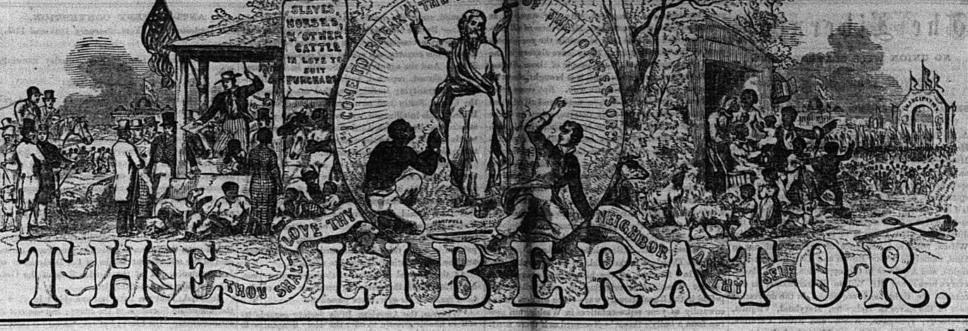
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three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, virania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soa are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

a The following gentlemen constitute the Pinansomittee, but are not responsible for any of the of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS LORING, PENSON QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK.



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,

excuse in aiding other States in binding

and by force restore their rights; but they are without

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must scalk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

M. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1364.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 9.

From the Richmond (Va.) Examiner, Jan. 23d. THE PREE NEGROES OF THE SOUTH TO BE EXILED OR ENSLAVED.

handlonger a subject of doubt whether free nemight to remain in a slaveholding community. hey meritarious exceptions, they are idle, vaga-le, intemperate, dishonest, indolent. They be-actusively to the class of consumers, and hang dead weight upon the body politic. They are nner, but, free in the presence of the slave, the side of the involuntary laborer, having of egress and ingress among a population itfined tree becomotion, they at once excite dis-beat by their example, inflame the spirit of in-chastion by their conversation, and present selves as the ready instruments of correspondbetween plantations and of general organization yer the spirit of discontent and insubordinas ripe for open rebellion among the slaves.

altare; and if engaging in the mechanical is and the higher departments of manual labor, stly offend the self-respect of the important of whites laboring in those pursuits. The law I sight of natural destiny, they seem incapable of county owners of the soil—barring a very few excess, which prove the general rule. There is no of a successful free negro tiller of the soil. If skat places him in possession of land, it gradualtenure into the weed grown annuals under his tender his the week grown in the his beautiful the curtilage of the negro in a continents, and for as many centuries. It has a no more ordained for the African without a ser, to till the soil, than for the wild Arab or Aboriginal Indian. And hence, nothing can be a nomalous, economically, than the free Afri-

a in an agricultural community.

It is as onlit for the mechanic arts as for agricul--wanting the power of combination, of acby in measurement and calculation, of mental resultation and physical application, which are sentials in mechanism. Our whole experiof him in the trade has never produced a single same of a master-workman; his highest success this department of industry, showing him noth-Besides, as we have said, to encourage him the trades, is to wound the self-respect of one of and respectable classes of our white ion, and to drive all of these, but such as are est manly pride of character and occupation, our community. Hence, nothing could be pale anomaly in the economy of a community ton of free negroes employed in the mechan

free negro, therefore, must needs live a vagaad life in the rural districts, performing occasionwhen an abundantly adequate; or collect about the two and villages to perform those offices of menial was ervice to which the slaves are not adapted—
and of prostitutions which pay the highest tempocolumnet and entail the deepest and most enthese menial and infamous offices, the free presents an ugly economical anomaly-a pu-

bosome sore upon the face of our society. ight human being, that the African race, exas slaves acting by compulsion of a higher will, not sustain itself as a constituent element of instion, and when individually released from age and set free upon civilization, hangs as a ad weight and fastens as a gangrene sore upon the

The condition of the free negro population itself as for a change in its social state, no less urgently atten demands some radical measure looking to the extraction of the class in our midst. And thus, the my problem for solution is, how shall our social a be rid of this population? Plainly, there but two modes of effecting the riddance—those ending all of them off who shall elect to go—and they those who remain again into the condition of

Is require the free negro to go North, is only to ther and neighbor among the slaves to do are not injured by his emigration thither, as by themselves testify, by enticing our slaves into same step. hame step. The free negro goes from a comace, and which labors incessantly to spew him cth, to a community which welcomes his race with an and the curl of his hair.

If he refuses to emigrate to the more hospitable

rth, then there is no other alternative left under be reasoning in the premises, but to sell the free ne to min slavery. The Commonwealth has already sected her right to sell him into bondage by author-ing his sale for jail fees and other debts to herself. principle has thus been long ago asserted and and upon, so that it is only the expediency of the hassne which is left to be determined. There are (10) free negroes in the State, the sale of whom of produce in the public treasury \$20,000,000, et to deduction in proportion to the number should voluntarily emigrate to the North. here are 238,187 free negroes in the slave States; which is almost one-tenth as many as their whole are population. Their sale and employment in the measurably, and do much towards extending scalture of that staple into new regions of domain,

> Correspondence of the Boston Post, LETTER FROM SYRACUSE.

ternsonian Pow-wows, and Fanaticism in Gene-ta-The Old-Fashioned Abolitionists and their Alher; how they Quarrel-The Republic Safe.

This beautiful city is rather dull at present, not-beautiful city is rather dull at present, not-beauting the efforts of the Garrisonites to knock the tastanding the efforts of the Garrisonites to knock a main into a cocked hat, by a series of pow-rows as assigned by the usual amount of denunciation and ni(per) tuperation against the Constitution of the United States and all who support it. Their pubrings have been but thinly attended, and there a same reason to hope that the Constitution will have so stand it, protty much the same as if nothsange to stand it, pretty much the same as if noth-ic had happened. Syracuse is generally considered to control functions of all sorts in this State, as content is in Massachusetts, and is, I think, fair-milled to the distinction; yet even here you find people who reckon a white man to be as and as to think 'woman's rights' are to be found the vicinity of her duties; and so eccentric as to that the 'spirite of just men made perfect' likely to choose their channel of communicaeir mundane friends through the mouths

mutual disclaimers of sympathy, and strong declarations of hostility, are certainly very funny, when
one considers their recent affiliated labors for Fremont, free-thunder, and free-plunder. The real difference between them, however, is not important—
being merely a question of ways and means. The
regular, open Abolitionist, aims to dissolve the Union
be direct architecture of victors and vincers, while his

SELECTIONS.

POLITIGAL ASPECTS OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

a Glance at the Present Aspects of the Slavery Question in the United States. Edited by F. W. Chesson,' and published in the London Lady's

bear their natural fruits in the Border Ruffianism of Kansas, and the fillibustering exploits of the mili- of the dishonest bargain, and have often made vontary adventurer who has usurped the government of Nicaragua. The Southern Conspirators boldly position, may cause him to hesitate ere he attempts to carry out this iniquitous policy; but he is not the less pledged to employ every means in his power to effect its accomplishment. He has solemnly undertaken to adapt his own conscience to 'the plater's form, of the Democratic rates, and the plater's own experience to the plater's own e the admission of Kansus into the Union as a slave State, the acquisition of Cuba, and slaveholding superancy in Central America. In the exultation of their recent success, the slaveholders are dreaming of even greater triumphs; and cautious and crafty as the new President may be, he is not unlikely to be dragged by headstrong and unscruptious men into the prosecution of measures even yet more fatal to freedom than those of which he has already approved. Be this as it may, the slaveholders dragged by headstrong and unscruptions may be the saveholders ere confessedly regard the period of his Presidency as the appointed season for carrying out their most the Union, which has clung so tenaciously to the ers confessedly regard the period of his Presidency as the appointed season for carrying out their most cherished schemes. If, in times past, they have worn a mask, they now wear one no longer; if they have been accustomed to clothe their designs in ambiguous language, they have now altogether abandoned this Jesuitical mode of expression. Their leading journals declare that they will not rest contented until the South becomes the dominant power on the American continent; and Nicaragua, Mexico, Caba and other suitable countries have been carry.

Every one who studies the tanatical love for the Union, which has clumg so tenaciously to the hearts of the people of the North, and which has been the strongest pillar in the slaveholding edifice. And these feelings of antagonism towards the slaveholders may be regarded as the first great step taken towards producing that wide gulf of separation between the North and the South, which can only be bridged over by an Act of Emancipation.

Every one who studies the tendencies of American politics, who watches the widening of the breach edintoslave plantations.* They declare that free society is a failure; that 'slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or
black'; that 'master and slave is a relation as necessary in society as that of parent and child; and
that 'the theory of free government is a delusion.' they propose that the laboring poor shall be converted into a slave ropulation; and that mean the

attention is requested to the following extract from the New Orleans Delta: Remember that Nicaragua and Cuba are vastly more important to us than the Kansas Territory, though we should not renounce the atter. Mexico is not far off. The genius of commerlatter. Mexico is not far off. The genius of commer-cial empire beckons to us from Tehauntepic. But Nicaragia is the great political nucleus, and while the national men of the South are busy over the spoils of the victory won through the courage and boldness of the Southern party, let us put forth all our strength in Nicaragua. We have only four years to prepare for the great contest of 1860. Give Walker the pow-er, and he will solve not only the Central American er, and he will solve not only the Central American question, but with it that of Cuba. Once firmly established in Nicaragua, he will restore the West Indies to their original condition as slave colonies. It can be demonstrated that the comparative decline of New Orleans commenced with the abolition policy of England in the American tropics. It only requires the defeat of Walker in Nicaragua, and the Africanization of Cuba, to make the decline more than com-parative, perhaps irretrievable. In only requires, on hand, the organization of Central America, as a slave-producing country, with the redemption of the West Indies from negro barbarism, to make New Orleans the centre of a vast tropical empire, and to realize, in connection with the Pacific trade, the ad-

+ The Richmond Enquirer, one of the ablest journals in the Southern States, and one of Mr. Buchan-an's leading organs, has recently published articles on the failure of the experiment of free society! The neighboring States, and which the slaveholde following is a choice extract:— Repeatedly have we asked the North, "Has not the experiment of universal liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? and do not the most thinking men among you propose to subvert and reconstruct it?" Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof, added to many other conclusive evidences we have furnished, that free society, in a long run, is an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere starving, demoralized and insurrectionary. We repeat, then, that policy and humanity alike forbid the extension of the evils of free society to new peoples and coming generations. Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, co-crist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist, the other must become universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall and give way to slave society—a social system old as the world, universal as man. 'Free society!' (exclaims the Muscogee (Alabama) Herald, in disgust,) 'we sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-listed farmers, and moon-struck theorists!'

† A New York journal (attached to the Buchanan

fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists?

† A New York journal (attached to the Buchanan interest) makes the following proposal relative to those German and Irish emigrants who are unable to support their families: 'Sell the parents of these children into slavery. Let our Legislature pass a law that whoever will take these parents, and take are of them and their offspring, in sickness and in health, feed them, and house them, shall be legally entitled to their service; and let the same Legislature decree that whoever receives these parents and their children, and receives their services, shall take care of them as long as they live.'

of those who have no credit in this world, and would be impeached as easily in a justice's court as in the court of heaven.

The war now waging between the Black Republi-The war now waging between the Black Republicans and their late allies and bed-fellows, the old fashioned Abolitionists, is amusing enough to outsiders. Their anxiety to be rid of each other; their mutual disclaimers of sympathy, and strong declarations. Such are some of the schemes which the pro-slavery

by direct application of vigor and vinegar, while his the soil on which the Revolutionary heroes fought Republican' neighbor is waiting to see it 'slide' and won the battles of liberty. On the contrary, as the result of a slow process of sapping and mining. Let us be thankful that the Republic is not in the care of the 'Republicans,' and that the Garrisonites are as impotent as they are malignant. hideous encroachments to which they had previously succumbed without a murnur. The Fugitive Slave Law, by granting to the slaveholder the power to cross the threshold, and to violate the sanctity of

every Northern home in pursuit of his fugitive tim, (thereby converting free men, whose boast it had been that no tyranny could subdue them, into Close of . The Story of a Fugitive Slave: with Southern vassals,) created a large amount of healthy anti-slavery opinion. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (a solemn compact by which the great Northwest territory, of which Kansas forms a part, was consecrated to freedom for ever) has done far more than even the Fugitive Slave Law to array the The American people have chosen Mr. Buchanan, free against the slave States. Taught from the whose public life has been spent in the commission earliest childhood to believe that fidelity to the Comfree against the slave States. Taught from the and the propagation of opinious, which promises of the Constitution is a patriotic duty, the

announce the schemes of aggression and conquest of which the election of Mr. Buchanan is the pre-Natural timidity, or the difficulties of his ern affection for the Union existing between the two form' of the Democratic party, of which he regards its own selfish political and commercial interests. himself as 'a plank'; and to recognize no higher. They are beginning to see that the conquest of Kanlaw than the edicts of the Cincinnati Convention. He therefore stands committed to such measures as extensive measures of aggression; and that the nathe admission of Kansus into the Union as a slave tional question has now become not only whether

Cuba, and other suitable countries, have been cary-ed into slave plantations.* They declare that free soci-between the slaveholders and their adversaries, and reted into a slave population; and that even the emigrants who flee to America from the poverty and despotism of the Old World, shall be made to participate in the blessings of the peculiar institution. The Nay, more, hating free labor as the deadlise of the Uld World, shall be made to participate in the blessings of the peculiar institution. Nay, more, hating free labor as the deadlise of the Uld World, shall be made to participate in the blessings of the peculiar institution. Nay, more, hating free labor as the deadlise of the Uld World, shall be made to participate in the blessings of the peculiar institution. only conflicting interests, but principles like justice and oppression, truth and falsehood, which are, in their very nature, essentially opposed to each other, has always proved an ignominious failure, or that resulted in the still further triumph of evil. ous failure, or rathe people of the North are now recovering from their blindness, and opening their eyes to these facts; and now that compromise and concession, on their part have, for the future, been rendered impossible, separation of the North from the South is the only remaining alternative. We are convinced that time, which solves all doubts, and overcomes all difficul-ties, will demonstrate that Mr. Garrison, and his friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who have so long raised the standard of 'No Union with Slaveholders,' have indicated the only practical solution of the slavery question. All honor to them for having proclaimed this doctrine in the face of calum-

ny, persecution, and death ! Without the assistance of the North, the South would be powerless to maintain her domestic institu-tion. How could three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, deprived of external support, keep in a state of bondage three millions and a half of slaves, constantly increasing in numbers, in intelligence, and in a knowledge of their rights? True, we must not overlook the non-slaveholding white population; but there is so little sympathy between the lordly planter, and this deprayed and dangerous class of the vantages to which she is geographically entitled. This is a work for the Southern party. We have shown our power in national politics, let us give it practical community, that he would have but little to hope for from them in the hour of danger. That the seeds of disaffection have been scattered abroad among the recently been discovered in Tennessee, and some neighboring States, and which the slaveholders, in their madness, have sought to suppress by introducing a reign of terror. Foolish men! who do not see that these retallatory measures only add fuel to the flame, and hasten the day of vengeance and retribution. When the South is recloner resmitted to bution. When the South is no longer permitted to lean upon the strong arm of the North for support, and is compelled to rely upon her own resources for self-preservation, she will have to choose between the performance of a voluntary act of justice to the slaves, and the alternative of becoming the victim of n righteous punishment. Her fate is in her own hands; but whatever her decision may be, the days of slavery are numbered.

