of the very beautiful panegyric he had himself pronounced upon Phillips in opening his address to the committee. Mr. Phillips spoke an hour and a quarter, and hearty and prolonged applause, that could not be held back in spite of the shouts and flourishes of the sergeant-at-arms and the prestige of the and hearty and prolonged applause, that could not be held back in spite of the shouts and flourishes of the sergeant-at-arms and the prestige of the ' hallowed precincts,' greeted his eloquent conclu-

The arguments of Messrs. Dana, Phillips and Parker are to be published, it is said; and as there were stenographers present, there is no danger of suppressions. Of some of the episodes of this long debate, you have already taken notice. The scene between Getchell, the slaveholder, and Lewis Hayden, the once fugitive slave, was repeated on the second hearing, Mr. Getchell getting considerably worsted, as before. The appeal of Hayden was very elequent, simple and touching. It was somewhat in this form : Ladies and Gentlemen : What argument against

slavery and slave-catchers can affect you, if this some does not! You have seen with your own eyes, and heard with your own ears, this afternoon, in the hands of what sort of a being my own child, now in servitude, may possibly be this moment. That man—(pointing to Getchell, certainly a dreadful-looking creature)—such as you see him, and have heard him, is the absolute owner of fifty

long-tried and greatly esteemed friend, and the un-wearied advocate of the Slave, both with his pen and on that man, as shall deter others from imitahis voice, for many years past-Cyrus M. Burleigh, formerly of Plainfield, Ct., and brother of CHARLES. Included the whole object of penalty, in the eye of civil government? You observe, that this must be the whole object. For instance formerly of Plainfield, Ct., and brother of CHARLES. Pa., of pulmonary consumption, aged 35 years. His Pa., of pulmonary consumption, aged 35 years. His a man who undertakes to commit murder, but closing hours were as serene and beautiful as his life does not do it, is guilty of murder, in the eye had been earnest and faithful in all things. The antislavery cause is lastingly indebted to him for the eminent service he rendered it. To him may justly be applied the language addressed by one of his brothers, (WILLIAM H.,) to another departed friend :

There is weeping on earth for the lost ! There is bowing in grief to the ground ! But rejoicing and praise mid the sanctified host, For a spirit in Paradise found !

Though brightness hath passed from the earth, Yet a star is new-born in the sky, And a soul hath gone home to the land of its birth Where are pleasures and fulness of joy ! And a new harp is strung, and a new song is given To the breezes that float o'er the Gardens of Heaven !

The following notice of our departed friend Cyrus M. Burleigh, is from the pen of J. Miller Me Kim, the Philadelphia correspondent of the National

PHILADELPHIA, March 12th.

Our valued friend and esteemed coadjutor, Cyrus M. Burleigh, whose health had been so long declining, has at last taken his departure. On Wednesday morning he breathed his last, and on Saturday afternoon his mortal remains were consigned to the tomb. The house from which the funeral procession moved was densely crowded by his numerous friend. Massachusetts can build prisons strong enough to keep a man, and enact statutesstrong enough to keep a man, and enact statu his numerous friends, who came there to pay to his memory the last tribute of their affectionate regard. A strong and heart-warm testimony to his purity of life and general worth was borne by those who had known him long and well: and the trickling toar on many a cheek was the silent witness, on the toar on many a cheek was the silent witness, on the connection with this subject: First—Have we a right to take it? Second—Are we obliged of what was said. Henry Grew, Lucretia Mott and C. C. Burleigh were the speakers. Mr. Grew dwelt upon the moral uprightness and devotedness to principle of our friend, and especially upon his entire consecration of heart to the cause of the suffering and oppressed. He addressed himself with deep pathos to those present who were personally bereaved by this sad event, and exhorted all to lay to heart the lesson which the occasion so solemnly inculcated.

Mrs. Mott said this was the second time in a very short period that the friends of the slave in this city had been called to mourn the departure of a valued coadjutor. Our beloved friend, Haworth

valued coadjutor. Our beloved friend, Haworth Wetherald, had been taken away in the prime of his manhood, and at the full tide of his usefulness, and now, when our tears had ceased to flow, and before the wound in our bearts had had time to heal rights higher than the individual has to give

The interment took place at the 'Woodlands.' a beautiful cemetery, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, about a mile below the city. The day was excessively cold and disagreeable, but notwithstanding, quite a goodly number followed the body to its last resting-place As we stood around the grave, Mary Grew said, with a voice and manner

deeply impressive:

'He has fought a good fight; he has kept the faith; he has finished his course. He has gone before us, our true-hearted brother, to the spiritland; whence his voice comes back to us, saving,
'Be ye faithful unto death.'

is was the end of these solemn ceremonies The procession was re-formed, and the sad party returned to their homes, some mourning for their

personal bereavement, and all sorrowing for the departure of a true friend to humanity.

This event has not come upon us suddenly, yet it can hardly be said that we were prepared for it. It is a year since our friend was disabled from active labor, and for even a longer time than that the result which has now been reached was by some of us clearly foreseen; yet his loss is none the less sensibly felt. He has left a gap which we have not yet been able, nor have we now any prospect of being able, to fill.

His place we may not well supply.

Though we among ten thousand try

With vain endeavor.

It was only last month that we recorded in on umus ti e narriage of our deceased friend and oca the formation of the second state of the second of the sec

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. SPEECH OF

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. Before the Legislative Committee, Friday, Marc 16, 1855.

PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY J. M. W. TERRINTON

punishment, in civil society. Neither can it be said that punishment is the penalty of sin, properly speaking. That is sin in the eye of God, where anindividual,—a conscious, responsible individual,—commits a wrong act, with a wrong metive. Society has nothing to do with motives—society punishes acts. One man, for instance, may commit murder, and in reality, and in the sight of God, may not commit as much sin as another person, who has merely stolen; because we all know, that sin, moral guilt, is made up of two elements,—the light that the individual had, and the criminal wish that he had to violate that light. God alone can know what light a man has in his own consolence. Strictly speaking, therefore, alone can know what light a man has in his own conscience. Strictly speaking, therefore, the word punishment ought never to be used in this connection. Society does not, in fact, ponish, as we usually make use of that term. Punushment belongs only by that Being who can fathom the heart, and find out motives.

This is a more important principle than it at first appears, from this consideration: Many men approach this subject with the idea that there is some peculiar religious responsibility connected with it. Dr. Cheever, in his work on Capital Punishment, has a leading train of thought to the effect, that "the land is stained

dreadful-looking creature)—such as you see him, and have heard him, is the absolute owner of fifty human beings, so he says; and what worse doom can you imagine for any human being than this!

Now, though not strictly parliamentary, it was impossible to hear this appeal without a deep stirring of sympathies.

Since the close of the debate, the Daily Advertiser admits the right of removal by address! The conservative papers have been full of the subject, and it is indeed one of the deepest moment, for on its resolution depends the future character of this commonwealth.

DEATH OF CYRUS M. BURLEIGH.

We are called upon to chronicle the decease of our long tried and greatly externed friend, and the upting his example.

In that definition, Mr. Chairman, have I not

eye of God; I am not a murderer in the eye of society. Society looks upon the act, not upon the intention or motive of the individuupon the intention or motive of the individual; and therefore, only that Being who fathons motives, who lets down the plummet of His infinite knowledge into the complex machinery of the human heart, and learns how much good has been resisted, how much edumuch good has been resisted, how much edu cation has been smothered—only Hz car

punish.

If I am right in this, the only things left If I am right in this, the only things left are restraint of the specific individual culprit, and restraint by deterring imitators. That is the object of penalties. Well, then, we come to the penalty of the gallows—the taking away of life. In the first place, (to look at it abstractly,) is it necessary, in order to restrain the murderer or deter others from imitating him? It manifestly is not necessary in order to restrain the murderer, because society is now so settled in its arrangements, so perfectly stereotyped in its shape and form, that you can put a man between four walls and keep can put a man between four walls and keep him there his whole life. Massachusetts can build prisons strong enough to keep a man,

Is it necessary for the simple purpose of de-terring others from like offences? Will the taking of the man's life deter others from fol-

lowing in his steps? That is the only question that remains. When we look at the gallows—what is it?

now, when our tears had ceased to flow, and before the wound in our hearts had had time to heal,
another, still younger, and moving in a yet wider
sphere of useful activity, and whom we had fondly
counted on for indefinite years of service, has been
cut down—and who shall supply his place! Mrs.
Mott recalled the time when our friend first came
among us, nine years ago, in the freshness and
vigor, as it were, of his youth; she spoke of his
glowing and earnest zeal, and the eloquent appeals
especially by which he sought to inspire others of
the same age with a portion of his own devotedness.
She regarded his ardums life and early death as
in some sense a martyrdom; not doubting that it
had been his indefatigable and self-forgetting labors that had put a premature period to his days.

Mrs. Mott was followed by C. C. Burleigh, the
brother of the deceased, who, in low tones and in
a voice much impeded by emotion, uttered one of
the most beautiful and touching culogiums I ever
heard on any similar occasion. I wish I could recall some of the beautiful and well-sustained figures
in which his glowing feeling expressed itself; but
my memory is too imperfect to allow me even to attempt it. "compact" among the people; and a govern-ment founded on that basis cannot have the right to take life, unless the individual has the right to take his own-unless suicide is just finish. The reverend gentlemen who have appeared before you in opposition to the petitioners would not allow for a moment, that I have the right to commit suided; but if I have not the right to take my own life, how can I give that right to Governor Gardaer, or to have of treaker men!

thave not the right to take my own life, how can I give that right to Governor Gardaer, or to a jary of twelve men?

Beccaria, Dr. Rash, and all the most eminent writers on this subject, deny the right of society to take life, on the ground that it conflicts with the Republican idea of government. These gentlemen escape from this by throwing overboard the whole theory of American society. They say society is not a compact.—
They upset the Declaration of Indedendence and the Massachusetts Constitution, and maintain that government is derived from God; and in that way, they get the idea of capital punishment from the Bible,—for you cannot get it any where else,—it must be got from the Bible, if got at all. Overthrowing the Massachusetts Constitution, they erect you into a government by the ordinance of God. It is, in fact, the old divice right to govern, and having introduced that theory into American society, they give you the right to take life. And when they give you this right, they give you the right to take life. And when they give you this right, they give it to you in a liebrew verse of the Old Testament, which, they say, not only confers the right, but actually enjoins it as an obligation.—'Blood for blood!"

They claim that this question lies entirely outside of the province of usual legislation. That is a very suspicious claim, to begin with You are asked to give your support to a law,

which avowedly transcends your Constitution, on the ground that it belongs to the theory of

thither." (Num. 35:16.) That was the only restraint which Moses dared to put upon the right of the nearest of kin to take the life of any body who had killed his relative, whether he took it by design or not. The murderer, you will observe, by the 35th chapter of Numbers, is to be put to death, whether he gets to the city of refuge or not; but the man who has colimited manslaughter is not to be killed, provided he stay in the city of refuge a year and a day. Now, what does that show! It shows two things. In the first place, that, prior to Moses making that statute in Numbers, the nearest of kin took the life of any body who killed his relative; and in the second place, it shows, what I have stated to you, that there is no distinction in this pasage between murder and manslaughter. Moses institutes a distinction, and says that if a man has committed homicide, has killed a man unawres, and shall go to a city of refuge, and shall stuy in this city a year and a day, he is not to be punished. The two statutes interpret each other. That second statute, which makes a limitation on the first, shows what the first meant, and shows that Moses thought that, according to this passage in Genesis, the blood of the murderer (whether the next were committed with malice aforethought or not.) should be taken by the neasest of kin of the murdered person. Gentlemen, that is what a lawyer would call an interpretation from co-temporaneous practice. Here is the practice of fifteen hundred years under that statute, and the man who commits murder, with aforethought or unawares, is to be slain by the nearest of kin of the murdered man. If that was the original command, obey it. We have only the statute of Genesis; we have no 35th chapter of Numbers, with its limitation—that was addressed to the Jews. We have no Christianity. But who says this is a Christian government? It recognizes the Jew, the Mohammedan, or anybody eles, as a voter, and entitled to an equality of rights. I do not say, gentlemen, that the spors of Christianity does not permente its laws; I simply say, this government does not recognize Christianity as an essential characteristic of its component parts.

You come now to the Bible. You come now to this verse of the Old Testament; and upon this verse of the Old Testament; and upon this verse hang the whole theory of government, the whole theory of this legislation on capital punishment. I want you to bear in mind these observations, because it shows you that the thing claimed stands outside of the Constitution, outside of the whole theory of American government,—it is peculiar, essential, unique. We come, then, to that verse. It is an obligation, they say:—"Whaseover sheddth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Let us suppose, gentlemen, to begin with, that it is a command. We will not say, that we are Christians and not Jews, and that this was addressed, in the first place, to Jews, and not to Christians. Who can show that this is a command to Christians! It is a loommand to the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far as we know. But it is contended that this command stands behind the Jewish nation, so far it is a document to the whole race, represented by Noah. Suppose we waive aride our objection, and consider it as a covenant with the race, through Noah.

If this is a covenant, if it is a law of God, if it is addressed to us as the law of God, if it is addressed to If this is a covenant, if it is a law of God, if it is addressed to us as the law of God, it must be obeyed,—fully, entirely obeyed; no man has a right to take exceptions to it. If it is the law of God, Mr. Chairman, you and I, and this government, and every individual in it, must obey it, in its letter. We have no right to make changes in it. If we have a right to make changes in it. If we have a right to make changes in the law of God, how much change may we make!—change it a half!—two thirds! No; the rule is, you cannot change it a tittle. It is to be obeyed in its full epirit, to the extent of it. Is not that proper! The opponents of capital punishment, gentlemen, are perfectly willing to obey thistatuts, with the gentlemen who support the gallows, if they will obey it to the letter, entirely. How long could any legislature that obeyed that command, in its full spirit, sit in any Christian country! Let us see.

