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

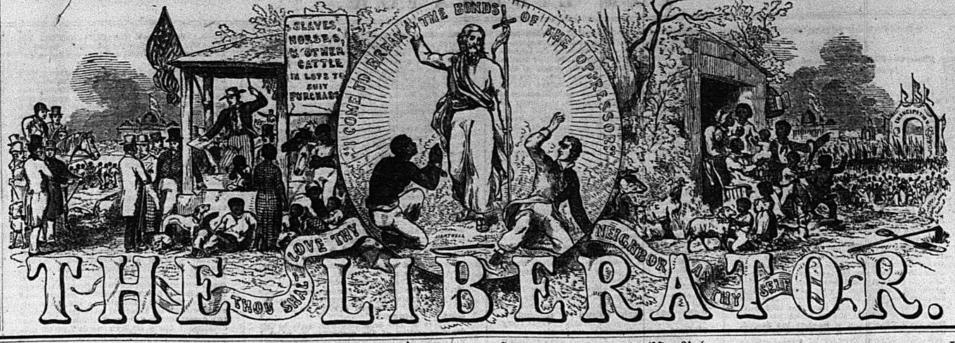
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-Pennsyrvania thorsel to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray

LORING, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WEXDELL PHILLIPS. of In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Blaveholders!

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their

assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade ; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES-AN

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed!... To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

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

VOL. XXV. NO. 17...

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1084.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION. JUDGE LORING AND THE BURNS RIOT

CASE. The New York Tribune contains a characteristic article under the head of 'Massachusetts Right Side Up, 'exulting over the quashing of the indict-

ments against Martin Stowell and others implicated in the Burns riot, and the vote of the House of Representatives to address the Governor for the removal of Judge Loring.

The United States Courts need no defence from

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the attacks of such radical presses as the Tribune. The Judges have fairly and honestly performed their duty in the case of the Burns rioters, and the public may well rejuice in the result, without the public may well rejuice in the result, without regarding it as an acquittal, or looking upon it as sustaining a license of speech which directly incites to a violation of the laws. The trial of Martin Stowell, Theodore Parker, and others implicated in the Burns riot, would have been a useless and expensive formality, for no jury could be formed in Massachusetts to agree upon a verdict. With the clearest convictions that some of these men are amenable to both the higher and to human laws for the death of Batchelder, the law-abiding and conservative portion of the community may well be content that the matter should rest it is, and they will certainly most heartily Judges Curtis and Sprague in giving the pri-soners the benefit of an informality in the indict-

As might be supposed, the Tribune exults in the passage of the address for the removal of Judge Loring, and with an offensive impertinence says, Let the Senate of Massachusetts concur, and let the Governor and Council remove the obnoxious Whether the Senate and the Governor will heed the mandate of the Tribune remains to be seen. We will suggest to that journal, however, a fact of which it does not seem to be aware, that the action of the House of Representatives, in the matter of Judge Loring, no more represents the sentiments of Massachusetts, than the doings of the Numery Committee are in accordance with her public opinion. Circumstances have conspired to place in the popular branch of the Legislature a majority of radicals—of men after the Tribune's own heart-but the time is coming when Massachusetts will in truth be right side up, and when the removal of Judge Loring, if it is accomplish-ed, will be condemned as effectively as the debauches of the Nunnery Committee. The sentiment of Massachusetts is eminently conservative, and the sober second thought' of the people will re-buke the gross abuses, the fanaticism and ultraism of the radical element in the present Legislature, as assuredly as the sun will rise tomorrow .- Boston Journal.

Judge Loring's removal may be looked upon as good as consummated, for there is only an extremely remote possibility that the Governor and his Council will refuse to respond to the extraordina-ry request of the House. We foresaw this result from afar, and prophesied it. So, day by day and step by step, the present Legislature has been descending the ladder of infamy, until this last act may be regarded as equivalent to planting its foot

upon the bottom round.

And at whose instance and upon what ground has this step been taken by the General Court!

Upon the prayer of some twelve thousand fanatical women and negro burbers, for these two classes of people furnished the greater portion of the names which appear on the anti-Loring head-roll of petitioners. And who were the advocates. ellors and spokesmen of these unquestionable clients! Men with strong but unbalanced minds, with unstrung and quivering nerves, possessed by a solitary and overmastering idea as by a demon or monomania, men who, the moment they begin to make a speech upon their sole and all-absorbing theme, seem to be seized on the moment with de-moniacal possession. Their eyes gleam, their fea-tures become distorted, their lips are spattered with foam, and with outstretched hands they rave and howl and rant, and heap their curses upon the heads of all those who oppose them.

In this way they have raved, and not argued or

reasoned before the present Legislature against Edward Greely Loring, and their ravings and their howlings and infuriated denunciations have been listened to and acted upon. Again, we say, no degradation will attach to the removed Judge—his nor and character are intact, for it is not at all strange that the same Legislature which has already marked itself for all time, by billeting harlots upon the State treasury, and sending Committees to pry into the closets and buck-baskets of private citizens and unoffending subjects of this Common-wealth, should signalize itself still farther by expelling from office a Judge who has been blameless and upright in his magistracy, merely for the fun of the thing, and prompted by sheer malice and love of mischief.—Boston Chronicle.

The vote in the House indicates a slightly favorable symptom in the growth of just views, as com-pared with the vote by which Henry Wilson was elected to the U. S. Senate, ten weeks since. On that occasion, the fiery Anti-Slavery Know Nothings in the House gave their candidate 234 votes out of 364. On Saturday, they were only able to throw 204 votes out of 315, a majority of 93—while the rocks while the number of members too apathetic or too cowardly to express their opinion by a vote has in-

when it is recollected that Gen. Wilson did not receive in the Senate a single vote more than the number necessary to elect him, the significance of this abatement in the zeal for identifying the policy of the American party with Anti-Slavery fanat-icism becomes apparent. Should there be a simi-lar abatement of z-al, however slight, on the part of the Senate, the address would fail to pass.— Boston Daily Advertiser.

Nothing has been clearer demonstrated than the predominance of the abolition element in the coun-cils of the Know Nothing party. The election of Henry Wilson clis of the Know Nothing party. The election of Henry Wilson is succeeded by measures tending directly and inevitably to array Massachusetts against the federal Union. How long will the people consent to follow such lead? How much longer will she set up her Dr. Stones and Hisses and Theodore Parkers, and cry. 'These be your gods, O Israel!' Better to worship even a golden caif.

And now, what will the rest of the Union say; what will Viginia say to this proscription, by the abolition Mark Antonys, of Judge Loring, for simply performing a high constitutional duty! Is this to be the standard, the black flag with the motto, Death to all defenders of the Constitution,' which is to rally the Know Nothing party South and West to follow Massachusetts and the North! That is the flag which now waves in triumph in Massachusetts.—Boston. Post.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Independent.

AHAB IN NABOTH'S VINEYARD.

Nothing in human depravity is more astonishing than the fatuity with which wicked men appropriate to themselves, and re-enact in their own per-sons, transactions which are already impaled in

of the sea, foaming out their own shame. One can almost imagine a proclamation for the any pressure. This is a little too much. The Jezebels are re-

entury, the New Drama of 'Ahab in Naboth's social foundation of Slavery, as the corner-stone. The Drama is to be played in five acts, transporting the beholder in the space of a few hours to Spain, to Ostend, to Cuba, and to Washington. Distinguished statesmen will play the part of male Jezebels, and others will personate the elders and nobles to concoct the accusation against Naboth. An offer will be made by Ahab to purchase Naboth. An offer will be made by Ahab to purchase Naboth's Vineyard for a garden of herbs, and also for a safety-valve and breathing-spot or place of recreation for the colored races: because it is near Ahab's house, and Ahab complains that whosever holds the Vineyard, holds the key of Ahab's dominions, and puts those dominions in great distress and jeonardy.

THE RISING CLOUD.

The great battle between Freedom and Slavery is gradually approaching. Yet the country is everywhere quiet, and the public tranquillity undisturbled. Not even the distant rumble of the tempest is heard. The little cloud that denotes it hovers over only a handful of people in the far West. In Kansas alone exists the speck that foreshadows the

At length a real, unmistakable quarrel will be picked with Naboth, who finds that he cannot avoid it, except by giving up the inheritance of his fathers, which he is resolved not to do. But the male Jezebels, and the covetousness of the people, are too sharp for Naboth, especially in the matter of hypocrisy and diplomacy. It is made to appear that Naboth is grossly in the wrong; and a fast will be proclaimed in the Republic, to mourn over his wickedness, especially his treatment of the slaves in his Vineyard, whom it is said he has threatened to set free, and to torn them loose into Abab's city, if Ahab should attempt to seize his estate for a possession. A conference is held at Ostend, and sons of Belial appear to witness against Naboth, that he has blamed Manifest Destiny, (this being the name of the modern god of the Republic,) and that he has interfered to stop the progress of the Area of Freedom. In the fifth and last act. Naboth is cruelly stoned to death, and the male Jezebel says to Abab, 'Arise, take possession of the Vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, session of the Vin session of the Vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money; for Naboth is not alive, but dead.' But before the curtain falls, and in the midst of great illumination and joy in Ahab's house and court, a dark and terrible form is seen advancing in the back-ground; and a voice that carries horror into the heavist of the service of the vine of vine of the vine

tain falls, and in the midst of great illumination and joy in Ahab's house and court, a dark and terrible form is seen advancing in the back-ground; and a voice that carries horror into the hearts of all that hear it thunders forth, 'Hast thou killed, and also taken possession!' Thus saith the Lord, 'In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine?'

It cannot be denied that such a programme of the play, as this, would be intensely interesting even in hell. But to think of the possibility of this not being a dream of faney, a freak of imagination, but an advancing chapter of actual history, and say if we exaggerate the impending danger.

It cannot be denied that such a programme of the play, as this, would be intensely interesting even in hell. But to think of the reality going on upon earth! To think of the possibility of this not being a dream of faney, a freak of imagination, but an advancing chapter of actual history, in our generation! For, that such it is, is now, in our generation! For, that such it is, is palpable. The quarrel and the crime, and the intended possession, and the damning sophistry that would sustain and excuse it, are a gross and open would sustain and excuse it, are a gross and open with the same and the crime, and the impensation. The Jersebels are at work, the false witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready and busy; and if ever there witnesses are ready

carefully ponder it, and gaze down into the yawning gulf, the career of crime, to which this country is invited, and which, beyond all question, is determined on by no small nor powerless party, in case Naboth cannot be persuaded nor entangled into a relinquishment of the fair Vineyard that Ahab covets, and which Manifest Destiny pro-nounces to be a ripe pear that must fall into the

lap of the Republic. sons, transactions which are already impaled in history for an astonishment, a by-word, and a hissing among the nations. Men shall, with the this Administration, and upon the nation under most unconscious given by the control of the Republic.

God is said to rain snares upon the wicked; and a more horrible tempest could scarcely burst upon this Administration, and upon the nation under most unconscious given by the country of the Republic. most unconscious simplicity, give their vote of re-probation concerning a deed of other men of other the snares they are plotting for the sudden acqui-ages, and then deliberately reproduce that very sition of Cuba, regardless of the means. The dogs deed, and even with a greater aggravation! The shall cat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and Master Spirit of Evil seems to delight in thus there shall be none to bury her. Play out the showing up his creatures, plays with them as his play, and of the male Jezebels there will shortly puppets on a theatre, deludes them into personifyselves with their own deceivings. 'See ye this tragedy of crime and madness!' he says to his infernal troop, that for a while makes them sport themthey are snatching as literal and the feet.

they are snatching as literal and source. fernal troop, that for a while make mockery of the Providential interpositions to set them on, sanctransparent wickedness of his victims led captive tioning their villany. Nabath's sentinels have transparent wickedness of his victims led captive by him at his will, and ignorant how they are seen fired too hastily upon some suspicious characters and judged by others. 'See ye this tragedy of crime and madness, posted on high, branded with ineffable infamy, every feature glaring with selfishting the life of the will be and his Administration beness and lies that revolt the universe! Now we will make the very men, the very people, that under the light of revelation stand before the picture, he must not think of sending to Spain for reparaand express the loudest horror, the strongest aver- tion, but must take it into his own hands. Spain sion and reprobation, do the same thing. They shall mask themselves for this purpose in an open tring-room, thinking that they dress in secret, and that no discerning eye is upon them. They shall mine like moles for their object, thinking they are underneath the ground; when they are on the especially those charged with it not his own hands. Spain is too patient, is not easily provoked. The Government of Her Majesty, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs publicly announces, has ordered that all pending difficulties with the United States be submitted to a new investigation, instructing especially those charged with it not his own hands. Spain is too patient, is not easily provoked. The Government of Her Majesty, the Spanish Minister for the submitted to a new investigation, instructing underneath the ground; when they are on the underneath the ground; when they are on the especially those charged with it not to search for earth's surface, and the sun at noonday is shining arguments to reject the claims of the United States, earth's surface, and the sun at noonday is shining on them, and the hosts of either army gaze at them as a laughing-stock. As brute beasts they shall corrupt themselves, and be 'as raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame.'

olay, and a free invitation to witness it, among the beople of the infernal regions: To be personated solved to have full satisfaction, and as Spain is earth, in the third quarter of the nineteenth evidently resolved to grant everything that is just, the Jezebels are determined not to resort to Spain Vineyard,' re-cast by the Genius of Free and for it, since that course would cut off, or put fur-Equal Rights, in the earth's Slaveholding Repube: with new drop-scenes, magnificent side-lights, the coveted unjust acquisition. And now, there mighty perspectives, eagles, stars and stripes; the Area of Freedom, extending into infinite distances; and a representation of the Temple of Modern Christian Civilization, perfected on the new description. And now, there must be a President up to the exigencies of the tances; and a representation of the Temple of Modern Christian Civilization, perfected on the new description. And now, there must be a President up to the exigencies of the tance of the Administration of the Area of the Administration of the Area of t its prison, to take the affair into his own hands, and pluck the ripe pear from the tree by manifest destiny! "Tis the last hope of the Administration: the heralds of the Jezebels proclaim it. Set Naboth on high, and bring the iniquities of Spain to instant trial, and kill and take possession! [REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

THE RISING CLOUD.

holds the Vineyard, holds the key of Ahab's dominions, and puts those dominions in great distress and jeopardy.

A large sum of money will be offered: and the refusal to sell will be considered an insult and a crime against Ahab's kingdom and rights. The fact of Naboth's maintaining and guarding his property will be clearly proved an injustice, with malice aforethought, on the part of Naboth against Ahab, and an aggressive movement in opposition to Manifest Destiny, which must either be promptly atoned for or punished. Reparation will be solemnly demanded. A new nondescript race of warriors will appear upon the stage, called Fillibusters, who, by their incursions into Naboth's possessions, will annoy and provoke Naboth to turn some of the emissaries of the Republic out of his Vineyard. Much ingenuity will be displayed in embroiling the affair; and it will be seen that Naboth, in continuing to hold his own, has wickedly and wantonly provoked the covetousness of his neighbor and the people to such a degree, that they are no longer able to hold in, and that therefore Naboth alone is now responsible for whatever may happen. It will be seen that as Naboth, by being the owner of the Vineyard, holds in his hand the cure ef all these evils, he does, by refusing to impart it, take the moral blame upon himsulf. It is evident that he does not value Ahab's hand the cure of all these evils, he does, by refusing to impart it, take the moral blame upon himself. It is evident that he does not value Ahab's
peace of mind in the least, but continues to disturb it, especially considering the state of Europe,
and what is called the Munroe doctrine.

At length a real, unmistakable quarrel will be
nicked with Naboth, who finds that he cannot in our fature history.

War, and a leading man in the Cabinet. Should he achieve his object, all that we know of his antecedents leads us to believe that he would not he state to use his influence to spread Slavery into the West and North at the point of the hayonet, and if attempts were made to resist it in any affect. and if attempts were made to resist it in any effective manner, he would exert all his power to sub- lishment of three or four Slave States, to be annexrounded by plots, and toils, and complications, in respect to the subjugation of this Government by the slaveholders, of which the people little dream.

Next week, Col. Kinney's expedition to Central America will sail, in a steamer produced of the subjugation of this Government by the slaveholders, of which the people little dream.

It has usually been supposed that Chairle and the subjugation of the Union; and as more Slave states are particularly needed, it may be thought advisable to interpose no serious obstacle to so laudable a plan. purpose, with every arrangement to overrun and subdue the feeble republics of Honduras, Nicara-gua, and Costa Rica. When conquered, their conversion into Slave States will soon be accomplished. More threatening even than this, the Presi-dent has ordered a fleet to the Gulf of Mexico, to bring on a war with Spain for the possession of Cuba. We are approaching the crisis which will decide whether Slavery or Freedom is to mould the

destinies of America.

The slave power is determined to control the Union, and to possess a majority of the States. They aim not at the economical or industrial adbrought themselves to believe is the necessity of Marshal to be discharged from confinement. their situation. They are well fortified at present, or have been, by Northern doughfaces. They lean upon Pennsylvania and Illinois, and other Free States, as faithful allies. But they do not know how soon the fires of Northern independence may burst out against the roots of their power, and they aim to be secure against the time when that shall tations and quarrels over the growth of one among fifty religious denominations, and the dangers of an increment, by immigration from foreign States, of our free population.—N. Y. Tribune.

THE GAME ON POOT FOR CUBA.