They who imagine that the emancipation of the American slaves would be attended by deeds of an-archy and blood, neither understand the character of the negro race, nor remember the experience of history, nor exercise faith in that moral law which it is the interest, as well as the duty, of all men to obey. Let such persons recollect the 1st of August 1834, when the negroes of the West India Island 1834, when the negroes of the West India Islands ceased to be slaves, and became English citizens and freemen. No act of violence, no deed of blood, darkened the glory of that day; but the entranchised race acted as became their newly acquired dignity. And if another proof of the intellectual and moral worth of the liberated children of Africa be required, surely it may be found in Hayti, where, under the government of an able and callichtened. the government of an able and enlightened sovereign, and of statesmen of intelligence and integrity, the descendants of the former slaves of France are eatisfactorily solving the problem of negro self-government. If America were wise, she would profit by

MISSIONARY'S OPINION OF THE AF-RICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The Rev. Mr. Bushnell, now in this city, has been a missionary on the Western Coast for thirteen years. He is stationed on the Gaboon River, right on the line of the equator, and in the heart of the slave region. Their first mission-house was on the site of an old Portuguese slave factory, where the trade had been carried on for more than two centuries. On an island at the mouth of the river are heavy guns, brought there by the Portuguese two hundred and

fifty years ago.
Thus ample time has been given for the great ex-Thus ample time has been given for the great ex-periment of civilization. By this time, the Slave Coast ought to be the seat of a high state of civil-ization. But the missionaries seem to think that this intercourse with other nations has only caused deeper night to descend on that dark continent. Mr. Bushnell even goes so far as to say that the slave

might furnish a large export. But all is kept down by this one trade. So soon as a British squadron hovering on the coast, puts the slavers in fear, and causes their trade to languish, other branches of in-dustry revive. The chiefs, finding less demand for human flesh, bring down other commodities—ivory, palm oil, gold dust, dye woods and ebony. Thus the instant the slave trade is checked, there springsup a legitimate commerce. But while that is in full blast, it kills everything else, for it is more exciting and more lucrative. The trade in slaves is more profitable than trade in ivory, for it is easier to steal

a child than kill an elephant.

But the commercial loss is nothing to the moral desolation which it leaves behind it. The slave trade is the cause of almost all the wars between different tribes. It keeps them constantly fighting to procure It excites them to attack defenceless villages, and to seize men, women and children. Thus it stimulates to burnings, to murder and to

Mr. Bushnell has taken away our chief consola by the demand for slaves to export. If left to itself, it would soon dwindle and die; for there is no in-ternal cause to sustain it. Labor is not of value

all the woes of hell.

A natural effect of such a trade in flesh and blood to produce a frightful disregard of human life. It bought for a cask of rum. Lately the price has risen, so that now an able-bodied man will fetch about \$40, and a boy or girl perhaps half that sum. Of course, it tends to destroy natural affection. The natives are simple-hearted, and strongly attached to their kindred. But when every bad passion is excited, imbruted by war and maddened by rum, the father will sometimes sell his own child. 'I have even known,' says Mr. Bushnell, 'a husband to sell

It is often said that these poor Africans do not suffer much, for that they are incapable of feeling. They are little above the beast, and, like animals, all places are indifferent to them. 'Having food and raiment, they are therewith content.' But our informant tells us that, on the contrary, they are a very sensitive race. Natives of that torrid clime, they are true children of the sun. Living in the open air, they drink in bright influences from sun-shine and from sky. Their feelings are quick. The slightest thing exalts them to a heaven of rapture or inges them into an abyss of grief. When left to full of mirth, and dance, and song. In many a syl van glade, under the wide-spreading palms, may be witnessed scenes which would delight the imagina-

ion of a pastoral poet.

They have a passionate love of music. The gon-loliers of Venice, floating on their grand canal, were not more spontaneous and gushing in their melody than these Africans, floating on their inland waters. As the boat glides along the lagoons and rivers, the oarsmen keep time with a rising and falling strain. If any incident occurs in the sail, they instantly improvise a rude poetry, and accompany it with a wild melody. Thus everywhere—in their boats or bambee but in every seeps of glidness or of grief at

ing when torn from their homes and country? When I first landed on the coast, says Mr. Bush-When I first landed on the coast, says Mr. Bushnell, 'the slave trade was flourishing, and there were many factories near us, I often visited the barracoons, and such utter wee and despair I never saw on any human faces.' Their lightness and gayety were all gone. Their songs were hushed, and they sat silent and gloomy. It was not a grief which burst forth in wild lament, nor a despair which nerved them to fierce resistance, but a wan and weary look, a despair, which was precedless and hopeless. look, a despair which was speechless and hopeless, as of those doomed to die. There they sat upon the shore, chained together, now turning a last fond look to the hills and palm groves in the distance, and now looking to the slave-ship which began to show its dark hull on the horizon. Thus they watched and wept, their stifled sobs answering to the desolate

Such is the slave trade, of which men in this Christian land speak in gentle phrase, and which some propose to revive. Many might be found who would not only defend it, but delight in it; who

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI. Both branches of the Missouri Legislature have passed a resolve de-claring the emancipation of slaves in the State not only impracticable, but any movement towards it impolitic, unwise and unjust, and that it should be discountenanced by the people.

as the Church also is.

From the Wisconsin Free Den THE POWER OF SLAVERY.

The following official notice, posted on the door of our sanctum, explains itself. The judgment was rendered against us at the suit of the slave-catcher, Garland, in Judge Miller's Court, at Madison, mor than a year and a half ago. For sundry reasons, best known to the parties, this execution has been delayed till this time. We are of the opinion that if Fremont, instead of Buchanan, had been elected President, we should never have been called on offi-cially to pay Garland for the loss of his alleged chat-tel. The paper reads as follows:—

UNITED STATES' MARSHAL'S SALE. Benammi S. Garland, vs. Sherman M. Booth.

By virtue of an alias Writ of Fieri Facias issued out of and under the seal of the District Court of the United States for the District of Wisconsin, in the above entitled cause, tested on the 31st day of January, 1857, to me directed, commanding me that of the goods and chattels, lands and tenements of Sherman goods and chattels, lands and tenements of Sherman M. Booth, to cause to be made certain sums of money therein specified, I have levied upon and shall sell at public auction to the highest bidder, on the premises Mr. Bushnell even goes so tar as to say that the slave trade is the great curse of Africa; that it renders the wildest savages still more fierce and cruel, and buildest savages still more fierce and cruel, and that it haffles all attempts at civilization.

Of course, all other commerce is killed by this traffic. The country is rich in natural products, and might furnish a large export. But all is kept down 'Hoe's' Large Cylinder Power Printing Press, and one Portable Steam Engine.

S. V. R. ABLEMAN, Marshal, Per GEO. Cogswell, Deputy Marshal's Office, Milwaukie, Feb. 2d, 1857.

The public mind is familiar with the history of the slave prosecutions which grew out of the escape of Joshua Glover, on the 11th of March, 1854. The decision of our Supreme Court, pronouncing the Fugitive Slave Act, on which these prosecutions were founded, unconstitutional and void, was hailed with more universal approval than any decision of any court in this country, and there is no question that the people of Wisconsin are sesolved to sustain the decision of our court at all times, and at all hazards, whenever called upon to do so.

The effect of that decision upon us personally was to release us, for the time, from the fine and imprisonment imposed upon us by the decree of Judge Miller. But the civil suit was prosecuted to judgment in Judge Miller's court, despite tion in this trade, which was that these poor wretches were only taken from being slaves in their own country to be slaves in ours—which seemed a great improvement. But he informs us that but for this foreign trade, they might not be slaves at all! In fact, he doubted whether slavery existed on this Western Coast until two or three centuries ago, when the Portuguese tempted the chiefs to sell the bodies of men. It was Christian trades who first tangent there has been so much rejoicing, has any vitality the poor natives these arts of cruelty. At any rate, if slavery existed at all before, the whole system has been extended and fortified, and increased in horrors, by the damand for slavery exists a superior of the State can be set at nought and be trained under a void law—whether the sovereignty of the State can be set at nought and be sovereignty of the State can be set at nought and be trampled under foot by slave-catchers and their agent, with impunity—whether the State has the power and the will to protect its citizens from fine and imprisonment, and the confiscation of their pro-

ternal cause to sustain it. Labor is not of value enough. A slave is good for nothing to keep, but only to sell. It is the capidity of West Indian traders which spurs on the natives to burning and butchery, and which brings upon this desolate coast all the woes of hell.

If our printing press can be sold to reward the slave-catcher for his outrage upon Law, Liberty and the Constitution, and we have no remedy, and all the woes of hell. reignty to defend us, the next step will be our seiis to produce a frightful disregard of human life. It has reduced the value of a man to the trifle that he will bring from the trader. Many a man has been bought for a cask of rum. Lately the price has risen, so that now an able-bodied man will fetch about \$40 and a boy or girl perhaps half that sum. and their own liberties, would not only justify the organs and agents of the Slave Power to proceed to such extremities, but would invite further aggres sion upon the rights of property and liberty, and upon Freedom of Speech and of the Press.

The decision of our Supreme Court, in the Glove case, is worth something or nothing. It has power to protect the property and liberty of the citizen against the operations of the unconstitutional en-actment called the Fugitive Slave Act, or it has not If the property of the citizen can be seized and sold by virtue of a void law—that is, by no law—why not by virtue of the last year's Almanac? And if the State has no power to protect its citizens against such an outrage, by what authority and right does what authority and right does it undertake to punish ordinary theft and robbery? We call to mind the spirit and language of the Republican Press, on this subject, two years ago. Was it principle, or was it policy, which roused it to such stirring language and such stern resistance against the attempted enforcement of the Fugitive Act, then? Has the Slave Power grown more reacted. sonable and more regardful of our liberties, with in the last two years? Rather has it not commit-ted fresh outrages against Liberty, and shown itself more determined than ever to wage relentless and exterminating war upon the rights of the people of the free States?

This controversy concerns not us alone. Every citizen of the State, who values liberty for himself and his posterity, has a deep interest in its right issue. To-day, the Slave Power selects us as its provise a rude poetry, and accompany it with a wild melody. Thus everywhere—in their boats or bamboo huts, in every scene of gladness or of grief, at the wedding or the funeral—their hearts find vent in song.

And do these simple children of nature feel nothing when torn from their homes and country? preme Court be made a nullity, at the dictum of Judge Miller, and slave-drivers and slave-catch-ers let loose their bloodhounds among us, and clank

DEAR SIR-I am indebted to your kindness for the copy received of your speech in the Senate, in 'defence of the Republican party,' and I desire to present to you my grateful acknowledgments, and also a few suggestions for your candid consideration, relative thereto.

Your faithful rebuke of the President's 'unjust Christian land speak in gentle phrase, and which some propose to revive. Many might be found who would not only defend it, but delight in it; who would find in this buying of men, not only the most lucrative commerces, but the most exciting sport. When Capt. Smith confided to us his experience in a slave ship, his eye shot fire as he depicted the scenes on the African coast. 'Ah!' said the hero, 'that's the place for fun!'

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI. Both branches of inghtoousness and humanity, ask your kind attentions.

Your faithful rebuke of the President's 'unjust, untruthful, and malignant aspersions upon the people' you represent, will meet a cordial response in every mind where the love of truth is predominant. Your full endorsement of the great principle of our national independence, that Liberty is the inalience of American slavery, which violates that right, will find an echo in every heart not closed against the law of love and the just claims of humanity.

And now, my dear sir, I must, for the cause of righteousness and humanity, ask your kind atten-

rightcoursess and humanity, ask your kind atten-tion to my arguments designed to prove that your eloquent speech is not a unit, not harmonious. A discordant sound falls on the car of consistent philanthropy. Alas! for the cause of human freedom, your excellent fundamental principles are, in a measure, neutralized by counteracting concessions.

'To the dark spirit of slavery,' whose vile portrai-

ture you have so faithfully presented us, you have bowed the knee. You announce the 'sentiments, principles and purposes' of the Republican party of which you are a member, as follows:

'The maintenance of the principles promulgated in

the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution. · It is a self-evident truth, that all men are endow-

ed with an inalienable right to liberty, etc.

'No person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

'We believe in the sublime doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created

This you believe to be, not with Mr. Calhoun, ' a

rhetorical flourish, 'not' an eloquent and passionate manifesto of a revolutionary war,' but 'a living truth from the pages of the New Testament.'

Moreover, you assure us, 'We (the Republican party) believe, with Henry Clay, that 'Slavery is a curse—a curse to the master—a wrong—a griev-ous wrong to the slave; that it is all wrong, and no

possible contingency can make it right."

The radical and consistent advocates of human freedom thank you for this plain, out-spoken condemnation of the outrage on all law, human and Alas! for that delusive enchantment of the pow

ers of darkness which influenced you and your party to subvert your own just and immutable principles, in the following avowal to the community: 'We vindicate the rights of the States—the right of the Southern States, if they choose, to hold men in slavery.' Other expressions imply the same.

Now, sir, where is your inalienable right to liber-ty? Tell me not that you deny the States all moral right 'to hold men in slavery.' You allow a right, and that right, whatever it may be, alienates your 'inalienable right,' and you are involved in contradiction. If the Southern States, as you avow, have any right to inflict on millions of their human brethren what you declare to be 'a curse' and 'grievous wrong,' it follows that your doctrine of the inalienable right of all men to liberty is false, and the gentleman who denominated it 'a rhetorical flourish,' is far more consistent than you and

your party. O, my dear sir, for righteousness and humanity's sake, I beseech you to review your anomalous posi-tion. You assert the inalienable right of the slaves to liberty, to be 'a living truth from the pages of the New Testament,' and with the same breath 'vindicate the right of the States' to destroy it! You hold that 'God is the great agitator' against vile oppression, and set yourself against Jehovah's agitation, and 'vindicate the rights' of the oppres-

You and your party acknowledge, before God and man, that American slavery is a moral wrong. Permit me now to inquire, where do you find in that holy volume to which you have appealed, any au-thority to 'vindicate' a moral wrong! By what sort of casuistry do you transform a moral wrong into a right? Can State or national enactments do it? Have they a right to 'frame mischief by a law?' Sir, Jehovah himself disclaims this in his appeal to intelligent universe: 'Are not i Shall worms of the dust claim an authority above the Infinite?

I apprehend that your regard for the Union is a shield against the arrows of conviction, which ought to penetrate the inmost recesses of your conscience. I beseech you to lay no such flattering unction to your soul. You practically subvert your own principles by vindicating the pretended right of tyrants to rob millions of men of God-given rights, to maintain a Union of a character the very opposite of that which you profess to advocate.

which you profess to advocate.

At present, though Liberty and Union is the nation's principle, Slavery and Union is the damning fact. Our boasted Democracy and Republicanism is a mockery before high heaven and the civilized world -a stench in the nostrils of the Eternal who hateth oppression. Go sir, throughout the earth; in vain will you seek to find a grosser outrage on pure Democracy than you can find at home.

Another aspect of this direful subject, is worthy of your consideration. On what basis does your ust and determined opposition to the extension of lavery rest? Is it not on the principle that liberty is the inalienable right of all men, and that 'no persons should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law'? Now, sir, if these principles are inadequate to destroy the right which you vindicate of holding men in slavery in the slave States, they are inadequate to sustain your opposi-tion to the introduction of slavery in the Territories. Your unrighteous concession removes your founda-tion, and your desired superstructure cannot go up. The streams of this river of death will flow on

til its source is annihilated.

Of what value is your adoption of the determine-Of what value is your adoption of the determina-tion of Mr. Webster, to 'oppose all such extension, and all such increase, in all places, at all times, un-der all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitations of great interests, against all combinations, against all compromises'? Do you not reduce all this to a mere 'rhetorical flourish,' so long as you 'vindicate the right of the

Do you not reduce all this to a mere 'rhetorical flourish,' so long as you 'vindicate the right of the Southern States, if they choose, to hold men in slavery '? The language implies that you will oppose the extension of this odious wrong, if necessary, even against the inducement of preserving the Union; consequently you ought to oppose its existence, if necessary, against the same inducement.