In the first place, you will remark that this is but a single line of Hebrew text. If you will look into our friend Spear's book, or Dr. Cheever's book, or any book on this subject, on either side, you will find that there are as only the statute or Genesis; we have no 35th chapter of Numbers, with its limitation—that was addressed to the Jews. We have no "cities of refuge." A man cannot go to Worcester or Salem, and stay there a year, by way of punishment or atonement for his offence. We have not the exception; we have only the stanta. Now, gentlemen, are the reverend gentle-

Now, gentlemen, are the reverend gentle-men willing to say that you shall annul the di-tinction between murder and manslaughter in the Commonwealth of Massacousetts—that if a man kills another unintentionally, with-out malice, he shall be punished with death, under the covenant with Neah! If they will not, what right have they to come here, and tell you to obey that statute! If that is a statute of God, what right have they to make exceptions? exceptions?

Dr. Cheever avoids this dilemma—and how?

Dr. Cheever avoids this dilemma—and how? He allows that this command was addressed to individuals. He allows that it cannot be obeyed by individuals now—that it would derange all society, upset all government;—and what does he say? He says, we cannot obey the statute, as it was originally given; because there is such an rature change of irreumstances, since the time of N ah. Indeed! But Dr. Cheever can interpolate "circumstances" into the law of God, and if he can, cannot we? If you are going to open a door in the statute into the law of God, and if he can, cannot well If you are going to open a door in the statute for the great procession of circumstances, in a period of ninet en centuries, to pass through, can you not open it wide enough to carry the gallows out? If "circumstances" have changed so much since this command was delivered, that it is not safe for an individual to kill the unusleter, perhans they have changed so much since the same changed so much supported to the commendation of the commendation of the commendation. murderer, perhaps they have changed so much that you and I can get rid of the gallows alto-

that you and I can get rid of the gallows altogether.;
Suppose you had made a statute for the Commonwealth of Mas-achusetts—suppose you had
passed the Msine Liquor Law—and, six months
afterwards, the authorities in some town in the
Commonwealth should refuse to execute it—
should make exceptions to it; and when they
were remonstrated with, they should say—
"Yes, certainly, those were the circumstances
in March; but in November, they have change
ed, and we are going to change the statute. ed, and we are going to change the statute; the Legislature would undoubtedly like to have it done"—what would you think of their reasoning?

If this is a statute at all, it is a statute until

in all Christendom that has the weight of Dr. Kraitsir at the present moment.

"Whosover sheds man's blood, his blood shall be shad." That is the whole sentence;—"by man" is an interpolation. That is the whole literal interpretation of the words; we have got to make out the rest. Some say it is a prophecy;—"Whosoever taketh the sword shall perish by the sword;"—and so of all the different meanings. I do not go into them, because it is utterly immaterial to my argument which is the best. The simple fact, that the most eminent oriental scholars have never God alters it. If one man has a right to say that "circumstances" have dispensed with one half of it, another individual has a right to half of it, another individual has a right to say that "circumstances" have dispensed with it alt-gether. Mr. Jefferson, you know, cut out all the parts of the New Testament to which he objected, and said of the remainder—"This is my New Testament." There was no objection to it, except that different people might take out different parts, and there would be no New Testament left. Just so with Dr. Cheever.—
"Circumstances" have not dispensed with the statute, "Theu shalt worship the Lord thy God," enough for me. I say, is it n t singular, that so transcendent an act of legislation as "breaking into the bloody house of life," as Shakspeare writes,—the taking of human life,—shuld be left to hang on a doubtful sentence, in a dead language, more than three thousand years old! Why, gentlemen, if a dactrine is of importance in the Bible, it is spread over many pages; it shines out in parable; it is put pruminently forward in exhortation; it is given in one way and then in another; first by one writer, and then by another. But here is this single sentence—nothing else; we have "Thou shalt love thy neighbor,"—none of the ten commandments are dispensed with;—how is it that "circumstances", have dispensed with one balf of this statute?

one balf of this statute?

In the third place, gentlemen, it is a singular fact, that if this be the law, "Whosacever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," it has never been obeyed. If this be the meaning of the statute, that every civil government that exists is bound to kill every human being who has taken life, it has never been obeyed. It is a strong argument against that interpretation, that practice has never conformed to it. Moses took the life of an Egyptian; Geddid not order him to be killed. According to this statute Moses quelt have According to this statute. Moses ought to have been killed. David killed Uriah; —David was not killed. So you can find, in various parts of the Old Testament, accounts of several ana way that, in modern society, would subject them to punishment,—yet they were not pun-ished, though, according to this statute, they

stances, it would be natural to conclude that God would have expressed it more clearly.

But, leaving this point, to whom is this command addressed? Is it to Governments? No, gentlemen, it is addressed to individuals. When God spoke to Noah, there was no government. The address was to individuals; and it was so interpreted for more than fitten hundred years. It was addressed to each individual man: and when the Jews were orished, though, according to this statute, they ought to have been put to death.

Then look at another point. Did you ever hear of a civil government that did not locate, in some portion of its arrangements, the pardoning power? Did you ever hear of a government that did not give either the King, or the Legislature, or the Governor, or Council, or somehody, the pardoning power? I undertake to say, that there has not existed, since the Christian or. or somehody, the pardening power? I undertake to say, that there has not existed, since the Christian era, a government that did not include, in some portion of its arrangements, the pardoning power. Our own Governor has this power. If a jury shall condemn a man to death, the Governor may interpose, and save his life. Where does he get this power, under this statuto? God does not say, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,—provided the Governor does not pardon him;"—that provise is not there. If this is a statute of the most high God, you pardon him;"—that provise is not there. If this is a statute of the most high God, you have got to obey it—obey it literally; and every man who is convicted of homicide is to be punished capitally. No considerations of mercy, no pity for his family no consideration of darkness of mind, his wast of education, ought to make him a fit subject for pardon.—There is no provision for pardon in this statute; what right, then, has the Governor of Massachusetts to exercise such a power, on the theory of these gentlemen?

You perceive the force of my argument, gentlemen of the Committee The upholders

me. Supp-se that Mr. Rufus Choste, or some other eminent lawyer, should procure the acquittal of a murderer, and that the brother of the person murdered should seek out and shoot down the murderer; and when he is brought before the Court for sentence, suppose that he should say to the Judge—"Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Every pelpit in Massachusetts interprets that as a command of God. I believe that it is a command of God, addressed to individuals. God has never taken it back; it is addressed to me, then, just as much as to Noah. There is no time with the Almighty. He is speaking that sentence now just as much as in the time of Noah.—You say the jury had acquitted the man; but what are the jury to me! I know he was guilty. God's command to me is that I should kill him. I have killed him. Take my life if you dare! You are disobeying the divine commandment!" Suppose he should say this, how would you meet it? Where could you impeach his argument, upon the doctrine maintained here! You perceive the force of my argument, gentlemen of the Committee. The upbelders of capital punishment say, that inside of this book there is a command to keep up the gallows. We respectfully reply, Take the statute in this book; construe it as you would any other law, and obey it;—and if you will obey it, in that way, we are willing the government shall try the experiment. But we are not willing that anybody should take out as much as he pleases, and leave the rest as binding upon us. If this is a law of God, "Whosewer sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"—if that is the whole of it—you have no right to give Governor Gardner. blood be shed"—if that is the whole of it—
you have no right to give Governor Gardner
the pardoning power, because God does not
recog-lize that power. There was an old lawyer who used to say that he could make a flaw
in any statute large enough to drive a couch
through. How large a flaw must you make
In this statute before you can get modern government under it! If it is a statute, it means
all I have said; if it is not a statute, it means
nothing. You are to choose between one born
of the dilemma or another. If you want a
government based on Noah, take it; but don't
throw it in our faces, when we undertake to government based on Noah, take it; but don't throw it in our faces, when we undertake to erect a government on the principles of mod-ern experience, that we are disobeying a Di-vine command, in its full letter and spirit. Do not throw it in our faces for a single item, and then refuse to conform to it when it goes

"Whosever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Not "whosever mains to shed "—not "whosever malicine." It sheddeth "—"sheddeth with malice aforethought—malice prepase" —but, "woosever surprern." Now, we make a distinction. We say the man who kills in hot blood, or unawares, is guilty only of mansiaughter; we must have unalice aforethought to constitute the crime of murder. We draw the line; in the time of Noah it was not drawn. Is this Legislature ready to obey this statute, and annul the distinction between murder and manslaughter! Is it ready to make it the law of the Commonwealth, that whosever takes life, no matter how, shall be hung by the neek until he is dead!

Do not say I am quibbling. I will show you I am not. Look in the 35th of Numbers, and you will observe that Moses makes a peculiar institution. He sets apart six "cities of refuge." What are they for? Whoever commits murder with malice prepanse, with design, is to be killed. Whoever smites a man unawares, that he die, he has a right to fly into a city of refuge, and stay there a year and a day, or until the death of the High Priest; against yourselves.

Then, again, if this verse is a binding against yourselves.

Then, again, if this verse is a binding statute, all the verses are. Here is the covenant with Noah—and this is one of the articles of that covenant:—'But fiesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.' (Gen 9: 4) This has always been interpreted to prescribe a certain method of killing mest to be caten. Even at this day, the Jews of the city of New York will not buy meat in the common markets of the city, because they think it transcends that command—that it is not properly blooded. They obey that law, to the very letter. Did you ever hear of a Christian, who comes here with the sixth verse of this chapter written all over him, and maistains that tied commands you to hang,—did you ever hear that he made any particular inquiries in the market as to whether he was obeying the fourth verse! No, gentlemen; he is a Jew as to the gallows—he is a Christian as to his pork.

But that fourth verse is a more important one than the sixth, after all. If you turn over to that chapter in Acts, where the Apostics give their general directions to Christians, you will see that they reiterate the fourth verse:—"For itseemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things:—that ye abstain from meats offered to idule, and from blood,

28, 29.) That command of the fourth verse has been reiterated, but not the sixth. Tha Apoelles old not say, when they were making that general law for all Christendom, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to command you that you obey this statute—'Whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shell his blood be shed." They were yet to be particular how their meat was killed; that has been reiterated, but no Christian obeys it; but this sixth verse has never been reiterated; yet it se so important, according to these gentlemen, that if you should dare to disobey it, the Commonwealth would go to pleces! If this is a covenant, one part is just as obligatory as another, yet you would obey the sixth verse, and set at nought the fourth! Suppose the Supreme Court should say of a law passed by this Legislature, "It is all constitutional, we admit; but we shall obey one half of it, and not the other?" Suppose an individual should say so!—what should you think of it?

what results from these considerations!—
What results from these considerations!—
Why, this results; that n-body can obey that tatate at the present moment, and no civil government does; and the government that should undertake to do it for one hour, would be basked to do his on the government. should undertake to do it for one noar, would be hurled into oblivion the next, by the aroused indignation of the nineteenth century.—
Constitute yourselves a government—make no distinction between manelaughter and murder—declare that the individual shall have the declare that the individual shall have the right to take the life of the person who kills his nearest relative—give the Governor no right to pardon—and see how long such a government would stand. And yet, I contend that no man who interprets that statute by the common rules of evidence and contemporary practice can find any of the merciful provisions of modern government in it. I have shown you what that statute was, as practised for fifteen hundred years; and Moses himself did not dare to say that the nearest of kin should not kill the man who had committed manelaughter. He instituted "cities of refuge", where the individual offender should be safe; but if he left the city, he was liable to be killbut if he left the city, he was liable to be kil

where the individual remoter should be safe; but if he left the city, he was liable to be killed. I contend, gentlemen, that is this issue between the parties, it is we who are upholding the Old Testament, not those who defend the gallows. We say, God did not mean to prescribe a law for civil government, in all time,—that was not his object; or, if he did, this was permissive, merely—You may take life, if you wish to.

Look at another verse; see how abourd the this theory of the friends of capital punishment is. This is the third verse of the same chapter:—"Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you." Is that "shell" obligatory? "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shell his blood be shed." They say that word "shell" sounds down from Noah to the present moment, and binds you and me, and all the world. Does it?—then so does the other;—"Every moving thing that liveth other:—"Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you." If there is a man in this Legislature who is a Grahamite, and does not est meat, he disobeve the Divine con not eat meat, he disobeys the Divine command; that shall is imperative, as much as the other. You must eat everything, like a Frenchman. It is all in the same Hebrew tense, and why is not one "shall" as imperative as the other!—Must every Christian take care that during his mortal life, he tastes of every "moving thing that liveth" !—and if he does not do it, will the distance that during the state of the you say that he disobeys the command of Almighty God 7 Why, it is manifestly an absurdity, and if you want to maintain that
chapter, you must maintain it on some other
principle than this.

This is my proposition, gentlemen. Grant
that to be a statute; if it is a statute, inter-

that to be a statute; if it is a statute, interpret it like any other statute; and when you have done this, then we will say these gentlemen are sincere and consistent, if they support and obey it. But until they do, we are not willing to have them interpolate as much as they choose into it, and then require us to obey it. If you will show me a man who rigidly obeys the other verses of the covenant, then I will show you a man who really supports the gallows because he thinks the sixth verse commands it; but until you do, I shall think the opponents of the abolition of the death penalty are influenced by other motives than those which appear.