In reference to the determination manifested by so as to afford our fillibusters an opportunity to take Cuba, which it is found cannot be obtained by any honorable means, the National Intelligencer reany honorable means, the National Intelligencer re-

The desperate game now on foot for party or for mercenary objects, or both combined, in cooperation with foreign malcontents, unless promptly frowned down by a sound American sentiment, will be pushed by the gamesters, in pursuit of their selfish ends, even to the plunging of the country into war. In the prosecution of this wicked scheme, resort is had to every species of misrepresentation to mislead and influence the honest public mind, and prepare it for the dread arbitrament of war: for which war will come Cubs, and with · The desperate game now on foot for party or of war : for which war will come Cuba, and with Coba will come the redemption of the Democratic Cuba will come the redemption of the Democratic party. That is the flattering argument and that the motive of the political gamblers. But are the sober, honest body of the American people prepar-ed to embark in this desperate game for a prize of, to say the least, such doubtful value? We believe not Yet should these reckless ministers of strife. Yet, should these reckless ministers of strife, by artful and exasperating misrepresentations, succeed in stimulating the nation into war, and the long-coveted prize of Cuba crown their hope, the long-coveted prize of Cuba crown their hope, still will it prove an unfruitful prize for them. The conquest of Cuba will be of about as much advantage to the party which hids so high for it, as the annexation of Texas was to the Ruler of that day. A crooked and false policy never redeemed any party, and if any thing could now rescue their waning fortunes for which the desperate fillibustering game is now so recklessly played, it would be to adopt different aims, supported by far different means.

ANOTHER PILLIBUSTERING SCHEME.

Though not much has been said of late respecting the designs of Col. Kinney and his associates upon Central America, those enterprizing individuals have not been idle. Their preparations have been urged forward with as much rapidity as the nature of the business and the difficulty of raising money would allow. We learn that a proper quantity of Sharp's rifles have been procured, and packed for safe and unsuspected dispatch to Greytown, while a considerable number of adventurous fellows have enrolled themselves for the undertaking, each paying \$25 toward his outfit and passage, besides providing himself with necessary utensils in the shape of a bowie-knife and a revolver. A steamer has been engaged at Philadeling, each paying \$25 toward his outfit and passage, besides providing himself with necessary utensils in the shape of a bowie-knife and a revolver. A steamer has been engaged at Philadelphia for the use of the expedition; and what is consults in reconsults in the state of the expedition; and what is equally important, arrangements have been com-pleted with Mr. William A. Walker, fillibuster, late President of Lower California, and Command-er-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the same, by which a body of men he is to bring from San Francisco will co-operate with the force under Kinney.

San Francisco will co-operate with the force under Kinney.

The plan of this exemplary undertaking is to conquer Nicaragus and Costa Rica at once, and Honduras as soon as possible, San Salvador and Guatemala being left out of the programme for reasons we do not understand. The subjugation of the two first-named States will be an easy job for so shrewd, bold and energetic a chap as Kinney. Nicaragus has for months suffered the exhausting scourge of civil war, impoverishing her people, and checking the little agriculture they carry on. The more powerful party is now without as leader, from the death of Chamorro, the Supreme Director of the State, and is entirely disorganized; while the defeated revolutionist, Castellon, always friendly to Americans, will gladly welcome them to overthrow his enemies. Kinney and Walker, with their five hundred men, or more, well armed and resolute, will therefore easily get control of that country; while Costa Rica, without defenders of any sort, but with several pieces of artillery lately imported, as if for the use of some invading pirate, might any day be captured by half a regiment. It is, then, a good and promising speculation—recalling as it does the high old times when nations knew no law but that of might and greed, when gentlemen drove their wholesome trade of taking purses on the highway; or, to bring our comparison nearer home, when that jolly buccar.

the great result of the adventure will be the estab-

laudable a plan.

It has usually been supposed that Christian civilization had got into the middle of the 19th century. This is a mistake. We are somewhere between the 10th and the 14th.—N. Y. Tribune.

JUDGE MCLEAN'S DECISION.

We have read this decision carefully, and we here record our deliberate judgment that it is one of the weakest, most odious and discreditable decisions ever rendered by any Court. The facts in regard to it are briefly as follows: After ROSETTA had been declared free by Judge PARKER, she was re-arrested by the Marshal on the same old war-rant on which she was first captured at Columbus. They aim not at the economical or industrial advancement of the nation. They do not even desire the spread of Slavery, because of the worth of the institution in their own eyes. On the contrary, it is felt and known to be the great blight and curse upon the national prosperity; but their purpose in spreading it is to secure guards and outposts for the main citadel of Slavery in the South. The slaveholders are determined to cripple and circumon hearing of that writ, he decided that Judge Parker. scribe the growth of the Free States. Their action PARKER'S ' proceedings were not only without au-

The grounds of this decision were, that a Judge of Ohio had no jurisdiction of the case, as the case was before the Commissioner, who is the proper judge in cases of fugitives from labor. In this there are two grossly false and outrageous assump-tions. First, that the girl was a fagitive, (Judge McLean calls her a fugitive throughout his re happen. Their designs are far-reaching and their marks.) Second, that State Courts have no right plots deep. Meanwhile the North—the money-making, busy, outraged North—secure in its own erty of the citizens of the State. The girl was not tranquillity and prosperity, after one spasmodic act a fugitive. The Commissioner decided she was of condemnation for the atrocity of the Nebraska not, and Judge McLean knew she was not. The armed neutrality, or what is worse, of expending its zeal, energy, and virtuous indignation in disputations and quarrels over the growth of the statement of the claimant that it is a corner. girl out of Kentucky, was scattered far and wide in the public papers. Judge McLean and Commissioner Penders must be immensely more bat-eyed than the reet of mankind, if nothing of all this had fallen under their inspection. But the proceedings at Columbus, and all the facts of the case, plainly beyond it forms. barred it from the adjudication of the ten dollar U. S. Commissioner. This Judge McLean himself the Washington Union, the government organ, to suffer no peaceful adjustment of real or pretended difficulties with Spain, but to involve the country, by some means or other, in a war with that nation. action in the case, he could yet proceed to institute legal proceedings to decide whether he was thus debarred! Was ever contradiction more flat and palpable! In what miserable absurdities do the necessities of despotism sometimes involve its ministers!

The denial of the right of the Courts of Ohio to The denial of the right of the Courts of Ohio to sit in judgment on the question of the personal freedom of the citizens of Ohio is, if possible, more outrageous still. For what other purposes are State Constitutions, and State Legislatures, and State Courts instituted? In comparison with the duty of protecting the personal liberty of the people, all the other functions of the State authorities dwindle, into insignificance. The rights of property are their part great concern. But what property are their next great concern. But what property are their next great concern. But what are the rights of property, in comparison with the right to freedom! Yet Judge McLean's decision palpably denies all right of interference to the Courts of Ohio. The girl ROSETTA was declared free by an Ohio Court, and placed by it in the hands of a guardian. The legality of that proceeding, Judge McLean himself does not question. But by virtue of that proceeding, she takes rank in by virtue of that proceeding, she takes rank, in point of rights, along with every free born minor in Ohio. She is then illegally, violently, mobocrat-ically kidnapped, by a United States official slaveically kidnapped, by a United States official slave-catcher, on a warrant issued on a false oath of the former owner, by a six-penny Commissioner, who had no shadow of right to act in the case. She is illegally detained in custody in the hands of the Marshal. And yet, forsouth, the Courts of Ohio have no right to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, and inquire into the cause of detention! Such is the deliberate decision of Judge McLean. Henceforward, the title of 'The American Jeffreys' should be borne equally by him and his worthy compeer, Judge Green.

in jeopardy, and decided on by a man mean enough to hold the office of official slave-catcher! Yet just in this position does the decision of the 'learned Judge' place us all; and if that decision is tamely endured, 'to this complexion things will come at last.'-Free Presbyterian.

THE VOICE OF MAINE.

6. That the act of 1850, called the fugitive slave law, is unconstitutional, and odious to the whole North; Maine therefore demands its immediate

and unconditional repeal.
7. That it is the duty of the general government, without delay, to abolish slavery wherever it has exclusive jurisdiction; and to exert its influence, and to exert its influence, and the state of the whenever and wherever it legitimately may, on the

ide of universal liberty: Therefore, Resolved, That our senators in Congress be intructed and our representatives requested to use all practical means to secure the passage of the

following enactments:

First. An act repealing all laws of the United
States authorizing slavery in the District of Co-

Second. An act repealing the statute of 1850,

known as the fogitive slave law.

Third. An act forever-prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, within the territories of the United States.

Resolved, further, That our senators in Con-

gress be instructed and our representatives requested, at all times hereafter, most strenuously to op-pose, in every justifiable way, the admission of any new State into the Union, except upon the condition to be embraced in the act of admission, that slavery or involuntary servitude, excepting that for crime of which the accused shall have been duly proved guilty, shall be forever prohibit-

8. Resolved, That the third paragraph in the second section of the first article of the constitution of the United States should be amended, by striking out the words, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and including Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons,' and adding in place thereof the words, excepting Indians not taxed, and all persons deem-

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to each of our senators and representatives in Congress.

TWO FACES - WHAT A PIOUS SLAVE-HOLDER WILL SWEAR TO.

The statement of the Rev. Henry M. Dennison, in relation to his slave Rosetta, published in the Ohio Statesman of the 16th inst., contained the following passages, which we propose to lay before our readers without special comment, that they may contrast them with his affidavit made before the U. S. Commissioner at Cincinnati, which will be found below.

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT.

'The friend to whose kind care I entrusted the girl, left Louisville for Wheeling, March 9th, inst., and finding a boat from Cincinnati, he determined, upon consultation, to cross the State of Ohio, by the little Miami railroad, under the impression that the care ran directly through, and no delay would thus interpress between him and the home he would thus interpose between him and the home he was so anxious to reach.

Still he thought by stopping in Columbus, where he had once resided, and yet has many friends, he might avoid observation, cloistered under what should be the sacred roof of a private family. But, alas! in the merciless and marauding code of abo-litionism, no 'man's house is his castle,' and black women were seen hovering about the house, like ords of ill omen, and presently the sheriff of the county appeared with a habeas corpus."

The next morning, she was brought before s court, and with a mockery of a trial, before time was allowed for the attempt even to defend both her and the rights guaranteed by the constitution to every citizen of the United States, she was declared free, and being a minor, was put under a guardian, lest she should exercise her liberty in returning to her parents, and this when Almighty God has made me her guardian, as I have ever been her best earthly friend.'

AFFIDAVIT OF REV. MR. DENNISON.

The U. S. America, Southern Dist. Before me, of Ohio, City of Cincinnati, ss. John L. Penderry, a Commissioner of the United States of America, for said district duly appointed, personally came Henry M. Dennison, of the State of Kentucky, county of Jefferson, and being first duly sworn, deposeth and says: that on or about the 8th day of March, A. D. 1855, one negro girl, called 'Rosetta,' aged about 16 years, of dark mulatto color, and about five feet high, did escape from him the said affiant, to whom she owes services and labor in the State of Kentucky, to the State of Ohio, where she is now supposed to be at this time.

(Signed) HENRY M. DENNISON.

PRO-SLAVERY RHETORIC.

In selecting the materials for our forthcoming work on Slaveholding Literature, we cannot refrain from copying the follow letter which appears in the Cleveland Herald: CINCINNATI, March 27, 1855.

Messrs. Editors Herald :

Messrs. Editors Herald:

You publish an editorial in your edition of the 24th concerning Mr. Dennison. In reply to which I beg leave to inform the whole of you, that you are a set of Damned Andlitionist, Publications White-Livered Scoundress, Rascals and Liars. I shall hold myself personally responsible for the above. Perhaps you will publish this, if you do, let me beg of you to give it a coloring consistent with your character of damned rascals.

Yours, truly, GEORGE T. ATKINS.

SUMNER AND SEWARD.

Mr. Summer lectured to a very large audience in Auburn, on Monday evening. Gov. Seward intro-duced bim to the audience, in the fullowing remarks, which we are sure will be responded to by the lov-ers of human liberty in the North:

'A dozen years ago, I was honored by being chosen to bring my neighbors residing here, to the
acquaintance of a Statesman of Massachusetts,
who was then directing the last evergies of an illustrious life to the removal of the crime of Human
Slavery from the soil of our beloved country—a
Statesman whose course I had chosen for my own
guidance—John Quincy Adams—' the old man eloouent.'

guidance—John Quincy Adams—' the old man eloquent.'

'He has ascended to Heaven—you and I yet remain here, in the field of toil and of duty. And now, by a rare felicity, I have your instructions to present to you another Statesman of Massachusetts—him on whose shoulders the mantle of the departed one has fallen—and who, more than any other of the many great and virtuous citizens of his native Commonwealth, illustrates the spirit of the Teacher, whom like us he venerated and loved so much—a companion and friend of my own public labors—the young 'man eloquent—Charles Sumner.'—Syracuse Chronicle.

cution of that law, he trampled under foot our declaration of rights, violated our constitution, derided our statutes, and wantonly outraged every generous, godilite impulse of our people.

I therefore respectfully submit whether Massachusetts should quietly suffer her sentiments to be thus disregarded. Has she not men who, in addition to their ample intellectual qualifications, are far better qualified morally to judge her widows and fatherless ones, than Judge Loring has proved himself to be? If not, then let her import them from Caffraria or Algiers. In this connection I cannot forbear giving a partial consideration to some of the reasons urged by a part of the committee why they could not sign the majority report. It was in substance that had Judge Loring decided in favor of the liberty of Burns, instead of dooming him to slavery, no objection would have been thought of against his presiding at the trial. Under other circumstances, I should be at a loss to determine whether this was designed as a contemptuous sneer at the deep throbbing humanity of Massachusetts, or whether it was intended as a reason why E. G. Loring should not be removed from the office of Judge.

Should Chief Justice Shaw descend from his high tribunal to preside at the American Board of Foreign Missions, of course this would not be considered a crime, and he would no doubt still retain his office unmolested. And more than this, it would give additional luster to his character, and strengthen the confidence of the people in his fitness to discharge the duties of his office. But should he condescend to preside at the midnight revise of the brothel, the moral sense of the community would be shocked, and his place upon the bench would at once be filled by another, whose sworal character would be above and beyond reproach. Grant that a different decision in the case of Burns would have been universally in favor, and no objection would have been thought of against the commissioner for sitting upon that trial. The reasons are evidence has been

charity sufficiently large to cover such a mass of deformity.

But grant that it is all true, that he did in good faith remand a fellow man back to slavery, that that the daties did not conflict with his convictions of right; still, if Massachusetts believes those convictions were erroneous, that such duties are inconsistent with the duties devolving upon a Judge of Probate, she has a right so to say, and to place men upon the bench, who will not fly in the face of her own laws, and trample her humanity in the dust, even ever so inadvertently. If Judge Loring was too stupid to appreciate the wrong, certainly he should be removed for incompetency; if he knew the evil, and yet suffered it, he should be removed for his dishonesty. In this same connection, I may be permitted to examine briefly another reason urged by the same members of the committee, why they could not unite with the majority. They admit that Massachusetts had taken decided ground on this very subject in 1843, and again in 1850, and yet, because in 1851-2 and 3 the Legislature did not see fit, or think it necessary to declare the same sentiments again, by positive enactions to whe the inference is that Commissioner.

1850, and yet, because in 1851-2 and 3 the Legislature did not see fit, or think it necessary to declare the same sentiments again, by positive enactment, why, the inference is, that Commissioner Loring was justfied in taking it for granted, that in 1854 no law, or sentiment existed, in this State against the rendition of fugitive slaves.

In what country, in what age do we live? Has it come to this, that liberty is of so little worth, that our Legislature must almost from year to year, by positive enactment, remind our Judges even, that they may not wrest it from any man, whose only crime is that he prefers to hold the title of his own liberty in his own hands? This same committee affirm that during the years after 1850, the temper of the people of the State was continually rising in its opposition to the infamous act, under which fugitives were summarily returned into slavery; and yet because in Suffolk county, this popular sentiment did not assume a character so exquisitely "unmistakable" as to give the assections and the the stiting worn such a case Judge

ed into slavery; and yet because in Suffolk county, this popular sentiment did not assume a character so exquisitely "unmistakable" as to give the assurance, that by sitting upon such a case, Judge Loring would not sacrifice the confidence of those that appeared in his court, why, the inference again is, that he had no good reason to decline the service. I must regard this as a stigma upon that class of community to which the allusion refers. Who are they that appear at the court over which he presides? Not the Lawrences, the Everetts, and the Winthrops, but they are widows, fresh from the tombs of their departed husbands, clad in the habiliments of mourning, the tears of sorcow still coursing down their cheeks, with their dependent offspring clinging closely to their side, and seeming as if to pray, that the stranger judge may dispense them justice with a kindly hand and sympathising heart. Now, at this trying juncture, let but a faint picture be presented before them, of the trial of Anthony Burns; the unyielding sternness of the Commissioner, the wanton wresting of every particle of evidence which might favor his right to liberty, the almost, if not quite, expressed determination to doom him to remeated beforechand.

evicence which might layor his right to helerly, the almost, if not quite, expressed determination to doom him to perpetual bondage, beforehand, and then, finally, the relentless, utmost extreme decision; I repeat, let but a faint picture be presented to their minds, of all these transactions, and what think you would be their feelings, when they should reflect that this same Commissioner they should reflect that this same Commissioner

sented to their minds, of all these transactions, and what think you would be their feellings, when they should reflect that this same Commissioner was sitting in judgment before them also? They must tremble in his presence, and hasten to skrink from his view, were it not that it was the only tribunal of this nature before which they might appear, and they must of necessity take such measure as he is disposed to mete out to them. But I cannot admit that this class compose the only, nor the main portion, of Suffolk County, who might well be supposed to be hostile to such an outrage. The events of the trial, if trial it may be called, confirmed such a supposition. Judge Loring could not enter upon the case, until he had summoned to his aid, not only the entire police of this city, but the whole disposable force of the military, with their arms well charged with the elements of death; and in addition to this, the very Court House must be environed with chains. And for what purpose? To repel the uprising indignation of the people, (not of the widows and orphans,) which he strongly anticipated, and which he had the best of reasons to fear. And yet, offe might suppose from the representation of the dissenting committee, that there was such a lovely state of feeling between the Judge and the people; such an unanimity as to the propriety of returning fugitives, that, instead of resisting to the very death, as was the case, the whole multitude would have hastened to stay him with flagons, and to comfort him with apples.

There is another subject which deeply agitates

fugitives, that, instead of resisting to the very death, as was the case, the whole multitude would have hastened to stay him with flagons, and to comfort him with apples.