Union! The character and value of the American Union must be tested and determined by the same immutable standard of righteousness as all other associations. All must be judged, not by their professions merely, but by their works. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' What then does the Holy One who inhabiteth Eternity, and what does the civilized world know about the American Union? Is it not known as a potent Union, whose concentrathe civilized world know about the American Union? Is it not known as a potent Union, whose concentrated power is pledged to rob millions of the human brotherhood of their God-given rights? Is it not a Union defying the commands of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, to 'do justly and to love mercy'; to break the galling yoke, and to let the oppressed go free? Is it not a Union to violate his blessed law of Love which induces us to do unto others, as we would have others do unto us?

Our boasted Union is 'weighed in the balance' of eternal justice, and is 'found wanting.' Ichabod is written thereon. It cannot stand before that 'sword' of righteousness which the Son of the Blessed 'came to send' throughout an ungodly world, for the severance of truth and righteousness from that very injustice and oppression which so prominently characterizes the American Union. That sword, sir, will yet hew this Union, as Samuel hewed Agag.

hewed Agag.

The 'eternal judgment' hastens! Tremendous is the responsibility resting on the rulers of the earth. Into the ears of the Avenger of the poor the cries of the oppressed have entered. Before his awful tribunal we must all appear.

Yours, respectfully, for the rights of humanity,

HENRY GREW.

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1857.

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To the Editor of the Anti-S'avery Advocate. RESPECTED FRIEND,—I am one of those who highly disapprove of the way in which many persons attempt to detract from the character of the American Abolitionists on account of a difference of opinion on doctrinal questions. I was recently in the company of a person from America, who stated that the Liberator was used by W. L. Garrison (who was asserted to be, and I suppose is, its editor) as a means of propagating 'infidel' rison (who was asserted to be, and I suppose is, its editor) as a means of propagating 'infidel' principles. Now, without more definite evidence, I will not believe such an assertion. If it is thue, men will agree with me, I think, that although the fact of a man's holding 'infidel' principles may not and I believe is not sufficient reason for recognizing to compare with him profit that he

not and I believe is not sufficient reason for refusing to co-operate with him, yet that he has no right to use the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society as the means of furthering such opinions, they being foreign to the subject of slavery.

If it is not true, I think it is due to W. L. Garrison that it be denied. I do not wish it to be supposed from the above, that I think W. L. G. does hold such views. I hope and believe he does not.

I will just say here, that I believe you are quite in error in charging the Society of Friends (for I suppose you allude to them) with 'rejecting some parts of Scripture as uncanonical.' I do not know a single member of the Society who rejects any part of the Hible as it is received by Protestants in general—I am thine truly.

eral-I am thine truly. 1st of 1st mo., 1857. REMARKS.

One of the principal means employed for dama-ging the American Anti-Slavery Society has been to point to the course of Mr. Garrison, the Presi to point to the course of Mr. Garrison, the President of that Society, who, in his newspaper, the Liberator, opens his columns to the discussion of a vast variety of subjects, connected with faith, morals, and social progress. Now that Mr. Garrison is the editor of the Liberator is a fact, and that he takes this course in his paper is unquestionable. The paper is his property, subject to his sole editorial control. It is not in any sense the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which might cease to exist to-morrow without in any way affecting the position or prosperity of the Liberator, except in so far as the members of that society may serve to swell its subscription list. And if Mr. Garrison were now to cease his connection with the

Garrison were now to cease his connection with th American Anti-Slavery Society, the *Liberator* might still continue to go on as before. The contents of his paper are subject to his selection, to accept or reject, and neither that society nor any other of its members has authority to influence his choice.

Mr. Garrison declares that his paper shall be 'a free paper,' in which all classes of thinkers shall have a fair hearing. He declares that he has faith in truth, and does not fear the light to which it will be subjected by free discussion. A large portion of every number consists of selections from the Southern newspapers, containing the grossest abuse of Abolitionists in general, and of himself in particular, the most monstrous perversions of Scrip-ture in favor of slavery, and every kind of argument in support of that system which the ingenuity of man has hitherto devised. Any one who wants to find all that has been said on behalf of slavery, as well as the strongest arguments from Scripture an common sense against it, is referred to the Liberator as a most abundant repertory of facts and arguments on both sides. But, besides this, the phrenologist, the homocopathist, the hydropathist, the pleader for a universal language, the millenarian, the universalist, the opponent of capital punishment, the tectotaller, the deist, the spiritualist, the atheist, the rationalist, the anti-sabbatarian, the peace man, the non-resistant, with their opponents, have all had its columns opened to them, to state their views at the bar of public opinion. It is Mr. Garrison's principle, and, rarer still !—his practice, to let all honest opinions be heard; strong as he is in the confidence that truth never loses by open discussion.

We know of no other man, and we never heard of one, who has acted so completely upon this plan and it has exposed him to unmeasured hatred and calumny. No one could take such a course but one who has a clear conscience and an unspotted character; for whilst we are all generally willing to see our own views prominently stated, we are apt to dislike any great prominence to be given to those from which we strongly dissent. With respect to the theological or anti-theological views which have thus appeared in the columns of the Liberator, they may be all found stated in equally strong terms in the pages of religious newspapers and reviews, and in the works of writers on natural and revealed relig-ion; with this difference, that in the Liberator the objectionable argument is not always followed by a regulation, nor does the editor think himself bound to reply to all the statements which may seem to bjectionable, although always ready to epen his columns to others who may desire to do so. He does not so distrust his readers as to act as if he thought that God always required to be defended, and truth to be taken care of.

There is probably not a reader of the Liberator who has not at some time or other objected to something which its editor has allowed to appear in his columns-and Mr. Garrison has been peatedly remonstrated with by persons of less nerve than himself, on account of the subjects discussed, the line of argument, or the modes of expression employed by his contributors. No man who did not possess great force of character could have carried on such a newspaper for twenty-seven years, as Mr. Garrison has done.

en we are asked what is Mr. Garrison's creed, we reply that he calls himself a Christian, and that lieve him when he says so. No man has ever made so much use of Bible arguments in opposition so slavery. The Bible is his principal literature, for he is not a man of learning or much literary culture. What his precise creed is, we do not know, and have not cared to enquire; but, in our opinion, if he is not an honest man, there is no such thing as an honest man. If we could be convinced that he was a hypocrite, as some of his calumniators have we should lose our confidence in human We do not believe there is a man in the United States who knows him who would make any such charge against him.

Having said thus much, we will repeat what we said last month, that our mode of estimating the Abolitionists and all others with whom we come in contact, is by their fruits; which we regard as the only test by which mortals, with their limited vision, are capable of approaching to a just estimate of one another. Amongst individuals of boundless criduity and of the extremest scepticism, we know of some whose active benevolence, goodness of heart and perfect sincerity we entirely trust, and whos friendship and good opinion we highly esteem.

If the Liberator were the organ of any Anti-Slavery society, we would think it unjustifiable that it should be made the receptacle of opinions on sub-jects which have no connection with the Anti-Slavery cause. But it is no such thing—no more than the Times newspaper or the Leeds Mercury. The only pretence for saying or supposing that it is so, lies in the fact that its owner and editor is an emi-nent Abolitionist, and that he is the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Yet we believe that sooner than alter to dictation the character of his paper, Mr. Garrison would give up his presiden-tial position; and the fact that the members of that society have placed him in their chair, proves not only that they regard his services and character with ghest respect, but that they do not regard arreter of the Liberator, and the confidence I by its editor in the ultimate triumph of legitimate bar to his usefulness as a nerican slave. No Abolitionist is ery work. It is free to all to take,

or to refuse it:

The organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society is the National Anti-Slavery Standard, published weekly in New York, at the rate to British subscribers of 12s. 0d. per minum, besides a penny paid by the subscriber on the receipt of each paper. This paper we shall be happy to order, free of all charge for agency, for any who send us their names and the money. It is ably conducted and is a hand-some and most excellent journal, and quite free from these devices speculations that are found in the Liberalte, and which some people seize hold on to damage the reputation not only of Mr. Garrison, but of the whole American Anti-Slavery Society.

Abbeville Press. of the late John L. of 12 m

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 27, 1857.

SENATOR WILSON'S SOUTHERN PACE. A. G. Brown of Mississippi on the Slavery question, Henry Wilson of Massachusetts on the President's Message, and Lawrence M. Keitt of South Carolina on Slavery and the resources of the South. All these speeches contain some correct ideas and some true statements, but all of them are false to liberty. There is a difference in the amount of disregard of the rights and interests of the slave displayed in them, and the difference-what there is of it-is in favor of Mr. Wilson, but it is a difference in degree, and not in Mr. Wilson-if Mr. Wilson is to be belie kind, namely-Messra. Brown and Keitt disregard the rights, and acquiesce in the oppression, of all slaves, everywhere: but Mr. Wilson discriminates; he disregards the rights and acquiesces in the oppression. only of the slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri; these, he concedes, are to him neither men nor brothers; and in regard to them, in the language of his friend Mr. Webster, he assures his friends the slaveholders, [who have somehow conceived a suspicion 'that the influence of Northern men in the public councils would endanger the relation of master and slave,'] that 'the suscion which exists is wholly groundless; there is not, and never has been, a disposition in the North to in-terfere with these interests of the South.

It is quite unnecessary for us to present an array of evidence that Messrs. Brown and Keitt are false to liberty; that is admitted. But since, in spite of abundant and oft-repeated proof, many people seem not yet to understand that Mr. Wilson is also false to liberty, we will quote such evidence of this as his speech affords, and show how carefully he is adjusting his ser- unwholesome.-c. x. w. vice of God in such a manner as not to offend the

Mr. Wilson says, for himself and his party, in relation to the charge of Southern men, that there is disposition in the North to endanger the relation of mas-

Sir, I can stand, we can stand here to-day, and say, as the great New England orator then said, that their accusations and suspicions are wholly groundle

On page 5th, replying to various charges in the President's Message against the Republican party, one of which is that they are 'inflamed with a DESIRE to change the domestic institutions of existing States,' he says, 'Sir, I deny each, every one, ay, all of these charges. There is not the semblance of truth in

He proceeds, page 8th, 'We went before the country with this declaration, that the Federal Constitution, the Constitution as it is, should be preserved' and ' We vindicate the rights of the States-the right of the Southern States, if they choose, to hold men in slavery'; and he concludes, page 16th, with the promise silently to acquiesce in the undisturbed and indefinite continuance of slavery where it now is, if the slaveholders, on their part, will refrain from extending it Bible Society, and any of its numbers can be obtained further, as follows :

Senators have told us they want peace-they wan Schatos Well, sir, I want peace—I want repose. The State I represent wants peace, wants repose. Tens of millions of our property are cast broadcast over the Southern States. The business men, the merchants, the manufacturers of my native State want peace as much as you can want it. You can have it. But you much as you can want it. You can have it. But you cannot have it if you want to extend slavery over the free Territories. You cannot have it if you bring Iree Territories. You cannot have it if you bring Kansas here as a slave State. If you want peace, abandon your policy of slave extension. Cease all efforts to control the political destinies of the country through the extension of slavery as an element of political powers. Plant yourselves on your reserved constitutional rights, and we will aid you in the vindication of those rights.

All this, observe, is in Mr. Wilson's own speech, quite voluntary and spontaneous. The following statements were made when he was 'put to the ques tion, by Mr. Brown of Mississippi:

. Mr. Phillips, as the Senator says, takes extrem Pederal Government from its connection with it, ban-ish the negro discussions that we are having in these Halls, and leave slavery in the slave States, where the Halls, and leave slavery in the slave States, where the Constitution leaves it, to the care of the people of those States. I believe that when that is done, the with the institution of slavery, and we were iberal, high-minded, just men of the South will, in gling to maintain it in opposition to those teachings their own time and in their own way, bring about a

Now, what contempt can be too great for the man who, after having written the following to Wendell is most amply recognised; it is upon them that we Phillips. (which had been so thoroughly published triumphantly rest its defence.' Phillips, (which had been so thoroughly published that there was no possibility of denying it,)-' I hope my dear sir, that we shall all strive to unite and combine all the friends of freedom; that we shall forge each other's faults and short-comings in the past; and all labor to secure that co-operation by which alone THE SLAVE IS TO BE EMANCIPATED, and the domination of his master broken. Let us remember that more than three millions of bondmen, grosning under namethan three millions of bondmen, groaning under nameless wees, demand that we shall cease to reproach each
other, and that we labor for their DELIVERANCE.—
fact that two thirds of the slave population did not know could make the above statement to his slaveholding associates in the Senate, and then, when the flagrant contrariety between the speech and the letter was charged upon him, could wriggle out of it by 'explanations' which most richly deserve the sarcastic comments of Mr. Brown, and the subsequent derision of the Senate :-

from Massachusetts when he wrote the letter, he is certainly the most unfortunate man that ever took up a pen to express an idea. While I certainly shall not undertake to say that the Senator's interpretation of his own language is not the true interpretation, I do undertake to say, and appeal to the intelligence of the Senate and the world, whether any other man would put that interpretation on it. When the Senator declared: 'Three millions of bondmen, groaning under nameless woes, demand that we shall cease to reproach one another, and that we labor for their deliverance,' he used language which would teach every man who read it to believe that he was ready for any scheme which looked to the emancipation of the slaves in the States. There are no three millions of slaves anywhere else groaning under nameless woes, nor enjoyin the highest degree of human felicity, or any inter mediate state of misery or happiness between the two; the only slaves on this continent to which the Senator could have alluded, were the three millions of slaves en,' he must have meant-at least, the human mind will conclude, in the absence of his own denial, that he meant—the slaves in the States. He says he did not so mean, and I am bound to believe him; but I am sorry to trust his candor at the expense

of his understanding.

Mr. WILSON. Without interrupting the speaker too much, I wish to say that Mr. Phillips and Mr. Phillips's friends did not so understand it. They know my precise and exact position. The letter was probably hastily and carelessly written to a friend; but the construction the Senator puts on it, no man in

Massachusetts ever put on it.
Mr. Bnown. I expect the Senator has been explaining it there, as he has here. (Laughter.)

of his understanding

We beg that those among the Republicans who here a 'desire' and a 'disposition' to 'change' such institutions' in the Southern States as allow me and women to be bought, sold, worked and bred like cattle, will read, mark, learn and inwardly digest Henry Wilson's own (Southern) statement of his ides; of I benefit at present resulting from the point halone a thorough hater of slavery c

gain admission to Congress: (By the way, as at present advised, we must acquit Mr. Wilson of all per-jury connected with his oath to sustain the pro-slavery parts of the Constitution :) 2d, to leave slavery in the slave States to the care of the people of those States and to leave emancipation until it is brought about in their own time and in their own way. But since great numbers of the slaveholders, in words, and all of then in acts, have expressed their determination to make We have before us the late speeches in Congress of slavery perpetual, and since Mr. Wilson (in his own speech, delivered two days before these 'explans tions ') had said, 'We vindicate the right of the S ern States, if they choose, to hold men in slavery' -- and

again- Plant yourselves upon your reserved Contional rights, and we will sid you in the vindicate those rights'-it is plain that whatever slave in the whole South undertakes, by force, to assert his 'in alienable right to liberty,' is to be met by the opposi tion, not only of his master, but of his master's ally

When Theodore Parker said, in an admirable discourse last Sunday, on the history and character cowardly as your representatives in Washington nor run from a bully's threat'-it seemed as if there needed no more special designation to bring to the mind of every individual in the vast assembly the name of Henry Wilson.