Now, gentlemen, I shall leave this subject

Now, gentlemen, I shall leave this subject in a moment; but allow me to say to you, that this statute is represented as a warrant from Almighty God, commanding all governments, for all time, to indict the penalty of death upon every man who takes life. There is only this single verse, in language of an uncertain tenor, and it has all the difficulties about it I have named. I ask you, in all sincerity, if any county sheriff would hang one man, on a writ as ambiguous as that? You know he writ as ambiguous as that? You know he would not; and yot governments are to hang, to all time, and thousands are to die, upon the authority of a statute so uncertain in its meaning, that no sheriff would hang an individual man on a precept so equivecal as that, and so much surrounded with difficulties! If men are to come here and propound it as a statute, sounding down to us from Sicai, and before Sinai, then it is a statute that we must put our hands on our lips, and our lips in the dust, and obey to the letter. We have no right to reject one word and take the next: right to reject one word and take the next; there is no trilling to be done with it. Gentlemen, we have now dismissed the sub-ject of obligation. It is unnecessary to say,

life from this text, it is the most that it can get;—it is no command, no continuing command. But, mark you's even that permission your Constitution does not allow you to use. Your Constitution does not even recognize it as a permission; because, if it is, it is a permission to commit suicide. You have got to upset the American idea of government before you can even exercise it as a permission. Mr. Rantoul, in one of his exceedingly able reports on this subject, fourteen years ago, placed this before the Legislature in the most unanswerable light. You must argue down the American idea of government before you can put down the argument which forbids the taking of human life. There is great difficulty here. You have got to say of that Declaration of Rights,—"It is a lie! There is something deeper than compact. We do not sit here under a compact. We do not sit here under a compact. We do not sit here under a compact. We sit here under an arrangement which God limits—the height and depth and breadth of which He has defined not the Constitution." which He has defined, not the Constitution.'
This is not the Republican theory of government, gentlemen; but I have no quarrel with it; it may be so. But you sit here under the Constitution of Massachusetts, and if that Constitution is right, you have got no powers except what the people give you. When, gentlemen, did the law recogoize that I have the right to take my own life! Never. Then, under your idea of compact, you have no right to take my life. If your Constitution is a sound, logical instrument, the very first statute that hung a man on the gallows was a violation of the Constitution of Massachusetts; for it undertook to assume over that man's life a power which he did not himself posses, and which he could not, theref-re, delegate to the State;—and the Constitution says that the government could have no right except what that man gave it. "The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; government could have no right except what that man gave it. "The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people." Now, will any man undertake to show me how any government founded upon that as its corner-stone can claim the right to take life, unless suicide be justifiable! The defenders of the gallows all feel the necessity of meeting this objection, and they uniformly do it by rejecting the idea of compact. They claim that givernment is something else,—that you get your rights somewhere else than from a compact. Dr. Cheever, and other writers on the same side, undertake to say that this idea of compact is all a mistake; that it was derived from the French infidelity of the eighteenth century. They ignore it, entirely; and they have a right to, for they are only writing books. But you cannet; for you see string here as a legislature, and must respect the Constitution you have sworn to support.

Let us look at another argument of Dr. Cheever. He says that society gets the right to take life as the individual gets the right to take life as the individual gets the right to take life is immediately; you must retreat no further; and they, when you must retreat no further; and thee, when you must

right to take his immediately; you must retreat to the wall. The rule of the common law says, you must retreat until you can retreat no further; and then, when you must cither die or kill him, you may kill him; but if you kill him at once, without retreating as far as you can, you are guilty of manslaughter. Now, if Dr. Cheever is going to get the right from this principle just alluded to, then society is bound to show—not that taking life is a good thing, but that it is an absolutely necessary thing. Society is bound to show that, in conformity with this rule, she has retreated to the wall, that is, done everything she could, before taking the life of the murderer. Society has got to show, if Dr. Cheever's throay is correct, that, like the individual, before she raised her hand, she retreated as far as she could—she ran and hid herself, got out of the way, and when she could do nothing else, then she book the life of the individual. But a w. how is it? Who are the men that are hung! Are they the rich, the educated, the men that are cared for by society? No, that is not the

class that supplies the harvest for the pillen. The harvest of the gallows is reaped from the poor, the ignorant, the friendless, the mean poor, the ignorant poor, the ignorant poor, the ignorant poor, the ignorant poor, the mean poor, the growth of which she never them care. But the first time this crop of mean passion, the growth of which she never them, ed., manifests itself,—the first lime that it is an act of violence, scoiety puts forth his band it do not need to the poor, the mean passion, the growth of which she mean passion, the growth of which she mean passion, the growth of which she had not his throat, and strangles him! Has selve done its duty! Could the intelligence in moral sense, and the religion of Massachum go up and stand by the side of that porrafe, tunate negro who was the last man thereful done their duty by him? He had plate he life in scenes of vice; he had never know what it was to have the tone of a humas being that expressed sympathy spoken to had him as accessed sympathy spoken to had him, and the churches never roe up in this moilety done its duty? Had it with the harpies of licenticuness and diril but ha will the property of the had never had any of such a life, did society take him and any of such a life, did society take him and any of such a life, did society take him and any of such a life, did society take him and restrain his vice. for thirty years, when society fossed him guilly of an act of violence, he natural man of such a life, did society take him and restrain his; it will throw around him moral infissees, and now I will take him and restrain his; it will throw around him moral infissees, and now I will take him and restrain his; it will throw around him moral infissees, and now of your members a few days

said one of your members a few days age.
Then it is bound to educate the man then into its hands.

This is a very broad theory, that society as the right to hang, as the individual res the right to defend himself. Suppose the design there are certain principles which limit the right, to which she is bound. Beside, who society has got the man completely is the power, what is she to do with him! Suppose as man attacks me to-day;—according is le. Cheever, I have the right to take is list. But the law says, "No; if you can retrain him, you must do so, and not will him? Society has got the murderer within four sulfer he never can do any more harm. You may him in a jail from whence he can never each—where he can never see the face of his him again. Has rociety any need to the this man's life to protect herself? Has she mused to the wall? If society has only the right that the individual his, she has no right in the thin the individual his, she has no right in should attempt to kill me in the street self ashould take his life, and when I was turned before Chief Justice Shaw, and asted lert hilled him, I should say—"I overcame list I throw him on the sidewalk; I hand in hand and foot; and then I killed him, I should say—"I overcame list I throw him on the sidewalk; I had hand and foot; and then I killed him, would that be considered justifiable! Tal whould be imprisoned for manulaghts. So clety takes the murderer; she she him he was she hangs him;—and then she turn me she hangs him;—and then she turn me and the large him utterly, irremedially in her per she hangs him;—and the own her restrupt her—"You had no right to take the mailer; you might have restrained him, I'm would, and you had no right to take the miller; you might have restrained him, I'm would, and you had no right to kill him.

her—"You had no right to take the minlife; you might have restrained his, if yo
would, and you had no right to kill his."

As I said at the beginning, there as to
objects of penalty;—first, to retrain to defender from repeating his offence; and send,
to deter other people from imitating it. No,
if the object be simply to prevent the indvidual from repeating the offence, hence
repeat it, if he is shut up in prison. You ma
keep him there; you can deny to the Genne
the power to pardon such person. Ten me the power to pardon such perions. Tenn declare, as O'Sullivan proposes, that such pe-sons shall not be pardoned except by the te-thirds vote of three successive Legistum. You can keep them in prison, if you clear. Nobody can say that a million of nessi women, with one poor, hapless man is dain, are so afraid of him that they are obligate take his life in order to prevent the size.

No. gentlemen, nobody pretends it. The she claim now is, that it is necessary, it saled

Prevent other men from repeating it.

Here is another point. If this idea of Here is another point. If this idea of hanging men for example is correct, the siy do you not make your exceedings as palies possible? Why do you not hang men it is centre of the common? Our fathers did it. They hung their people under the great in. They hung them for example, and of come they wished every body to see it. They hap men upon the neck, and crowds went cets see it. If example is the object, the sign of this punishment would seem to be essential to its full effect. Why, Homer tells us in thousand years ago, that a thing see its to its full effect. Why, Homer tells u, in thousand years ago, that a thing seek adouble the weight of a thing heard. Buy body knows that a child will received she sees ten times as well as what is had. You know, that in old times, (cold only laugh of it), in Connections, they used whis the children to the line of the tows, addes the children to the line of the tows, addes might remember the bounds of their tends by that spot. Now, there are fourter base in the Union that have made execution prvate, and in England they are private.

a few men, some twenty, erthirty, er first, as allowed to witness them.

Mark you! the whole claim of the raise dexecutions now lies in their example. Tell is found that, out of one hundred and say seven persons executed in England, vibing cortain limit of time, one handred and any four had witnessed executions! All the cins of the world have been found at the find the city. the gallows. O'Sullivan has recorded at a eight cases of persons who left the gallows go home and commit the same ofene, is in

the gallows. O'Sullivan has recome eight cases of persons who left the galong go home and commit the same offens, it is same way. In consequence of these treats how it has been in other cases;—what a most there was, at one time, for shooting Left Fallippe, and at another, for intrading of the Victoria. It takes possession of people of the clerk has learned that to witness exesting develops a certain instinct for blood, shat a dangerous; and so, in many consiste, it government does not permit it.

There is another singular thing short in punishment. Here is an edinace of Gald the sublimest authority in the soircra, (a coording to the upholders of capital people of the sublimest authority in the soircra, (a coording to the upholders of capital people ment,) commanding us to execute out famen; and yet, in all cirilized societ, it. Chairman, the man who execute that is, is hangman, is not esteemed fit for deert is ty. In Spain, the man who has hing safe runs out of the city in digrace, and if he set to appear again, the mob would test his pieces. To call a man a hangman, is greatest insuit you can cast upon him.

Dr. Begener (interrupting)—insuffered.

Mr. PHILLIPS—But the mob does not so the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the uphylanding.]

Mr. PHILLIPS—But the mob does not so the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the clergyman, who takes the man's had off the moment before he is executed! [Interrupting of the large o

It was found to be the universal ton that executions were great presented of The London police never had so much be The London police never had so such the bondon police never had so such the object, why, certainly the example of the sound of the sound thing at the moment ought to kny vented people from a miniming its similar tense. Yet you remember the very name blo case of the widew of a forget is lobe case of the widew of a forget is because the parties, and took it home; and the police of the corpset. The wife, and the other found forged notes concealed in the very man of the corpset. The wife, and the other case the evidence of the first the evidence of their guilt! And can be also are not at all uncommon, though that may be treated to the reason why excutions was the reason why executions was private.

was the reason why executions apprivate.

Let me cite high authority on this not Six or seven years ago. Let Breaghn dressed a letter to Lard lyndburt. Indicate the principal reasons to the principal reasons the principal reasons to the principal reasons to the principal law in England. I appal to particular and to every member of the profession and to every member of the profession to term others from committing effects the present of the principal law in terms of the profession of the profession

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tent field conting to you consider the galcatinose, it is do as a cample is to do as ca

march 23.

where the protecting society against the repetition of a start way of protecting society against the repetition of a start way of punishing the offender severely, then a start way the present is a failure. In my opinion," he adds, "the remnent is a failure. In my opinion," he adds, "the remnent is a failure. In my opinion," he adds, "the remnent is a failure where the man over again, if you just an and hospital; make the man over again, if you just a more hospital; make the man over again, if you wan in a man then, and in that way you protect society from them, as then, and in that way you protect society from them, as then, and it has way you protect society from them, as the man years of practice, and ample opportunities for all many years of practice, and ample opportunities for all many years of practice, and ample opportunities for all many years of practice, and ample opportunities for all many years of practice, and ample opportunities for all many years of practice, and ample opportunities for a ment it is gallows at the end of the lane, instead of its created the gallows at the end of the lane, instead of its created the gallows at the end of the lane, instead of its created the gallows at the end of the lane, instead of its created the gallows and direction-hoards at the beginning."

There is, therefore, gentlemen, no reason, either on the free is, therefore, gentlemen, no reason, either on the free is, therefore, gentlemen, no reason, either on the influence of the example, for the gallows; there is the influence, i would not weary you with details; but take itselfence, i would not weary you with details; but take itselfence, i would not weary you with details; but take itselfence, i would not weary you with details; but take itselfence, i would not weary you with details; but take itselfence, i would not any statement fully contained by part of the death-penalty from a crime, the crime so not sale the death-penalty from a crime, the crime so the fail of the part of the part of the part of

he in service which it denouses.