There is another subject which deeply agitates the minds of this conservative portion of the committee. They declare "they have no ordinary solicitude in reference to the effect upon the independence of the Judiciary, of this summary punishment of a Judge," who is so very conscientions, as Judge Loring is supposed to have been.

I desire to make no war upon the judiciary. I respect their position, so far as it tends to the administration of justice. I am willing to acknowledge their independence, so long as it is not abused, by themselves. But I am not of that class who so devoutly worship the judge as to lose sight of the man. I cannot believe his elevation so high, so unapproachable, that his sins may not be visited like other men's, for fear of shaking his independence. And this view is in accordance with the constitution. The framers of that instrument foresaw that an exigency might possibly arise, where the bench might be so dishonored, by the disgraceful conduct of some one of its occupants, that his remeval would be absolutely desirable and necessary. To be sure, this high prerogative has but rarely been exercised by the people. And let us for a moment consider what were the causes of removal in the three several instances where it has occurred. In 1803, Theophilus Bradbury was removed by the Governor, by the address of the Legislature, he being incapacitated by a shock of the palsy. In the same year, two others were removed by address, in a part of Massachusetts which now belongs to Maine. And for what reason? Why, Judge William Vinal took mine dollars extra traveling fees, in his office of justice of the peace; so that, if Judge Loring shall be removed from the bench, for acts done as United States Commissioner, it will not be done without precedent. Here, three judges were

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THE VOTING AT LAWRENCE. In this District THE VOTING AT LAWRENCE. In this District where the late census report indicates but 359 voters, the election shows there were 1,000 votes polled, nearly three times as great a number as legitimately belonged here; and yet a large number of our actual residents, and particularly those from a distance, did not exercise their right to the legiting franchise as they found they could not be actually they cannot be a superior of the country of elective franchise, as they found they could not do so without endangering their lives. The Free State strength in this District is full five to one and yet the Pro-Slavery ticket has a majority of

more than three to one.

Mr. Edwin Bond, who went to vote in the morn-Mr. Edwin Bond, who went to vote in the morning, was forcibly ejected from the ground, and pursued by an angry crowd to the bank of the river with curses and threatenings of destruction, and compelled to jump down the declevity, when a revolver was discharged at him, and a ball narrowly escaped his head. He ran along the beach, and finally escaped unscathed.

Voters arked.

We repaired to the polls about 10 o'clock in the morning, but retired on the assurance of numerous friends that we were in personal

ance of numerous friends that we were in personal danger, thinking it best to defer our rights as an danger, thinking it best to defer our rights as an elector to a later period in the day, when it was hoped better order would prevail. At 4 o'clock we again visited the polls, and discharged our duties as a freeman without molestation. It was the first time we ever appeared at the ballot-box with an instrument of defense, and we trust it will be the last time it will be deemed necessary to be guarded with a retinue of friends, each provided with bowie knives and revolvers, besides having several of the latter instruments about our own

several of the latter instruments about our own

person ready for immediate use.

THE VOTING AT TECUMSEH. After it was satisfactorily ascertained that the number of persons imported into Lawrence, from Missouri, was greater than the occasion demanded, a company of 200 was detached from the main body, and took up their line of march for Tecumseh, with the view of overbalancing the large number of free voters in that District, a majority of whom are located at Topeka. They arrived at their destination in sime to participate in the fraud there practised upon the ballot-box. When they had accomplished the object of their mission, they returned in a body to their encampment near Lawrence, where they remained till Saturday morning, when they took their

final departure for Missouri.

Mr. Burgess, one of the Judges appointed by the Governor, was violently threatened; a pistol was three times snapped in his face, a club flourished over his head, till finally he was compelled to proclaim the election adjourned.

The mob then selected a new Board, with two drunken Secretaries, who took possession of the drunken Secretaries, who took possession of the ballot-box, and allowed no person to appreach it unless he was right on the "Goose question,"

—a slang phrase used among the Missourians, implying they are in favor of extending the institution of Slavery-over Kansas.

No questions were asked the voter as to his citizenship or place of residences, no conth were

citizenship or place of residence; no oath was administered, or other test required, save an assurance of support to the Pro-Slavery ticket.

An aged gentleman, who felt disposed to ex-ercise the privileges conferred on him by the laws and Constitution, approached the ballot-box, when he was offered a pro-slavery vote. He remarked that he did not vote that ticket, when some one knocked off his hat, another cuffed him, while a third applied the boot, and forced him from the ground, threatening to put a bullet through him, unless he left instanter.

The friends of Freedom, finding themselves borne down by the invaders, quietly retired from the polls; and we are assured no Free State votes, other than three or four, were cast in tha district, though that party was largely in the majority; while the pro-slavery marauders from Missouri polled between four and five hundred.

The late census returns showed that, thus far every election district in the territory was settled by a large majority of voters from the free States, and that, if left to the ordinary course of things, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory would be united upon the subject of human rights.

ELECTION CARRIED WITH CANNON.

[Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.] Sr. Louis, Tuesday, April 10, 1855. The Kansas Election has resulted in favor of Slavery. The voters were citizens of Missouri. They marched with cannon from Westport, in Missouri, to the town of Lawrence. These men were loaded with small-arms, they took violent possession of the polls, which they held in military array until they felt assured that their ticket would succeed—and then they returned to Missou-ri. The election was held on Friday, the 30th of March. Thursday, at noon, the day before, an armed cavalcade which claimed to be 5000 strong, preceded by two cannon mounted, and by a wagon loaded with whiskey—this whole military array, armed with deadly weapons and led by a Colone Young, left Westport, in Missouri, for the avowed purpose of controlling the elections in Kansas. They had about forty miles to travel to reach Lawrence, but the roads were dry, and they proceeded to Waukarusa Creek, seven miles from Lawrence before they camped. About nine hundred went to Lawrence, and marched up to the polls, armed, and took possession of the ground. They swore that they were citizens of the Territory, and that it was bona fide their intention to remain there. This oath each Missourian took before he voted. and then they all started back to their homes in Missouri that same evening. The legal voters, seeing that the election was wholly managed by foreign interlopers, did not, many of them, vote at There are very few slaves or slave-owners in the Territory. The owners dare not yet take slaves the Territory. The owners dare not yet take slaves there. Their newspapers and the Slavery men. talk much of the thousands who are crowding into the Territory; but it is all false. They have only been there long enough to vote, and there is no danger of their going down there to take their slaves. The conduct of these Missourians greatly 16 and the settlement of the Territory, but it does not advance the slave interest in the least. On

the other hand, it is opening the eyes of thousands to the true character of Slavery, which but for some manifestation, would remain closed forever. LAWRENCE, K. T., April 3, 1855. On the 27th of March, Mr. Geo. Reed, a joiner of this city, while passing the house of Blue Jacket, an Indian councilman, was informed that about 500 Missourians were encamped some distance from the Waukarusa River. He and his friend went that way to their destination. On arrival at the camp, he was pointed out as a Yankee, although from New York, and a pistol ball came whistling by his ear. On the 28th, they fell out among them-selves, and while drunk, cut one of their own men seriously. This day, forty covered wagons, filled with Missourians, passed here for the town of Douglas, and others for Tecumseh. In the afternoon, fifty wagons, besides any amount of horse men, came through our city, and encamped on its line, on the claim of a Pro-Slavery Missourian. In conversation, they openly avowed that they came to vote, and thus protect their property in Missouri. In the evening, many having received allow-ance of whiskey, brought in barrels with the party, became drunk, and wandered about the town asking for more whisky in our stores, but such an ar-ticle is not sold in Lawrence. While conversing ticle is not sold in Lawrence. While conversing with an intelligent looking Missourian, he stated that we live here, but to protect themselves, they should make it a Slave State, if it took all Missouri and the North might help herself. About two weeks since a large duantity of provisions, assorted. came, up, was stored at a Missourian's, but no one could surmise its use there; but election day and night this was the free provision store to Missourians. 29th, again a large train of wagons and horsemen came in and marched through our streets; one with four horses had a slave riding one of the leaders, and a slave boy, surrounded by a crowd of hard-looking beings, supported a pole from which streamed the flag of America; in another wagon was a violin, played by a slave. Groups continued to angment their number. Most of the horsemen carried a gun, also a pistol in a belt. 30th, fifty-two more wagons came into the city with streamers of stripes and stars, but they did not go to the camp; they merely fastened their borses, fed them, and on the call of Col. Young, their fugleman, they fell into rows, looked arms, and took entire possession of the polls. Many of our citizens could not get an opportunity to vote. Such oaths, actions and insults, I never heard or saw given or taken by Americans. sourians. 29th, again a large train of wagons

never heard or saw given or taken by Americans, but the fact is, Kansas was enslaved on the 30th of

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

SPEECH OF Hon. G. PILISBURY, of Hampden, In the Massachusetts Senate, April 19, 1855.

Mr. PRESIDENT AND SENATORS:

This subject has been agitated so thoroughly in the numerous hearings before the Committee on Federal Relations, to which I am giad that most, if not all the members at this board were listeners, that I can hardly hope to produce conviction upon the mind of any Senator, who is not already convinced, that the offices of Slave Commissioner and Judge of Probate, are too incongruous to be administered by one and the same individual, in this Commonwealth. I am, however, consoled by the thought, that the sentiments I entertain upon this subject, do not differ from those or a large majority of the gentlemen before me. I am also cheered by the belief, that they are in harmony with the views of a very large majority of the citizens of Massachusetts.

ity of the gentlemen before me. I am also cheered by the belief, that they are in harmony with the views of a very large majority of the citizens of Massachusetts.

And why should they not be? Seventy years ago, they wiped out the foul blot of Slavery from their otherwise untarnished escutcheon, and inserted in its stead the brilliant star of universal liberty. Ever since that time, there has been one prevailing sentiment among the people, and that sentiment has been, freedom forever, to every one who treads our soil. To be sure, now and then, through some political sirocco which has swept from the Sou h, the flag of freedom has flapped, and fluttered as though it must soon be struck. And occasionally, at the beck of some Southern despot, backed up by the pro-slavery clamors of a few Northern doughfaces, it has seemed for the moment, to trail in the dust. But how soon has an outraged people rallied around it, snatched it from its degraded position, shaken from it the dust, snat flith, and borne it aloft again in triumph!

The prevailing impulse of Massachusetts for a long series of years has not been a matter of conjecture. It has been a matter of certainty. You, Mr. President, and I, and Judge Loring even, knew iong before the disgraceful scene which occurred in May 1854, in which he acted so conspicuous a part, and for which he is now arraigned at the bar of an outraged community, that Massachusetts did not, and would not at all consent, that our soil should become the hunting ground for slavery. Indeed, he disgrace had been guarded against, by the plain, unmistakeable letter of statute law, with heavy penalties annexed. This law has never been revealed. It stands to-day, and did stand in May, 1854 unaltered upon the statute book, and unchanged in the hearts of the people.

It has been urged in extenuation, that in the rendition of the fugitive Burns, Judge Loring acted in accordance with constitutional law. Granted; and as a law-abiding citizen, it is not this of which I make complaint. Grant, that from the

stitutes him sole and complete arbiter, approach him with hallowed confidence and respect; and in the midst of sorrow, freely unburden all their carea, assured that he who had nobly refused to doom a poor, panting fugitive to eternal bondage, must, from his sympathizing nature and nobleness of soul, enter into all their afflictions, and judge them, too, with righteous judgment. Had he adopted this course, how different now would be the atmosphere which surrounds that bench upon which an enduring people still suffer him to sit! He has fallen, it may be in an evil hour, but that he has thus fallen, is no fault of mine, or yours. Had he at any time manifested a desire to recover from that degradation into which he voluntarily plunged himself, charity might induce us to extend the sustaining hand. But has he ever exhibited such a desire? Has ever one single contrite syllable publicly escaped his lips, for this ignominious act? Never, no, never. No doubt, in view of the storm of righteous indignation which constantly beats around him from every direction, he consumes the day in private regret, and ekes out the wearisome hours of night, in sullen sadness. But of what avail in this, either to him or us, so long as every public word by him spoken, and every line from his pen, exhibit only a bold, stubborn determination to vindicate that line of conduct, which every principle of common humanity condemns. Had he resigned his commission, rather than remand Burns to bondage, his name and his fame would have become immortal. And even after the fatal blow had been struck, had he bowed to the public will, by tendering his resignation as commissioner instead of bidding it such open defiance, I doubt will, by tendering his resignation as commissioner instead of bidding it such open defiance, I doubt whether an attempt would ever been made to remove him from the bench. It is not that he is intellectually disqualified to discharge the duties of the office, that we wish him removed. But it is that he is morally difficient. It is not that he may not have discharged the duties of a judge to the general satisfaction, that we would have him vacate his seat, but it is, that he is not only susceptible to that degree of moral obliquity, which for a moment would suffer him to descend from his high positition to the unsavory task of slave commissioner, but that he has already once yielded, and position to the unsavory task of state of several some, but that he has already once yielded, and for aught we know, still holds himself ready and willing to do the same thing again and again. The duties of Judge of Probate, coupled with those of duties of Judge of Probate, coupled with those of slave commissioner, may be perfectly consonant with Carolina law and Carolina Christianity even, slave commissioner, may be perfectly consonant with Carolina law and Carolina Christianity even, but not with the law and Christianity of Massachusetts. No, never; and volumes of District of Columbia statutes, would forever fail to make them so. Did equal power exist in the people of tais Commonwealth to remove United States Commissioners, that our Constitution vouchsafes for the removal of judges, think you that the fugitive slave law could by them be enforced upon our soil? Not in a single instance. But of this power, we do not claim to be possessed. Judge Loring knows it full well, and securely ensconced behind this inhuman Congressional enactment, he bids us open defiance, and chooses rather to trample the entire moral sense of Massachusetts in the dust, than to refuse obedience to the blood thirsty demands of the South. He scorned and still scorns the alternative, which might have released him from the odium now resting upon him. He has never stopped to enquire which of the two incompatible offices, slave commissioner and Judge of Probate, he weuld retain to the exclusion of the ether, but holds fast to them both with presumptuous tenacity. Fortpuntely the alternative which he discards is still left for us. We have the power of removal in the one case, in the other we have not the power.

If we deem the case of sufficient consequence to

If we deem the case of sufficient consequence to in we deem the case of salid to adopt the alternative. Let him hold the office of United States Commissioner if he will; let him feast and fatten native. Let him hold the office of United States Commissioner if he will; let him feast and fatten upon such honors and emoluments as it affords. Let him still hold himself in readiness to do violence to the sentiment of Massachusetts, expressed again and again, in her statute books, and sounded from every hill top across every valley. We caunot prevent it if we would; but let us not suffer him to mingle the darkness of such a tribunal with the light which beams from the Massachusetts bench. Let him not presume to dissipate the gloom with which he is enshrouded, by maintaining his position, amidst the radiant splendor which has ever surrounded our judiciary.

I have thus far conceded to Judge Loring the full benefit of the necessity, which he claims in his remonstrance, weighed so heavily upon him by virtue of his office of commissioner, to execute this inhuman law; that he must either do it, or resign; and yet, it appears, that what he construed as a necessity, was made a matter of choice under similar circumstances, by Mr. Hallet, who refused to issue a warrant against William and Ellen Crafts, and that too, so far as we know, without "detriment" to himself, or "to the Republic."

Ellen Crafts, and that too, so far as we know, without "detriment" to himself, or "to the Republic."

He may have acted in accordance with the duty which the Fagitive Slave Law imposed upon him, but that he "exactly complied with the official oath imposed upon him by the authority of the people of Massachusetts," I trust we shall be very slow to believe. Massachusetts guarantees to the fagitive slave a constitutional right, of trial by jury. The tenth article in our declaration of rights gives each individual the right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property, according to standing laws. And what are, those standing laws? The twelfth article also of the constitution declares, that no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judment of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judment of his peers, or the law of the land. It goes farther, and declares the Legislature shall not make any law that shall subject any person to a capital or infamous punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury. The fifteenth article also reiterates this same right of trial by jury, and declares this method of procedure shall be held sacred, except in cases to which the one under consideration is an exception. The twenty-ninth article insists upon the right of every citizes, to be tried by judges, as free, impariting and independent, as the lot of humanity will admit. Could not the lot of humanity have afforded a tribunal, a little different from that, before which Anthony Burns was tried? If it had done it, the issue might have been a little different also.

Again, a statute of March 24, 1843, had it been applied, would have fined Judge Loring one thousand dollars, or shut him up for one year in the county jail, for the very identical course which he pursued in returning Burns into slavery.

Then, again, sv

who should either be ignorant of the laws upon this subject, or should be too strongly wedded to despotism, to yield them obedience, the Legislature, in 1850, solemly resolved (and that resolve was approved May 1st) "That the people of Massachusetts, in the maintenance of these, their well known and invincible principles, expect that all their officers and representatives will adhere to them at all times, on all occasions, and under all circumstances." Ah! Mr. President, had Massachusetts vindicated her rights, had she enforced her own laws, with half the pertinacity which Judge Loring exercised in executing the fugitive slave law, then, while his victim, after his return to bondage, was sadly and hopelessly replining in the slave prison of the South, or writhing under the untold cruelty of the lash, he, too, might have been peering through the grates of Suffolk county jail. And yet, like a whining school boy, Judge Loring comes before this Legislature with a remonstrance, and in that remonstrance virtually declares, that it would be shocking injustice to remove him for an act performed in "exact compliance with the official oath imposed upon him by the authority of the people of Massachusetts."

I shall not deny that his oath as United States Commissioner might have allowed, and possibly compelled him to do just the deed which he accomplished. It is not of this, simply, that we make complaint. It is not simply that he enforced an infamous law, that we desire his removal from the office of Judge, but it is, because, in the execution of rights, violated our constitution, derided our statutes, and wantonly outraged every generous, godlike impulse of our people.

I therefore respectfully submit whether Massaremoved in a single year, and one of them for the comparatively insignificant offence of taking an extra fee of three dollars and thirty-three cents; and yet the world rolled on, the Commonwealth withstood the shock, and the remaining judges no doubt behaved quite as well for being released from such contaminating company. For fifty years, they honorably maintained their independence, and occupied their seats unmolested. I think the example must have been a most salutary one.

ence, and occupied their seats unmolested. I think the example must have been a most salutary one.