Now, the friends of this Honorable Senator, and the Honorable Senator himself, wherever he has an audience that he thinks shallow enough to accept such vindication as sufficient, will allege that in these very speeches he said many things really favorable to liber ty, and really hostile to slavery. No doubt of it. But he also said the infamous things above quoted; and a very large mass of harmless or salutary matter will b poisoned by the admixture of a leaven so putrid. We are not in the least induced to drink an inky looking fluid by the assurance that nine-tenths of it is pure water : the nine-tenths of pure water do not communi cate their clearness and salubrity to the mixture : the one tenth of ink does make the whole unpalatable and

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

We are informed that a clergyman, in a town ssachusetts, recently denied, in public debate, the truth of the following statement, made on page six of Tract No. 19 of the series published for gratuitou distribution by the Anti-Slavery Society, entitled Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion ':-

'The American Bible Society, a great incorporated body, supported by and fairly representing all the sects which call themselves Erangelical, has circulated, in one of its official documents, an elaborate representation of the Bible as a pro-slavery book, characterizing the representation ('Bible Society Record,' November, 1854, and April, 1855,) as an 'IMPORTANT DOCUMENT," and an "EXCELLENT ADDRESS."

Since much of the evidence contained in the trace above-mentioned was condensed, by the desirablenes of brevity, into the shortest space, we take this oppor-tunity to state the full evidence in the case alluded to, for the benefit of the many who, in conversation or debate with clergymen upon slavery, are met by unscrupulous denials.

The Bible Society Record, published monthly in New York, is the official journal of the American at the Society's Depository in this city.

The number for November, 1854, contains extract (editorially headed 'IMPORTANT DOCUMENT,') from an address delivered before the Abbeville Bible Society, at its anniversary, July, 1854, by Robert A. Fair, Esq., Abbeville, South Carolina, on the following topic: 'Our slaves should have the Bible.' One of the purposes of this address is to assert for the Hible a pro-slavery character and tendency; and among its statements to this effect, in the portion republished and endorsed by the Bible Society as an 'IMPORTANT DOCUMENT,' are the following :-

'The fear to put the Bible into the hands of the slaves argues, in the first place, a want of confidence in the efficacy of its divine teachings.

It is strange, that when the question is as to placing the Bible in the hands of the slave, we are inclined to ascribe to its teachings a reverse influence to that usually claimed for them.

But to me, the strangest thing of all is the fact, that the very same Christians, followers of the meek

views. I differ from him altogether in regard to them.' and lowly Jesus, who invoke the prayers of the church 'My idea is this: I want all men who are opposed to slavery to take a moderate and reasonable position, to abandon the extreme notions which those men en-

family, nurses of their own slaves, memoers of their own family, nurses of their own children.

'Does the feature of slavery justify the distinction made, or destroy the palpable antagonism in the reasoning? If the teachings of Holy Writ were at war But how stands the case? Why, that the teaching of the Bible are not only not unfriendly to the insti-tution of slavery, but that it is in them the institution

Further on, the author of this Address represents hat putting the Bible into the hands of the slave; will fortify slavery to such an extent as to put the stability of the institution beyond the possibility of cavil. or of a doubt-as to make it perfectly impregnable. Again, he says-

There is a prevailing ignorance upon the subject of slavery, on the part of both master and servant, b or believe that the subject of slavery, or their condition, was ever alluded to in the Bible; that two thirds of them are in utter ignorance of the authority by which we essay to hold them in bondage, or demand a their hands obedience and service. To such, ho galling is the yoke, how bitter the bondage! Nor would we be startled by the announcement of the fact, that many masters were ignorant of a Scriptural view of the subject, —of the true grounds upon which to place the institution, and of their duties as masters— which ignorance betrays them into many errors and abuses, the tendency of which is to undermine the insti-tution. Now, relieve the minds of both parties of this darkness and ignorance, and thoroughly educate and tural views of the whole subject, and of what an in sense weight will the institution be relieved !

Now, the whole of this villanous representation first, that the Bible sustains slavery, and next, that its circulation among the slaves is desirable for the very purpose of fortifying slavery, promoting its stability and making it perfectly impregnable, is fully endorse by the American Bible Society, by their publication of it in their official organ as an 'important document.' But this is not all.

In the Bible Society Record for April, 1855, appear letter from the Senior Secretary (Rev. J. C. Brigham) to his colleagues, dated 'St. Augustine, Floriin the States; and when he said to Wendell Phillips: ham) to his colleagues, dated 'St. Augustine, Flori-You and I, your friends and my friends, must labor da, Feb. 28th, 1855, in which occurs the following unceasingly for the deliverance of those three millions passage:—

'This subject of furnishing the Bible to slaves one of vast importance, and will, I trust, receive mor of the attention of our Southern auxiliaries than here tofore. I find that the EXCELLENT ADDRESS recently delivered in South Carolina on this subject, and reprinted in part in our Record, has been widely read, and so far as I have learned, meets the approval of the Christian

Thus this second endorsement by the Bible Society a pro-slavery address, (representing the Bible as pro-slavery book, and urging its circulation for the purpose of fortifying slavery,) vouches for it no merely as important, but as excellent.

Now let us glance at the position previously held by the American Bible Society towards the America

Twenty-seven years ago, on motion of Rev. Dr Milnor, seconded by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, it was esolved. That this Society, with humble relia on Divine aid, will endeavor to supply all the desti-nate families in the United States with the Holy tures, that may be willing to pure

ws :- By the blessing of God, in the course of that time, every accessible family in the more settled portions of our country was visited and supplied with the Bible. And the agents of the Society, in this country and abroad, reported, entirely without qualification, the gratifying intelligence, that every the United States had now been supplied with the Bible. This intelligence was received with peculiar satisfaction by British Christians. But they afterwards learned that the slave population had been en tirely neglected in this distribu

Twenty-two years ago, at an Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York city, May 6th, 1834, it was voted to offer five thou dollars to the American Bible Society, on cond that they would supply every colored family in the United States with a Bible. A committee of eight persons, Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor Chairman, was aped to make this offer, and made it the same day

and the Bible Society declined to accept it. At the Annual Meeting of the succeed May 12th, 1835, the following preamble and resolu-

Whereas, the American Bible Society regards self as unable directly to offer the Holy Scriptures our enslaved brethren, therefore, Resolved, That we carnestly entreat that Society to request its auxiliaries to see to it that every colored family in the United States be furnished with a copy of the Bible, and renewedly extend to that institution the offer of five thousand dollars towards the effort."

mmittee of seven persons, Lewis Tappan chairman, was appointed to communicate this offer. They did so, and the Bible Society again declined to accept

A letter in the Wilmington (N. C.) Press (dated Oct. 7th, 1835, and signed Th. P. Hunt) states exultingly in relation to this offer, 'The Society resolved to have nothing to do with it.' And, in reference to a report that they had accepted it, Mr. Hunt says—
'The Bible Society published, some time since, a de'The Bible Society published, s This, then, appears to be the history of the Bible

Society's relation to the slaves :-1. They utterly neglected and ignored their desti-

tution of the Scriptures, both as families and individ-2. When requested from without, by persons desi-

rous of promoting the interests of the slaves, to supply the slaves equally with others, being at the same time offered five thousand dollars towards the expense wards took pains to repel the rumored imputation of having consented.

3. When they found a proposition for such distribution originating among slaveholders, published for the very purpose of securing their domination as slaveholders, and recommended as the most thorough means of keeping the slaves in permanent subject without any special request or offer of funds, they ec the proposition, republish it with its array of pro-slavery arguments in their official organ, and characterize it as an IMPORTANT DOCUMENT and an EXCELLENT ADDRESS, and as meeting the approval of the Christian community. Now, will any friend of the Bible Society tellaus

why, after having first neglected and then refused t distribute Bibles among the slaves FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SLAVES, they favor and recommend such distribution when it is desired FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MASTERS, and assumed to be favorable to the PERFE-TUITY of their power as slaveholders? Does the Rev. Senior Secretary (J. C. Brigham, D.D.) and do the Hon, and Rev. Managers of the Bible Society really prefer that slavery should be fortified and perpetuated? We pause for a reply.-c. x. w.

PROGRESS OF SLAVERY. The Christian Inquirer asks-

What does this mean? Suspended from an upper window floats this flag over Broadway: FREE FARMS

FREE PASSAGE BY STEAMER TO NICARAGUA, ON THE 26th. mise held out by the

This is the promise held out by the fillouster,
Gen. Walker, and his friends, to raise recruits for the
conquest of a people with whom the United States is
at peace. This is a remarkable contrast, that right in
the midst of this great street of commerce and civilimillions in the same condition; that to license opantion, should float the buccaneer ensign—in defiance of treaties and the rights of property. in a spot where the value of property is so guarded that every foot is worth its covering in gold dollars, and where the slightest theft would be visited by severe punishment. That flag is an outrage upon our deeds and notes of hand, a premium upon robbery, and a defiance of the Golden Rule. Pull down, we say, that pirate's promise of booty and reward to his followers by appropriating what he never carned or possessed. Is it not strange that Government allows such an advertisement to lure men to crime and destruction?

Answer. It is by no means strange. It is the natural mode of action of a Government chosen by, and voluntarily upholding, the Slave Power. It means, as many slaveholders have threatened, that the small amount of manliness, of love of liberty, and of enmity to slavery yet remaining among us, is to be conquered and put down. And it depends in part upon you, O Christian Inquirer, whether or not this infamous project is to succeed. Cry aloud, lift up your voice like a trumpet, while there is yet time .-

MR. PARKER'S SPEECH. On our last page may be found a full report of the speech made by Rev. THEO-DORE PARKER, at the recent annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in this city. It contains a noble and well-merited tribute to the self sacrificing spirit, measureless devotion and unparalleled labors of ARRY KELLEY FOSTER, the moral Joan of Arc, battling on a world-wide platform, whose case has nothing to match it in history in point of moral and heroic sublimity.

The admirable speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS nade at the recent Convention in Worcester, and most clearly defining the position, and setting forth the merits, of the Disunion enterprise, is printed in a pamphlet by itself, and we hope will be widely circulated. It may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office,

We are indebted to Mesars. Burlingame, Wilson and Hale for Congressional documents.

The favors of several correspondents, delayed by press of matter, will be attended to next week .-

The following intelligent classification forms the heading of an article in the New York Observer Atheists and Universalists. Should the oath be slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 114 Washington street, have published music adapted to verses in Mrs Stowe's 'Dred,' as follows:

'The mother I lost long ago.' 'The Birds and the Angels.'

'The language of the heart.' They watched her breathing through the night." Also.

Serious Family Polka,' and 'I met him on a Monday.'

Connection. The article in last week's Liberato n Equal School Rights for Colored Children, requires the following correction at my hands:

The clergyman on Cape Cod was not dis his own parish, but was refused occupancy of a n

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, At Rochester, New York, February 10th and 11th.

The Convention assembled on Tuesday morning, Feb. 10th. R. G. MURRAY was chosen Presid

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, orted the following resolutions, at different times:

Whereas, through popular ignorance, prejudice, mis-representation and personal malignity, the principles and purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society (in whose behalf this Convention is held) are either grossly misunderstood or basely caricatured; and hereas, we claim to be candidly heard in our ow language, and to be judged by our own declarations and not by those of others who are hostile to us; Resolved, That the only abolition we pro

or call upon the nation to reduce to practice, is embo died in the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and in the Golden Rule of the Goscel-nothing more, nothing less.

Resolved, That we have but one object in view

the immediate liberation of the Slave, but one test of statesmanship—the Slave; but one standard of pietythe Slave : in other words, we pronounce that states nanship to be folly which leaves the Freedom of the Slave out of sight; that patriotism to be hollow which does not break his fetters; and that piety to be spurious which does not hail him as a man and a brother Resolved, That he who was before all institution and is to survive them all, is greater than them all; hence, that he is never to be sacrificed that they may be preserved; and whenever they come in conflic

neither political party nor religious sect; but we shall ress through them all, or over them all, diverted by press through them all, or over them all, diverted by no side issue, intimidated by no menace, appalled by no danger, till we break his yoke, and place him re-deemed and disenthralled upon the world-wide plat-

form of a common humanity. Resolved, That we accord to the slave the rights that we do to any other human being-the right to seek his freedom by flight, by resistance, by mar of the undertaking, they utterly refused, and after-tyrdom, or by any other process which God and na-wards took pains to repel the rumored imputation of ture approve; that it is his duty to flee, to resist, to suffer, in vindication of his rights, and boldly to deny and despise the authority of his tyrant-master; that his only motto should be, 'Liberty or death !!

Resolved. That the presence of four millions chattelized slaves in this land is awful and conclusive evidence of its utter religious apostacy and political corruption; demonstrating that the American Church is not the Church of Christ, but the Synagogue of and that the American Government is an over-dowing tyranny, more cruel in its exactions than expiting despotism in the Old World, in regard to Resolved, That while, as Abolitionists, it is not for o set forth or promulgate any particular theologias or forms of religious faith, we have ever

eated Christianity, as taught by its divinely inspired founder, from the vile aspersions cast upon it by its pro-slavery expositors and wolves in sheep's clothing; that, in Jesus, we hall the redeemer, and not the eralayer of men; that, in his gospel, we recognize the principles of justice and humanity—'liberty, equality, fraternity'—a glorious vindication of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Resolved. That any religion which it at peace with despotism is thereby proved to be a spurious religion; and it is the duty of all who truly reverence God to trample them both in the dust.

Resolved. That while the North gives its support and sanction to slavery in fifteen States of the Union, it can make no consistent moral resistance to its exten sion in the Territories; that, if it would be a curse and crime to plant it in Kansas, it is no less criminal and disastrous to perpetuate it in Garolina; that it is equally absurd and immoral to make it a question of soil and climate, of latitude and longitude, or of bargain and compromise; that if it be compatible with Chris millions in the same condition; that to license opother issue with slavery in this country, except that of its immediate and total abolition, is wild and de-

Resolved, That if the cruel beating of Charles Sun ner, on the floor of the United States Senate, should excite the tenderest sympathy and the warmest indignation of every manly soul, then the frequent scourgings and horrible lacerations inflicted upon the clay population should elicit still stronger expressions of popular feeling; that if the cause of the Free State settlers in Kansas justifies the wide-spread agitation, the generous aid, the heroic self-sacrifice which it has called forth, then the cause of the enslaved millions at the South deserves to be espoused with equal fidelity, and still greater zeal and devotion. Resolved, That the cry of 'fanaticism,' 'infidelity

and 'treason,' which is so widely raised against the un-compromising Abelitionists, is but the device of priest craft and demagogueism to frighten the timid, misguide the unintelligent, and inflame the brutal-akin to the charge that was brought against Jesus, that he was a blasphemer, and had a devil; against the apostles, that they were pestilent and seditious fellows sceking to turn the world upside down; again prophets and reformers of all ages, that they disorganizers and heretics, whom to persecute and kill was doing God service; a cry characterized by mora idiocy, intellectual stultification, envenomed malignity, or satanic perverseness, according to its source. Resolved, That if, to make human liberty para

mount to all other considerations be fanaticism, then we glory in being fanatics; that if to be in daily an tagonism to a pro-slavery religion be infidelity, then we are infidels; and if to declare that a slaveholding Union ought to be dashed in pieces be treason, then we are proud of the title of traitors; for the head and front of our offending hath this extent -no more

Whereas (in the language of John Quincy Adams,) 'It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three separate provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves: The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of pursuing the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves an engagement pos itively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai ; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principersons-thus constituting a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known, and making the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the National Government'; and,

Whereas, This view of the design and character of the Constitution is sustained by the historical facts in regard to its formation, by its uniform interpreta tion by all the Courts and all the Legislatures of all the States, and by the spirit and action of the American people under it from 1789 to the present time, thus placing it beyond all reasonable doubt or denial; and, Whereas, a Constitution so framed and administeris nothing better than a 'covenant with death and ent with hell,' to uphold which is me wrong and politically vicious—making responsible, and it does, the whole country for the safety and perpetually of the slave system; therefore,

Resolved, That it becomes a high moral de y high Resolved, Anatonal Compact; to raise the issolve the present National Company to last the ner of secession; to join in the cry of 'No Ution via slaveholders'; to separate the North from the Sour Slaveholders; to repaint the area area in feet that thus the awful responsibilities growing out dis existence of slavery may be placed upon the brid . existence of slavery analyses possess upon the best of those who proclaim their determination to paper, ate their nefarions institution—the recourse of the ste their negatives of its enabled to extend an strengthen itself, cut off—the slaves enabled to end erect and look their lordly masters in the face at settle the question of their liberty without my to traneous influence—the slaveholders deprived of a auxiliary aid, and put in a situation in which it will be a physical and geographical impossibility for the to retain a single victim in bondage.