X. gentlemen, if you cannot execute a law, it is manfeat that it better not be on the statute-book. This is just
what they found in Eugland. For instance; the law used
were that a man should be hung for stealing a shilling.
But mover this law, no jury could be
forty shillings. But mover this law, no jury could be
found to convict — they would find some way to evade the
status. Thus, in one case, a man was taken up for stealing a watch which cost ten or fifteen pounds. The man
standoubtedly stolen it; it was proved against him. The
iny brought him in guilty of stealing the watch, and found
tat the watch was worth thirty-nine snillings, eleven pence. ing a watch which cost ten or a proved against him. The leaf and obtody stoch it; it was proved against him. The leaf and obtody stock it was the watch was worth thirty-nine shillings, eleven pence. The watch was worth thirty-nine shillings, eleven pence watch was worth five pounds." "Perhaps it was," said the watch was worth five pounds." "Perhaps it was," said the watch was worth five pounds." "Perhaps it was," said the jury check the accused in guilty of stealing four pounds, in the property of the accused in guilty of stealing four pounds, nineteer shillings, eleven pence,—always keeping one pears behind the banging limit. Of course it was perjury, but the jury would not convict of the crimes of stealing and forgery, when the penalty was death. The Legislature and, the man who forges stall be hung; but men forged every day, and every hour of the day; and the bankers of Loobe, with millions of pounds resting on the fidelity of an anagraph, went before the Legislature and said, "Be likel esoigh to pass a statute against forgery that shall let inflict the panishment of death." It was found that the man carged with forgery was certain to be acquitted; the witnesses quibbled, the juries quibbled, the prosecuting effect quibbled, until no man was ever hung for forgery. Then the bankers of London (one thou-and of them) went before the Legislature, and said, "Your gallows is no protection to us; be kind enough to take it away!" (seatlemen, for one hundred years, the progress of all legislation has been to there away these extreme penalties; sad in proportion as it has done so, crime has diminished. That shows that society does not need the gallows for protection; and if it does not need it for protection, it has no right to it. These gentlemen will not contend, of course, that seizety has a right to take life from caprice, from white, from taste, but only from nece-sity. If we show you that when it has been withdrawn from a crime, that crime is diminished, then, it say, we show you a competent and miscent argument

patient argument why it should be abstract. We have got the caperion of two hundred years in England, that every crime from which the p-nalty of the gallows was taken off has diministed. We have got the experience of Kussis, of Tascany, of belgium, of Sir James Macintosh in India, where they have given up the death penalty; yet murder did not increase. You say, these experiments were local, and for a best time. True but they were all now way. Society has rease. You say, these experiments were local, and for a thet time. True, but they were all one way. Society has been tried the gallows, but to fail. Now, all we ask of Massachusetta is, that when she has tried the one and not succeeded, she shall now try the other. We used to punish highway robbery with death. Then that crime was frequent; but things got to such a state that, as Robert Rantoll and, a man was more likely to be struck with lighting, sitting to his parlor in any town of the Commonwith the to be home for computing highway robbers. waith, than to be hong for committing highway robbery. We took off the penalty of death, and then highway rob-bery diminished: there were more cases before than since. In the states that have abolished the death penalty, the result has been entirely satisfactory,—and every humane man must rejoice at it. Take Michigan, and those States that have rescheded the penalty,—they are no worse of than Massachu-tp. I say that this a State pre-eminently than Massachustle. I say that this a State pre-eminently fitted to try this experiment. We are the great Normal School of all civil government,—Massachusetts. We have got the best circumstances for an experiment in civil government; we have got the best circumstances for an experiment in civil government; we have got a people with wealth equally divided; we have got common schools; we are a people with a high moral tone; we have got a homogeneous population; it is easy to get a living here, and poverty, therefore, does not drive to crime, as in some other places—our irrum-bases are all favorable to morality. We are in a better state to try such an experiment than Michigan, far better than Belgium, Tuscany or Russia; yet they tried it, and were secessful, and why will not we? All the great light of jurisquidence are on our side, —Franklin, Living-ton, Rush, Lafayette, Beccaria, Grotius, —I might mention fatt eminent names all throating their testing tones. no. Resh Lafayette, Beccaria, Grotius,—I might mention fety emisent names, all throwing their testimony against the galloss. Lafayette sail—I shall demand the abolition of the penalty of death, until you show me the infallibility of human testimony. He thought it was enough to discredit the gallows, that men might be hung by mistake. There have been two or three scores of such cases in the history of jurisprudence.

Now, with all this experience on our side, with the fact that we are the very best government in the world to try

Now, with all this experience on our side, with the fact that we are the very best government in the world to try the experiment, with the testimony of Lord Brougham,—a men not biased by any peculiar circumstances, by any religious fanaticism, by any sentimental enthusiasm,—that this idea of deterring from offences by example is a failtre—that education is the only thing—that the prison cegat to be achieved hespital—that the man is to be taken peression of, and restrained by moral influences,—shall we be behind such a man as Lord Brougham? It seems that we ought not to be.

l will ceale the Committee but a moment longer. I thisk I have thrown some remarks before you that go to the this.—That this covenant with Noah is one not bind-best this.—That this covenant with Noah is one not bind-best this.—That this covenant with Noah is one not bind-best this.—That this covenant with Noah is one not bind-best this.—That this covenant with Noah is one not bind-best this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one noah this covenant with Noah is one not be the noah this covenant with Noah is one noah this covenant with the noah this covena I will estain the Committee but a moment longer. I think I have thrown some remarks before you that go to show this:—That this covenant with Noah is one not binding on this Legislature; or, if it is, that it is binding in its whole, and yet you will not, for an hour, think of receiving it as a whole and obeying it as a whole; you would be the shame of Christendom it you attempted to obey it. If it is not statue to be obeyed shelly, then it is nothing. If Dr. Cheerer may share it one way, like a piece of wax, we can shape it another; if he can drive civil government through it, we can drive the abelition of the gallows through it. Then, gentlemen, as to the necessity of it. The whole current of regislation is to give it up. We have given it up la almost all cases, and we are safer than we were. No state that his abolished it has ever taken a backward step voluntarily. It was restablished in Tascany by a foreign yewer, and is not executed even there. I understand that the frand Duke of Tuscany promised his sister never to obey the law forced upon him, by Napoleon, and you see muderers walking in their particulored dress along the streets of Leghorn and Florence;—yet Tuscany is the most moral and well-behaved country in Italy. So it is with our State;—all experience points one way. The old barbarous practices have gradually given place to others more hamas and mereiful. Once a prisoner was not allowed to sure. The old barbarous practices have gradually given place to others more hamas and mereiful. Once a prisoner was not allowed to sure. "yet the government is safe. Men used to say, "We cannot get rin of the gallews. Why, murder is so rife in the land, that if you don't have the very worst positions that man can devien, no man's life will be safe." If this was so, why didn't you impale the criminal, as in Algiers, or crucify him, as the Romans did! Why didn't you mate the gallows as cruel as possible? If you wanted the larm of example, if you wanted the blood to freeze in the bearts of men, why did you, not make less. The question is not now how we shall meet frighten ma, but how we shall take life the easiest. It has swe been proposed to give coloroform to the man about to be excented, from metives of humanity. If you want to frighten people, adopt the cruelest punishment you can larnet; and yet, if you should do so, if you should take pain to make your punishments as severe and cruel as possible, the humanity of the ninetcenth century would rebuke you. Unon-ciously, without considering the logic hidden maker it, without considering what inferences would be trawn from it, the efforts of physicians and of men of jurispradence has been to find out the easiest mode of taking life. The French claim that the guillotine is the taking life. The French claim that the guillotine is the taking life. The french claim that the guillotine is the taking life. The french claim that the guillotine is the taking life. The french claim that the guillotine is the taking life. The french claim that the guillotine is the takes and therefore they adopt it. If you can come down two, and adopt imprisonment!—why cannot you come down two, and adopt imprisonment!—why cannot you come down two, and adopt imprisonment!—why cannot you come down two, and adopt instead of putting the man in a juil, make your prisons, as Brougham recommends, moral hospitals, and educate him!—why rannot you come down how how many steps you can come down! We ame down one when we gave up burning at the stake; we came down another whon we gave up the tearing of the body to pieces with red hot pincers; we came down as ther when we gave up the treating of the body to pieces with red hot pincers; we came down as ther when we gave up the tearing of the body to pieces with red hot pincers; we came down as ther when we gave up the tearing of the body to pieces with red hot pincers; we came down as ther when we gave up the tearing of the body to pieces with red hot pincers; we came down as ther when we gave up of the pincers.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, MARCH 23, 1855.

MR. PHILLIPS ON CAPITAL PUNISH-

The Committee of the Legislature, to whom were redesired to be heard on this grave question, whether satisfactory to our customers. pro or con. The discussions have been protracted, and In endeavoring to give some slight account of the rusal; for this it will be sure to receive. Its great length has necessarily excluded various articles intended ened for room, in these exciting times.

ANTI-SLAVERY SALE IN BOSTON.

The friends and patrons of the recent NATIONAL ANTI- amends for many deficiencies and failures. SLAVERY BAZAAR will recollect the great disappointment experienced by themselves, as well as its Managers, on account of the non-arrival of the very large collections of expensive and elegant articles that were on their way from London, Edinburgh, Perth, and some other places. This mischance was occasioned by the withdrawal of several of the Cunard steamships for the use of the Government; and it was not till several weeks after the Bazuar closed, that the missing posed to bring to that office something more than a caboxes arrived at their destination. On examination. their contents were found to be so abundant and attractive, that the Managers judged it best to hold a special sale, made up entirely of the new articles. This was done on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 14th, 15th and 16th of March, in one of the Halls out the righteous dictates of Justice, -not according to occupied at the time of the Bizaar; and though it was that laid down by unprincipled, time-serving politic hardly possible that the weather could have been more unpropitious, the result exceeded our most sanguine ery station in life, desire to uphold and venerate. expectation—the receipts amounting to S614 57. As the attendant expenses must be comparatively small, we fugitive Slave Bill was a true expression of public cannot but feel that a circumstance, which was at first opinion in regard to that infamous law. Allowance extremely annoying, has in the end been productive of pecuniary benefit to the Good Cause. We trust that the statement of this fact will be accepted by the dear friends sending these boxes, as some compensation for the vexation and disappointment attendant on their delay, as it certainly was by us for any labor and fatigue consequent on this feet and the feet and the feet and fatigue consequent on this feet and fatigue consequent on the feet and fatigue consequent on the feet and fatigue consequent of the hearts of the people. The quent on this fresh exertion.

The collection from Elinburgh was never larger or handsomer, and was never, it appeared to us, so well chosen as respects saleableness and variety. We must mention a few articles that were particularly acceptable, and bred in sections of the Union that regard sla-A very magnificent piece of Embroidery, by Miss Murray, and sent through Mrs. George Combe, attracted universal admiration. It represented a scene from Scott's novel of ' Woodstock,'-the duel between Charles and Everard : and so remarkable was its execution, that one could hardly believe it needlework, and not painting. It was not sold, but will be retained for exhibition at the next Bazzar. A very large collection of pretty basket-work, from Mrs. Jeandin, sold very readily, more so, perhaps, than it would have done, had it day are held as sound and rational, to-morrow may find been of a higher-priced description. Its utility , as well them obsolete, exploded,—for current events shadow, as its beauty, recommended it to purchasers. A satinwood Reading Stand was esteemed a very tasteful con- merical. Not so with laws. With them, no allowance tribution, and soon vanished from the Table, as did the exquisite basket of Wax Fruit presented by Mrs. Capt. and improvement of society—but enacts a certain pen-Wardlaw, and which reached us with hardly a grape bruised. The heautiful blue and white Shawls were a loaf of bread, to keep his family from starving; he is bruised. The beautiful blue and white Sh sold at once, and more could have been disposed of, arrested; the theft is proved against him; the law does the approach of spring rendering them more saleable, not recognise necessity as a palliation of the crime; it perhaps, than at an earlier period. The Affghan Blankets and Embroidered Table Covers were also highly mete out the punishment, according to his own judgprized; the Crochet Tidies, Sofa Covers, and Doyleys likewise. Indeed, our supply of the latter sort of work, great as it was, hardly equalled the demand.

We wish it were in our power to return our warmest thanks to the Elinburgh denors individually, but as we cannot do this, we trust it will not be deemed impertinent if we mention Jane and Eliza Wigham, Henry Wigham, Mrs. McLaren, the lady of the Lord Provost, Mrs. Berry, of Portobello, Mrs. Buchannan, Mr. and Mrs. Inglis, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Dr. Guthrie, Misses Rae and Kerr, and Mrs. McLean, as friends to whom the slave and his advocates owe a deep debt of grat-

Among the many attractions of the Edinburgh box. one of the greatest was its collection of very valuable autographs. We are greatly obliged to Mr. Adam Black, the publisher of the Edinburgh Review, for his kindness. Many of the autographs were sold at excellent prices. We are also much obliged to Dr. Payne, of Nottingham, for his volume of poetical Delineations, as well as many other articles, and to Jane Abbott for a very nice collection from Bolton and Preston, and to Ann Fletcher of Leigh, Lancashire, to Elizabeth Palmer of Reading, and Mary Worsdell, Crews, Cheshire, for many very pretty and saleable articles of ladies' fancy work. A few articles of needlework were sent by a lady of Leeds, just entering her hundrodth year.

We have alluded to the above-named gifts, in connec tion with the Elinburgh box, as they were received through it. The parcels enclosed in the same for individuals have been received and forwarded.

We regret to learn that sickness and sorrow have been busy among our Perth friends, and that owing to these circumstances, their exertions were not commensurate with their wishes. We sympathize with them most truly, and trust that all whom pain and bereavement have precluded from active exertion, will find effectual as good claim for the protection of his liberty, as he consolation in the remembrance of former labors, and the blessing promised to him who only considereth the poor.

Notwithstanding the bereavements to which the comnunications of our Perth friends alluded, we are able to make mention of many very valuable and saleable donations. The Foot Stools, Camp Stools, and Sofa Cushions, were highly estremed, and were sold at good prices. Nothing in the whole collection was more acceptable than the very nice Damask Table Cloth. which found an immediate purchaser. Any thing of the kind is sure to command a sale. A very handsome Shawl Pin, valued at eight dollars, some elegant embroidery, and a variety of small tasteful articles, were also included in the Perth collection. We beg the Ladies of the Fair City to believe that we fully appreciate all their labors, none the less so that we know them better by these than by their names. A few articles from Crieff were received by way of Perth.

The Managers have great pleasure in returning their warmest thanks to Mrs. Massie, wife of the Rev. Dr. Massie, of London, for the very beautiful collection made chiefly through her instrumentality, because they can add to them, what they are aware she will receive as her best reward, -the assurance of the complete success that has attended her undertaking. The most SLAVERY SOCIETY have appointed PARKER PILLABURY valuable part of Mrs. Massie's donation consisted of an Agent of the Society in Great Britain and Ireland very beautiful embroidery, made up in the shape of otto- for one year, or such part of it as he may remain mans, sofa cushions, and what the French call coffresd abroad.

these eruel penalties. Men have been crying out continually against this instinct of mercy, which sought to make the dangeon less terrible; they feared to remove a cobweb from that dangeon's crucity, feat the world should go to pieces. Yet the world swept it down, and is safer to lay than ever before.