Had Richard H. Dana, Jr., Esq. lived at that time, he would, on paper at least, have annihilated every judge of them in twenty-four hours. He would, in imagination, have seen "the alumbering lion of the constitution" roused, and devouring them one by one, in awfully rapid succession. I therefore submit whether this summary punishment of three judges in the single year of 1803, did result so disastrously that this Legislature must be warned against taking a similar course in 1855.

Are not the causes sufficient? Who will presume to compare the reasons which operated for the removal of Paul Dudley Sargent, with those which are now arged, for the removal of Edward Greely Loring? The one despoiled a County, to the amount of three dollars and thirty-three cents, the other despoiled a man, to the amount of liberty, forever. The one was removed, and the people said, amen. The other still retains his office, and Mr. Dana encourages his disconsolate heart, by softly suggesting that we have no "weapons" with which to "strike him down;" he therefore bids him "go in peace."

There is but one other statement made by this doubting portion of the committee, to which I will allude. And I must say that statement almost surprises me.

They close by saying that Judge Loring, whom

There is but one other statement made by this doubting portion of the committee, to which I will allude. And I must say that statement almost surprises me.

They close by saying that Judge Loring, whom they believe acted conscientiously, "is now adjudged, not by the sentiment that existed at the time of the act, but by the opinion that has grown up into vigorous life under the excitement of national events, which have urged, and exasperated public feeling, since the decision was made." I cannot conceive to what exciting national events they would direct our attention, as having occurred since that decision, and which would tend to operate so powerfully upon the people of Massachusetts in this particular. I believe no such events have occurred since that time mentioned. They all occurred previous to that time. Let us go back to 1850. In that year Daniel Webster powerfully advocated, and was mainly instrumental in the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Did this tend to quiet the excited feelings of the North upon the subject, and to pave the way for a Massachusetts Judge to act as United States Commissioner, and to turnus the fugitive back to bondage, without impairing the nubile confidence?

What kind of immortality did the giant advocate of that bill secure to himself? Did it enhance the brilliant luster, which ever had been wont to encircle his fame, at home and abroad? I tell you nay. From that very day his doom was sealed. Massachusetts virtually disowned him; and at the same time, strange to tell, he was even descried by the chivalrous South. He might not brave the raging storm, and in the very height of the commotion, his sun went down in darkness.

At this awful moment, what consternation scized upon the thousands of halpless beings who had escaped from the fangs of slavery, and were quietly reposing in our midst. About this time, Sims was unlawfully seized, tried and condemned, and hurried sadly and sorrowfully on his returnless way to eternal bondage. No syllable has ever been heard from that poor mo

adhered to at all times, on all occasions, and under all circumstances?

We now come to 1854. Did the events of that year embolden the timid, "conscientious" Judge, to discharge the "disagreeable duty?" Who can ever forget the perfect fury of excitement which agitated the entire North, at the bare mention of the Nebraska bill? Where was Judge Loring during all the excitement attendant upon its passage? I will not ask where was the honorable Senator from Norfolk? (Mr. Pierce.) Did he not profil bis name with pride, amongst those of the

agiated the entire Nortia, at the Dare mention of the Nebraska bill? Where was Judge Loring during all the excitement attendant upon its passage? I will not ask where was the honorable Senator from Norfolk? (Mr. Pierce.) Did he not enroll his name with pride, amongst those of the more than three thousand elergymen of New England, upon a remonstrance too, which harmonized with almost the entire christian sentiment of Masachusetts? And did the insulting reception which that instrument met at the hands of the slave propagandists on the floor of Congress, stop the mouths of the remonstrants, and awe them into damb submission? Did it allay the excitement caused by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill a few years previous? I tell you nay. It lashed this ocean of righteous indignation into new fury. In view of this monstrous aggression of the slave power, were not the people filled with terror, and did they not anew, swear eternal opposition to the Fugitive bill in particular? Even the last stronghold of slavery in Massachusetts surrendered now, for Mr. Dana himself declares, that "the public sentiment of State street, and Beacon street did not demand the rendition of Burns. It would have been better pleased with his release." And where, let me ask again, was Judge Loring during all this commotion? I fear this question would be answered too truthfully, by saying that he was crouched at the very footstool of Judge Curtis.

Is it not evident that he consulted this unscrupulous oracle, other than read public sentiment from the great book everywhere spread open before him? No, Mr. Fresident. The "national events which have urged and "zasperated public feeling," all transpired before that "decision was made." Even if we must suppose Commissioner Loring ignorant of the will of Massachusetts upon this subject, as expressed again and again upon her statute books, we cannot see how he could mistake public sentiment, as the storm of public indignation rose higher and higher at every successive encroachment of the slave power.

through mases so intricate, that no one but a law-yer of equal ability with himself, could hope to transport you back again with safety. What are the facts in the case?

Go back in imagination to the events of that trial. There sat the judge with his "terrified, stupified, intimidated" victim before him, hand-cuffed, pinned fast to the spot by two police men, one on either side. The farce was progressing. Judge Loring was bulsy in noting down the evi-dence with as much apparent indifference as he would note down the viands of his sumptuons meal.

dence with as much apparent indifference as a would note down the viands of his sumptuous meal.

Mr. Dans happened to hear in the street that such an outrage was being committed in the court room, and hastened to the spot. On entering the room, and becoming acquainted with the facts in the case, he felt impelled to go to the conscientious commissioner in person. He informed him that his prisoner was in a fearful and helpless condition, that he was in no state of mind to judge whether he would or could have any defence, and urged him to call him to him, and to address him more confidentially upon the subject.

Alas that a judge should need such new light to be shed upon him with reference to the condition of a prisoner, whose right to liberty was the issue!

Nevertheless, on receiving that light he promised to do as he was requested.

But it was a promise made only to be broken, for he still suffered the trial to proceed. The claimant's counsel read and put in the record, and the infamous Brent testified as to the identity of Burns. The Commissioner continued to note the evidence, which he seemed determined abould seal his doom beyond reprieve.

Where now was his promise? Mr. Dana, true to his former impulses (alas! If the "fine gold has become dim,") rallied in his strength. He hustened to confer with Mr. Phillips, then with Mr. Parker, then with Mr. Billis and others, and then ventured to arise and address the court. His very locks shook with indignation. It was a bold move ment He had no more right to do it than the humblest man in the room. The exigencies of the

case led him to break through all formality. He, in his own words before the committee, "urged the matter with all his force, and felt bound so to do."

case led him to break through an formally. He, in his own words before the committee, "urged the matter with all his force, and felt bound so to do."

And no wonder.

It was a glorious deed, and may heaven reward him for that act, above all others of his eventful career. Mr. Ellis also arose and addressed the Court in a similar mannet, protesting against such a trial. What if, after all this, the Judge did a little relent, and call Burns to his side, and even address him in a "tone of kindness?" The veriest dog will crouch under severe chastisement, but will remain the dog still. And how does this cringing, servile character comport with the heroic, with which, according to Mr. Dans, he was clothed, but a few moments after. In reply to some base whisperings of the United States Marshall, he is made to say "rather severely, I can't help that, sir, he shall have the proper time" for a defence? Perhaps it was this waxing boldness, that led Mr. Dana to write, in his records of eventa—"the conduct of Judge Loring has been considerate and humane."

I will not pursue the chain of circumstances farther in detail, connected with this transaction. You are probably acquainted with the facts, from the base beginning to the bitter end, I cannot, however, refrain from alluding to the opinion which Mr. Dana himself then entertained, and still entertains, with reference to the decision of Judge Loring, in that noted trial; also to some traits of character which he attributes to him, traits too, which would seem a more appropriate appendage to a despot than to a Judge of Probate in Massachusetts. I quote his own words from his published defence before the committee. "We showed that a man sworn to be the prisoner was in Boston a fortnight before the date fixed by Mr. Brent for his escape from Richmond. Judge Loring took two days to consider the case, and decided against us, on the law and facts. I thought this decision wrong then, and I think so now." Again, "I think the decided preponderance of opinion at the bar is against his

Again, "Judge Loring needed not, and ough Again, "Judge Loring needed not, and ought not, pernaps, to have heard the claimant's case before calling up Burns." * * He says further, "Indeed, I will frankly say, that if Judge Loring had addressed him as all other Judges address prisoners, across the bar, if he had not called him to him, and in a manner and tone at once kind, and assuring, almost urged a defence upon him, if he had not caught at a slight intimation of assent, I do not believe there would have been a defence at all."

Now, when we consider that even this little

defence at all."

Now, when we consider that even this little shred of humanity was not voluntary on the part of the commissioner, but was actually whipped out of him, by the repeated flagellations of both Mr. Dana and Mr. Ellis, what is this, but an admission that had not the friends of Burns accidentally entered the court room and dared to bolt beyond the bounds of legal propriety, by protesting in open court against the conduct of the presiding officer, this wretched, poor defenceless victim, would have been forever doomed, in a single hour from that time?

been forever doomed, in a single hour from that time?

I quote further from Mr. Dana. "Judge Loring decided wrong; not from any corrupt motive, but from causes partly psychological, and partly accidental. This was a case admitting of, and to some extent requiring new applications or developments of fundamental principles, and Judge Loring has none of those strong instincts in favor of justice and humanity, which, followed by judges at intervals in leading cases, have gradually changed the jurisprudence of England from a system of tyranny to a system of liberty." I am confident Massachusetts would be better pleased with judges of character differing from that of Judge Loring, whose strong instincts would favor liberty rather than tyranny; with men who are morally qualified to be governed by law and facts rather than by psychology and accident.

Once more. Mr. Dana says "he was a man to receive the opinions, and to be much governed by

Once more. Mr. Dana says "he was a man to receive the opinions, and to be much governed by the influences about him. He did not bring to the cause the high instincts of liberty and justice, the original power, the independence, which the cause required. The decision was the result of this. This is all that can be said about it. I think this is enough. If all the judges are composed of such materials, I do not wonder at Mr. Dana's solicitude for the independence of the judiciary. I have thus far spoken of the causes which have

been suggested to my own mind, urging this removal from office. I have not labored to prove incompetency on the part of Judge Loring, to discharge the duties of the office from which we seek to remove him, but I must confess there are so many objectionable points everywhere protruding, that it would not be difficult to make out a case in this regard alone. Besides, the competency of a judge, strictly speaking, does not consist merely of extreme flippancy in codes and practices. The greatest lawyers, popularly speaking, sometimes make the smallest judges, just as the noisiest stream discharges the least water. Neither does a good judge require wonderful originating, faculties, a tact of drawing new and unheard of conclusions from plain and simple facts. The very term of judge, implies something more, and entirely different. Webster defines a judge to be "one who has skill to decide on the merits of a question, or on the value of any thing—one who can discern truth and propriety;" and technically to judge, he defines, "to hear and determine," I suppose according to this standard, I respectfully submit, whether Judge Loing is competent to discharge his duties in any important sonse, whether legally, intellectually, or morally. Mr. Dana, in his defence, probably gave his illustrious protege the very best character he can possibly bear, which is in amount that he is very kind and considerate, but deficient in the unimportant matters of law, justice, and humanity.

Now, if for the reasons to which I have alluded, been suggested to my own mind, urging this removal from office. I have not labored to prove in-

out dement in the unimportant matters of law, justice, and humanity.

Now, if for the reasons to which I have alluded, or for other causes which may have escaped my attention, you may desire Judge Loring's removal, you have only to say so, and it is done. Indeed, I might go farther, and say, if you desire his removal, the Constitution gives you the right, and points out the method to remove him, without specifying any single reason whatever. But I have no fears that this or any other Legislature will desire to avail themselves of this extreme provision. The very able Convention of 1820, for the amending of the Constitution, had this very provision under thorough examination, and while they acknowledged, to a man, its sweeping construction, they did not even suggest its abandonment.

amending of the Constitution, had this very provision under therough examination, and while they acknowledged, to a man, its sweeping construction, they did not even suggest its abandonment.

They only recommended a modification, that the Governor and Council might not remove a judge by the address of a bire majority of the Legisture, but only by a two thirds vote. They would clothe the judge with full power to trample on the rights, and outrage the common sense of a majority with impunity. But if two thirds should assert the right to be released from such an incubus, why, the other third should consent to it. This proposition was rejected by the people. They took a common sense view of the matter. They considered that one man, even though a judge, might be quite as likely to err, as a majorit, of the Legislature; and while they yielded the right of independence to the judges, so long as they ruled well, they still claimed a majority right, to remove them, if they should become offunive for any cause whatsoever. And now in conclusion, let me say, the matter at issue, though very grave, is nevertheless extremely simple. If E. G. Loring is not the man you desire should occupy the bench of probate, you have only to suffer your votes to correspend to your desire. Nothing can be easier. I do not urge that this step should be taken, without good and sufficient cause. I claim that such cause does exist. It is neither the will nor the law of Massachusetts that fugitives should—she returned to bondage. They are both in open, and expressed hostility to it. Judge Loring has once transgressed, and holds himself in readiness to do it again. We cannot prevent it, if he self. We cannot say who shall be our slave commissioners, but we can say who shall be our slave commissioners, but we can say who shall be our gives should—she returned to bondage. They are both in open, and expressed hostility to it. Judge Loring has once transgressed, and holds himself in readiness to do it again. We cannot prevent it, if he self. We cannot

A Novelty. Mrs. Webb, to whose dramatic readings, to a private audience, we alluded in last week's paper, is a young colored woman. The statement of this fact may increase the anxiety many have expressed to know and hear more of her. We state the fact now as a novelty, and will add that some of our best critics speak in the highest terms of her reading. She gave a public reading at the Assembly Buildings on Thursday evening last.—Philadelphia Paper.

THE INDICTMENTS AGAINST PARKER, PHIL. LIPS, AND OTHERS.

According to the opinions which prevailed in 1850, one might suppose that the Union was at this time is very imminent danger. The indictments against The dore Parker, Wendell Phillips, T. W. Higgmen, and time detergs, have been quashed by the decision of Mr. Justice Sprague, and in the amweck, the Massachusetts House of Representative decide, by a majority of nearly one hundred, to address the Governor to remove Edward Greely Loring for the part taken by him in the rendition of Burns. What a change in four years in this State! In the rega of terror following the 7th of March speech, it was not use for a minister to suggest that slavery was an eril; sight the filmsiest anti-slavery resolutions could not get passed in our General Court. Then the comment of the supposed in our General Court. for a minister to suggest that slavery was an emit and the filmsiest anti-slavery resolutions could not get pased in our General Court. Then the commercial party had its way everywhere in Church and State. Divisi preached submission to the lowest law. Paul was reseasented in many a pulpit as a sort of deputy slave, catcher for the beloved Philemon. But the sober mend thought comes at last, and sets all things straight

· Respexit tamen, et longo post tempere venit. The ingenious Mr. Hallett will find it hard to pe The ingenious Mr. Hallett will find it hard to get these gentlemen indicted again; for the Judga, is quashing the present indictment, have given street hints that it was defective on more grounds than the which they specified. They have thus left the swell of Damocles hanging over him in six or seven different places, uncertain where it may fall. The judge take special pains to say that they are not to be supposed in approve of the indictment, as regards those point oncerning which they express no opinion. Mr. Hallett has done his best to please his Southern masters, but in vain. He has been compared, for his labors, to Judga Iscariot, and it is said that Judas feels but by the comparison; and yet he cannot succeed in his purpose of parison; and yet he cannot succeed in his purpose of punishing free speech in Faneuil Hall. All this is trely sad, and if any one has tears to shed for a United States Attorney, now is the time to prepare them.—Basis correspondence of N. Y. Christian Inquirer.

The indictments against Messra, Parker, Philips, Higginson, and Stowell, have been found to be defactive, and they will have no trial. We are sincerely serry. and they will have no trial. We are sincerely sery.

A more foolhardy proceeding than the prosecution of
Parker and Phillips for warm words out of the hear of
sympathy for the oppressed spoken in Faneni Hall,
could scarcely be conceived. As surely as that trial had
come off would those champions of Humanity, with
their burning eloquence, have scorched all concerned in
the detestable proceedings, and sent their charred reptations down to posterity forever. A more glorious to casion for triumph never occurred, and we hoped to see the prosecution carried through. It is not unlikely that the dim eyes of the prosecutors began to catch glunges of their real position, and so sought out and lockly found the flaw. Theodore Parker and Wendell Phillips arraigned in Massachusetts for defending freedon a Faneuil Hall! Think of it. Why, if there was a slaveholder who had any moral vision, he would not have given sleep to his eyes nor slumber to his epide, till he had stayed the suit, with such tremedons for the stayed the suit of the suit of the stayed the suit of the stayed the suit of the stayed the suit of the suit must it otherwise have rebounded upon slavery. Per-haps some slaveholder did it.— East Boston Ledger.

From the Anti-Slavery Standarl.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK IN NEW YORK The time has arrived when Abolitionists, in using parts of the country, will expect to be informed of the arrangements for Anti-Slavery Agitation in Ney York, during Anniversary Week. Happily, we are able to give them now the information they seek by anothering the following programme of Lectures and mering,

1. On Tuesday evening, May 8th, at 71 o'clock, fie Hon. HENRY WILSON, the lately elected Senator for Massachusetts, will deliver a Lecture, supplemental to the New York Anti-Slavery Society's Second Annal Course, in the Metropolitan Theatre, (on the site of the late Metropolitan Hall,) in Broadway, above Bleeder. Of this Lecture, already delivered in Boston, the Li-

Of this Lecture, already delivered in Boston, the Lierator, says: 'It was an able, generous and anip
effort—making the anti-slavery cause paramount tall
other interests or parties in the land. It was very
warmly applauded.' Admittance, 25 cents.

2. On Wednesday morning, May 9th, at 10 o'ckei,
in the Metropolitan Theatre, the American Anti-Slavey
Society, as noticed elsewhere, will hold its Anniversay.
The speaking on the occasion will, as in former year,
no doubt, be of the highest order. The names of the
orators will be announced hereafter. This meetics will orators will be announced hereafter. This meeting vil be free to all.