Resolved, That we hall, as a cheering sign of pagress in the right direction, the Convention benefit held at Worcester to consider the expediency, the and practicability of dissolving the Union-1 Corne tion called spontaneously by a large and highly in tion called spontaneously by a large and highly a spectable body of citizens, and characterized thrush out its proceedings by the gravest deliberates out its process spirit, the clearest intelligence to the most determined purpose; and we urge upon to uncompromising friends of freedom in this and enother Northern State to avail themselves of the onliest practicable period to hold a similar Convention On motion of Mr. Gannison, an invitation van in

tended to any and every person present during the sessions of the Convention, to participate in its re-After some remarks by Messrs. Garrison and

Powert, the Convention took a recess till the abo with his God-given rights, they are to be modified or abolished, and he is to stand crowned with glory and

In the afternoon, Miss SARAH P. REMOND took to floor, and spoke in vindication of that Christian which puts in practice the Golden Rule, and that he publicanism which renders operative the living prociples of the Declaration of Independence. The isadequacy of our Constitution to afford protection t colored citizens-free or slave-or even to priest protect the white citizen-was demonstrated, and all persons called upon to utter their protest, their indignant protest, against the colossal sir of the up-American chattel slavery.

Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, called attention to the history of the Anti-Slavery Society, from the list announcement of the principle of immediate mi raconditional emancipation by Mr. Garrison; and tol the position that a crisis was reached in which the position of the Society was quite similar to that or cupied a quarter of a century ago. Although trut progress was manifest, we were called upon to the another and greater step in advance of the position now reached by the mass of anti-slavery minds, Mr. CHARLES L. REMOND expressed his approval of

the resolutions reported by the Business Committee but he questioned whether another class of dottrise was not needed here. There was danger that many would rest satisfied with the present condition of the cause. The mere passage of resolutions did not avaken the attention of the community. A repeat could be found for all kinds of anti-slavery, but the which applies a test. When you come to direct you attention near home, and apply the test here, liches ter is rotten as punk! He believed there was many negro hatred here now as there was ten years are He would be denied a decent bed at a 'respectable hotel, and a decent seat in one of the churches, and as certainly as then. There is a contemptible prodice against color here. As long as this existed he could not approve of the state of anti-slavery feeing People were ready to give money to aid in the ecre of fugitives, they could vote the Republican ticket the polls, but they could not stand the application of a test. He is the true anti-slavery man who take the stand-point of the slave, and the man or woman who fails to do this, cannot keep pace with the reim Liberty in Kansas was to be regarded the same at erty elsewhere. If slavery is worthy of support an where, it is worthy of it in Kansas as much as in Viginia. He thought that if it was right to cudgitas black man, it was equally right to cudgel Summer and he rather enjoyed the blow which Granger recei ed in an omnibus at Washington, because it entis such men the better to appreciate the treatment d'in colored people. He rather enjoyed these thing, a the sooner they became general, the better. So far a the free State settlers in Kansas are concerned, he d not believe they went there to settle a principle, be to settle farms, and if their interests had not be terfered with, we never would have heard so mad about them. He rose to utter his protest against the miserable prejudice against color in this city. If could not walk with a white female friend in the streets without her losing caste, and he being alle an 'impudent nigger'! We want, not Abelitionist but more men and women north of Mason and Dire line. We need lanterns in Rochester to search men at noon-day. With the bones of the Revolute ary Fathers, nearly all the manhood of the come was buried. He was willing to recognise ever that tended to the freedom of the black, but he's yet to learn of any good to the slave from the Repo lican movement. Not a slave had been emancied by it. The pulpit and press in Rochester are as in serving and cowardly now as they were ten year a He was not sure but our cause had been hindered the Republican party. He hoped the ploughts would be run, beam deep, through this commi leaving out of sight the cock-fighters and gamble of South Carolina.

W. L. GARRISON spoke of the extent and military of the prejudice against color—an exclusively Asset can prejudice. It was a wonder that the black me endured it as they had. It would be a great tist when this prejudice could be wiped out. But a best be obliterated. And he appealed to the friesh freedom to take special pains to live down and miss this false prejudice.

Mr. G. then replied to the charge, so then 28

against Abolitionists, of fanaticism. His fraction consisted in standing by the Declaration of Indepenence, in affirming his love of freedom, his regard the marriage institution, &c. - this, and no more. naticism was a 'mad-dog' cry.

In conclusion, Mr. G. alluded to the starting that all complexional distinctions were done as with at the South. It was no longer necessary the skin and curl the hair of the white shows now, the fairer the skin, and the straighter the last the slave was a female and beautiful, the higher h price in the market. No white child is safe nor in the kidnappers.

Numerous extracts from Southern journals read in defence of schite as well as negro clarer. Rey. SAMUEL J. MAY followed, alluding, in M. of severe censure, to the property qualification size in our State, bars the colored man from the half box. He expressed his contempt for projecte up colored people, as it had been revealed to him, some most affecting instances of true nobility as

In the evening, Mr. Gunnison, of Rock that multitudes, who were firmly opposed to it felt that more efficient service could be done to the by perpetuating the Union than by laboring its lution. If we have a sick friend, we say desert, but seek to cure him.

Rev. S. J. May was glad this question vis before the Convention. It was an important on whether the perpetuity of the Union involved the tinuation of the sin of slavery. He proceeds that the Union supported slavery, and would be tantamount to the destruction of tution. But for himself, while he did not, lution, could justice only be done theref-felt unable to see that it was indispensably a

people to than to no dispo-was well question to take. Mr. G publican similar country. result fre solution. Mr. M hasten h be dissol campaign ed at wh trample i lips, that

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He thought the people might, if they would, abolish He though the Constitution. They had the power, and it was their duty. And he desired to ask Mr. Garrison if it would not be easier to bring the Mr. Carried a least the constitution, people to exercise this power under the Constitution, than to effect abolition through dissolution. He had no disposition to idolize the Union, and felt that it ws well to hold dissolution up to view, but it was a question of expediency which were the better cour

Mr. Gunnison thanked Mr. May for his good Re publican arguments. His (Mr. May's) position was smiler to that of many intelligent persons in the country. He thought injury rather than good would result from sending out the resolution in favor of dis-

Mr. May desired to say, that if any thing would baten him to the conclusion that the Union ought to be dissolved, it was what had been said in the late campaign by the Republican leaders. He was Mockof at what Senator Wilson and Speaker Banks had sid. (Cheers.) He voted the Republican ticket, but vis glad now that party did not succeed, for they ger not in a condition to assume the governmen They were not yet strong enough to resist the concesgoes demanded by the Slave Oligarchy. He desired either to make the Constitution what it should be, or trample it under foot! (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON said he agreed with Wendell Philh, that God did not send him into the world to abolto be left with God. He denied that the question of disolution was one of expediency. The people were absolute worshippers of the Union. It was their God ! Wi h only expediency to bring them, he should de pair of ever reaching them. Every issue they had made was one of complicity with sin. We have never

deigned to look at expediency.

Mr. Garrison then proceeded to show the pro-slaveor character of the Constitution.

Mr. May inquired whether the Constitution wa not subject to amendment, and if it would not be easier to reform the Constitution than to destroy it.

Mr. Garrison knew of no delay in morals. He knew of no such thing as waiting till a bad thing was made good, meantime pledging alliance to the enl. To amend the Constitution, three fourths of the States must unite. How long ere this can be done The slave States are now a unit. He could not accept of the ground of waiting till some future time t be honest. He could not wait for three fourths of the States to amend the Constitution, but he must himsel smend it, as he did, by putting his heel upon it, as upon a rattlesnake! Our fathers made government a

Mr. May asked if he (Mr. G.) had no evidence of the growth, in the slave States, of an anti-slavery sen-

Mr. GARRISON did not doubt the existence of such a feeling, but he knew of no considerable prevalence at the South of a sentiment regarding slavery as in. The States of the South stood before us as

Mr. W. J. WATKINS then took the stand, and de clared himself to be an unadulterated, uncompromis ing Abolitionist. But there is, said he, a difference of opinion among the friends of emancipation as to the means to be made use of to accomplish abolition Could I see that the Constitution is 'a covenant with desth, and an agreement with hell,' I should so de clare it, and trample it under foot. But it is easier to call it such, than to prove it to be so.

He held that the Constitution, viewed in the ligh of the rules of legal interpretation, is an anti-slavery decument. Not that such was the opinion or intention of the framers, but such we find it.

Mr. Garrison-Does our friend mean to say tha the intent and meaning of a compact are not to be considered? Should not the construction of the fra-Mr. WATKINS thought not. If the tyrant omitte

any clause necessary to secure his part of the compact, we are at liberty to take advantage of it. He helthat it was an insult to the colored population to hold that they were not included in the 'we' of the Con stitution You cannot ignore the colored man. Fo the government was instituted to secure the blessing of liberty to 'ourselves,'-that is, the framers, white people, and our posterity, -that, at least, include three fourths of the slaves of Virginia! (Applause,)

Even if we believed that the clause which has been rendered as justifying the rendition of slaves was indescribe them, we are not bound by it. He though the American Anti-Slavery Society too prone to go forward to the relief of the Slave Power, by claiming their own interpretation of the phrase to be the true one. That was the great fault he found with the

Were the spirit of the Constitution carried out, there would be no slaves. 'No person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law '- The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be supended. Put these two clauses together, and 'Othello's occupation 's gone.' The simple provision relative to habeas corpus, if adhered to, would set every slave free. We are told that the dissolution of the Union would result in the extinction of slavery. I honestly think not. And even if this were to ! the result, the condition of the thousands escaping to the North would be little improved by reason of th prejudice against color so virulent here. He could not think the dissolution of the Union the best thing

Mr. GARRISON desired to inquire if Mr. W. used the term 'Union' in the sense in which it was commonly employed and understood.

Mr. Warkins replied that he intended to use lan-guage in no captious spirit. He believed there was and could be no union between Freedom and Slavery. (Applause) Only carry out that Constitution which was ordained to secure the blessings of liberty, and which the American people love and revere, and sla-

Mr. REMOND-Will Mr. Watkins tell us what kind of anti-slavery men he considers those men who framed the Constitution, and remained slaveholders

Mr. WATKINS replied that there was not so much light then as now, and we need not necessarily impeach the moral honesty of those men. There are those even now who will attempt to prove from the Bible that slavery is right, and there might have been

Mr. REMOND-Will Mr. Watkins tell us whether he believes treorge Washington to have been a hypocrite

Mr. WATKINS-I do believe Washington to have been a hypocrite. This is my private opinion, for the

irst time publicly expressed.

After further conversation between Messrs. Garnito Weinesday.

SECOND DAY.

Mr. May reiterated his inability to perceive the ne-sity of dissolution to accomplish the work of eman-pation. He could not see how it was to separate the anti-slavery from the pre-slavery sentiment. He felt that acting under the Constitution did not involve or imply an assent to anything wrong in the construction of it. No compact, agreement or oath could impose gation to do wrong. He believed that good was

Anguson expressed the opinion that great pa-could be felt towards others who failed to per-ments accessity for dissolution, when so firm a friend of the slave as Mr. May occupied the same position of doubt. (Hear, hear.) He said the work of

North anti-slavery. So long as the North is pro-sla- the victims of American slavery. But Methodists are very, the Northern Church pro-slavery, there will be solution. But we are laboring for and expecting a change. The oath to support the Constitution covers an immorality. Hence a man cannot do right, and take that outh.

upon the Republican party that his friend, Mr. May. He would recognise fully the merits of the issue presented by that party, the non-extension of slavery. But his stand-point of observation was from the position of the slave, and, as one with those in bonds, he felt himself outraged and wronged by the present attitude of the party. The Republican party 'goes for the Union, even with slavery sanctioned by that Union,' says one of the leading organs in its support, in Pennsylvania. Mr. Powell read from an article in the New York Tribune, the great mouth-piece of the party, declaring that it is not its intention to emancipate slaves, nor to benefit the condition of the African race, but only to restrict the spread of slavery. From its own testimony, as given us by its chosen organs, and the leading members authorized to speak in its behalf, may we show the position of this party to be one of hostility to the slave. Mr. Powell continued to read from leading Republican journals, and from the addresses of its prominent advocates, extracts defining the position of the party, and defending it from the charge of abolitionism. He referred to the platform that the 'Union must and shall be preserved,' and spoke of the purpose of the party to bring back the Government to the position in which Washington and Jefferson left it. He proceeded to speak of Washington's position respecting the restoration of fugitives and cited the case of his attempt to kidnap his runaway slave woman.

Mr. Bross-But he did not get her !

Mr. Gannison-No, because of the breeze it created It is notorious of Jefferson, said Mr. Powell, that he was not only a slaveholder, but that his own children have been exposed for sale in the slave market Members of the Republican party tell us of the value of the Union to the slaveholders, and that the security of their slave property depends upon its preservation and then add their willingness and determination preserve the Union at all hazards. We ask and demand the immediate dissolution of the slaveholding Union. And do you ask where you should draw the line? With Francis Jackson, I would say to you draw it around yourselves.' The world is greatly in need of men and women, such as will not worship a the shrine of the 'Union' and slavery, but have rather true reverence for God and humanity. Republicans find the Union of little worth to themselve south of Mason and Dixon's line. Not a soul of them dare distribute Sumner's and Seward's speeches in the streets of Charleston. There is already a crack in the Union, and the work of separation will go on.

In the afternoon, Mr. GARRISON addressed the Convention upon the constitutional question, and in sup port of the motto-No Union with Slaveholders !

He entered upon a detailed history of the framin of the Constitution, and the intents and purposes of those engaged in its preparation. It was morally impossible for the people of this country to make an antislavery Constitution with their pro-slavery principles A stream cannot rise higher than its source. From such a devilish heart, an anti-slavery Constitution could not come.

To show the good resulting from radical anti-slavery effort, he stated what he had observed to be a fact that in those sections of the country where disunion sentiments were strongest, John C. Fremont received the heaviest vote. Massachusetts and the Western Congress. So long as this high standard is held up. men will be drawn up out of the parties. The Republican party made an issue with slavery, for that he thanked God. That party was evidence of growthgrowth as a result of abolition effort. Where this effort has not been expended, there is moral darkness. He told Senator Wilson after the election that the reason Fremont was defeated was because there had not been enough radical abolitionism in the State of Pennsylvania. To this Mr. Wilson gave his assent.

Mr. Sam'l D. Ponter (of Rochester) here desire o present three propositions embracing the constitu ional question for discussion this evening. He pro ceeded at some length to state his propositions, defining his position to be that of firm belief in the antislavery character of the Constitution.