Now we ask you to abolish the gallows. It is only one step further in the same direction. Massachusetts has got up to the wall. Sie has thrown it away for almost all offences—she only retains it for one or two. We ask you to take one more step in the same direction.—Take it, because the circumstances of the time prove you may take it safely! Take it, because it is well to try experiments for humanity, and this is a favorable community to try them in!

These are the arguments, gentlemen of the Committee, on which we ask you to abolish the punishment of death in this Common wealth.

[Mr. Phillips was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his remarks.]

In connection with Mrs. Massie, we beg leave to thank her sister, Miss Grant, the Misses Martin of Trowbridge, Miss Sturge, and various pupils of the Ladies' College, London. We are also indebted to the Rev. Dr. Massie for a donation of books.

All the goods left at this sale, together with those remaining from the Bazzar, have been carefully packed, and will be sent to various anti-slavery Fairs throughout the country—the receipts of all these flowing into one common treasury. The managers have retained ferred the petitions for the abolition of capital punish- a few of the most valuable articles, which would hardly ment in Massachusetts, have granted every indulgence. command a sale elsewhere. We find that this arrange on the score of an impartial hearing, to those who have ment is the most profitable to ourselves, and the most

have elicited a very deep interest. We avail ourselves sale, for the benefit of such friends abroad as are parof a full report of the able and eloquent speech of WEX- ticularly interested, we know that we have omitted DELL PHILLIPS, Esq., made before the Committee last much that it would have been desirable to mention; but week, which appeared in the Boston Bee of Tuesday we shall trust to their kindness for excuse. They will morning, as reported by J. M. W. YERRINTON. We feel, with us, that, after the great success that attended morning, as reported by J. M. W. YERRINTON. We the Bazaar, its receipts amounting to FIVE THOUSAND need not ask for it the most thorough and attentive peafterwards, somewhat imperfectly advertised, all its arfor our present number. We are constantly strait- rangements of a very extemporaneous character, with no ornamental devices, no refreshment table, the most trifling entrance fee, and hardly any reduction of prices, should result in so large a sum as six hundred dollars, exhibits so encouraging a state of progress as to make

On behalf of the Managers, ANNE WARREN WESTON.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

Sin-When a person accepts an office wherein he i likely to be called upon to decide in cases involving the liberty and dearest rights of a fellow-citizen, he is suppacity for merely deciding on the testimony presented in the cases before him. It is presumed that he is superior to the blind bias of political opinions, and has so far mastered his own prejudices as to be able to decide impartially-with honesty and candor- and thus carry cians, but pure, simple Justice, such as all men, in ev-

The almost unanimous opposition of the people to the it is the true index of the hearts of the people. The With them, slavery was looked upon as a necessary evil, that must be tolerated, and while tolerated, musbe protected; they had some excuse for urging the passage of that bill. But when those men, who were born est men should abhor, -for them to help the passage of that bill, what degree of censure can be inflicted adequate to their venality?

Laws are not always made for the good of society, or the protection of the rights of its citizens. All enactments partake, more or less, of the peculiar prejudices of their framers and originators,-and no law but has its weak parts. Society is progressive: and opinions that toaffixes the penalty for theft, and leaves it to the judge to ment. What should we say of a judge who inflicted the starving wretch? Would he not be denounced as a remorseless tyrant, unfit to preside over a Court of Jus-

Public opinion, in this community, is against the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Bill. The passage of that act was the crucifixion of Liberty, and every day it remains on our statute book, it strikes a wound that Freedom pays with it own heart's blood. It is a poor argument, that because a law is pa-sed, and become a part of the Constitution, it must be strictly en forced, regardless of the rights and liberties of the people; and more especially when that law strikes at the very root of all that mankind should prize. Is justice-is the sacred liberty and freedom of a fellowcitizen, of less consequence than the restoration of merproperty to one who claims a doubtful ownership? God

The Stipendiaries at Washington are not infallible they are simply men, -and some of them the very worst specimens of mankind; and Nature, ere this, must be thoroughly ashamed of herself, for sending forth such objects, to scatter dissensions and wicked enactments throughout the land.

Judge Loring-a man who was once held in good repute, but who has forfeited every claim that should entitle him to the respect of freedom-loving man-basely disregarded the evidence that should have liberated Anthony Burns-he despised and set at nought the honest, clear-spoken expression of public opinion, in the very city in which he claims protection-he pandered to the arbitrary wishes of slaveholders and kidnappers -and showed himself a slave to his own wilfulness; and in defiance of every feeling of charity or justice, he sent back to Slavery a fellow-man who was as free, and had himself-though a few shades darker in complexion, but not a whit the less a man and an American. And even now-when the whole community, as it were, has petitioned for his removal-the same Judge Loring ha sent in his remonstrance,-that he merely did his duty, in obeying the law, and says that his removal will be a dangerous precedent. It remains for the Executive to confirm or disregard the honest expression of the public mind of Massachusetts.

The article on our first page, respecting 'Ma DANA AND MR. LORING,' is from the pen of RICHARD HILDRETH, Esq. Strange to say, the Evening Tele graph (for which paper it was prepared,) declined publishing it, and by request it was inserted in the Allas. It is keen, able and conclusive.

The Editor of the Liberator has returned from his visit to Bangor, Hampden, Old Town, and Orong much gratified by the kind reception uniformly extende to him, both in public and in private. Maine, so long backward in the cause of the Slave, is evidently pressing forward to achieve the great work of emancipation.

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI

CONVENTION IN SPRINGPIELD.

field, commencing Saturday, March 8d. Owing to some misunderstanding, the meeting was advertised to com-mence at 2 o'clook, whereas, the speakers did not arrive until evening. This was a serious disappointment to those few friends who assembled in the afternoon, but, after holding an 'indignation meeting,' for about an hour, they dispersed to their several homes.

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Church-E. W. Twing was chosen President, and A. F. Raymond Secretary. S. S. Foster first addressed the convention. He adduced some strong arguments to prove, that him to his earthly existence, and set his struggling he is the slaveholder, who, by voting, supports this slaveholding government. He maintained, that it is dren are left to mourn his loss. But not alone his fameasy to do away with slavery, and illustrated his position holding up a parcel, which required some strength to sustain it, but none whatever to let it fall. He thought gress, here, feel that, in his removal from among us, the reason why Northern men were so unwilling to let go of elavery, and let it fall was, the fear that their crock- The position he occupied, and the reputation for integery, which is lying underneath, might be broken. He rity of purpose and nobleness of soul he had so bravely referred with biting sarcasm to the position of the won and so successfully maintained, caused him to be whiga, as manifested in renominating Washburn for looked upon as, at once, the terror of a corrupt and Governor, after his conduct in the case of Anthony trimming Church, and a strong pillar in the beautiful Burns. He administered a scathing rebuke to all political parties, and all religious denominations, who, he said, were all implicated in the Burns tragedy.

Dr. Osgood next spoke. He considered the preceding speech as rather a mixed up argument ; he did not understand the logic-it seemed to him hodge-podge. He could not fight the government, but he would never give up a fugitive slave. He knew that the Garrisomians would not allow him the name of friend; but call him friend, or call him foe, he was determined to be an anti-slavery man. Calling a thing by a certain name did not alter the fact, -the name was of little consequence. He thought it would be impossible to take another slave from Massachusetts.

C. L. Remond thought that the Dr. was not very well posted up, as to the sentiment of Massachusetts in regard to slavery. Although it might be that a slave melancholy accident which hurried him into eternity could not be taken from Worcester, yet, he thought, there was no doubt but that one could be taken from any town on the coast. He characterised northern men as idolators of the Constitution, who where so blinded by their regard for it, that they could not be anti-slavery. He spoke with keen irony of our so-called free country, and inquired with great force, what are all these boasted liberties of Massachusetts worth? He related numerous anecdotes in a very happy way, and weakness of the position occupied by the popular was listened to with evident pleasure by the audience. He was followed by S. S. Foster, who made a few re-

marks, testifying his approval of the spirit manifested by Dr. Osgood, and after a little debate, as to whether or not there was a mob in Springfield, on the occasion of the visit of George Thompson, the convention ad-

SUNDAY MORNING, 10 o'clock .- Met according to adjournment-President in the chair. A few remarks were made by the President on the necessity of radical measures. - C. L. Remond then addressed the meeting on the question of color. When he heard a free use of the term nigger, he had not much hope for the fugitive slave. He wanted the manhood of man to be recognised as distinct and separate from considerations of color or race. He said, government is a failure, unless justice is done to every man, the weak as well as the strong. The anti-slavery cause has the highest claims to our support, in that it looks to the happiness of all-master and slave alike. He censured the clergy of the country, who, having the ear of the people, might, if they would, convert them all to anti-elavery.

Rufus Elmer had not come intending to speak as (he

wittily remarked) he did not know as he should have against it, he, of course, had no sympathy in that dianything to say; but he wished to correct the last speaker, in one of his statements. It is not true that the preachers have the ear of the people, for notwithstanding all the inducements that they hold out, and all the money that is expended in painting and varnishing churches, the minister is not able to get the ear of one press, he had looked upon the Garrisonian movement quarter of the people.

Wm. W. Brown next spoke. He asserted that nothing is so injurious to the great body of the people as slavery. The slavery of America is not like any other slavery of which he read with unutterable surprise, he found that the pust or present time. He spoke very forcibly of the instead of anarchy and confusion, haggard infidelity and position of the South, with regard to common schools, and the means of education. He said, the slaveholder did not wish the poor white people to be educated, lest he had been a constant and deeply interested reader they should teach the slave. He thought that slavery of THE LIBERATOR, and had publicly enrolled himself tended to undermine the State. On leaving the platform, Mr. Brown offered some of his books for sale, and with Slaveholders! The American government, with His remarks on this point were extremely humorous. and illustrated by numerous anecdotes, which were received with hearty applause. Adjourned to 2 the American Church, with its ready fellowship of

Met according to adjournment. Wm. W. Brown song. The President made some remarks to show that he regarded as the great Babylon of hypocrisy and inanti-slavery is not a transient excitement, but a deep-

seated principle.

Lewis Ford then addressed the convention. His peech was characterised by a deep sincerity, that left no doubt on the minds of his hearers as to his being thoroughly in earnest. As he exclaimed with energy, him other than feelings of the most perfect good will. Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you, all felt that that golden precept was the rule of so often said, no traveller returns. Very much do we

S. S. Foster next spoke. He commented at some length upon eloquence,—said that it was a gift he cared little about-that what we need is a plain, unvarnished presentation of the naked facts touching the institution longer seen moving in our midst, though his manly and of slavery. He said it was nonsense to say that the cheerful voice is no longer heard, some of us—most of people of this country are educated into liberty-it was his intimate friends, I believe, cannot but feel that he ridiculous to call the United States the home of the is still in our midst, to counsel and encourage us. And free, when more than half the slaves in Christendom though, from early impressions and education, our first are held there. The legal slave claimant is not always thought naturally is, that he is cut off in the midst, ay the slaveholder-the real slaveholder is here, in Spring- almost at the commencement of usefulness, and that field. He spoke of the introduction of slavery. At first his work on earth must end with his natural life, yet re it was not recognised by law, but was a domestic, not a political institution. Now, voting is synonymous with slaveholding. This led to a little discussion with some influence of his life and teachings. Already is it evifree-soilers, as to whether the Constitution is autislavery, and some talk back and forth about the position of Charles Sumner. Mr. Foster then poured taking hold of many minds, to a much greater extent forth a perfect torrent of words, proving irresistibly than during his life. Indeed, it should be to the true rethat the free-soilers are, and always have been, practi-former a pleasant reflection, that how sudden or untime cally, pro-slavery. Adjourned, to meet at 7 o'clock.

numerous anecdotes drawn from his own experience, which were told with inimitable drollery, and were white races, enabling him to judge of both. He believed that white people had as fine feelings as colored ples he may have labored and suffered to advocate. people. It was said the Ethiopian could not change the holder could do it. He was glad to see this change of dist minister. A class of religiouists who had, for years the slave should have as good a chance to sell his mas- had lost no opportunity to blast his reputation and de ter, as the master had to sell the slave. Rufus Elmer stroy his influence, only because the light of his pur done. C. L. Remond took the floor. He said that colored men had not the same inducements and motives approbation by frequent applause. The convention was exceedingly interesting through all its sessions, and

was conducted with order and decorum.

A. F. RAYMOND, Secretary.

DEATH OF EDWARD B. PRATT. RUBHFORD, N. Y., March 10, 1856.

We have recently been called to the painful task of committing to the silent mansion, all that was mortal of our dearly beloved friend and fellow-laborer in the cause of down-trodden humanity, EDWARD B. PRATT.

Mr. B. died at his residence in this village, on the morning of the 9th of February last, of a fractured skull, ocsioned by the falling of a tree. The accident occurred on the afternoon of the 8th, and at 8 o'clock the next morning, death kindly severed the cord that bound ily and near friends are called to mourn his untimely departure from earth. The friends of freedom and prothe right arm of their strength is seriously weakened. looked upon as, at once, the terror of a corrupt and temple of Reform. At a very early age, Mr. Pratt became a member

the M. E. Church, and was for some years a devoted and successful preacher of that order. But finding the sectarian platform too low and too narrow to answer the demands of his aspiring nature, and the love-yearnings of his world-embracing heart, he bade the Church a final farewell, and proclaimed himself thenceforth and final farewell, and proclaimed himself theorems in and forever a free man—choosing rather to suffer affliction with those who were despised for being true to their convictions of duty, than to enjoy the favor of a popular and powerful church, for a season. The Church, as usual in such cases, after failing in its efforts to bring the wanderer back into the fold, in order to curtail his influence, classed him with wicked men and in fidels, and consigned him to perdition. Indeed, the has been halled here as a special act of Providence in behalf of the religion of the day. And, in view of the sad event, the people have been warned to repent, lest they all likewise perish. Yet no one, I believe, has ventured lo hint a suspicion of his moral character, or even his Christian character, so far as purity of life and zeal in the cause of universal righteousness pertain to character. An unmistakable evidence of the church is presented in the fact that it stands in continual fear of the influence of the purest and best men in the community.