Be free to all.

3. On Wednesday evening, May 9th, at 73 o'cleck, the Hon. Charles Sumner will deliver, in the Metropolitan Theatre, a Lecture upon 'The Necessity, Practicability and Dignity of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, with Glimpses at the Practical Duties of the Free States. This Lecture, like Mr. Wilson's, will be supplemental to the Course of the New York Anti-Slavery Society. At-

mittance, 25 cents.
4. The American Anti-Slavery Society will fact in open Convention, for the transaction of its usual bush open Convention, for the transaction of the research of the re Houston,) and afterwards as may be determined by

5. On Friday evening, May 11th, at the Bready 5. On Friday evening, May Inti-Slavery Social Tabernacle, the New York (City) Anti-Slavery Social Will hold its Anniversary. Addresses by distinguish friends of the cause. Admittance, 124 cents, to delay

Never, we believe, in any former year, have the strangements for anti-slavery meetings in Aminosof Week presented stronger inducements for a natural nous gathering of the friends of the cause from ear part of the country. The Metropolitan Theater is har-iy surpassed for size and elegance by any andisrima the United States. We hope to see it crowdel, or an occasion above specified, from the parquette to the spermost gallery. The Freewill Baptist Church is light. spacious and convenient, and stands in a quiet street easy of access. It is large enough to accommodate pretty numerous audience.

LUCY STONE IN CANADA. The Toronto . Christian Guardian, of the 21st all,

Our good city was visited last week by Miss Ltd STONE, one of the most distinguished advocates of the "Woman's Rights Association." She delivered that lectures in the St. Lawrence Hall, on her favorite selject, to perhaps the largest audiences that have been assembled in that place for some time. Miss Sross's a native of Massachusetts, of small stature, and apparently about thirty years of age. She evident possesses a vigorous mind, well cultivated by education and as a public speaker, she is listened to with no efforce interest and as a public speaker, she is listened to with no efforce interest and as a public speaker. nary interest and pleasure; and however person my differ from her in their opinions upon the subject of her lectures, she presents reasons and illustrations with a skill and force which will have a powerful effect upon those who listen to her lectures. She defines the those who listen to her lectures. She defines the "Woman's Rights" movement to be an effort to move the conventional and legal disabilities under which move the conventional and legal disabilities under which woman is placed by customs and laws, which pertel her from using the powers she possesses for the highest and noblest purposes for which they have teen given her. She advocates the cause she has espoused with a modest sincerity and earnestness, which show that which it is not a mere theoretical question, but ear of year precised improvement and who averages the convast practical importance, and she expresses the con-dent anticipation of ultimate success, however it may be opposed to the established customs of the civilinal world."

PAUL'S EPISTLE TO PHILEMON-A SE COND LETTER FROM DR. LOWELL

[For the New York Evening Post.] Gentlemen: I thank you for giving so wide a circulation to my notice of Dr. Adams's pro-slavery work, as it has had in your much-read journal. Allow me to side another instance of the bewildering effect of his pro-slavery prejudices on the mind of Dr. Adams in reference to the epistle of Philemon. I omitted to notice has I intended, in my former article.

Dr. Adams expresses his wonder and admiration that

ence to the spistle of Philemon. I omitted to reduce as I intended, in my former article.

Dr. Adams expresses his wonder and admiration that this 'little epistle' should have been thrown in the sacred code and preserved there;' but he entirely outlooks the fact that the second and third epistles of John, which are both lers than the epistles to Philemon, have also 'been thrown into the sacred canon, 'and have been kept in equally good preservation to this time been kept in equally good preservation to this time. Surely Dr. Adams, even with his pro-slavery procinities, will not, in his hallucination, consider these spities, will not, in his hallucination, consider these spities, abounding as they do with love and good will, as sanctioning slavery! If they were preserved for any purpose in reference to this wickedness, it must be far a different one.

different one.

Certain it is, that they were not sent by a retured slave. Judas might have done so, but not John, who, when required to obey a wicked law, exclaimed, when required to obey a wicked law, exclaimed, is ought to obey God rather than man. No; with a loving heart, the beloved disciple would much some loving heart, the beloved disciple would much some could have been found at that time.

ELEMWOOD, Cambridge, Mass., April 19th, 1855.]

atmospheric tubular railway, has invented a very sigple, neat and effective method of informing passenges
in railway cars of every succeeding station they are
in railway cars of every succeeding station they are
arrive at, and its distance from the past one. It consists
of a small, neat frame, like a clock lace.

THENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Second Public Anniversary of the Amer Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the METRO-TAN THEATRE, (on the site of the late Metropolof New as Hall, above Bleecker street,) in the city of New as Hall, around MEDNESDAY, May 9th, at 10 o'clock, A The meeting will be addressed by some of the most M. The meeting the Anti-Slavery Cause, beinguished advocates of the Anti-Slavery Cause, class names will be hereafter announced.

The Society will hold its meetings for business and discussion, in the FREE-WILL BAPTIST HERCH in Sullivan st., (West of Broadway, and just CHURCH in Course Street,) commencing on WEDNESDAY TENING, May 9th, and continuing, probably, until

As fall an attendance of the members and friends of the Secty as practicable, from all parts of the counr, is extensily desired and strongly urged.

The object of the Society is not merely to make ' Libery national, and Slavery sectional '-nor to prevent he aquisition of Cuba-nor to restore the Missouri and acquisition of the repeal the Fugitive Slave Billcompressive not to repair the significance of any new slave. State into be Union - nor to terminate slavery in the District of Chambia, and in the national Territories—but it is, marily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to det the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of savery wherever it exists on the American soil, and to errors and confront whatever party or sect seeks to relass peace or success at the expense of human ry. Living or dying, our motto is, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLIT-

In behalf of the Executive Committee, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. EDNEYS QUINCY, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Secretaries.

THE LORING CASE IN THE SENATE. We take the following abstract of the debate in the Massachusetts Senate, on the removal of Judge Loring, which took place on Thursday of last week, from the

The special assignment—the report and address for ne special assignment to the special and address for array of Judge E. G. Loring—was taken up at 12 ock. Mr. Dawker of Bristol read a short speech locating the removal, contending that the Legislature sleeching the removal, contending that the Legislature have the power of removal, and that the forfeiture of public confidence by Judge Loring furnished sufficient ground for that course. Judge Loring should have reigned before consenting to act as Commissioner under the law of 1850, and not having done so, he was justly assemble to public opinion. Mr. Dawley contended that the conduct of Judge Loring was indefensible on any ground of Christianity, humanity or honest manlines. Massuchusetts owel this removal to her high long and noble historic memory. hener and noble historic memory.

Mr. Cook of Worcester also advocated the removal.

He hated the Fugitive Slave Law with a perfect hatred, and, like Mrs. O'Shanter, he meant to 'nurse his wrath wkeep it warm.' He referred to the report that the the dist Conference in Chelsea cheered the announce-nt of the passage of the address in the House, assursenators that the members were anti-slavery, and set to a man, if not every man, favored the removal Juige Loring. They might not have cheered, as that be considered indecorous, but no doubt the reherel would be responded to with a hearty 'amen,' lke the voice of many waters. He did not believe the is the voice of many waters. He she review-science of Judge Loring was right. He then review-the course of Judge Loring replying to the argument Mr. Peirce, of Norfolk, and then passed to the consideration of the history of the compromises, arguing stragel, but the people were morally coerced into ac-pieseence, and the public conscience was thrown into a late of paralysis from which it had yet scarcely recovered. Judge Loring had no vested right in his office, and the fact that charges were preferred against him was no reason why he should not be removed by adss, if the Legislature choose that course rather than schment. He might have resigned honorably ever fier the case of Burns came before him. He would not deny the right of repentance, but he would have ulge Loring resign his office as Commissioner, as the br his removal, though he were his own brother.

Mr. Perner, of Norfolk, explained his argument in respect to the right of Judge Loring to be tried by imperchant. He did not deny the right to remove by address, for stated reasons, but when the reasons chargel amount to crime—when he is impeached before the papie of Massachusetts—charged with a breach of law in his prefessional capacity as a lawyer and a judge—than he has a right, both by the Bill of Rights and the 'bight law' of justice, to demand a trial before his pers, where he can hear and examine the testimony, and make a suitable defence.

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have of the removal. His principal argument was, that the office of Slave Commissioner and that of Judge of Probate were too opposite to be held by one man. Mr. Pilsbury was very severe upon Mr. Dana, Judge Loring's counsel, as well as upon the judge, but he made so new points.

Mr. Watte, of Norfolk, followed in a very elaborate argument, hostile to Judge Loring, and in Tayor of his removal from office. It was true, he said, that Judge Loring was no more to blame for his action in the Barnsease than Judge Shaw was in the Sims case. He wished it was in his power to remove Judge Shaw as well as Judge Loring; first, because he has no right to the office; and second, because he has held it long change. The judiciary is but a part of the government, and it is quite as proper that judges should feel their dependence upon the public as that the people should feel their dependence upon the judges. He believed that Means are the first dependence upon the judges. hi Massachusetts had good judges—as good as any ther State—but they were not immaculate. Mr. White sald he saw sinfficient reason why Judgo

oring should be removed from office, for the reasons thich had been presented against him. It is, said he, just as wrong to take the fugitive from Massachusetts, and send him back to slavery, as it would be to take the fovernor of Massachusetts and reduce him to chattel slavery; and it is equally wrong in the sight of God to take a child on. Vitake a child on a Virginia plantation and bring it up to utter slavery. Eighty years ago to-day, the first battle of American freedom was fought at Lexington, and every principle which was contended for on that day would drive slavery, not only from Massachusetts, but from the world.

With regard to slavery laws. Mr. White said :- I go nullification, right out and for ever, and go for tulklying every thing wrong. I go for standing out to the very extreme verge of our rights. The slavery principle, in its progress, has gone on triumphantly, until it now denies the right of trial by jury in our cours, and also denies the right of the habeas corpus at to the prisoner. He would have this matter tested by the highest tribunal of the country, as to whether these laws were constitutional or not, before we shall be

aired to submit to them. In conclusion, Mr. White said :- Look at the quibble Judge Curtis, in quashing the indictments got up by Mr. Hallett, and compare that with the case of Jelge Loring. A single informality was sufficient to cash them; but more serious informalities presented is the Burns case were not regarded, and had no effect upon the Commissioner, whom he considered to be as unit a man to be Judge of Probate as existed on the sol of Massachusatts.

After Mr. White concluded, some conversation ensued with regard to the time when the vote should be taken on the address, and it was assigned to Wednesday [25th inst.] at one o'clock, and the subject was laid on the

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the American Anti Slavery Society desire to express their thanks to Messrs. JOHN P. JEWETT & Co., of this city, for their genero donation to the Society of the stereotype plates of Mrs. H. B. Stown's tract entitled 'THE Two ALTARS,' and of aftern hundred copies of the tract itself. The tract has been incorporated in their series for gratuitous distribution, and a new edition of ten thousand copies has been

IF TRACT No. 13, of the Anti-Slavery series for Trainitious distribution, has just been published, and is rady for distribution. It is by Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER Stown, and is entitled, 'The Two Altars; or Two Pic-

STATE OF THINGS IN KANSAS. LAWRENCE, (Kansas Territory,) April 7th, 1855.

Mr. GARRISON : Permit me once more to address you, from this far-off country. Various persons at the East wish to know my that our rulers have been playing before the nation opinion respecting the propriety of emigrating to Kan-

eas this spring. I have now before me a letter from A. Wilson, and another from J. P. Harriman, which I will answer thus publicly, and save myself the trouble of writing to each remain any longer than to deposit their votes in our individual. Mr. W. wishes to know if I 'consider

matter. The best I can do is to narrate a few facts, governed by their betters? About 700 of our masters and leave every one at liberty to judge for himself. I deigned to visit us here, and quietly voted the procame out here last October, with a party of 238 per- slavery ticket, which had one free-State man on it, to sons. We experienced various delays on our journey, secure Western voters. We had quite an exciting time on account of the size of the party, and were very during the day, and your humble servant was frightenmuch incommoded at most places where we stopped. At ed from the ground, and fied for safety to a friend's one place, we slept in the cars, after their arrival at the house, four miles distant. I am not quite sure that city, because every hotel was said to be full, although there was any necessity for my fleeing, but my friends we afterwards found, that by paying from one to two urged me so strongly to leave, that I did not wish to dollars we could get lodging. We were very much crowded on our passage of the Missouri, which lasted over five days, and on our arrival at Kansas City, we found ourselves still worse off ; so that if you come, you had far better come alone, or in companies of not more than eight or ten. The additional cost is but ten dollars, and you will save that in time, better accommodations, &c. After my arrival, I spent some days in of a friend in a few days. It was rich bottom land, to be healthy enough to live upon.

can buy for one hundred dollars a very good claim, four isfied, when I said, 'Do you wish to know why I did or five miles from here; or, you can 'jump' one staked not answer you at first?' They said, 'Yes'; and I re out by somebody else, but not occupied. My claim is plied, 'Because you had no right to question me.' onsidered worth one hundred dollars. It is four miles from here, and has a rude hovel upon it, worth about and cried out, 'You are the town bully.' Instantly a rush five dollars. In order to hold it, I must live upon was made upon him, some of them crying out, Down it, so that I cannot keep it unless I abandon my resi- with the town bully-kill him, kill him.' He narrowdence here. I shall probably hold on to the claim.

If you are a mechanic, you can get emplopment here probably. At present, journeymen carpenters receive only \$1 25 per day, and pay \$3 per week for board, without washing. Everything, almost, is much higher here than at the East. You need money, and a plenty him. The amount of it was, that 700 Missourians were of it. It is of no use for persons to believe what the Emigrant Aid Company will tell them about not needing much money. If you have three children, don't appointed commander-in-chief. When this honor was think of coming with a cent less than \$500. Your conferred upon him, he declined; he was no military travelling expenses will be say \$200. Your house will man, only he knew how to fight. It was provokingly cost you \$50, at the very lowest calculation. A good amusing thus to see fun and danger so gloriously min log-house costs two or three hundred. Then ploughing gled together. The worst of it is, that our New Eng and fencing twenty acres will cost all of \$150 more, which will leave you \$100 to live upon, and buy tools with until you get your first crop.

A single man could get along with \$300. A man and his wife, with about \$350 or \$400. A man with six or eight children should not start with less than

There is now a pretty sure prospect of an adjustment of the rival claims to this magnificent city. I wish I could say as much of the 'vexed' pro-slavery question. From present appearances, I fear that Mr. Garrison's prophesy respecting the future of this fair territory will prove too true. But I do not yet despair. Our chief emigration does not amount to much as far as numbers are concerned, and I have already declared my opinion respecting the character of Western settlers. Blacklaw men carry the day with them. It is perfectly horrible to hear some of these persons talk, and Eastern men, to some extent, join with them. Said an Eastern man in my hearing, a few days ago, 'I wish all the niggers who come here might be thrown into the Kan-

This reminds me of my duty to inform you of the sad results of the first fugitive slave case we have had in Kansas. A more disgraceful event of this nature never occurred in pro-slavery New York or Philadel-About four weeks ago, it was decided by the citizens

of this place to return to bondage a slave woman who had been brought into the place about a week previously, by an Anti-Slavery man. She was about twenty MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER, -Enclosed you will be free, and, under that impression, when applied to for advice by the person who brought her here, I gave it as my opinion, that she should not be allowed to remain here, as I had not faith enough in pursuers, she was placed in the hands of one whom they all professed to regard as a pro-slavery man, although I believe he is in favor of making Kansas a free State. This gentleman, whose name is Dr. Wood. agreed to advertise her, and if her master did not appear in twenty days, to let her go free. Thus did our noble abolitionists, sent out by the Emigration Aid Company, deliver the fugitive into the hands of her master, provided he appeared to demand her. But not content with this base treachery to their principles, a short time after, Dr. Wood having declined keeping the woman, on account of some surmises as to his motives, which I think entirely unfounded, they freely surrendered the poor fugitive to only three persons. Her kidnappers had no warrant or legal process of any kind, not even a certificate from the woman's master. One of them resides in this town, and told me afterwards that if they had not given her up, Lawrence would have been burned in forty-eight hours!

The plea used by our friends was a specious one, but I told them, in public meeting, that although I had signed the report of the Committee which was appointed to investigate the case, and was constrained to believe, then, that the woman was sent here by her master, as the other members of the committee thought; yet it was extremely wrong to deliver her up, without ' due process of law.' A few of us endeavored to persuade the citizens to protect her, by causing to be issued in her behalf a writ of habeas corpus, but it was of no avail. Mr. Brown, the cowardly editor of the miscalled 'Herald of Freedom,' said it was 'a case requiring a good York. May the Divine blessing rest upon all, impart deal of nice diplomacy,' and he greatly feared our splendid city, would be one vast heap of smoking ruins, if the woman was detained by us.'

Dr. Doy and myself were the only persons at the the woman in the morning, for the purpose of ascer- MR. DENNISON AND HIS SLAVE ROSET taining certainly whether she wished to be free or not. Several persons declared that she appeared perfectly indifferent, when she was delivered into the hands of her kidnappers. But she assured us, in emphatic terms, that she wished to be free, but if she 'must go back, she might as well submit to it.' We accompanied her and her kidnappers into town, and vainly Bullitt, and a series of resolutions adopted.

The first resolution endorses the disinterested co endeavored to procure a horse to go with them to Judge Lecompte's, forty miles distant, where the woman was taken. The Judge refused to do any thing about the H. H. Robinson, the United States marshal. The afth case, and the woman was returned to her master, a

until legalized by the Legislature of the territory. My conduct in this matter will of course fully sustain the foul charge of Dr. Robinson, made in the Boston Journal of Feb. 27, that I had joined the pro-sla-

One word in reference to my quarrel with him. When I came into the territory, I entertained a high and of the city of Louisville are carnestly entreated in opinion of Dr. Robinson, having been intimate with him mass meetings to express their opinions on the subject in Springfield, where he was considered a Garrisonian. of the foregoing resolutions. All that I have ever done to provoke his wrath against me, is simply to approve of and sign a resolution passed by some members of the fourth party last fall, con-ceedings. demning the E. A. Company, and to write an article in the New York Tribune, consuring him very mildly for ready, as they ever have done, to aid the general gov-

voting for a Nebraska-Bill man at the last election For those acts, Robinson has pursued me, and still continues to pursue me, with relentless hate.