Mr. REMOND asked permission to detain the audiafternoon session. The object of these meetings was BARNES now says the same thing. discussion, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses, which in the case of this meeting could not be no honest, noble man, would use. He who made use less than \$75, a collection had been taken up. When of it ought to go on his hands and knees to Rome, Mr. Samuel D. Porter, who sees eye to eye with some and kiss the Pope's toe! There was no infidelity in of the opposition, was called upon, he said he had Protestantism. There can be no infidelity where nothing to give, and yet in a few moments he rises man is true to himself, whatever be his opinions. and proposes questions to occupy the time of the re- There were only two grounds of infidelity—the on mainder of the Convention. If this was not coolness, involved a violated obligation, the other a want of he had yet to learn what belonged to an iceberg ! He only mentioned it to show the class of mind they were to follow his own highest convictions may be charged formed to deal with

Mr. R. then proceeded to argue briefly, from stand-point of the slave, in behalf of universal freedom. He asked simply equality upon his manhood, not upon his color. He asked the Republicans of Rochester to take their anti-slavery Constitution, and go South and reclaim the young man, for whose pur- journed sine die. chase a subscription was now being circulated in this city, who was a native born citizen of the Empire

If those who held the anti-slavery construction of PRESIDENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, the Constitution would give him one single case in which they had made use of it to liberate a slave, he would show them a hundred where slaves had been reclaimed under that Constitution.

He could not desire to curse any man, but if it could be, he should be glad to have Samuel D. Porter, (who in this building up of a free public sentiment which he believed was intelligent upon the subject of slave- shall turn and overturn all that is pro-slavery in ry,) awake to-morrow morning with his (Mr. Re- Church and State and social life. Not that this work views of slavery, and an anti-slavery Constitution, er may be my theological ideas touching the 'perse nothing would.

floor upon the opening of the session to discuss the re- for my own sake, that it may be well understood I am ligious aspect of the cause. He gave an accurate and an Abolitionist. To keep up to the mark of trying to faithful; and hence severe portrayal of the position of be one, and being willing to avow the glorious faith the American Church upon slavery.

vine right of every human being. That true religion tem. It is a moral tonic, natural, and therefore health of a slaveholding religion—a religion which sanctions bring freedom to our land. or apologizes for the 'sum of all villanies.' The This moral movement is the nucleus around which churches at the South are fully committed to the support of slavery. They sell their own members on the and light on all who turn toward it. Men like Hen uction-block, for gold, with which to purchase Bibles. to support their ministers, to maintain missionary ns. &c. Churches at the North are, to a great xtent, in religious fellowship with those of the same denomination at the South. Take, as an illustration

the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. P. here read from the Discipline of the Methe ending anti-slavery men to Congress. When dist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery, wherein the become anti-slavery, the Constitution will slaveholders are recognised as approved brethren in lers are recognised as 'approved brethren' in

Suppose Methodists were to endorse and fellowshim

no more guilty than are Presbyterians and Baptists and Episcopalians. Through the Government, other denominations, such as Pree-Will Baptists, Quakers, &c., whose members own no slaves, become responsible as holders of slaves. They recognise Border Ruffian Democrats and slave-holding Republicans as Christians, and throw the weight of their religious influence. on the side of oppression. Take, for instance, the Quakers. I have in mind an influential member of that Church, who, as I am informed, at the late elec tion, voted for James Buchanan, to administer for fou years to come the United States Government, in accordance with the shocking programme indicated in the Cincinnati Platform. And it was only last Spring that this man had a son driven from Virginia, be he presumed, in a Lyceum discussion, to advocate, no the abolition, but the non-extension of slavery. I re fer to Francis Ray, a much-respected young man o Chatham, N. Y., whose Card appeared in the New York Tribune, Evening Post, Anti-Slavery Standar and other papers. It is doubtless true that but a small minority of the voters among the Quakers are Borde Ruffian, slave-catching Democrats, while the majority are found in the Republican ranks, and as such, po litically, they become the 'body-guard' of slaver within the States. What would you say of Quaker found in political alliance with horse thieves ! And what shall we say when we find them in political alliance with the stealers of men, women and children Only the Old School Covenanters are exempt from the charge of slave-holding. They refuse to be in alliance with a Government which dooms every seventh man and woman to bondage. But members of the Quake and other Churches aid, through the Government, to hold, buy and sell slaves, and are none the less in good and regular standing' in their respective de-

Mr. P. then referred at some length to the Bible Tract and Missionary Societies, showing them to b strongholds of the Slave Power.

In conclusion, he quoted from Albert Barnes a other prominent authorities in support of his charges against the American Church, as the bulwark of the slave system. Our motto is, 'No Union with Slave holders, Religiously or Politically.'

Miss Anthony made an allusion to the position the local church and ministry respecting the sin of slavery, and suggested that, had this been a meeting of the Tract Society, and Rev. Nehemiah Adams bee advertised to speak, every minister in the city would have been present; whereas, with a cause involving directly the temporal and eternal interests of fou millions of human beings, a cause attempting the work of carrying the Bible to them, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison advertised to speak, scarce a city ministe had entered the door.

Rev. S. J. May said that he, as the only minister the stand, and probably in the Convention, ought to repel the grave charge made by the first speaker (Mr Powell) against the Church. He must, however, a knowledge that he could not see the fallacy of the speaker. He believed the American Church to be the great bulwark of American Slavery. He then referred to the reception of Mr. Garrison by the min isters and churches of Boston, when he first began to speak for the slave. He was denied admission to all the churches, but he advertised that if no other place was found, he would speak on Boston Common That spirit of determination to be heard, drew his (Mr. May's) attention, and in the Infidel Hall which was thrown open for him, he heard Mr. Garrison for the first time. The next day was passed in looking over letters written by him to the leading elergyme Reserve of Ohio were the best abolitionized portion of in the country, urging upon their attention the cause the country, and they send the best representatives to of the slave. From not one of those ministers did he receive a kind, considerate reply; and there was nothing in one of them to give offence. On the nex Sabbath, he (Mr. May) made his first allusion to the slave from the pulpit, and there was but one in that whole Boston congregation to take him by the hand and approve of what he said. That one was Mrs. Howe, whose earnestness in thanking him for the first words in behalf of the slave she had ever heard from the pulpit, he should never forget.

Mr. GARRISON expressed his gratification at the fai hearing which had been accorded the Convention in Rochester. Strike, but hear! They had been heard; the blows, if any, were yet to be given. Mr. G. ther briefly rehearsed the ground occupied by the Convention, and repelled the charge of 'Infidelity,' so often raised against them. It was true, that in all ages, ry Society was not an Anti-Bible or an Anti-Sabbath Society; it was Anti-Slavery, nothing more. For ence while he presented a fact that had recently come twenty-five years, it has defended the Bible as ar to his knowledge. It was known that the opposition Anti-Slavery book; but it has said that if the Bible had occupied the greater part of the time during the sanctioned slavery, it was not of God,-and ALBERT

> 'Infidel' was a cant term, which no manly man fidelity to one's own convictions. A man who fails with infidelity, but not for any mere opinion he honestly entertains.

> No mere sketch can do justice to Mr. Garrison's concluding remarks in behalf of liberality of sentiment, which held a large audience in eager attention till a late hour of the night, when the Convention ad-

LETTER FROM GILES B. STERRINS. MENDOTA, Feb. 6, 1857.

Rochester, N. Y.: I am on the prairies of Illinois-now snowy waste cheerless as the tender mercies of Slavery to its poor victims. I would gladly be at home and at your meeting, but cannot, and therefore wish to say, Go on mond's) complexion ! If that did not change his of mine is much needed for your sakes, -for whater. verance of saints, I have strong faith in the person EVENING SESSION.-Mr. A. M. POWELL took the verance of pioneer Abolitionists,-but I would say in has an effect on conscience and character akin to that First, said Mr. P., we believe that liberty is the di- of breathing a pure, bracing air on the physical sysdoes not sanction slavery. All religion, therefore, ful. I can only say of the many who never tried it that does sanction or apologize for slavery must be false 'I pity them, poor souls! for they don't know what and spurious, and should be repudiated. We are call- they have missed. Truth, too, must triumph in the ed enemies of religion, infidels, &c. We are enemies end, and this grand work as last bless the slave and

others naturally grow—the central fire radiating hea ry Wilson, when in an Anti-Slavery meeting in Bos ton, are standing near the fire, their hearts war and brave words are spoken. In Washington, they turn away from it, grow cold, and say mean things,— babbling about the Union to keep good repute with triotic soul-drivers and doughfac

The leaven is working. The Republican m ment,—triumphant even after defeat,—taking higher ground than any great party ever has occupied, show every respect, save that they may not be elevated to whither the popular feeling tends. Yet it shows, too, 'official station' in the church. how much further it must go before freedom shall win; for a party, with its leaders apologising for be Suppose stemodists were to endoze and reliewish win; for a party, with its readers apologising for besheep-thieves as they now do slaveholders, or manthe stave as Mr. May occupied the same posisubt. (Hear, hear.) He said the work of
crhood of Thieves? Such, indeed, they would be; is now in advance of the weak words of these leaders.

The declaration of the New York Tribuse, in its able

se against slavery itself, is hailed as true as well as bold. The manly letters of Wade and Giddings to the Worcester Disunion Convention call forth earnest Amens from many hearts, while multitudes feel shamed of the apologetic weakness of Wilson and

I have been thinking, since I read yesterday the no ice of your Convention, what a rare combination of ianity. What manly and womanly courage, what ence for man, what slight regard for in of Church and State, except as they help to higher reedom and truer life,—what boldness of speech, freedom and truer life,—what boldness of speech,— what faithfulness of criticism,—and, at the same time what sweetly noble serenity, what kindness of spirit what charity and patience toward the sins and follies f the weak, the proud, and the wicked, what invinible perseverance and cheerful faith in truth and om, -in God's good angels, waiting long, watchng ever, but saving at last.

But I must close, with best wishes. Yours, truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

NOTES BY THE WAY .-- NO. IL. NASHUA. (N. H.) Jan. 28, 1857.

From Lowell I came to this place, arriving here of Saturday the 24th inst. The friends here were anticing my coming, and were making arrangem for a meeting on the Sabbath. They first appl the Universalist Society for the use of their church the evening, as they usually have no meetings then The chairman of the committee met the proposition with apparent favor, saying he had no objection to ou having the house-he would consult the other members of the committee. It was subsequently reported that the committee had decided that the house could be used only for meetings of their own Society! This is a denomination that makes loud boasts of its liberality! 'No sectarianism here! But then, if a man won't grind on our organ, why, let him not presum to seek our fellowship. True, we profess to believe it the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man but these naughty abolitionists preach the equal right of the colored race, and they would as soon expose the short-comings of our sect as any other. They have not the fear of man before their eyes, and they will just as soon arraign us before the bar of public opinion in one of our own churches as elsewhere. Let us give these fanatics no fellowship." Now, for myself, I can very easily conceive he

man, who believes that ninety-nine hundredths of the whole human race were created for endless misery, and are doomed to certain and inevitable destruction, can consistently do all in his power, by keeping an entire race in ignorance and degradation, to help on the work of the Lord (?) in thus preparing man for his final doom But how a sect, whose cardinal doctrine is God's impartial and unbounded love, can refuse to fellowship those who are striving to make that idea practical i past my comprehension, save on the ground that they are really more interested in the upbuilding of a sec than the spread of justice, truth and righteousness upor earth. Who is mainly responsible for the shutting up of the house against the friends of universal freedom it is not my province to decide; but the fact that th chairman of the committee, above referred to, is a postmaster under this blood-stained government, leads one to suspect that there may be treachery some-

After the refusal of the church, the friends applied for the City Hall. This was denied them, on the ground that a meeting in the hall of a Sunday evening would draw the people away from their accustomed places of worship! A very pious set, these City Fathers! But, really, is n't the idea too ridiculous for scrious comment? Here is the city of Nashua, with its half score of pulpits, occupied on each returning Sabbath by men or something which stands for men—who profess to preach the word of truth, and break to the people the bread of life; yet they dare not trust their supporters to listen for a single evening to an unsophisticated yeoman who pleads the cause o humanity ! Out upon such hypocritical pretenders they turn God's everlasting truth into a lie, and put off the day of the slave's emancipation, and the world's redemption; they are blind leaders of the blind, who are leading their followers on to swift de-

struction. church. In this we were more successful. This So ciety, with a liberality which presents a striking contrast to the bigotry of the one above named, gave up its third meeting, and welcomed us with generou hearts. The pastor, -who is a live man, -and many of the leading members of the Society, did what they could to aid and encourage the meeting. We had good audience, and, I trust, a profitable time. After the close of the exercises, we were offered the church any evening we might wish for another meeting. Arrangements were accordingly made for another lecture on Wednesday eve; when a goodly number coleted to listen to the gospel of immediate and uncontional emancipation. The radical positions of the menter met with some opposition, and several persons came to the rescue of the Republican party and the defence of the Union! Men, who three days before had eard the Church accused of being the bulwark of American slavery without a murmur of dissent, were very indigmant at the idea that the Republican party could be in any way implicated in the guilt of slaveholding, or that we should for a moment entertain the question of a dissolution of this blood-stained compact. It really seems that there is more reverence for the Constitution and the Union than for the Bible and the Church : so impossible is it to make a politiciar comprehend a moral principle, if applied to govern-ment. Even the pastor of this church accused us of an attempt to 'mix up' things which ought to be kept distinct, when we asked men to carry their principles to the ballot-box—religion has nothing to do with politics. As a further evidence of the subserviency of the people to the 'covenant with death, I will relate a little incident that occurred on the morning after my second lecture. The Unitarian clergyman of the place met one of the friends, and in the course of their conversation remarked, that he had given notice of the lecture from his pulpit, but he should not have done so, had he known the lecture was a disunionist! He thought the Union must be preserved, and that the laws should be obeyed-that he would assist in returning fugitive slaves!! When such men are acknowledged fit leaders for the development of the moral and religious faculties, is it any onder that the masses get into the fog, and deny that there is any such thing as absolute right and eter nal justice? For my part, I have no hope that the race will make much progress towards a higher and truer life until they are freed from their spiritual bondage to these blind guides. The morning after

During my stay in this place, I have scattered

Yours, for the true and the right,

nience to come and break to them the bread of life There are some free minds here, but the mass of the people are suffering under a spiritual despotism which is terrible to contemplate.

tracts—those silent missionaries of truth mess; and I trust the seed will yield an est, to be gathered into the storehouse of humanity against the day when the starving mil-lions shall seek the bread which perisheth not.

New Year's leading article, that this struggle must JOSEPH BARKER'S LETTER TO HENRY

The following observations upon the right of votin urse will not, prevent H. C. Wright and Joseph I have been thinking, since I read yesterday the noce of your Convention, what a rare combination of
ualifies it needs for an Abolitionist to be a wisely
accessful teacher and advocate of this Gospel of Hucessful teacher and advocate of this Gospel of Hutime, and coming to the conclusion that it is wrong to vote, desires to point out what appear to him to be weak points in Mr. Barker's letter, published in TRE LIBERATOR of 6th inst. In that letter, he says, 'When I vote for such me

Fremont, Charles Sumner, and Joshua R. Giddings, the meaning of my sole is, I had rather Fremor mner were Senator than G. S. Hillard; and I had rather J. R. Giddings were Representative than mithy Cantwell. Mr. Barker, of course, believe that a vote means nothing more than this. But the question is, not what a vote means, or what Mr. Bar-ker means by it, but what he really does when he easts his vote. And I am surprised that a man of Mr. Barker's penetration cannot see the difference, the listinction, between the motive to an action, and the esult. It is not an uncommon thing to find men acting from the best motives, yet acting wrong; acting with the best intentions, yet performing actions the consequences of which they do not fully comprehend. This is the position in which we conceive Mr. Barker places himself when he votes for Mr. Fremont, Charles Sumner, or J. R. Giddings.