In the most extended sense, Mr. Pratt was a reform er. Generous, self-sacrificing, fearless and free, with a stern sense of justice united to an unbounded love for humanity, he welcomed to his confidence and fellowship; his affection and sympathy, the true in heart of every clime, color or creed, and ever stood ready to bear faithful and uncompromising testimony against all manner of oppression and wrong. The system of American slavery had, for some time,

claimed his serious attention. A nature like his could not be indifferent to the outrages of that sum of all villanies. But being a non-resistant in principle, he could not identify himself with any of the political parties looking to its overthrow through the instrumentality of a government of force and violence; being thoroughly non-sectarian, he could not act in concert with any of the professed anti-slavery religious associations; and having been altogether misinformed in regard to the position and character of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and, to a great extent, prejudiced rection. To our friend G. B. Slebbins, of Boohester, belongs, I believe, the honor of having first introduced to his favorable notice the radical Auti-Slavery movement, about three years ago. Previous to that time through the misrepresentations of the pulpit and the as deisgned to set law and order, religion and morality at utter defiance. But having listened to Mr. Stebbins's lecture, and purchased 'Garrison's Writings, horrible blasphemy, they counselled only peace on earth and good will to men. For some two years past, took occasion to tell how he happened to write a book. Its nearly four millions of slaves, he looked upon as a bloodthirsty conspiracy against the rights of plundered humanity, to which he could owe no allegiance. And earth's greatest felons and criminals, while it casts from its embrace, as a vile and polluted thing, the man whose mind expands beyond the narrow limits of commenced the meeting by singing an anti-slavery its creed, though his life may be as pure as an angel's, iquity, with which he could not stand connected, and be guiltless. Yet to individuals standing in guilty relations, he was charitable almost to a fault. With mind to perceive, and a voice faithfully to condemy wrong feelings and actions, no one could attribute to

But he has gone to that world from whence, it i his life. He closed by saying that anti-slavery people miss him from our social circle; we miss him as a plead must work. Slavery is aggressive, and we must work, er for the poor and friendless, as a faithful and efficient preacher of practical righteousness. We mourn his loss not only as a friend, but as a reformer, to whose keeping the interests of oppressed and outraged humanity could be safely entrusted. But, though his form is no flection and observation teach us that, even though dead to this world in every other respect, he still lives in the dent that the life he lived is being appreciated by, and the truth he so earnestly and fearlessly proclaimed is ly soever his exit from this stage of action may be, he SUNDAY EVENING.—President in the chair. Wm. W. still lives, not only in the memory and affections of Brown spoke first. He entertained the audience by those by whom he was appreciated and loved, on earth but in his influence on the minds of those who opposed him in life. Then, all feelings of personal considera highly appreciated by the audience. He referred with tion are necessarily allayed, and the minds of people great humor to his own position between the black and are better prepared, by being more inclined, to seri-

It is a matter of regret that his funeral obsequie color of his skin, but it seemed the Southern slave- were performed in the Methodist Church, by a Metho complexion go on-he hoped it would continue, until pursued him with misrepresentation and abuse, who proposed to circulate among the audience a petition for life and enlightened teachings reflected unfavorably the removal of Judge Loring, which was accordingly upon the narrow and exclusive spirit and hollow pre tensions of the Church he had left, should not have been allowed to perform the unmeaning ceremony of paying that white men had-that they had nothing to fight for. to his remains the last earthly tribute of affection and He referred to the case of Attucks, to show that, not- respect. The sermon, as usual on such occasions, was withstanding this, they are brave and patriotic. Al- destitute of all that was useful and instructive. No though it was thought by some that the negro was not allusion, whatever, to the reformatory character, the high purpose, the sterling integrity and the pure life of the deceased, or the millions in bonds, whose cause he had espoused, passed the preacher's lips. It is believed, however, that the Beverend gentleman would, had he been free from the shackles of the sect, have spoken of the deceased as the circumstances required, as, in private, he fully acknowledged his worth, and professed to admire his noble traits of character. But this mark of palpable disrespect, shown, too, in the very capable of taking care of himself, yet the slave was high purpose, the sterling integrity and the pure life obliged to take care of both his master and himself.
He spoke very sarcastically of the American people, and the Know Nothing party. Mr. Remond's speech was highly satisfactory to his hearers, who testified their

act of professing to pay respect, has not been without live effect. It has opened eyes hitherto closed to the means to which sectarian and pro-slavery churches resort to place the ban upon all who proclaim the truth without cealment and without compromise.

Very truly, yours, J. H. PHILLEO.

SOLOMON NORTHUP.

DEAR GARRISON: Allow me to call the attention of the abolitionists of Boston and vicinity to Sozomon Non-THUP, now in this city. He is here to relate his twelve years experience in slavery. It is well known that he was kidnapped in 1840—taken from his wife and three children in Saratoga, N. Y .- taken to Washingtonthere confined and whipped under the very eves of the national capitol-sold to a New Orleans slave-dealertaken to that city-sold to a planter living on the Red River, near the borders of Texas-taken to his destination, and there whipped and worked twelve years, under the most frightful form of slavery—and at length, by the requisition of the Governor of New York, restored to his family.

His experience, as detailed in the volume entitled Solomon Northup, Twelve Years a Slave, is one of thrilling interest, and has been widely read in New England. No narrative of man's experience as a slave, a chattel, is more touching, or better calculated to expose the true character and designs of slaveholders. But it is far more potent to see the man, and hear him, in his clear, manly, straight-forward way, speak of slavery as he experienced it, and as he saw it in others. Those who have read his Narrative can scarce fail to desire to see the man, thus kidnapped and tortured in body and soul, for twelve years, and to hear his story from his own lips.

I heard him relate his experience in the Meionson. on the evening of the 15th, and last evening, in a private social circle. To-morrow evening he is to lecture in the Bethel on Commercial street. But he should have an opportunity to tell his experience in the country towns and villages. I understand that he intends to be at Worcester, at the Non-Resistance Convention. Cannot arrangements be made for him to relate what he has felt, seen and heard in the land of whips and chains, in the towns and villages of Massachusetts?

His two kidnappers are now in prison, at Ballston N. Y., awaiting their trial in May, before the Supreme Court of New York. They own to the deed, but plead exemption from guilt and punishment on the ground that the suit was not brought against them within three years-the time fixed by law-after the deed was done. A strange plea of innocence that ! Who was to prosecute them? Their victim was being flogged and worked 1200 miles from the scene of their outrage, where to assert that he was a free citizen of New York exposed him to the merciless lash, and where the word and oath of a black man are never received against a white man. Under such circumstances, his kidnappers plead innocence and exemption from punishment, because he did not arrest them within three years after they sold him! Will the people of New York allow that

What is this Union to Solomon Northup? Literally a confederacy of kidnappers. Where is the Church or political party that will refuse to open the way to give this victim of slavery a hearing, and repay him for the suffering this Union has inflicted on him? But there are 4,000,000 of kidnapped men, women and children still under the American lash. Who will help to redeem them, and pay for their sufferings? WHO HENRY C. WRIGHT. CAN ?

Boston, March 20, 1855.

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

A Meeting of the New England Non-Resistance So-A Meeting of the New England Non-Resistance Society will be holden in Worcester, Mass. in Horticuatural Allel, 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 ADIN BALLOU. On Sunday forenoon, afternoon and evening, there will be addressed, discussions, exhortations, and remarks, accompanied by singing, and such other devotional exercises as persons in attendance may feel it a privilege to offer. 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 occasion.

The meetings will be held in Hortfeultural Hall.

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 Richts, 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. [We most earnestly urge every one who can, to attend these lectures. Mrs. Rosz is one of the most

remarkable wowen, and one of the ablest and most eloquent public speakers, in this country.]-ED. LIB.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A meeting of this Society will be held in Plymouth, at Davis's Hall, on Fast Day, April 5th, commencing at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day and evening.
WM. L. GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHIL-

LIPS and others are expected to be present.

A cordial invitation is extended to all to be present, and to take part in the deliberations of the meeting.

LEVEE AND SOCIAL ASSEMBLY, for the benefit of Charles Spear, the Prisoner's Friend, at Union Hall, Friday evening, March 23. Tickets for gentlemen, \$1; ladies, 50 cents; for sale at the Libe-rator office.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the new series of Tracts.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Andover, Mass., \$265 00 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

MOTORPATHY.

MOTORPATHY.

DR. H. HALSTEAD, the present proprietor of the Round Hill Motorpathic Water Cure, at Northampton, Mass, formerly of Rochester, New York, well known for his success in the cure of chronic diseases, especially those incident to Woman, will be at the Revere House, Boston, on Monday, the 19th of March. He and his wife will remain until Saturday, the 24th. They will be happy to receive calls from their friends, and those who wish to consult the Dr. professionally or to enquire into the merits of his new system of treating diseases, without mechanical appliances, or any of the usual remedial means. Dr. H. most positively asserts from past experience that he can cure the worst cases of Prolapsus Uleri and kindred diseases; for which Motorpathy is the only quick, efficient and reliable remedy. So confident is he of success in every case, having oured some thousands without a failure, that he is willing to enter into an agreement to board, lodge and treat the patient, without charge, if he fails to perform according to agreement. He has treated within the past year, some fifteen hundred cases at his institution; which, though by far the largest institution for the sick in this country, has been found wholly inadequate for the accommodation of invalids seeking admission. He is now adding to his already 800 feet front, a large four story building. His bathing-rooms occupy 150 by 40 feet. Motorpathy is particularly adapted to the cure of Chronic Disease of either sex, and it is the only effectual restorer of the constitution, from the effects of dissipation, indulgence and over-exertion. Many forms of disease hereofore considered unmanageable are cured by its aid. Inhalation for lungs and throat diseases has long been practiced at this Institution. The success attending it has induced others to make it a speciality.

Consultations, [hours from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.,]

Consultations, [hours from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M.] without charge. His work on Motorpathy will be sent postage free to any address, on the receipt of ten postage stamps; or it can be had of him at 25 cents.

References :

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But it shineth afar yet, The hill-tops are bright, While the vale where the slave lies Is gloomy as night; And the voice of deliv'rance Sounds faint, where the cries And the groans of the scourged And the fettered arise

Press on, my white brothers ! The tyrants are strong, Ye have giants to cope with-Oppression and Wrong: Be brave, my white brothers! Your work is of love; All good men pray for you, And God is above; And the poor slave he crieth Unto ye for aid-O, be not discouraged ! O, be not afraid !

From the cotton plantation, The rice-swamp, the mill, The cane-field, the work-shop, The cry cometh still :-O! save us, and shield us, We groan and we faint; No words can our sorrows, Our miseries paint: Our souls are our masters', They sport with our lives, They torture and scourge us

With whips and with gyves We see scowling faces On every hand; We bear on our persons The marks of the brand ; We're fed, and we're cared for, Like horses and hogs; We're cut and we're shot at, And hunted with dogs ; Like goods we are bartered, And given and sold ; And the rights of our race There are none to uphold ;-

Save ye, noble workers In Freedom's great cause; Save ye, loud proclaimers Of God's righteous laws, Who call us your brothers, Though black be our skin, And own we have hearts These dark bosoms within-Like feelings, emotions, And passions, with those Who spurn us, and scorn us, And scoff at our woes.

O! press on, and hasten The good coming time, When the hue of the skin Shall no more be a crime; When a man, though a Negro, May fearless give birth To his thoughts, and his hopes, With the proudest on earth; When no master shall own him, Nor tear him apart From the wife of his bosom, The child of his heart.

I know the time's coming, I'm sure 't will be here, For the voice of a prophet Hath sung in mine car-Make ready the way For the advent of Him, In whose presence the splenders Of earth shall grow dim; All pride shall be humbled, Oppression shall cease.

And men, like true brethren, Shall sojourn in peace.' I see the faint glimmer Of light; -shall these eyes Behold the bright sun In its glory arise? Shall these hands grasp the freedom For which I and mine,

In the depths of our misery, Languish and pine? Life waneth apace-I am feeble and cold-O. hasten to snatch me From Slavery's hold !

THE PEOPLE'S ADVENT. BY GERALD MASSEY. 'Tis coming up the steep of Time, And this old world is growing brighter ! We may not see its dawn sublime,

H. G. A.

Yet high hopes make the heart throb lighter. We may be sleeping in the ground, When it awakes the world in wonder But we have felt it gathering round, And heard its voice of living thunder. 'Tis coming ! yes, 'tis coming !

'Tis coming now, the glorious time, Foretold by seers, and sung in story; For which, when thinking was a crime, Souls lept to heaven from scaffolds gory ! They pass'd, nor see the work they wrought, Nor the crown'd hopes of centuries blossom But the live lightning of their thought And daring deeds doth pulse Earth's bosom. 'Tis coming ! yes, 'tis coming !

Creeds, Empires, Systems, rot with age But the great People 's ever youthful! And it shall write the Future's page, To our humanity more truthful! The guarliest heart hath tender chords, To waken at the name of ' Brother': And time comes when brain-scorpion words We shall not speak to sting each other. 'Tis coming ! yes, 'tis coming !

Out of the light, ye Priests ! nor fling Your dark, cold shadows on us longer ! Aside ! thou world-wide curse, called King ! The people's step is quicker, stronger; There's a Divinity within That makes men great whene'er they will it;

God works with all who dare to win, And the time cometh to reveal it. .'Tis coming ! yes, 'tis coming !