I now come to the last act in the pro-slavery drama

the last twenty years. For many days previous to the election of last Friday week, the road was crowded with emigrant wagons, filled with a new class of settlers—those not intending to ballot-box. Of course, our masters, who have ruled us it a safe undertaking for himself and family to emigrate so long, had a perfect right to vote for us, also; for how should Yankees be capable of exercising the elec-I dislike exceedingly to advise any person upon this tive franchise discreetly, when they have been so long seem obstinate, and complied with their request.

About fifty Missourians, seeing me writing in a note book, and occasionally casting my eye upon them, from which they gathered that I was describing their personal appearance, rushed upon me, and with 'blood and thunder' in their looks, demanded of me if I had called them 'd-d rascals'; or if I thought they were rascals. They were armed to the teeth, with large Kansas, and at length reached this city, distant fifty clubs, bowie-knives and revolvers, and one of them had miles, in about eight days after my arrival at K. My a double-barrelled gun. I did not see fit to comply with first effort was to get a claim. I found one with the aid their request, but stood in their midst for about fifteen minutes, while their leader, Col. Young, was cursing distant three miles from the city, but was not supposed them tremendously, and endeavoring to persuade them to let me alone. At last I told them I had not called If you come here this spring, and have money, you them. d-d rascals.' They expressed themselves sat-

Just at that moment, one of them espied a Mr. Bond ly escaped with his life, by leaping from a precipice about forty feet high. A gun was discharged at him, the contents of which came near hitting him.

Brown, of the Herald, was terribly frightened on the following Sunday, by an April-fool farce played off upon coming to hang him and destroy his press. Three military companies were formed, and Dr. Robinson was land men, who were sent out here by the E. A. Company, to plant New England institutions upon Kansa soil, should make the awful mistake of introducing New Orleans customs here, and call out the military on Sunday! The fact is, our danger must have been extreme, or the paster of our town would never have sanctioned such an ungodly violation of the Sabbath.

The result of the election in this precinct, embracing two other election districts besides Lawrence, was 900 pro-slavery votes, and 273 anti-slavery; while the whole number of voters, according to the census, is but 466.

The total number of pro-slavery votes for Councilmen in the territory was 5489; of anti-slavery, 788reliance is on Western emigration, for New England or 3217 more than all the voters in the territory! It is probable that 1000 legal voters did not vote at all, so that the number of Missourians who aided us so kindly is about 4200. It is said to have cost them not far from \$75,000.

The Governor has granted certificates to nine Councilmen, all pro-slavery but one, and has suspended action in regard to three, and rejected one entirely. He has given sixteen representatives certificates, all pro-slaery, and suspended two, and rejected eight. For the latter, a new election is ordered. The eight include our three representatives. These returns have just been received from the Governor, so that they are correct.

Yours, respectfully,

LETTER PROM H. C. HOWELLS. R. B. U., PERTH AMBOY, April 8th, 1855. WM. LLOYD GARRISON :

years of age, and was said to be worth \$1200. She at and \$3 for the Liberator. This old and tried friend to justice, mercy and truth, I am always glad to see, and to read in it the signs of the times,

Rejoiced am I greatly to see that the old political bubbles have burst upon the stream of time, and though the anti-slavery character of the people to believe that another big bubble- Know-Nothingism'-has been they would protect her. Accordingly, after a noble re- blown, it is necessarily destined to the same fatality, fusal, on the part of a Mr. Willis, to give her up to her and that because there is no divine life in it. The sam result must soon overtake those unrighteous combina tions called churches, where God is dethroned and Jesus falsified, where the Dagon of Slavery is enthroned, and a compromise with iniquity sanctified. In vain will th American Board of Foreign Missions labor in this late hour of conflict with slavery to establish its character for love to God or man, by acting with even justice for the oppressed by pleading their cause—the cause of the

Their agent in England appears to be a very fit unscru pulous tool to whitewash them. But his efforts to serve bad cause will but further a good one. Sorry am I indeed to see the names of some whose hands have been washed clean of slavery, now soil those hands by attempting to daub that Janus Board with untempered mortar. It will not stick to hide their shame, but mus fall back on those who attempt the dishenered task.

Had the Bristol Christians known the history of that Board, they would, to a man, have sustained the motion

Poor Douglass ! Alas, how poor ! Never so poor whe even in chains and under the lash! His best friends lament over him the most.

I would like to give you some account of this Union but have not time now. Dear Theodore Weld has a noble school for boys and

girls, conducted on the best plan. No man that I know is so well adapted as the teacher of youth, as I hope to be at some of the May meetings in New

ing wisdom from above, is the heart's desire of your Friend and Brother, HENRY C. HOWELLS.

The meeting of sympathizers with Mr. Dennisc whose slave Rosetta was taken from him and freed while passing through Ohio, was held at Jeffersontown, Ky. agreeably to the announcement. Speeches were maby Nathanied Wolf, Sherrard Williams and Joshua F.

of Rev. Mr. Dennison.' The third gives thanks to Mr asks the legislature of Kentucky to reimburse Rev. Mr. slaveholder in the territory. Of course, she is legally Dennison for his losses, and that the amount be subsefree, for the U. S. laws forbid the existence of slavery, quently demanded by Kentucky from Ohio, and a suit brought, if necessary, in the Supreme Court of the Union. The rest we copy entire :

6th. Our right of transit through the free States with our slaves is a perfect right under the Constitution of the Union. * 7th. That the people of every county of Kentucky

'8th. That the editors of each newspaper in Ken tucky are respectfully requested to publish these pro-

ernment in vindication of the supremacy of its consti totion and laws, and the overthrow of nullification, com

from what quarter it may, '10th. Wm. C. Bullitt, Samuel S. Geiger, George Hancock and Edward D. Hobbs, are appointed a corresponding committee, for the purpose of calling the attention of the other counties of this State to this

ings before them.

referred to in the subjoined notices; and we determined to warn our readers and the public to be on their guard against him. But learning that he had obligated himself to withdraw entirely from public lecturing and collecting of money, we refrained from publicly exposing him. He has, however, violated his engagement, we understand, and we deem it a duty we owe to all parties referred to in the subjoined notices; and we determine derstand, and we deem it a duty we owe to all parties to give this public caution. The following article from the (Ohio) Free Presbyterian exhibits, in part, the character of the man :

BEWARE OF SWINDLERS. It becomes my duty to put the public on their guard against a set of knaves among our colored population, who are obtaining money on various false pretences, by appealing to the sympathies of anti-slavery men. The first I will mention is a fellow by the name of Marshall, a yellow man of perhaps 35 or 40 years, who formerly resided at, or near Jeffersonville, Indiana. The antislavery public will remember a man by the name of Calvin Fairbanks, who was, some years since, prose-cuted and convicted in Kentucky for meddling with slaves. Having served some years in the Kentucky penitentiary, he obtained his freedom, but was again penitentiary, he obtained his freedom, but was again arrested on a similar charge, and thrown into the Louisville prison, some two years since. This man Marshall, for some cause, was committed to the same prison. Fairbanks, by this means, made an acquaintance with him. Nothing appearing against Marshall, he soon obtained his liberty, and by agreement with Fairbanks, was to go out and solicit some pecuniary assistance for him, to help get him a fair trial. He obtained certificates of recommendation on which to travel

ance for him, to help get him a hair trial. He obtained certificates of recommendation on which to travel from three gentlemen of Cincinnati, well known as reliable friends of the oppressed. These were Dr. W. H. Brisbane, John Joliffe, Esq., and Levi Coffin, merchant. Immediately after Marshall started on his beg-ging expedition, Fairbank's trial was hurried through, without a particle of testimony to establish the and he, without a particle of teathing to eather the charge, found guilty, and sent to the penitentiary. Upon this. Mr. Coffin wrote to Marshal at Columbus, Ohio, the facts, and told him to come back and return the money again to those who contributed it. Marshall wrote, in reply to Coffin, that he would collect no more, but could not return just then, being under a promise to Fairbanks to visit his mother and sister, somewhere eastwardly. Some months after this, we find this man returning his thanks, through some of the Beston parers, to a liberal public, and especially to the island of Nantucket, for their generous aid to the unfortunate Fairbanks. Mr. Coffin wrote him again that if he did not desist his swindling operation, he would publish not desist his swindling operation, he would publish him in the papers. He received no reply. Since then, this knave has been heard from, travelling and collecting money in Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and perhaps other States and is said to have settled down in Boston. Having realized upwards of twenty thousand dollars, he is about to retire from business. Pity the rascal is not in Fairbanks' place in the penitentiary, and that persecuted right at liberty. I hence he will not and that persecuted man at liberty. I hope he will not be suffered to escape the just retribution of his knavery. If we had him in Ohio, we would give him a berth at

If we had him in Ohio, we would give him a bern at the State capital for a season.

The next is a dark mulatto, by the name of Elijah Anderson, formerly of Madison, Ind., now of Cleveland, Ohio. He carries with him a transcript of on old judgment, purporting to be from the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Jefferson Co., Ind. This judgment he avers is damages obtained against him for services rendered is damages obtained against him for services rendered the slave, and he holds also certificates from Judge Ste-vens, and Stephen S. Harding, Esq., of Indiana. Be-ing imposed on by appearances, this man obtained the further certificates of Rev. John Rankin of this place, further certificates of Rev. John Rankin of this place, and myself, and I understand others since. Now this man has been begging on these papers for years, and intends to make it the regular business of his life; he has probably collected five times the amount he should have received, and is still in the field, probably some where in Ohio. Let the friends of humanity drive him

Another is Rev. Mr. Renels, a mulatto and preacher talent, and resides about Indianapolis, Ia. The hobby he rides upon is a seminary of education, and funds to establish it at Louisville, Ky. We do not know that this man is acting dishonestly, but many who have given him, regret having done so: and almost all now De en him, regret having done so; and almost all now think that more reliable assurances should be had before he receives anything more. He has probably collect-

ed several hundred, perhaps a thousand dollars.

There are others in the field begging money on other larly, lest I might do injustice. But our friends every turned the following : where should be exceedingly cautious, or they will be imposed upon, and such impositions have a bad effect upon the cause of humanity. Would it not be well for the anti-slavery press to pass this notice round, that our friends may not become the victims of false and corrupt pretences?

D. WORTH. Ripley, Ohio.

The following Card was published, last fall, in the Dover (N. H.) Morning Star :-

JOHN MARSHALL.

It is well known to the friends of freedom in many places east and west, that a colored man bearing the above name has for several years been engaged in the Anti-Slavery cause. He has been very popular, highly esteemed as a lecturer, and has done much to promote the interests of that righteous enterprise. The friends of the slave will, therefore, learn with pain that he has forfeited their confidence and rendered himself unworthy of their connuence and rendered nimself unworthy of their countenance. They will deeply regret his fall, but will not knowingly encourage a man in their work who seeks to destroy innocence, virtue, and domestic peace.

PREMIUM TRACTS.

Some time in December last, a premium was offered, by Thomas Boardman, of Fall River, Mass., for the best tract upon 'The Scriptural and Political Remedy for the North in the present crisis on Slavery.' The committee of award was composed of Rev. E. Thurston (Congregationalist, of Fall River,) Rev. Asa Bronson (Baptist,) and Rev. E. B. Bradford (Methodist Episco-(Baptist.) and Rev. E. B. Bradford (Methodist Episcopal.) The committee, as we learn from the Boston Telegraph, having examined some scores of manuscripts from eight or ten different States, announce that they have awarded the premium of \$200 equally to 'three successful competitors, the authors of three essays of marked ability and merit, each emineutly calculated, in the committee's opinion, to promote the object in view.' The three are, Rev. Samuel Harris, of Pittsfield, Par. S. B. Goodenow of Warwick R. I. and Rev. Ed. Rev. S. B. Goodenow, of Warwick, R. I., and Rev. Edward E. Hale, of Worcester. The essays will doubtless soon be given to the public.—Boston Telegraph.

JOHN A. ANDREW, Esq. The argument of this gentleman, in the Burns riot cases, before the United States Circuit Court, on the motion to quash the indictment against Martin Stowell, is spoken of in terms of high praise in literary and legal circles. It is described as entirely unambitious, but yet subtle and strong, and having largely aided the court in coming to the decision which it did. It was, in the opinion of competent crities, the ablest performance of the counsel for the defence, and this is no mean compliment, in view of the fact that John P. Hale and Henry F. Durant had taken fact that John P. Hale and Henry F. Durant had taken part in the legal contest which resulted in the overthrow of the United States Attorney's indictments and the dismissal of the defendants. It is pleasant to be able to record so flattering a truth of so modest and gentle-

Kansas Matters. We have received the Kansas Herald of Freedom of the 7th inst., which contains many matters of interest relative to the progress which is being made in the settlement of the territory, and more especially in regard to the outrages, at the recent election. We find in the Herald a corroboration of the statement made by our correspondent, that Governor Receder would refuse to give certificates of election to the pro-slavery candidates. This paper says that the Missourians waited on Governor Receder in person, and told him he had the choice of one of three things, 'To sign the certificates of election within fifteen minutes, to resign, or hang.' The response was ready: 'Gentlemen, my mind is made up without further advisement; I shall hang.' He had friends in the crowd who would have been at home in a practical enforcement of this threat.''

This Anti-Slavery work, gotten up by colored men who have lived over twenty years in the South, will be exhibited in Amory Hall, commencing Monday evening. This anguisticent Painting has been prepared at an immense expense, and in point of size, variety of scene-ty, and excellence of execution, surpasses any work of the kind ever presented to the American public. It covers more than 23,000 feet of canvass, and contains views of Charleston, S. C., Balire, New Orleans, Natchez, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling. Pittsburg, Wilkesbarre, Pa., Washington City, Bostou, Misgara Falls; also, of

who would have been at nome in a practical classes ment of this threat."

It is also stated that Governor Reeder has determined to submit the recent contested election cases in this Territory to the Attorney General of the United States, for his opinion. The Governor has granted certificates of election to some nine Councilmen and sixteen Representatives.—Journal.

Corning, (N. K.) April 18.—Terrible Hail Storm.—A terrible hail storm visited us this morning, and did much damage. Many of the hailstones measured nearly nine inches in circumference, and weighed about eight ounces.

responding committee, for the purpose of calling the attention of the other counties of this State to this matter, and invoking their aid by calling mass meetings of the people, and sending petitions to the next legislature.

'11th. This committee are also instructed to visit Frankfort on the second Monday of the seesion of the legislature, and there lay our resolutions and proceedings before them. The Slave Girl .- The slave girl who escaped

A runaway slave made his escape to CAUTION NECESSARY.

Many weeks ago, evidence was brought to our notice of the bad character of the individual, John Marshall, referred to the control of the

DIED .- On Seventh day morning, the 14th inst., in DIED.—On Seventh day morning, the 14th inst., in Darby, Delaware County, Pa., John Jackson, a minister of the Society of Friends, aged 46 years. Many will read this announcement with deep regret. John Jackson was widely known and beloved for his iptelligence, frankness and independence, and for his earnest devotion to truth, purity, peace and freedom. Though warmly attached to the Society of Friends, his mind and heart transcended the narrow sectarianism which too often controls its proceedings. He was an able and in the section of the sect and heart transcended the narrow sectarianism which too often controls its proceedings. He was an able and impressive preacher, and his faithfulness to his convictions in respect to war, slavery and other topics of practical interest, often subjected him to ecolesiastical frowns. His spirit was in sympathy with those who, from time to time, have been cut off from the Society in consequence of their activity in reforms. A short time before his death, he published a work exposing the evils of Priestoraft, in which he dealt plainly with the Society of Friends, on account of what he deemed its errors. He died of consumption, in the full maturity of his powers. He has left a vacancy that cannot soon be filled.

At Dedham, 11th inst., Col. William Stowe, brothe

of Prof. Stowe, of Andover.

At Portsmouth, N. H., 12th inst., George Raynes
Esq., aged 56 years—widely known as an eminent ans
successful ship-builder.

Antices of Mertings, &c.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PRO-GRESSIVE FRIENDS.

GRESSIVE FRIENDS.

Again this Religious body sends paternal salutations to the friends of Truth, Parity and Progress, in every part of the land, without distinction of sex, sect, party or color, earnestly inviting their presence at its THIRD ANNUAL CONVOCATION, to be held in the new meeting house at LONGWOOD, situated between the villages of Kennett Square and Hamorton, Chester County, Pa., commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., on First Day, the 20th of Fifth month, 1855, and continuing as long as the business claiming attention may require.

The chief characteristic of the Progressive Friends, by which they are distinguished from nearly every other

by which they are distinguished from nearly every other Religious Society, is seen in the fact, that they prescribe no system of theological belief as a test of membership no system of theological belief as a test of membership but invite to equal co-operation all who regard mankind as one Brotherhood, and who acknowledge the duty of showing their faith in God, not by assenting to the life-less propositions of a man-made creed, but by lives of personal purity and a hearty devotion to the welfare of their fellow-men. Slavery, Intemperance, War, Capi-tal Punishment, the denial of the Equal Rights of Wo-man, Cappession in all its forms, Inneance Suppose man, Oppression in all its forms, Ignorance, Supersti-tion, Priesteraft and Ecclesiastical Domination—these, and such as these, are the evils and sins which they feel constrained to assail by every rightful and legitimate weapon: while they seek to promote every virtue that can adorn humanity, and to foster those immutable can adorn humanity, and to loster those immutators principles of justice, mercy and love, which alone can secure the peace, progress and happiness of the children of God. To all whose hearts incline them to engage in a work so transcendentally important and sublime, w say, come and aid us by your sympathies, aspirations and counsels, and by the consecration thereto of you noblest powers.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, WILLIAM BARNARD, OLIVER JOHNSON, THOMAS HAMBLETON, HANNAH M. DABLINGTON MARTHA CHAMBERS, SIDNEY PERCE CURTIS, THOMAS CURTIS, Committee of Arrangements.