Aye, it must come ! The Tyrant's throne Is crumbling with our hot tears rusted; The Sword earth's mighty have leant on, Is canker'd with our heart's blood crusted. Room ! for the Men of Mind make way ! Ye robber Rulers, pause no longer ! Ye cannot stay the opening day; The world rolls on, the light grows stronger .-

THE ROAD OF LIPE The road of life is hard enough, Bestrewn with alag and thorn; Oh! then mock not the simplest joy That makes it less forlorn, But fill its evening path with flowers

As bright as those of morn !

The People's Advent's coming !

THE LIBERATOR.

POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMAN. WORCESTER, March 4, 1855.

Perhaps an apology is due for sending you the en closed petition at this late hour for publication. It was never intended for public perusal, having obtained the end sought, viz., a reading before the Legislature; but deed. finding it generally produced the impression that it was merely a formal petition in so many words, I have been but he is not thereby deprived of legal rights and me impelled to this course. It might have been more appropriately sent to the *Una*, but it is already entirely out of season, (nearly two months having elapsed since his reasons and discuss his arguments; and when he it was presented,) and it may be some two or three shall have succeeded in correcting the public mind of sued. It is a fact worthy of notice, that after it was Woman is morally disfranchised; she can have no inreferred to the Judiciary Committee, that Committee fluence with her own sex, for they are equally powerless that whole question had been duly considered by it is they who sit in judgment on her capacities, pro the late Constitutional Convention, they deemed it in- nouncing her appeal the result of feminine weakness expedient to renew the agitation of it so soon. This her protestation the effect of morbid sensitiveness. furnishes the rare instance of a Legislature being ahead of the people; for that the people do not yet demand it, may be inferred from the fact, that no concerted action ciples on which this republic was established, and ev has been made by the State to press the subject upon ery sentiment of justice and honesty, the request was their consideration. The benefit of petitions arises not so much, perhaps, from their direct effect upon the Will she turn a deaf ear to the carnest appeal of her Legislature, as in forcing questions upon the attention of the public, which might otherwise never challenge their investigation; and if we take care of the people, Legislatures will take care of themselves.

I am told that there is no law at present existing in Massachusetts whereby a man can claim his wife's earn-

A word in reference to the poll-tax, whose only claim to notice is that of being continually brought forward by the opponents of the cause as the strongest argument they can produce, relative to taxation. Grant it to be expected that those who suffer most directly, ento be the real direct basis of representation, is it in the heart of any man to suppose, that woman is yet so degenerated, or so blind to her own interests, as to barter are prevented from acting out their own best convicaway her dearest rights for the trifling sum of ten shillings, whereby she might possess the power to protect they have not the courage to brave. It is not a quesherself and property, while she quietly submits to a taxation of ten dollars for the protection of her property terest of man; not confined to the present, but extendalone, and that only on certain conditions? No one will pretend that it was merely the tax on tea that impelled Hancock and Adams to a contest which involved in the name of those sacred and mutual interests a Massachusetts in a struggle which cost her her dearest closely interwoven with every thread of our existence blood and treasures to maintain. It was because it de- in the name of that individual responsibility which prived them of their independence, their sense of con- gives elevation to thought and freedom to sons scious manhood, a divine right which no individual or in the name of that impartial justice, alike precious to nation can surrender without proving recreant to the every living soul, we entreat your earnest consideration high purpose assigned to each. So woman can be true of this subject, reposing faith in those simple but sigown soul, so that she may not be dependent on her hus- 'a single, solitary sigh has power to move a world.' band for advice in signing a petition, or contributing to an Anti-Slavery Fair.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representa-

Your petitioner respectfully desires that you will adopt some form of action which shall secure to women the right of suffrage.

In presenting this request, your petitioner is fully aware of the extent of that prejudice which ever attaches to an unpopular cause, and the apparent inutility of individual effort to secure the end in view; but she is also aware, that it is by continued protest and remonstrance against wrong, that Justice and Right ultimately triumph.

If, according to the Declaration of Independence, taxation without representation is unjust, to tax woman while she is refused the elective franchise is a usurpation of power not granted therein; and to deny her the elective franchise, while she is held amenable to the the law, and must suffer its penalties, is in direct opposition to the republican theory, that all true government must derive its just powers from the consent of the governed.

It is argued by many, with a great show of plausibility to those who take only a superficial view of the subfect, that woman should consider it a privilege to enjoy the protection of law, while she is relieved of the cares and responsibilities of legislation. It would be no light thing to be considered, to see all this machinery of government going smoothly on, while we could sit quietly this conclusion, we have not only a powerful array of be that offences come, but wee to that man by prove, that wherever the rights and privileges of one councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. the keeping of another, a one-sided legislation has in- and the father the child, and children shall rise up variably been the result. Precisely this is the case with against their parents, and cause them to be put to death. woman. In the eye of the law, she is an inferior being, And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake, incapable of governing herself, with limited wants and but he that endureth to the end shall be saved.'- 'They capacities; and, in accordance with these opinions, laws shall put you out of the synagogues; yea, the time are made which often bear most heavily upon her, so- cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he cially, mentally, and morally. The fact that she is an doeth God service.' If a prediction proves the thing and aspirations which are the common heritage of every murder right. soul into which the Creator of the Universe has breathed a spark of his own divine life, is entirely lost sight of by merging her individuality in the person of her husband, if married ; if unmarried, by constituting Peace. But what sword does he send? Is it the sword her the mere appendage of society, required to bear equally the expense of government, with no voice in its tion? 'In this world, ye shall have tribulation; but b

It would be needless, here, to meet the various oboppression which has ever existed. It would be idle to will not suffer? argue her capacity to exercise the right of suffrage, when 'male' is the only qualification requisite. It the actor, read Shakspeare, and waft the soul to heavof the very elite of the city. But let her ascend the pulpit to pour forth the burning thoughts of her own Satan cast out Satan? soul, for the redemption of a fallen race, or plead the cause of the wronged and oppressed, with a power and is instantly met with the cry, from the votaries of that by the sword, and never has been any. Shew me ping out of her sphere.

She is taxed for the support of intemperance, shown three-fourths of the crimes which are committed: and while she is, in one sense, the greatest sufferer thereby. Day after day, year after year, she is condemned to see that husband and father sinking to the drunkard's grave, her children turned out as beggars or paupers, herself the victim of blighted affections and heart-crushing degradation, with no power to free herself from peace. But prove that the sword can avert it, and you her sad fate. Vainly she implores the rum-seller to spare at least her husband ; with a malicious smile and a sneer, he turns her from his door; in vain she appeals to the legislator; he tells her, woman knows nothing by the sword, and you failed. But you wanted help, about making laws. She suffers on; the poison does its deadly work, reason leaves its throne, and the stamp of manhood his brow; she flees for her life; but, like a side you. bird upon the mountains, he may pursue her, to grasp & You' (the Friends) ' preach peace to tyrants and the last penny of her earnings, while the law says-

The rum-seller is protected in his traffic, lolls in his easy-chair, treads on soft carpets, and receives the justifying war, who preach peace to tyrants and good will homage of the community for his wealth and standing:
his victim clanks his chains in yonder cell, awaiting the
terrible doom decreed by law for the explation of his
revolution. The divine right of Nicholas rests upon erimes; or rends the air with her piercing shricks, a the divine right to make war. It is armies that make raving maniae, in yonder asylum.

She is taxed for the support of laws and institutions

which may be most repugnant to her moral sense; while her hand and voice are paralyzed whenever she would lift them against the monstrous wrong. What think- But where is the tribunal to which oppressed na

ng and intelligent woman could stand in your streets and witness the tragedy there enacted on the second of ing to her cheek, when she saw the officers of the pub lic will, entrusted with her own interests as well as those of the State, acting the part of Judas; herself compelled by one hand to be their unwilling account plice and silent endorser, and by the other prevente from expressing her dissent from that heaven-defving

efore another number of that paper will be is- what he deems its errors, the ballot is open to him lecided to make a report on the subject, but finding with herself; she can have none with the other sex. for

> When South Carolina demanded of Massachusetts th right of property representation, in defiance of the pringranted, reluctantly it is true, but it was granted. own citizens for representation for themselves; not like South Carolina, that they may forge fetters for human limbs, and padlocks for their lips, but that they may help free yourselves from the chain she is drawing closer and closer around the neck of Massachusetts? Admitting the objection that women, as a class, ar indifferent to this movement it proves nothing, save that a Talse education has been true to itself, teaching her. from earliest childhood, to mould her character to the Procrustean bedstead of the popular will. It is not grossed by their own miseries, will lend a thought for any thing beyond present relief; while another class tions by the omnipotent strength of a public opinio tion of sex, but of humanity, affecting equally the ining its influence through all coming ages.

In the name, therefore, of our common to herself only when she recovers the custody of her nificant words of New England's noble statesman, that SARAH E. WALL.

A Tax-Payer of the City of Worcester.

LETTER TO LOUIS KOSSUTH.

71 ALPHA ROAD, LONDON. Your reply to the Christian appeal of the 'Society Friends' of England, upon the subject of war, has been copied into the newspapers of this country, and has been extensively read. Had such a document proceeded from person of ordinary fame or of ordinary genius, it would scarcely have deserved notice. But coming from one who is regarded by the chivalry of Christendom a martyr of liberty and the representative of human rights, and who, moreover, professes his faith in the Christian Revelation, and appeals to it as his authority. certainly requires some consideration. As you lay lown no rule by which men are to know when it right to make war or when it is wrong, how much they hould suffer or where they should forbear to suffer, but content yourself with a general defence of war, upon the authority of the Christian Scriptures, permit me to shew you that your reading of them is limited, and that your logic in relation to them to other matter connected

. When ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified; for these things must first come to pass, but the end is not by and by.' 'Nation shall rise against na-tion, and kingdom against kingdom.'

with your subject is defective. You quote :-

You say, 'Thus saith the Lord,'- submit to his de cree '! But does a prediction prove the thing predicted under our own vine and fig-tree, sharing its advan- to be right, and does this one prove war to be so ? It tages and reaping its benefits. But, unfortunately for does not, the Scriptures being witness :- It must needs facts against it, but, also, the evidence of history to offence cometh.'- They will deliver you up to their

class or race of people have been entrusted solely to - The brother shall deliver up the brother to death, immortal and responsible being, with thoughts, feelings predicted to be right, then are hate, persecution and

'Think you that I am come to send peace upon the earth? I come not to send peace, but a sword.' You say, 'Thus saith the Lord, whom ye call the Prince of of aggression or of defence, or is it the sword of persecu of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' How did he overcome it? Did Jesus overcome the world as a jections to the admission of woman to public life, on the military leader? Was it by aggression, or even by reground of incapacity, impropriety, &c.; they are the sistance, that he overcame, or was it by suffering? same time-worn arguments in favor of every species of Why, then, do you call yourself 'by his name,' if ye

'We have a Father in beaven : that is a word of in mense meaning, and full of love. A father cannot have would be no less so to argue the propriety, when she doomed his children to thraidom, oppression and perneeds only to step on the stage or the platform, to play dition.' True. We see, nevertheless, mankind-the nations, enthralled and oppressed. God cannot be the auen on wings of music, to win the attention and applause thor of it. It is war that oppresses them. And you think that the demon of war will cast out itself. Will

'Know ye of a single people delivered from thraldo by some other means than the sword? There is none eloquence which many a istatesman may well envy; she and never has been. I answer, there is none delivered shadowy monarch, the tyrant Custom, that she is step- free nation: I know of none. 'Europe is oppressed,' and oppression reigns in this land, although delivered by the sword, to an extent not felt in Europe. Races and by our police reports to be the fruitful source of at least nations by war may change masters, or become masters themselves, - oppressors of other races; but they are yet no protection is granted her in consideration of the not delivered from it. Oppressors are no more free from tremendous obstacles in the way of its suppression, oppression than are their victims. They are themselves the slaves of oppression.

'To allow iniquity to bear sway, when the swor would have averted it,-to rivet the chains of oppression over nations by treaties, when the sword could have severed the chain,-is a work of iniquity, and not of will have gained a point. Iniquity is like heresy, it never thrives so well as when attacked by the sword.
You once tried to sever the chain that bound a nation, and you were betrayed. It was, nevertheless, a failure * Europe is oppressed, yet she has had other saviors be-

good will to oppressors. Do not your consciences tell you that by so doing you are preaching against the rights of man, and ill-will to humanity?' Nay. It is you, by peace be preached to tyrants? No more than freedor on can be preached to nations believing in the divine right of war, with arms in their hands.

the language of the Savior. Ye will not choose peace, that you might be delivered from oppre-

· For yourselves (the Friends) who, thanks to Crom well's sword, have no oppression to suffer, it is very well to say, Don't war-let us have peace.' Here you are historically at fault. It is not to Cromwell's sword they owe whatever of liberty they possess, for all that was gained by it was lost after the Restoration. He was himself a persecutor of the Friends and of others, and they held their testimony as firmly then as they do to-day. All that the revolution accomplished by the sword was, that the instruments of torture changed hands, and persecution and oppression found new sub-jects upon whom to wreak their vengeance. Such are all military revelutions.

You say, 'Woe to them who make a difference be tween private and public charity, who restrict their love to their next neighbor, and remain indifferent to the public sufferings of their neighbors, the nations.' But can you shew that there is any charity in instigating, privately, your next neighbor to shed blood, or in instigating publicly the nations to war, to redress their wrongs, when war has hitherto failed, and is itself the cause and means of their oppression? True charity says, let the nations learn peace, let them cease from being nations of warriors, and oppression is at an end; for they will no longer be the instruments of their own Would to God that the Savior would visit his Church, and heal withered hearts! torture. What is Nicholas or Francis Joseph, Victoria or Louis Napoleon, without armies? The last, a poor fugitive like yourself, but taking advantage of the military spirit of France, became a tyrant.

Patriotism,' you say, ' is the noblest source of civi practised by military nations? It is a virtue which a period of twenty-two years. He came here by never extends beyond the boundary line, except to do invitation of the Bangor Mechanics' Association. mischief. It has one code for those on this side, and another for those on that. It is partial. It is only another name for national selfishness. It forms no part of Christian charity, where 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free.' Christian charity regards men, not on account of their country, but because they are men. Christian charity breaks down the middle wall of partition that divides nations : patriotism builds it up.

You are a patriot—you were here; and in view of

three and a half millions of men and women enslavedbought and sold as cattle are bought and sold in Europe, without any rights, civil, political, or religious, subject to wrongs which the people of Europe know nothing of-you were silent! You sought sympathy and aid from Americans, for the oppressed of Hungary; but you had none to give for the oppressed of this land. You invoked their charity, but you had no charity to give in return. Does a charity that is circumscribed by national selfishness deserve the name of virtue? You want to involve Europe in war. This will be

delivering your beloved Father-land from the oppressor's grasp, what guarantee can you give to humanity, that you, or those who should succeed you, would not

New York, Feb. 27, 1855.

'PREACHING TO THE TIMES. The following extracts are from an article by Rev HENRY WARD BESCHER.

The (Boston) Puritan Recorder has an article with this caption, from which we make the following extract. The original article we have not seen, but only so much of it; and this in the Boston

'It is said that if they (the clergy) will keep their hold of the people, they must follow the people's modes of thinking and feeling—must the Lexington Democratic Advocate: leave the trite themes of the Gospel, and find subof that. As the age boasts of its arts and sciences, the pulpit must advance with the age in all these natters, and deal largely in the profound and un-

arnestness with solemnity. A man may be eager- tracting a portion earnestness with solemnity. A man may be eagerly earnest, and not be very solemn. They may also be awfully solemn, without a particle of earnestness. But solemnity has a reputation. A man may be a repeater of endless distinctions, a lecturer in the pulpit of mere philosophical niceties, or he may be a repeater of stale truisms; he may smother living truths by conventional forms and phrases, and if he put on a very solemn face, use a very solemn tone, employ very solemn gestures, and roll along his vamped-up sermon with professional solemnity above an audience of sound men; men, at least, soundly asleep—that will pass for and roll along his vamped up seemed in the second solution of sound men; in master cannot pay the expenses. Perhaps he was men, at least, soundly asleep—that will pass for inspired to this sense of his dues by studying the decorous handling of God's truth. The old pharisaism is not dead yet. The difference between Christ and his contemporary teaching was, that he christ and his contemporary teaching was, that he spake life, truth in life-forms, with the power of

tions may appeal against the crowned robbers of their peace and happinese? But why do you and the nations complain? The sword is a tribunal of your own making. You appeal to it, yet it oppresses you. The crowned robbers are in full blast and the nations are oppressed, notwithstanding it has been appealed to for sges. Ye will not come to me that ye might have life, was the language of the Savier. Ye will rot choose sweet soler, their faces were soler, their robbers are the language of the Savier. Ye will rot choose sweet soler, their faces were soler, their robbers are the language of the Savier. Ye will rot choose sweet soler to manner mostly of the Temple and the Altar. They never forgot how to look, nor how to speak gutturnever forgot how to look, nor how to speak guttural solemnities, nor how to maintain professional gravity. They forgot nothing except living truths and living souls. And fifty years of ministration without any fruit in true godliness gave them no pain. It was charged to the account of Divine Sovereignty.

Sovereignty.

We have only to say, that nothing can more sharply exhibit the miserable imbeeility which has come upon us, than the inability of men to perceive the difference between preaching 'politics,' 'social reform,' 'Barnum's Autobiography,' etc., and preaching God's truth in such a way that it shall sit in judgment upon these things, and every other deed of men, to try them, to explore and analyze them, and to set them forth, as upon the backthem, and to set them forth, as upon the back-ground of eternity, in their moral character, and their relation to man's duty and God's require-

Shall the whole army of human deeds go roaring along the public thoroughfares, and Christian men be whelmed in the general rush, and no man be found to speak the real moral nature of human conduct? Is the pulpit too holy, and the Sabbath too sacred to bring individual courses and develop-ments of society to the bar of God's Word, for trial ! Those who think so, and are crying out about the desecration of the pulpit with secolar

MR. GARRISON IN BANGOR.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the distinguished Abo litionist, who has earned a world-wide fame as an 'Patriotism,' you say, 'is the noblest source of civil uncompromising advocate of universal freedom virtue.' But what is patriotism, as understood and made his second visit to this city, last week, after and an association of anti-slavery men, to delive public lectures upon his favorite theme. On Thursday evening, he lectured before the former Association, and on Friday evening before the latter. at the City Hall. On Sunday morning he spoke from Rev. Mr. Battles' desk, Universalist Church. and on the same evening gave a free lecture at City Hall. On each occasion, he was greeted with densely crowded audiences, who listened to his burning words and fervid eloquence with very marked respect and deference, such as is due the man and the great cause of humanity to which he has devoted all the powers of his soul and his intellect. Such is the respect which the citizens of Bangor, and of every other city in the free States, pay to the man, who, for uttering the same sent ments a few years ago, was pelted with missiles, ignominiously dragged through the streets of Boston with a halter about his neck, and lodged in jail by the authorities for his personal safety. This fact is an unmistakeable sign of progress in the ideas and manners of the people,—a progress on the side of humanity. We apprehend Mr. Garrison was no worse man or more dangerous citizen when such indignities were heaped upon him, than be done without your aid. But is it in the nature of he is now. The people have grown better,—they war to make men more peaceful, humane and just? have more just notions of propriety and the rights Will the nations come out of the furnace purified, or made worse? Supposing that you should succeed in delivering your beloved Fatter had from the court every civil, religious and political reform of every

Mr. Garrison is very far from being the 'mon become traitors to the cause of freedom, placed at the head of a warlike nation, with arms in their hands? Supposing that military revolution should succeed in delivering the oppressed nations from their tyrants, would there be any better materials out of which to constitute new kingdoms, or new republics, than those personal demeanor; not ferocious or fretful; a which made up the old? This you are bound to show; man of great talent for speaking or writing; and and all history is against you. The history of military and all history is against you. The history of military nations is the history of the rise and fall of military despotism, less or more powerful. There is no hope for oppressed nations but in peace.

ROBERT JOHNSTON.

The history of military nearly overtaken him in his progressive career, he nearly overtaken him in his progressive career, he attracts rather than repels men by his address and his eloquent appeals in behalf of the entire about the public sentiment of the Robert Landson and the Robert Landson and the Robert Landson and the Robert Landson and the public sentiment of the Robert Landson and the His character will not suffer in comparison that of any man who denounces him.

His recent visit to this city has won for him

hosts of friends from the ranks of that class of persons who have estimated his character not from but from what his revilers have been pleased to say of him. His visit therefore was not less fortunat for him than for the cause which he advocates .-The Bangor Jeffersonian.

THE BLOODHOUNDS OF SLAVERY. The following appears in a Missouri journal

NEGRO DOGS .- I would inform the citizens of leave the trite themes of the Gospel, and find subjects of discourse, more than they do, among passing events—must observe the currents of the popular mind touching the agitating questions of the day, and not scruple to discourse upon whatever absorbs public attention; whether it be matters of social reform. politics, war, accidents, by flood and field, commercial pressures, naw developments in literature, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." "Barnum's Autobiography," or "Jenny Lind's Imitations of the Angels." It seems to be thought that the simple truths of the Gospel will not answer for this en-Angels." It seems to be thought that the simple truths of the Gospel will not answer for this enlightened age. We must study the tastes of the times, and leave the old ways of sermonizing followed by Baxter, Whitefield, Davies and Griffin, and make our preaching more dramatic, poetic, or sentimental. As the Lyceum lecture, the political stump oration, and the drama, attract so many, we must note what it is in these things which is so attractive, and adopt it. It is a pity, it is some times said, to let the devil appropriate all that is popular and effective. As the Uncle Tom's Cabin literature has struck the fancy of the million with such power, it must be just the thing to give atsuch power, it must be just the thing to give at-traction to the pulpit. As story telling takes with the children, we should put in a liberal sprinkling negro hunted for is caught, he will be held bound for the money. I can be found at home at all times, five and a half miles east of Lexington, except when hunt-

ing with the dogs. Feb. 14, 1855 matters, and deal largely in the profound and unintelligible. If these conceptions could be embodied in the work of all preachers, many would seem to expect that the millennium would come in with a rush.'

If this is what is fairly meant by persons who suggest a greater breadth of pulpit discourse, no sober-minded person can fail to perceive its folly. But is it fair! Did any one in his senses ever demand such pulpit ministrations, excepting always that man who praised his minister because he never meddled either with politics or religion!' The whole representation is a piece of comical exaggeration, we presume,—a scribbling caricature, made in an indolent hour, for the solemn smile of rigorous men. It is a sly imitation of Punch on the part of the Recorder; and it promises so well that we are not sure but that the editor of the Recorder has mistaken the direction of his genius in that we are not sure but that the editor of the Recorder has mistaken the direction of his genius in
hitherto attempting the sober and the truthful.—
Be that as it may, no person that we ever heard of
has advocated any such reform in the topics of the
pulnit.

and little. Next, John Long advertises in a paper
whose editor has pitched his typographical tent in
Lexington—a name utterly sacred to liberty—a
place as dear to the memory of America as Marathon was to Greece—an appellation which the
pulnit. Every one admits that preaching should avail it ment of enterprise and heroism, as the noblest i Every one admits that preaching should avail 15self of learning, of literature, and of every form our history up to 1775. Vainly would the pen deof legitimate human knowledge. No one believes scribe the mendacity which so defiles the name of
that the pulpit, on that account, is or is to be, a
chair of rhetoric, a professorship of science, history, or polite literature.

A sermon that is dry, cold, dull, soporific, is a

A sermon that is dry, cold, dull, soporific, is a

Tors. For five dollars a day, Long John will travel A sermon that is dry, cold, dull, soporific, is a pulpit monster, and is just as great a violation of the sanctity of the pulpit as the other extreme of thirty pieces, if he has much trouble in catching profane levily. Men may hide or forsake God's the victim; and he is explicit to prevent any misliving truth by the way of stupid dullness, just as much requiring pay for his own much as by pert imagination. A solemn nothing is and his animals service, if a negro should kill any just as wicked as a witty nothing. Men confound of them while engaged in the delicate duty of explicit to prevent any may he care. of the calf of a human leg, or

The theory of the softening arts—what is in worth, when the press of Anglo-Sarendom enfers diabolism, unknown, in the desperate scales and cruelty of its details, to the scalping sample the at least scents out his victim, and rus is mortal risk! But the hunter with the blook hounds——. Compared with his trade, that if the highwayman is decent and manly.—Traus.

A NEW PANIC.

There are signs of a faint beginning of a see Disunion panic. The fools are reckoned to be no all dead yet, and so we are sure to have it some Virginian member of Congress. all dead yet, and so we are sure to have it some or later. A Virginian member of Congress, in a speech in the House, on Tuesday, professed is it shocked at the idea advanced there, that the bonk was really in earnest in meaning to exclude Same her Territories. Horror-struck at the was really in earnest in meaning to er lode Susry from her Territories. Horror-struck at the Susbolical idea, he forthwith announced that he salhis friends would take their hats and go out of the
Union, if such a thing should be seriously attast,
ed. Here and there a faint cry to the same propahas been heard from the newspapers, and susan announcement is already made that he Suscontemplates holding a Convention and nominative
a candidate for the Presidency, and offering his to
the next Democratic Baltimore Convention, such
Slavery Extension platform, with the distinct
ternative that if he be not accepted, the Uni
willbe at once endangered, and probably disable
How much truth there is in the latter statemen,
we cannot pretend to say. No doubt, it is leady
idea is correct. At any rate, it is clear that anothe
deliberate effort is about to be made to terrify to
North with the cry of disunion, under which it
expected to prevent the prohibition of Sa. deliberate effort is about to be made to terrify as North with the cry of disunion, under which it is expected to prevent the prohibition of Savery at the Territories, and secure the admission of Kunn as a Slave State. The game has hardly heres, and we shall not, probably, hear much about it ill to we shall not, probably, hear much about it ill to the save the contract of Congress; but then we were the next sitting of Congress: but then we may be out for the barking of Scylla and the roung of Charybdis. We allude to it now merely to enough the tactics of the Nebraska speculators and driven of slaves.—New York Tribune..

TEMPERANCE

10 THE FRIENDS OF TEMPERANCE IN MISS

New England Temperance Deformant, No. 11 Committ, Boston, The undersigned will keep constantly on hand a pu eral assortment of

TEMPERANCE BOOKS PAMPHLETS, TRACTS, &c.

which will be sold, wholesale and retail, at the low prices.

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Also, Anti-Tobacco Books, Envelopes, Medal, Cura &c. &c., by Uncle Toby.

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nished at cost.
Information in regard to Temperance Meeting, & will be cheerfully imparted; and the friends of Imparance are cordially invited to call and make the the head-quarters while in the city.
Will you help sustain the enterprise?

NATHANIEL NOYES, Agent Boston, November 17, 1854.

BOSTON TRECOTHIC

Calisthenic Academy & Gymnasium FOR LADIES, MISSES, GENTLEMEN AND BOYS,

TRECOTHIC HALL Corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets.

ROFESSOR STEWART respectfully informs the I ladies and gentlemen of Boston, that he has opened his Gymnasium in the above splendid hall, which he capaciousness and convenience, is not surpassed by an other establishment of the kind in the United States. Every accommodation is provided for those lains and gentlemen who may wish to avail themselves of

healthy exercise and amusement. An elegant Piano Forte is placed in the room, for the use of Ludy patrons. TERMS MADE KNOWN AT THE HALL.

Hours for Ladies, from 10 o'clock, A. M., until 4, P.

M., every day.

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