A Dedicatory Meeting will be held on the day previous to the Yearly Meeting, the 19th of 5th month, (May,) at 10 o'clock, A.M. Theodore Parker, of Boston, has been invited to deli-

ver an address appropriate to the occasion, and has re-Boston, 15th March, 1855.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—It will give me great pleasure to be with you on the 19th of May, and make an address as you wish, if it be possible. That will depend on the issue of my trial next month (April.) If I am sent to jail, I cannot come; if not, I will. Truly yours, THEODORE PARKER.

Professor Harvey, of Philadelphia, has been invited, and given assurances that he will address the meeting.

EF SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachu-etts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in New Hamp-

as follows:-		Charles .	100
Milford.	Sunday,	April 29.	
East Wilton,	Tuesday.	May	1.
Temple,	Thursday,		3.
Mason Village,	Sunday,	**	6.
New Ipswich,	Tuesday,	**	8.
	Thursday,	41	10.
Jaffrey, Fitzwilliam,	Sunday,	**	13.
Marlboro',	Tuesday,	**	15.
	Thursday,		17.
Keene, Walpole,	Sunday,		20.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in New HAMPSHIEE as follows :-

Hampton Falls, Saturday eve'g and Sunday, April 29 Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Stratham, Greenland, Thursday, Friday, Farmington, Saturday,

R. I. ANTI-SLAVERY AGENT .- The Rhod Island Anti-Slavery Committee have appointed Rev. J. B. SMITH as a lecturing and soliciting Agent, and they ommend him to the friends of American Liberty as D. B. HARRIS, Sec'y of the Committee.

Mr. SMITH will lecture at the following places :-Monday, April 30. Tuesday, May 1. Wednesday, 2. Pawtucket. Tuesday, Wednesday, Apponaug, Greenwich, Thursday, Friday, Monday, Pascoag, Woonsocket, Tuesday, Thursday, Richmond,

AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the Amer Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows, Clinton Co., N. Y.

Sunday, April 29. Monday, " 30. Wednesday, May 2. " 3. Champlain, Mooer's Village, Thursday,

MAMMOTH PICTORIAL TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES.

This Anti-Slavery work, gotten up by colored mer who have lived over twenty years in the South, will be exhibited in Amory Hall, commencing Monday evening

A VOYAGE FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA.

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For particulars, see small bills.

Cards of admission, 25 cents.

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prices. For other extra branches, see Circular. ARTICLES NECESSARY TO BE FUR-

NISHED BY THE PUPIL, (And which, if not convenient to obtain, may be had at the Institution at the retail price.)

Hair-brush and comb, tooth-brush, and a cake of Cas tile soap, four toilet towels, a pair of slippers or light shoes, umbrella, blacking-brush and blacking, Webs-ster's School Dictionary, and a Pocket Bible. All articles and wearing apparel must be plainly

All pupils must come provided with pieces of cloth corresponding to their clothes—as we cannot agree to piece their clothes unless this is done.

Each pupil must bring a complete list of articles brought by him, a duplicate of which will be required

by the Principals. A LIMITED NUMBER OF DAY PUFILS WILL BE RECEIV-For terms, see For Circulars, containing full information, please address the Principals.

March 30.

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MOTORPATHY.

DR. M. 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 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 cured some thousands without a failure, that he is willing to enter jute an agreement to board. lodge and treat the

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 300 feet front, a large four story building. His bathing-rooms occupy 150 by 40 feet. Motorpathy is particularly adapted to the cure of Chronic Diseases 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 heretofore 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.

ality.

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 :

References:

Rev. Dr. Cleveland, Northampton; Captain Willis Howes, and E. M. Baker, South Boston; Mrs. Samuel Dana, Bulfinch Place, Boston; Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Dorchester, and Hon. C. C. Dyer, Hanover; Mass.; Hon. F. Cushing, and Lady Frankfort, and H. Barrett, Waterville, Me. A. G. Dana, M.D., Brandon, Vt.; J. B. Treadwell, St. Nicholas's Hotel; Joseph S. Tucker, Esq., Stewart's Store, Broadway, New York; and Professor George Bush, Editor N. C. Repository, Brooklyn, New York.

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[ADVERTISEMENT.]

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POETRY.

SONNETS ON NEGRO SLAVERY.

America's fair daughters, read ye not, With glowing hearts, your sisters' noble deeds ? Behold them stand where sacred Pity pleads, Home and its elegancies all forgot, By the low couch where Valor pines and bleeds, Fever and agony his dreary lot. Ye, too, have noble women, not a few, Who, scorning pomp, and fashion's idle claims, Spend life and living on such glorious aims

As the great Master set before our view. On with the holy work ye have begun ! God helps the earnest worker. O, ye brave Emancipators of the wretched slave, Pause not, until their freedom ye have won. Ministers of the Gospel ! glorious name ! The highest title that man dares assume; Teachers of that pure faith sent to illume God's earth with love's bright radiance, since ye claim To stand between God and your brethren, be

True Gospel Christians, Gospel heroes ; dare Defend the injured slave; your brother he; For him the Savior died-for him, and ye. Spurn base expediency; lay the guilt bare, That buys and sells God's children, lest ye share That guilt, and your high office thus become The scorn of unbelievers, who behold God's watchmen by the fear of man made dumb-Be Gospel champions—be in duty bold !

O, ye true-hearted, who have firmly stood, By evil or by good report unshaken, Till, roused from their deep lethargy, awaken The strong sons of the North, in that stern mood Which unto Freedom's champions belongs, Impatient of all tyranny, all wrongs Done to the weak and helpless. Long unaided, A small, but noble band, ye patient strove, By Slavery's defenders still upbraided ; Yet, full of Faith, of Hope, of gentle Love, Ye faltered not, nor shrunk from your high aim Success attend the earnest and the true; And when your land is cleansed from Slavery's shame Deep be the love and reverence paid to you.

No man can serve two masters. Choose between God, who makes all men brethren, gives his earth To ALL for habitation, saying nought Of clime or color, makes this world the scene Where all his children should, by deeds of worth, Prove their high birthright-none be sold, or bought. Choose ye between this God and Mammon base;

Mammon, whose worshippers dare own no high Aspirings, generous feelings, breathe no sigh Of brotherhood with misery, find no place By their chill hearth where Slavery may fly; Expediency their creed, and their disgrace. Let not vile Mammon's hollow joys entice Christians to wrong the helpless-sell to vice.

O men, that hold your brother man a slave,

Do ye forget to whom the earth belongs? Dare ye its awful Maker thus to brave? Dare fill your land with cruelty and wrongs? And is it thus ye shame your States' fresh youth? And is it thus ye spurn your holy calling ? Even aged despotism is less appalling, Even Asian tyranny hath more of ruth. Rouse ye, Columbia's sons, before too late! Rouse ye ! Fair Freedom, to your charge confided To train for earth's great queen, ye have derided, Fettered, degraded-to some nobler State Ere the wronged angel flies, and every chain Ye forge for negro limbs shall on your own remain.

What mock respect to call God's Christ your Lord, That Christ who bade- 'As ye would have men do To you, do unto them.' Know ye this word, Yet call Christ's brethren slaves? Ye are untrue To your profession. Ye who bear his name, And glory in the appellation, show

That warmed his generous spirit, when to woo He uttered words of comfort, in such tone As cheered the anguished mourner, till the moan Of grief was husbed, and o'er the sufferer's face Smiled a faint reflex of the gentle grace Breathed from his gracious presence. Oh, would ye Feel joy like his, set ye his brethren free ! JANE ASHBY.

Battle, Sussex: (Eng.)

EMPLOYMENT. Employment ! employment !

Oh, that is enjoyment ! There's nothing like ' something to do !' Good heart occupation Is health and salvation. A secret that's known to but few.

Ye listless and lazy ! Ye heavy and hazy Give heart, hands and feet full employment; · Your spirits 't will cheer up, Your foggy brains clear up,

And teach you the real enjoyment. The lilies they toil not, They drudge not and moil not, And yet they are cared for, 'tis true; The lily in beauty Fulfils its whole duty-

E'en lilies have something to do. They sow not, they spin not, 'Tis true-but they sin not; They work, uncomplaining, God's will-Their work not hasting, Their time never wasting.

The laws of their nature fulfil. Ye hands, white as lilies, Remember God's will is, Who shall not work, shall not eat; 'Tis heart occupation Prevents heart starvation :

Wouldst thou the great Lawgiver cheat? Then up, man and woman! . Be godlike—be human! To self and to nature be true: Employment ! employment ! Oh, that is enjoyment !

> From the Boston Transcript. SONNET.

There's nothing like 'something to do.'

TO JOHN GREENLEAP WHITTIER Thy 'perfect music, set to noble words," In brave appeals for Freedom's sainted cause, Responsive to Heaven's higher, holier laws, With which thine inmost nature full accords; Toiling, without respect to earth's rewards-Leaving no void, nor making any pause-Should win for thee and thine the glad applause Of the world's voice-Evangel of our Bards !

Next to thy stirring notes for Liberty, Thy fair 'Maud Muller' strikes upon the sense Of beauty, as a gem of purest ray; In maiden meditation fancy free'-With fragrance such as 'clover-blooms' dispens

Oe'r freshet-scented meadows, 'sweet with hay,'s

REFORMATORY.

JOHN W. WEBSTER, THE MURDERER

JOSEPH EVELETH, THE HANGMAN: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM. A LETTER

TO REV. LYMAN BEECHER, D. D.

BY HENRY C. WRIGHT.

STATE House, Boston, February, 1855.

To THE REV. LYMAN BEECHER, D. D.: Sir-You are at this moment pleading for the gallows as a means of grace, and the hangman as a minister of God for good, to Church and State. and to all the people composing them. You are addressing a Committee, appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to consider and report on petitions, presented by the friends of Humanity and good order, for the abolition of the death penalty. While you are thus pleading for the gallows, the following train of reflection is suggested to

John W. Webster, M. D., killed George Parkman, M.D., Nov. 23, 1849. Joseph Eveleth killed John W. Webster, ---, 1850. You call Webster, a murderer, and Eveleth 'a minister of God for good.' Can you, can any one, give a good reason why you so differently characterize the two ! They are alike in four essential particulars.

1. THE ACT WAS THE SAME; each killed a man The manner of killing was different-one breaking the head, the other the neck, of his victim. But the life of man was taken by both. Both commit

2. THE MOTIVE WAS THE SAME. The hangman' motive-what was it! What is the sole end of government, as defined by the Constitution of Massachusetts !-

'To secure the existence of the Body Politic-to protect it, and to furnish the individuals composing it, with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights, and the blessings of life. And whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the gov-ernment, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness.'—[Preamble to

The people of the United States say- We do ordain and establish this Constitution, (form of government.) to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to our-selves and our posterity.'—[Preamble to U. S. Con. 'To secure these rights, governments are insti-tuted among men, deriving their just powers from

the consent of the governed.'--[Dec. of Ind. ' Government is instituted for the common good for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people. -[Const. of Mass.

This, then, is the end for which governments good of those who form them. But what is a Body do the same act for their good. Politic, or Government? The Constitution of Massachusetts thus defines it :-

'The Body Politic is formed by a voluntary as sociation of individuals. It is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the com-

This, then, is the fact-the people of Massachu setts decide to punish murder with death; and seize, try, condemn and execute the murderer, solely to secure their own safety and happiness.

But who is Eveleth the hangman! I have not a word to say of him as a man. He is known to me and to the world, in the connection, only as a hangman. As such, who is he! A magistrate of the State of Massachusetts. He is thus defined and presented to the world by the people them-

'All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magis-trates and officers of government vested with au- own discretion and responsibility, do the same are their substitutes and agents, and are, at all times, accountable to them.'—[Bill of Rights of Mass.

ing Webster, embodied and acted for the whole in killing men, the act, the motive, the forepeople, as their ' substitute or agent' ;-(2,) that the people, embodied, and acting in and through the hangman, killed Webster solely with a view Keep in mind, that, by hangman, I mean not Eveto their own 'safety and happiness.' Whom Eveleth the individual man merely, but also Eveleth leth hung, they hung; and their motive was his the State, motive. For the time being, Eveleth was the State, and the State was Eveleth, and the act and derer and the hangman. They are precisely the the motive of the people and their substitute were precisely the same. When, therefore, I speak of Eveleth the hangman, I mean Eveleth the State; the embodiment, or substitute, of the people.

Thus, the motive of Eveleth the hangman is unequivocally defined by the people, whose 'agent'or substitute' he was. They declare that, as embodied and acting through Eveleth, they killed Parkman solely for their own good.

aimed at nothing, save his own welfare.

What, then, as to motive, is the difference be tween the murderer and the hangman? None million. This is all; the motive of the individue ever name they call it. Men cannot bring into sought his good, the million theirs.

HATRED AND MALICE. It is admitted that the banks, railroads, churches, &c., are supposed murderer acted solely for his own good; but that have any powers not possessed by the individuals a part of that good sought was found in the grati- who compose them. Why except Bodies Politic fication of anger, malice, or revenge, and that this No reason can be given why they should not stand constitutes no part of the motive in the character on precisely the same ground, in this respect, or of the hangman.

But murder does not necessarily imply hatred or malice. On the contrary, it is admitted that homi- and did not ordain banks, railways, &c. What is cide when perpetrated by one, is often perpetrated the fact touching the Body Politic, or Government without the least feeling of ill-will towards the of Massachusetts! The people have declared it to victim, but that it is done solely to remove an ob- be a 'voluntary association of individuals'; and stacle to his happiness who kills. But, more of they ordained it for a given purpose. The simthis soon.

of human beings, having decided that the life of a than he had in forming the Ancient and Honora particular individual is a source of danger to their ble Artillery Company,' or the 'Sims Brigade. peace and happiness, erect a gallows, take him They are all what Burke declares civil govern upon it, tie his hands behind him, draw a cap over ments to be, contrivances of human ingenuity for his head and face, tie a rope about his neck, and human convenience.' hang him till he is dead. All is done coolly, de- But you say, the million, acting as a Body liberately, and solely with a view to take life. Politic, derive their power to hang the murderer In the exercise of cool forethought and delibera- direct from God. Where do you find authority tion, they lay their plan to kill a man, and at a for saying God has given power to Bodies Politic, given time execute it.

Webster killed a man in the exercise of forethought; the State, in the exercise of the same forethought, kills a man. In both, the people assure us, the act was marked by the same delibera-

But, the very circumstance adduced by you, to prove that Webster was a murderer, and as a reason why he should be hung, you urge to prove that Eveleth was a minister of God for good!

Webster deliberately planned and executed death upon Parkman, and for this you denounce and hang him as a murderer. A million of human beings, composing the Body Politic of Massachusetts, cool- from them.'

ly and deliberately plan and execute death upor Vehster, and for this you applaud them.

'MALICE PREPENSE'-Malice aforethought! The drocates of the death penalty say, in the murderer the forethought was accompanied by malice-bu in the State, not. The indictment says Webster killed Parkman with ' malice aforethought.' Mal ice and forethought are coupled as essential to the existence of murder, and the malice is inferred rom the forethought.

But forethought does not necessarily presuppos malice. If so, hatred and malice must be attributed to the hangman, the jury, the judge, and the Body Politic, whose substitutes they are.

But you and the advocates of death penalty in sist that forethought does imply hatred in one but not in a million.

If it necessarily follows that one man hate another, because he kills him deliberately, and with calculating forethought, the same hatred must be attributed to a million, when they kill in the same manner; though, in fact, one or one million may take life with 'prepense,' 'fore thought,' and for their own benefit, yet without hatred or malice. But the courts always infer malice when one man takes life with forethought and with a view to his own benefit; but they do not infer malice when, with the same forethought and for their own benefit, a million take life.

East's Crown Law, chap. 5, sec. 2, as quoted by Judge Shaw, in his charge on the trial of Webster

voluntary killing a person under the king's peac (under the protection of the State) of malice pre pense or aforethought, either express or implied b law; the sense of which word malice is not con intended to denote, as Mr. Justice Poster express it, an action flowing from a wicked nature, a thirdone, malo animo, where the fact has been attended with such circumstances as carry in them a plai indication of a heart regardless of social duty, and fatally bent on mischief. And, therefore, malice i implied from any deliberate cruel act against another however sudden. -[Report of the trial of Professo John W. Webster, p. 280.

Thus, according to the decision of Judge Shaw in his charge to the jury on the trial of Webster, the fact that the act against another is . deliberate and cruel,' implies malice. He says, also, that malice is not *confined to any particular ill-will to the deceased.' So that 'malice prepense,' or ' malice aforethought,' only means to kill with cocl deliberation and calculating forethought. True, he says it is intended to denote an

tion flowing from a wicked motive.' What makes the motive wicked? The fact that it relates solely to self. The fact that one takes life for his benefit makes the motive wicked, according to human laws. Does not the same fact in regard to the motive of a million make it wicked also ? If Webster's motive was wicked because he killed a man for his good, are instituted, maintained and administered : The then is the motive of a million wicked when they

> 4. THE EXERCISE OF DISCRETIONARY POWER WA THE SAME. One million, calling themselves a Body Politic, assume the right to kill men. Who is to decide for what, on whom, when and how, they may use this power? They who assume it must decide for themselves, for what and on whom death shall be inflicted.

> The people decide that murder shall be punished with death. They give their own definition of murder, and then decide who is guilty. They decided that Webster was a murderer, and deliberately and intentionally killed him, for their benefit, because he, with the same forethought and discretion, killed Parkman for his benefit. DISCRETIONARY POWER OVER LIFE is assumed and

exercised by the warderer and the bangman. Webster, acting on his own judgment and responsibility, and instigated by the promptings of his own soul, killed a man. A million, instigated by the thority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, deed. While you condemn and punish one as a million for doing the same act in the same way.

Thus, then, the conclusion is unavoidable, that thought, the exercise of discretionary power in the murderer and hangman are precisely the same.

Thus far, we find no difference between the mur same, except that the murderer acted alone, and the hangman was composed of one million acting

But you and your coadjutors in support of th gallows say-The million composing the Body Politic have a penal power, which no one individual has. Do you mean to say that to-day, acting separately, and on personal responsibility, not one of the million has power to kill men at his discre-THE MURDERER'S MOTIVE-what was it! Web- tion and for his benefit, but to-morrow, having ster killed Parkman solely for his own good. He entered into a 'voluntary association,' and called it the 'Body Politic,' they have acquired the power !

How did they get it! You will not pretend that whatever. There was a difference in the number men, baving in themselves no power to inflict of those whose welfare was sought. Parkman death on their fellows, at discretion, and for their was killed by one man, for the good of one; Web- own peace and happiness, acquire it merely by en ster was killed by a million, for the benefit of a tering into a voluntary association,' by whatal and of the million was the same; Webster voluntary association a power which they did not before possess. No other association, such as which other 'voluntary associations' stand.

But you say, God ordained civil governments ple truth is, God had no more to do in forming the 3. The forethought was the same. A million Body Politic, or Government of Massachusetts,

which he denies to the individuals composing them ! The true God speaks to men and legislators for them, and holds them responsible as individuals, and never as banks, railways, churches States. These are all contrivances of men, (wheth er good or bad is not the question,) for their own convenience and happiness, and they have no rights, no powers, except such as are derived from the individuals composing them.

As to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the can be no mistake as to the source of its powers

inally in each individual composing it. If one million, as a State, have a right to kill at their dis- your doctrine which subjects her person to outrage. cretion, and for their benefit, then each individual has the same right. Had the State a right to hang Webster! 'Yes,' you say. Where did it get it! If this be not your meaning, why do you refer to You and your coadjutors say, ' From God.' The the fact as a warning against its abolition ! When State itself repudiates that, and makes no such the robber holds the pistol to your heart, and says, claim for itself as you make for it. It claims to have derived the right solely from the people.

of a public trial and execution! But they would which their profession rests. not thus let him end his life, and you would have pronounced him twice a murderer, if he had. Yet suicide is the basis of the death penalty-for, ac- they those who hold to the absolute sanctity of cording to the Constitution of this State, the right life and person, and who, in order to inspire of the million to kill Webster is based on his right men, women and children with a tender, loving re State to hang a man, you assume that he has a right to hang himself.

self, others had a right to kill him, and he to kill life of another, than over your own ! . Will you say that God empowered Webster to do to you, and you to do to him, what it were a sin for either to spirit and principle of the death penalty can ever do to himself! This has been a settled maxim of enter the temple of life, and there imbrue their life with me : That it is a sin to Do to on for souls and their hands in a brother's blood. ANOTHER, WHAT IT WOULD BE A SIN TO DO TO OR FOR

But, your reason and your conscience, your rebids you to do to yourself, on pain of his eternal tain an army and navy ! displeasure; for you have just asserted that 'no A man is to be hung by you. A gallows

You say that legislators, judges and magistrates, you preach on the sanctity and dignity of human of every name and grade, are ministers of God. life; then say, 'Father, forgive us as we have for-Yes, as you view it, Eveleth, in taking the life of given our brother.' Dare you do it? people of Massachusetts.

emphatically deny that their agents, in managing are two principles-one asserts that we may kill distinctly affirm that 'All magistrates and officers other, that life and person are sacred. From which Rights, sec. 5.

the death penalty, the judges who pass the sen- god is a god of 'hot wrath,' and 'merciless ventence of death, and the hangman who executes it, geance.' How do his god and his worship differ derive their power to do these things, not from from yours! Not a whit, in this matter : for you God, but from the people, and they are accounta- hold to a god and worship, which, as you are now ble to them, not to God, for the use of the power telling us, teach the doctrine and practice of BLOOD with which they are invested. God commission- FOR BLOOD. ing one of his children to hang another! It is monstrous. My soul cannot receive it.

ed by this State—not my own. I think that whatever is wrong in a private individual, is wrong in as you do, that life may be destroyed at their disman can be a slave or a slaveholder, who regul a legislator, judge or executioner. What is a sin cretion, and for their benefit; and their life without a commission from government, is a sin crime and blood is but the natural and necessary with and under a commission. The death-warrant fruit of the principle which you and they combine from the people may screen the executioner from to uphold and live out, each in his own way, and the charge of murder before their tribunal; but at as he understands it. the tribunal of a just and loving God, that warrant ANARCHY! You and the advocates of the dath will be no excuse for that hidden, bloody tragedy. penalty consider it the basis, and its abolition the No commissions issued by men, as individuals destruction of civil society. Is this a fact! The or States, can make any deed right which had argument is: Let the government, by precept and been wrong without them. But, you say that, example, inculcate on its subjects the absolute sancacting under a license from the State, it is right tity of life and person, and this would tend to for you to do that which would be robbery, mur- throw off all restraints, destroy all respect for life, der and piracy to do without such license. Li- sap the foundations of all order, and end in anarcensed by the body politic, and acting upon its au- chy, rapine and blood. sponsibility, and without such license, you would for which you plead is based on the assumption. government a contrivance to enable men to per- kill each and every other individual at his discre-

The abolition of death as a penalty the destruction perpetrated. of all morality and order, and the forerunner of all In proportion as men come to regard life and crime and anarchy'! Do you, Sir, really believe person as sacred, will the possibility of anar this assertion? or is it made as a mere rhetorical chy cease. No man can be an anarchist, who flourish !-- a clap-trap appeal to popular prejudice ! ideally and actually, vindicates the sanctity of life

I am compelled to think you sincerely and hon- Anarchy would result from the abolition of the estly believe that, were the gallows abolished, all death penalty, as drunkenness would from the de sense of truth, justice and honor would go with it; struction of alcohol; as sickness and suffering the bonds of conjugal, parental, filial, paternal and would result from the abolition of all disease social affections and sympathy that now bind fam- LIKE BEGETS LIKE. Homicide begets murder. Kil ilies, neighborhoods and peoples together, would ling in the State begets killing in individuals. Th be broken, and conscience and the last spark of direct and unavoidable influence of the Body Pol divinity be extinguished in the human soul!

and anarchy of Paris, in 1792-3, as a warning to could hear you speak, as you are now speaking those who seek the abolition of the gallows, and to throw around human life the protection of absolute inviolability. You also refer us to the your right to strangle men to death. Instead of frightful increase of crimes against person and inspiring those who hear you with a tender re life, in New England, during the last fifty years. gard for life and person, you are trying to con This, for the most part, you attribute to the sym- vince them that God requires them to desecrate pathy shown to those who, by murder, subject the persons and to destroy the lives of those of themselves to the death penalty. their fellow-beings whom they think ought to die

Sir, let every principle be answerable for its own are the instigators and perpetrators of come !

sacredness of her life and person, and who live ne- the supporters of law and order!! cording to their belief? Are they those, who, from a deep and holy conviction of the sanctity of life. seek the abolition of the death penalty! Search and see. We willingly abide the issue. No !outraged and crushed only by those, who, in the Revolution is the most conclusive. legislative hall, in the court room, in the church, and at the foot of the gallows, have been taught that human life may be taken at the discretion of those who take it. Every personal outrage against woman has been committed by those who are in and they commit these outrages, because they have efit. embraced your doctrine. Were they non-resis-tants, in theory and practice, holding that the per-fore, they fell into anarchy and blood." But they

Whatever power is in the 'Body Politic' is orig- son and life of man should be sacred from the touch of violence, woman would be perfectly safe. It is

ROBBERY! And you refer the increase of this crime to the efforts made to abolish the gallows. Your money or your life! he acts on the very principle, and assumes the very power, for which If, then, the State had a right to hang Webster, you pleads. No man, who regards life and person it got it from Webster, or from others. If it was as sacred, can be a robber. As well hold total abderived from him, then he had a right to kill him- stinence responsible for an increase of drunken self, or he never could have empowered the State ness. All robbers are in perfect sympathy with to do it. If the State thinks Webster had that you, in your support of the right to take life, and right, why did they not allow him to kill himself they cheer you on in your effort; for you lend your quietly in his cell, and avoid the pain and shame name and your power to sustain the principle on

MURDER! This crime, you say, is also increase ing. Be it so. But who are the murderers ! Are to kill himself. In speaking of the right of the spect for the same, would have the Body Politic renounce the right to kill, and cease killing, and bend their energies to educate the people to mutual But you say, While he had no power to kill him- love and respect! You know that no murderers come from that class, except as they are induced others, under certain circumstances. Can it be by you and your coadjutors to abandon their prin that you, Sir, have more power over the person and ciples, and embrace the doctrine that life may be taken at their discretion, and for their benefit.

No! Only those who receive and practice the

· Life in danger in proportion as it is respec Myself. Is this God's truth ! Then, until I get ed '! 'Murders increasing as life is being held the right to hang myself, I can never have the sacred'! So, to secure life, and prevent murder right to hang another. Until I have power over you would teach men that they may kill at thei my own life to authorize you and others to kill me, discretion, and for their benefit! To prevent ly-I cannot have power over another's life to author- ing, teach men it is right to lie! To secure libize you to kill him. If it be a sin to kill yourself, it erty, teach them it is right to hold slaves! To inmust ever be a sin for you to kill another. If it be spire men with abhorrence for the sin of drunksin for you to authorize the State to kill youself, enness, tell them it is their right and duty to get it must ever be a sin for you to authorize it to kill drunk, and to fill the land with alcohol, and li cense grog-shops, and teach all from infancy to drink and get drunk! And this is the hangman's ligion and your God, instigate you to do to and philosophy of religion and morality. It is yours for others what you say it would be suicide-MUR- when you think that, in order to inspire respect per, in you to do to or for yourself. You say, for life, we must kill men, and to diffuse a love of God commands you to do to others what he for- peace, we must prepare means of war, and main-

murderer hath eternal life abiding in him.' Web- erected in front of the pulpit of the Old South ster killed Parkman, and you say God required you Church. You take the victim upon the scaffold, to hang him; but at the same time, that he would tie the rope about his neck, bind him hand and subject you to eternal suffering, were you to hang foot, and launch him into eternity. It is Sunday; yourself, even were you under the same circum- all the people are present to be benefitted. There hangs their brother by the neck. You enter the . THE HANGMAN A MINISTER OF GOD'!! pulpit, and, taking that hanging brother for a text, Webster, was 'a minister of God for good' to the Piracr! Who is the pirate! Society is divided

into two parties-those who claim and exercise the The million composing the voluntary associa- power of life and death over man, and those who tion' called the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, disclaim the power, and eschew its exercise. There their State affairs, are ministers of God. They men at our discretion, and for our benefit; the vested with authority, whether legislative, judicial of these principles does piracy result? Is it the fruit or executive, are their substitutes or agents, and of the death panalty, or its opposite? Do pirates are, at all times, accountable to them.'-[Bill of come from those who oppose the principle of blood for blood, or those who practise it?

According to this, the legislators who enacted The pirate worships at the altar of blood. His

You have this to reflect upon, and I speak it with sorrow: you have the support of all the Mark! I give the theory of government adopt- ruffians, robbers, murderers, assassins, pirates, and

thority and responsibility, you say you are a minister of God in hanging a man; but if you were to have no respect for life and person. In proportion do the same on your individual authority and re- as this ceases, anarchy must ensue. The power be a minister of Satan. Thus you make human that each individual is vested with the right to petrate every conceivable crime, without any re- tion. On this principle, all the crimes against person and life, in a state of anarchy, have been

itic is to destroy all loving and tender respect fo You are this moment referring us to the murders person and life. Such is your influence. Who

Thus you would protect life, promote order, and natural and legitimate fruits. By their fruits, sustain government. You insist that all who hold principles, as well as men, are to be known. Who to the absolute sanctity of life and person are 'NO-GOVERNMENT MEN, -while you, and those like RAPE! Who are they who do violence to wo- you, who claim the right to 'kill, slay and de man! Are they those who believe in the absolute stroy,' at your discretion, and for your benefit, are

FRENCH REVOLUTION! You hold that up, in terrorem, over the Committee and the Legislature, t dissuade them from abolishing the gallows. thank you for referring to it. Of all the arguments you will find that woman's holiest instincts are against the death penalty the world ever had, that

What principle underlay that tragedy! The very one for which you now plead. Every person sent to the guillotine, and every one hewed down by the myrmidons of the existing authorities, were slaughtered by the assumed right of the peo sympathy with you on the subject of death penalty : ple to kill men at their discretion and for their ben-

were careful not to blow up with it the derivative of the derivati of 'Blood for Blood,' which you say is then. of Blood ros all ages and nations to the end of the binding on all ages and matters of the end of the because it is there. Had they blown up that he because 11 is the and practice, adopted the practice, adopted the practice, adopted the practice and in spirit and practice, adopted the practice. of the sanctity of life and person, that blody had never defiled the page of history. They every Bible in France had been burnt, not made blood would have been shed, but for the as of blood would nate plead, and which you my one of the most ' prominent and cardial' the taught in that book. Of all men, you tally taught in time conditions in support of the death penilty in a last who should condemn the French Repolati for, in all its bloody details, it was but the new and necessary fruit of the principle for white, plend. All its bloody-minded actors were long plead. An its should be and risk trained under the influence of a Bible and risk hood, and in the bosom of a church whose bag ings, as you assure us, were all in fator of a death penalty. However you and they my falin other things, you agree in this the right of the people to kill men at their discretion, and for their But you say, they denied God as well up.

Bible. What if they did! If they denied him as ence, they did not deny what you consider one of most prominent attributes, i. e., Blood for Bloo Had they rejected God and the Bible, and the them the Blood for Blood principle which you as they both inculcate, and in their stead about and lived out the principle that life and persage absolutely sacred, not one drop of blood had be shed, not one person, of man or woman, had be violated, and that colossal crime had not read this fair earth. But God and the Bible, 1878, and the actors in that scene received and concer them, can never thus consecrate and protect and person; for they both invest man with days. tionary power of life and death over man [100 human beings get higher, more emobling mian natural views of the life and person of ma ta God and the Bible, as you and your fellowals. cates of the death penalty receive and comes them, such national tragedies will, from the time. be enacted, to shake the faith of the value superficial in human progress and perfection The true history of the French Revolution is n to be written. When its details of cruelty, cia and blood are traced to their source, they will be

found to result naturally and necessarily five to principle that human beings may take hemn h at their discretion, and for their beneft. Antis principle, you say, is inculcated by your regar and your God. My religion and my God teach me to regul is life and person of man as absolutely sacrel, is you, can any one, show how anarchy can red from such a principle! When grapes growthm and figs thistles; when justice brings forth is

ry fruits, then may pollution, anarchy and man flow from Non-Resistance. THE INQUISITION! I might cite you to that ferfal page of history, and ask you-who established as administered that dark tribunal! On what pris ciple was it founded? On the right to take like the discretion and for the benefit of these vis

tice, and purity impurity, as natural and messa

take it. They said : 'If thy brother, thy son, thy daughter, thy vil or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, exist thee to go and serve other gods-thine ere shi not pity him, neither shalt thou spare, but the shalt kill him. (Deut. 1206, & 9, 10.)

All the tortures and blood of that tribonal ver the natural fruits of the doctrine for which w are now pleading-i. e., that life and person no violated-for great reasons of Church and Shin.

SLAVERY! The death penalty is the build that system of crime and wee. Not a huma bing could ever have been made a slave, not me could now be held as a slave an hour, but far it power for which you plead. In proportion as no come to respect person and life as sacred, the my man can be a slave, or a slaveholder, who regels

It were needless to call your attention to the one hundred thousand poor, friendless old mes and women, who, in one century, were put to death fat witchcraft. I need not refer you to the blody !nal code of the Puritans, adopted in 1646, main fifteen crimes punishable with death. Not jet it the innocent Quakers, hung on Boston Commet; nor to the innocent men and women who were but or pressed to death for witchcraft in Salem and Beton. All these were but the natural fruits of is principle for which you plead.

But I forbear. The theme is deep and bread u life; momentous as human destiny in time as in eternity. The following positions I have also to establish; whether I have succeeded or not, is

each judge. 1. That the murderer and the hangman act

the same principle. 2. That that principle is-the right to take # at the discretion and for the benefit of those will take it.

3. That from this result all the crimes against life perpetrated by individuals and States. 4. That the doctrine of the Sanctiff of Line the only principle that can save this world from olence and blood.

In conclusion, let me call your attention to its reproach you cast upon those who would sholled the Death Penalty. You repreach me for my sympter thy for the morderer. It is very strange and sof sad that you should do so, and still profess to be follower and a minister of Jesus. Whom did he pity but the erring and the guilt

He was the friend of publicans and sinners-th outcast and the friendless of his day. He cane h seek and save the lost; to heal the sick, not the well. -Who forgot even his own sufferings, is his pity and sympathy for murderers! Jesus, the forgiving, pitying Jesus ;-and in the agonis of death, he forgot the victim, and his friends and relatives, in his tender sympathy for murderen and he cried out, Father, forgive them, they bor not what they do !' And you, Sir, and the Rer. Dt. Waterbury, and the Rev. Mr. Whiting, all professed ministers of Jesus, reproach us, and eren mocket for sympathizing with murderers. It was the post, despised, outcast prodigal, and not the good, obdient son, for whom the fatted calf was killed. It was for his enemies, for murderers, that God gart his son to die.

The poor, guilty, blood-stained murderer is you enemy; love him as Jesus loved his enemies. has done you and society the greatest wrong; for give him, as Jesus forgave his murderers. He bat done to you a great evil; return to him good for evil, as Jesus did. He is sick; go heal bim-be is lost, go find him, as Jesus did. He is your brother, the prodigal son of your father; go bring his home, as Jesus did, that your father may rejoice with you over him-saying, 'This, my son, was lost, and is found; he was dead, and is alist Let us kill the fatted calf, and rejoice, and be

Sir, will you stand aloof from this joy and gladness, and still cry out against your ering brother— Hang him! BLOOD FOR BLOOD

Bangor, February 15, 1855.