It will not do for him to tell us that he does no mor than he intends to do, and that 'it is absurd to pretend to know a man's meaning better than himself.' How many men do by a single act a great deal more than they either meant or intended by it, and had they foreseen the result, would have shrunk from its per-He says, 'It is plain that both North and South

take such votes as a simple declaration of a preference of freedom to slavery, and of the friends of freedom to the advocates of slavery.' But are they merely such expressions of preferences? Does Mr. Barket do no more when he casts his vote for Mr. Fremont than Mr. Garrison does when he expresses a preference for him? Votes elect Presidents; mere declarations of preference never do.

But this deference for popular opinion, on the par of Mr. Barker, is not in keeping with his character in other respects, as a radical reformer. What is neither the North nor the South, in this matter, yet see far enough, will be be satisfied to see with them and no further?

Again- the Slave Power no more rules with his onsent than with H. C. Wright's.' Is he quite sure of that? Had Mr. Fremont been elected President instead of Mr. Buchanan, the Slave Power would have ruled not merely by his consent, but by his acts for slavery must rule as long as there is a single slav State in the Union, and can only cease to rule by that act which will make it cease to exist in the Union Neither Mr. Fremont nor his party has ever express ed hostility to slavery where it exists under the Con stitution; on the contrary, he would, as President, be bound to protect it in its constitutional rights. He would have to protect it in every slave State in the Union; nay, in every free State, by the rendition of fugitive slaves. He would have to throw the protec tion of the Constitution and of the Union over Vir ginia and South Carolina equally with New York and Massachusetts. When Mr. Barker, therefore, vote for Fremont, he votes to give protection to slavery and aid and comfort to slaveholders. The question of the right of slavery to exist unde

the Constitution is easily settled. What the Constitu tion permits, without any expressed or direct prohibi tion, and protects, it sanctions. If Mr. Barker be-longs to that class who think the Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, then why does he vote for his candidate, knowing that he will have to violate it? Can he not see that the act of voting is the same whether the written Constitution be or be not an antislavery document?

But where do those who vote under it as an anti slavery Constitution get the right to put their own private construction upon it? Certainly not from the Constitution-and in this they act unconstitutionally. The Constitution itself prohibits it, by providing Judiciary, whose power shall extend to all cases whose decisions as to its meaning are final, and binding upon all citizens who acknowledge allegiance to it.

But he says, by adopting the principle, 'not to in terfere in government matters,' Mr. Wright 'agree that the majority or the minority-the Slave Power or the Pope-a priest or a devil, may rule; and tha not for a few years only, but till the distant era in eternity, when human governments shall be no more. We cannot see the legitimacy of Mr. Barker's conclusion from the premises. To say that by refusing to take part in a government whose principles, laws and action we disapprove, is giving our consent to the most corrupt forms of its administration, is simply absurd. And to say, that by refusing to aid Mr. Fremont in protecting slavery where it is, we consent to Mr. Buchanan and his government extending it where it is not, is equally absurd.

Mr. Barker ' would do well, I think, to give up this way of talking, but his own opinion, of course, must govern him.' OBSERVER.

New York, Feb. 15, 1857.

SENATOR SUMNER. Mr. Sumner left Boston las evening, for Washington, by way of Fall River Though much improved in health, he is still regarded Though much improved in health, he is still regarded by his physician as an invalid. He has never at any moment given up the idea of taking his seat in the Senate during the present session; and he is unwilling that Massachusetts should suffer by his absence, when important questions, in which she is interested, may be pressed for decision. He will be there to vote on the Tariff. He has engaged a passage to France in the steamer Fulton, which leaves New York March 7th, and will spend the summer in Europe. He looks to this tour (on which he will embark without returning again to Boston) for that complete restoration, which, thus far, he has failed to obtain at home.—

Boston Telegraph, Tuesday.

GONE OFF. The abolition editor, Samuel Ludwig has been helped out of town pretty well scared, and fortunately for him, he did not fall into the hands of those who were on the qui eire for him. He was let out of jail on Saturday night, and sided by a friend, was hurried out of the city. We wonder how he escape from Charleston, from which place he came hithe per steamer Gorgon. At any rate, we opine he will not revisit Savannah on a similar errand to that which brought him here last week. The man who tries to be of all parties, all creeds, all liberties, and all tom-fooleries, is not to be trusted any where,—Sasannah

bondage to these blind guides. The morning after our second meeting, a paper was in circulation to obtain signatures, inviting the pastor of the Free Will Baptist Church to give a lecture on slavery—to save the Union, I suppose. But little anti-slavery work has been done in this place for a long time, and, here is a wide field for missionary labor. They are anxiously and hopefully waiting friend Garrison's convenience to come and break to them the bread of life.

Bosrow, Feb. 10, 1857.

George T. Downing, Esa.—Dear Sir: Your note came to hand yesterday. I infer that your inquiry has reference to the admission of colored children into the public schools of this city. In reply, I would say that the result, so for as I can learn, has been very satisfactory. It has put to rest the question which has sgitated the community for years, and no complaints are heard from either party. The district under my immediate sare, having one grammar school and six or sight primary schools, embraced a large portion of our colored population. At first, some few parents seemed dissatisfied with the admission of colored children; but they were soon satisfied that no sildren; but they were soon satisfied t

of but one or two children that have been taken from school on this account. I am not aware that the 'reform' has in the least affected the prosperity of our schools. They are as popular and as fully attended as before the change was made.

Among the pupils there has not, to my knowledge, been an unpleasant occurrence. The teachers say they have no difficulty whatever. In short, I hear no complaints. My own conviction is, that the change will prove a decided advantage to the colored shilkren, and no disadvantage to the whites.

Very respectfully yours.

Very respectfully yours, WM. HOWE.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the New Series of Tracts.

D. N. Brown \$2, O. Brown 1, M. Brown 1, Joab Phelps 50 cts., C. A. Phelps 50c, N. D. Phelps 12c, I. D. Nickerson \$1, all of Kingsboro', Fulton Co., N. Y., by W. L. Garrison. Collections by D. M. Allen, mostly in New Hamp-

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in West Randolph next Sunday, March 1st, all day and

TP PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in FALL RIVER on Sunday next, March 1st, in the afternoon and evening. All are invited, and an interesting meeting may be expected.

C. C. BURLEIGH will speak at Friday evening, Feb. 27. Harwich.

Sunday,

Monday evening,

Thursday "

Friday " East Dennis, PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Lucy Srows wills speak in Providence, in the regular course of Anti-Sla-very Meetings, on Sunday evening next, March 1st.

MARRIED-In Townsend, Mass., Dec. 25, by Henry Levy, Esq., Mr. John Clement to Mrs. Loving Spaulding, all of Townsend.



CATHARTIC PILES

OPERATE by their powerful influence on the internal viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it into healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the body, and, by restoring their irregular action to health, correct, wherever they exist, such derangements as are the first causes of disease. An extensive trial of their virtues, by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has shown cures of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Their certificates are published in my American Almanac, which the Agents below named are pleased to furnish free to all inquiring.

Annexed we give Directors for their use in the complaints which they have been found to car.

For Costivenizes — Tike one or two pills, or such quantity as to gently move the bowels. Costiveness is frequently the aggravating cause of PILES, and the cure of one complaint is the cure of both. No person can feel well while under a costive habit of body. Hence it should be, as it can be, promptly relieved.

For Dyspersia, which is sometimes the cause of Costiveness, and always uncomfortable, take mild dosen—from one to four—to stimulate the stomach and liver into healthy action. They will do it, and the hearthur, bodyborn, and soulburn of dyspepsia will rapidly disappear. When it is gone, don't forget what cured you.

For a Four Symagh, or Morbid Inaction of the Bow-

you.

FOR A FOUL STOMAGH, or Morbid Inaction of the Boucels, which produces general depression of the spirits and
bad health, take from four to eight Pills at first, and
smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are

smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are restored to the system.

For Nervousyess, Siok Headache, Nausha; Pain in the Stomach, Back, or Side take from four to eight pills on going to bed. If they do not operate subletue, take more the aget day until thereto. These complaints will be swept out from the system. Don't wear these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is foul.

FOR SCHOPULA, ERYSIPHLAS, and all disea FOR SCROFULA, ERTSIPELAS, and all diseases of the Skins, take the Pills freely, and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The eruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and sores have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which seemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded to their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect health. Patients! your duty to society forbids that your should parade yourself around the world covered with pimples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

cleansing.

To Punist the Blood, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incurable discases will be sweet out of the system like chaff before the wind. By this property they do as much good in preventing sickness as by the samakable cures which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Bilious Affections arise from some devancement—wither toroldity.

they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Billous Affections arise from some derangement — either torpidity, congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Torpidity and congestion vitiate the bile, and render it unfit for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitution is frequently undermined by no other easies: Indigestion is the symptom. Obstruction of the duct which empties the bile into the atomach causes the bile to overflow into the blood. This produces Jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of evils. Costiveness, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhors, produces Jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of evils. Costiveness, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhors, prevails. Fever ish symptoms, languer, low spirits, weariness, restlessness, and melancholy, with sometimes inability to sleep, and sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is severe pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenish yellow; the stomach seid; the bowels sore to the touch; the whole system irritable, with a tendency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious cone, bilious diarrhors, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of three or four pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morning, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is wicked to anifer such pains when you can cure them for 25 cents.

Returnatism, Gott, and all Inflammatory Fevers are rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Pills upon the blood and the atimulus which they afford to the vital principle of Life. For these and all kindred complaints they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

As a Dinner Pill, this is both agreeable and useful.

they should be taken in make a gently, but freely.

As a DINKER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful. No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certainly none has been made more effectual to the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed.

PREPARED BY J. C. AYER. Practical and Analytical Chemist AND SOLD BY

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The Psalms of Life.

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POETRY.

From the National Era DR. KANE IN CUBA A noble life is in thy care, A sacred trust to thee is given; Bright Island! let thy healing air Be to him as the breath of Heaven.

The marvel of his daring life-The self-forgetting leader bold, Stirs, like the trumpet's call to strife. A million hearts of meaner mould

Eyes that shall never meet his own, Look dim with tears across the sca, Where from the dark and icy zone, Sweet Isle of Flowers ! he comes to thee.

Fold him in rest, oh, pitying clime! Give back his wasted strength again; Soothe, with thy endless summer time, His winter-wearied heart and brain.

Sing soft and low, thou tropic bird, From out the fragrant, flowery tree The car that hears thee now, has heard The ice-break of the winter sea

Through his long watch of awful night. He saw the Bear, in Northern skies; Now, to the Southern Cross of light, He lifts in hope his weary eyes.

Prayers, from the hearts that watched in fear, When the dark North no answer gave, Rise, trembling, to the Father's car, That still His love may help and save. Amesbury, 1st mo., 1857.

SONG OF THE EMIGRANT. To the West! to the West! to the land of the free Where mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea: Where a man's a man, if he's willing to toil. And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil. Where children are blessings, and he who has more

Has aid for his fortune, and riches to boast; Where the young may exult, and the aged may Away, far away, to the land of the West! To the West! to the West! where the rivers tha

flow, Run thousands of miles, spreading out as they go; Where the green, waving forests shall echo our ca As wide as Old England, and free to us all.

Where prairies, like seas where the billows have rolled Are broad as the kingdoms and empires of old. And the lakes are like oceans, in storm or in rest, Away, far away, to the land of the West.

To the West! to the West! there is wealth to be The forests to clear is the work to be done! We'll try it-we'll do it, and never despair-While there's light in the sunshine, or breath in th

The bold independence that labor shall buy, Shall strengthen our hands, and forbid us to sign Away, far away, let us hope for the best, And build up a home in the far distant West.

'REFLECTIONS.'

'Le Miroir Face et Nuque is a new patent toiletglass, lately invented in Paris, which reflects a person's back, enabling a lady to arrange her back hair and apparel with the greatest case and precision."

In Paris gay, the papers say, some one has just per A looking-glass by which a lass can see her back

No more to guess how that new dress may captivate As others see, so now can she, how nice it fits her

Nor need again her neck to strain, at risk of disloca Turning her head till well-nigh dead, to judge what

adoration From one and all will greet her shawl, and as the flounces rustle.

Her hand can trust to readjust, and then arrange her By this device she in a trice is all prepared for ac-

tion-Not left to wait, expostulate with 'Ma,' till near distraction.

When valiant troops of stalwart hoops surround the whole dominion. Seeing them all, she need not call for aid or for opin

Backbiters now, creation through, must all suspend

Nor shelter find ensconced behind an unsuspectin neighbor. In mirrors old none could behold a vestige of he

Because it swaved behind her head when said to

Nor would they show, to high or low, posterior per So, if the face was scant of grace-what sorrowfu

Each lady wise let me advise herewith to rest cor

Nor seek an art by which the heart to view might b presented

North Almont, February, 1857.

From the Home Journal. MINNIE'S ANSWER. BY GEO. ARNOLD.

There's a certain girlish grace Hovers round thy form-Sits upon thy beaming face, Sweetly blended with a trace Of a riper charm. Should I say, 'I love but thee'-Minnie, were it safe for me? There's a certain burning look

Darting from thine eye-Reads my soul as 'twere a book, Searches every hidden nook E'en in passing by. Shouldst thou fall in love with me-Minnie, were it safe for thee?

Then this loveliest of girls Raised her eyes to mine Smiled, and brushed away her curls, Smiled with teeth like matchless pearls, Lins like matchless wine: And she softly said to me,

'I would take my chance with the ROSES AND GRASS I saw some handfuls of the rose in bloc With bands of grass suspended from a dome. I said, 'What means this worthless grass, that it

Should in the rose's fairy circle sit? Then wept the grass, and said-Be still, and kno The kind their old associates ne'er forego. Mine is no beauty, hue, or fragrance, true! But in the garden of my lord I grew.'

A WISH. From a cross neighbor and a sullen wife, A pointless needle and a broken knife; A pointless needle and a broken knife; From suretyahip, and from an empty purse, A smoking chimney and a jolting horse; From a dull razor and an aching head, From a bad conscience and a buggy bed; A blow upon an elbow and a knee— From each of these may I continue free.

The Liberator.

The Present Aspect of American Stauern SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER. At the Anti-Slavery Convention, Jan. 30, 1857.

Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: have but a few minutes to speak in, for steam railroad cars wait for no man. I shall not detain you long, but will call your attention to a few THOUGHT ON THE PRESENT ASPECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

There is obviously one great obstacle to our natio Welfare at present and Progress for the future. That is the institution of Slavery, which now directly hinders the welfare of the white and the black, and threatens to ruin our Democratic Institutions at no distant day. Some other nations have many difficulties peculiar to themselves; we but one special trou- cratic tendency is common to all this host-to suc ble, which, however, is so huge in bulk, so awful in its kind, that I think no progressive nation of Christe tude who, with little humanity, have yet come up out endom finds its best institutions in such peril as our own. Nay, in the darkest day of the American Revolution, the sky did not scowl so black and grim at

1. Yet Slavery is opposed to our National Idea, as once set forth in the Programme of Political Princi-ples which the American People laid before the nations of the world; All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain natural and the last chance for a peaceful settlement is gone by. unalienable Rights, among them, with the right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Saxon tribe. With little niceness, and no sentimentalism of morality, the Saxon has an intense love of new assault upon Freedom, as no party loses its con personal liberty; and though he has been a tyrant like tinuity of action except with loss of life. For the political institutions as secure National Unity of Ac- sive Administration has done some act of signal ser-Europe, it is only in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, that ple. the voice of Liberty can be heard; the Press is free in England; while in France, the ballot that the People cast at the 'elections' must bear the Government stamp, and be approved by the authorities whose continuance in office is thereby decided on. The German lips are padlocked together; the Spanish and Italian are whipped together and sewed up with an iron thread. The Saxon alone has a free mouth and a free hand. Our tribal instinct is hostile to slavery, partner in that firm, a man too houest to be in such No nation ever made such disinterested sacrifice for the liberty of men as our British brethren, when they in more senses than one, -soon died, and the survivor paid \$100,000,000 to set free 800,000 of their own

all Christendom. The nations of Europe long since tical Atheism was proclaimed as the first principle of weeded bondage from their nicely-cultured field .-Even Portugal and Spain disdain the poison thing. The late Emperor Alexander set free nearly 8,000,000 meree; the State Rights of the North were broken men whom he inherited as praedial slaves (cillains down by the Federal arm of Slavery, regardant) and left free men. Even the Emperor of Turkey seeks to abolish slavery in his wide domain. The Revolution of 1848 left France without a bond- all matters and things pertaining to the triumph of man in her colonies, and Hungary with no serf on her Slavery and the overthrow of Freedom : and most dil soil. All civilized nations unite in prohibiting the igently have they done their work. Fillibustering African slave trade.

his mother at birth, and gradually outgrows the ne- houses and standing corn, to murder men and to viocessity of being fed from her bosom and borne in her late women, in order that Freedom may be driven arms, and at length becomes his own master, so the thence. This firm attends to the minute details of individual man gradually integrates himself from that, slave-driving, and while it encourages Walker's filliexcessive subordination to the Community-mother, bustering in Nicaragua and Lecompte's bloody assize of all civilization - developes his free personality in Kansas, it turns Dr. Jackson out of his postmaster into all the forms which the variant genius of individualism requires. Hence individuals escape from personal bondage, and communities from theocratic, had smitten with a bludgeon appropriate for an assa monarchic or oligarchic constraint, and become self. sin's hand. conscious democracies. Thus the free personality of the Individual and the Community is continually on the increase with mankind, and though Spain and business at the old stand,-sign of the Spread Eagle Italy be put in chains, the Human Race walks ever and the Thirteen Stripes. What new enormity will with a freer step.

Now, as American Slavery is hostile to all these kind, it is certain that Slavery is to disappear and Cuba? Will he restore the African slave trade? No perish. Nay, as it is the chief obstacle to our pres- man can tell what he will attempt. I suppose the Inent Welfare and future Progress, it is clear that the augural will be as pacific as Mr. Pierce's; certainly the as soon as possible, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. Of course, we must end it in the best way, i. e., by the means which are most just to the slave and also attended with the least cost, harm and loss to the rest of men. First of all, we must do justice to the party wronged, and next see that this is done with the least harm to the doer of wrong. For it is not fair to profess kindness to the thieves and robbers in the State Prison, and practice any needless severity against their fellow-thieves and robbers outside of its walls. Let the same rule of justice and mercy apply to the convicted felon in jail and the active op-

pressor abroad and still committing his crimes.

While Slavery has four such powerful foes, i would seem easy to end this mischief; but, on the other hand, it has two allies, which are both powerful and close at hand, viz., (1) Ambition for Political

Power; (2) Covetousness for Commercial Wealth. 1. All the great offices of the American Democrac have long been in the gift of the slaveholder. He is the Federal Government-a power behind the throne of the People, and hitherto greater than the People As in the popular Theology, the Godhead is consti tuted of three acknowledged persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but yet contains a fourth and unacknowl edged Power,-the Devil, who is more powerful than all the three, and ruins their work, crowding his huge hell with 'the lost,' while the narrow heaven is thin ly populated with 'the righteous' or 'the elect.'so Slavery, a power not named in our Programme of Principles, of Purposes, or even of Means, has yet been hitherto more potent than all the acknowledged forces of the Democracy. The tail of this devil, worse than the Apocalyptic, not only draws a third, but a half of the stars of our American heaven; nav. more. for all the great Offices and most of the great Fortunes have become subject to his control. There are two great pillars in the temple of American Aristocracy-Political office, Commercial money. These are the Jachin and Boaz in the temple of Respectability. Now Slavery embraces them both, and if any man ventures to offend, threatens to overthrow the columns and bring down the house to ruin.

Between the two there has long been a quarrel. and some little provisional skirmishing. There will soon be a fight, a decisive battle, which determines the quarrel, and gives the continent to one or the other. We are now making ready for action, tucking up our garments, and girding on our swords. Of course, there are two Parties, one for each Idea. 1. The PARTY OF SLAVERY has hitherto had the

trol of the government, and is now to hold it till 1861. The single head of this creature is in the South; its double tail in the North ;-for, though single-headed It had a Democratic tail and a Whig tail, the latter once a little the longest, and so always behind the other. Freedom trod on the little end of Slavery, the a Provisionality of Means. Whig tail, and killed it; yet it did not exactly die; The Right wing contends for the immediate Aboliit kind o' gin cout.' There is still a little life in it tion of Slavery throughout all America. On this about the stump; 'it won't die till sundown,' as the side are all the four forces I just now menti boys say of other snakes. It is unconscious; it is a In this wing there are two persons whom I wish to Know-Nothing stump of the once long and glittering say a word of,—one I have often said elsewhere, but tom-houses, and post-offices,

famous, with a sting at its tip, and a deal of poison under it; and just as the Southern head wills, so the Northern tail straightens out, or curls up, lies low in the dust, or erects itself to strike Mr. Seward, Chase, Sumner, Mr. Beecher, or more especially the objects of its special hate, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, For while the head cannot reach the latter gentlemer the tail is always under their feet, and lies coiled u in official grass, or basking in the Federal sun, ready to strike with its sting, which makes up in power enom for what it lacks in power to strike

2. The PARTY OF FREEDOM. This is not yet very well organized, nor well compacted. It has no unit of action, no conscious unity of purpose, only unity of sentiment, perhaps only a unity of tendency, against slavery. There is great odds between the ex treme Right and the extreme Left,-the one der ing the immediate abolition of Slavery, or else a dis solution of the Union; and the other only asking that Slavery be not spread into Kansas. Still, the Demoas guard the Ark of Liberty, and the mixed multi of Egypt.

This party has just been beaten. It laid siege t the Federal Government, but could not carry it, and has now raised the siege, yet has by no means given up the determination to conquer. The result of the last campaign was a defeat: its process a victory Before the election, I thought the question of Slavery might be decided with words and ink; now, I think

The Party of Slavery has a new lease of Federa Power-till 1861. The National Legislative, Judiciary 2. It is also opposed to the Ethnic Instinct of the and Executive are all in the hands of the alavehold-whole Teutonic family, and specially of the Anglo- ar. The Slave Power is still the Federal Government. In the next four years, it must make som

other men, he yet instinctively gravitates towards such last twelve years, to go no further back, each succestion and Personal Freedom at the same time. In vice to the Power which controls the American Peo-

Thus, from 1845 to 1849, Polk, Dallas & Co. wer the political agents to do the business of the slavehold er. They re-annexed Texas, made the Mexican was and at great cost of money and of men, plundered sister Republic of an enormous tract of land, whence slave States are one day to be made.

From 1849 to 1853, Taylor, Fillmore & Co. had th management, of the political business. The senio concern,-for it was 'a nomination not fit to be made managed as they saw fit. They had a whole Omnibu load of Compromise Measures. The Fugitive Slave 3. Slavery is equally alien to the present Spirit of Bill was passed; kidnapping became common; prac Republican Government; the sentence, 'No Higher Law,' was added to the Litany of the Church of Com-

From 1838 to 1857, Pierce, Cushing, Douglas ar Brooks have had a general Power of Attorney to de has been encouraged; the African slave trade rees 4. Slavery is not less opposed by the general Pro- tablished at New York; State Rights further outrag gress of Mankind. For as the baby is detached from ed, and the border-ruffians sent into Kansas to bur

ship at Cresson, because he helped cure the wounds of Senator Sumner, whom one of the slave-driving firm

Now, from 1857 to 1861, if the House does no break before, Buchanan & Co. are to carry on the same be committed by the new agents, I know not. Will Mr. Buchanan add Kansas to the slave territory, or forces, of the Nation, the Tribe, of Christendom, of Man-Nicaragua, or a new piece of Mexico? Will he attack next Cabinet cannot be worse than the present, which another fitted by nature to profess the gentle craft of Thimblerig, and these two have controlled the Administration. All will look mild, and the nation will be quiet, expecting only halcyon days, when of a sudden Pop goes the President, and Slavery spreads to Mexoo or Arizonia, or some where else.

One of Mr. Buchanan's friends thus writes of him I quote from the British New Quarterly,) 'He has the habit (that the historians attribute to Alexande the Great) of holding his head somewhat inclined to or side, and sometimes partially closing one eye.'. No doubt this Macedonian peculiarity will enable him to discover some opportunity to serve his master, and he will have a single eye to the triumph of Slavery. He must do something. He is the Federal Head of the Slave Party. It must crawl on to new territory and deposit there the eggs of the cockatrice which it has swallowed for safe keeping. But the effort to do this will cost it the residue of its Northern tail. At the next move, Freedom puts its foot on this also, and in 1861, the Northern Democratic Party may be where the Whig party is now-trodden under foot of men For if this Administration follows the course of its three predecessors, then all the North, with only contemptible exceptions, will soon be for the Party of Freedom. Mr. Buchanan may solve the riddle as he can; but this modern Alexander will need to * hold his head somewhat inclined to either side, and to open both eyes, in order to escape one or the other horn of this political dilemma. How he can serve the God of Freedom and the Devil of Slavery, at the same time, it is difficult to see. When the British took Philadelphia, in 1777, Dr. Franklin said that . Philadelphia had taken the British !' So it turned out. The party that was saved by an election may yet be lost by the Administration! You know what a flood of popular favor Mr. Pierce came into office, and by what an ebb of that tide he is leftwhere he now is. Mr. Buchanan to like the man who climbed up a tall tree to rob an eagle's nest. Just as he came within a few feet of his prey, and felt sure of his game, the old eagle came soaring on mighty Now, enthroned between the two, Slavery, though pinions, and with the terrors of his beak, and lightning of his eye' he scared the marauder to the heart. weak by nature, is exceedingly strong by position.

In America, there are two great Ideas,—the Idea of He began to let himself down, but lo! a new dan.

He began to let himself down, but lo! a new dan. Freedom, which tends to Democracy, the Idea of ger! At the foot of the tree sat a monstrous bear, ready to cat him up the moment he should leave the tree. Thus hangs poor Mr. Buchanan on the Presidential tree. If he goes up, the Northern eagle con on him with a terrible dash; if he goes down, the Southern bear is ready to tear him in pieces. There let us leave him. With such fourfold opposition, the

> graceful ruin. Now, this Party of Freedom is free from the reponsibilities of office, and need only attend to diffuse and develop its Idea. But, as I just said, there is no unity of action, aim, idea, or purpose, -only of sentiment, or perhaps of tendency. lution of the Union, others for its preservation; but neither considers the Union a Finality of Purpose, only

which costs me a little pain to repeat here in their presence. They do not need the word to be said, perand courts of the whole North, -a huge tail and a haps you need not to hear it; but it is necessary for

my peace of mind to say it, here and now. If the the very earth, which teems with profusion under the

attention of the People to the great Crime of the Amer- that this agitation of the Slavery question would attention of the People to the great Crime of the American Church; he ican State, the great Sin of the American Church; he has foretold the national ruin which it is sure to cause, trod by the foot of a slave. That sentiment I repeat has foretold the national ruin which it is sure to cause, and has also pointed out the only mode of escapethe Abolition of Slavery, unconditional, total, immediate. He has sought nothing for himself,—neither office, nor money, nor yet praise. He has aimed to do his duty to his neighbor and his God;—who ever did both more manfully? See what his reward has been! Outwardly, abuse, scorn, hatred, loathing, from the American State, and the hot curses of the American Church. But he has that inward recon pense which fails no man-the satisfaction of duties done, yes, of cruel sorrows, innocently and nobly borne. In the history of mankind, I know of no man who has more courageously gone on a forlorn hope, none who has borne a cross so heavy with more sweetness and generous forbearance. His hope never fails, his pity not often, seldom his love.

One more I wish to name is Mrs, Arry Kelley

FOSTER. Of a living woman, I must speak with more delicacy and reserve, and in nicer words, than of living man; I would 'not overstep the modesty of nature.' A poor girl, a widow's daughter, keeping a little ill-paid school in a country town, the vo of Mr. Garrison pleading for the slave fell on her ear, and roused that gentle feminine heart; so the word of great men roused the St. Theresas and St. Catharines in the early days when the Christian Church was not merely a whited sepulchre, beautiful outwardly, but within full of dead men's bones, and all manner of uncleanness. She devoted her spare means and her spare time to the cause of the slave. Miss Dix looks after the crazy,-legislatures listen, news papers encourage, and pulpits whine forth their cheap and popular applause: even the highwayman returns her plundered purse. Miss Nightingale soothes the sorrows of such as bleed in a great, proud nation's cause; and as that blessed angel move through miles of Crimean agony, sick soldiers, full of thankfulness unwented in mankind, drag themselves where she is to pass, not that the shadow of this apostle may fall and heal them where they lie, but only that she may hear or see the manly gratitude which goes up from the wounded soldier's heart The admiring world looks on and does her reverence But Abby Kelley labored for the slave. Newspaper mcoked, respectable men abused her, the pulpit poured out its paltry curse, and mobs of 'gentlemen' threw things too offensive for me to name at the defenceless head of a woman. The slave could not speak his gratitude, even if he ever felt the beautiful emotion nay, he knew not even that her voice had ever spoke. She outwent the delicacy of her maidenhood, and endured hardness like a stern, harsh-featured man When her mother, ceasing to be mortal, needed hu man help no more, the noble girl took the poor little inheritance which fell to her, a few hundred dollars, and gave it all to the slave. Thenceforward, her time, her talents, yea, all of her living, and her life itself, was devoted to the slave. Does her voice sound un musical in your fastidious ears? It lost its sweetness

pleading with rough mobs against the wickedness of State and Church. Such are the merits of two among the leader of this Right Wing of the Party of Freedom. But I do not always agree with these men and women. Sometimes I think they do injustice to such as seek the same end by other means. I count it an honor to in call Mr. Garrison my friend; I often differ from his opinions. But how brave and heroic has been the

onduct of this gallant band—the Abolitionists!

'How they rode onward! Hunkers to right of them, Hunkers to left of them, Hunkers before them, Volleyed and thundered! Stormed at with shot and shell Boldly they rode and well Into the mouth of hell! Honor the brave and bold! Yea, when our babes are old

How they rode onward !' The Left Wing consists of those who work politically, and of course with such tools as they can use n that business. Here are good men and bad men justifies and the laws allow. Some of them put their own interpretation on the Constitution, and differ from the unjust deductions or constructions of the ser-

Among the political men of this party, I wish to mention the two Massaclu etts Senators, so often spoken of in these debates, and of course with vary ng words. I have so often borne my testimony in be half of Mr. Sumner, his services are so well appreciated in this Convention, and his noble merits so gratefully honored by this State, that it may seem super fluous to say an added word. His position is exceedingly different from that of the men on this platform but he aims at the same end with Mr. Garrison-only by other means. He also hates slavery every where works for its abolition every where; but his official position necessitates that senatorially he shall use only stitutional weapons. So he is more restricted than

Mr. Garrison in his choice of tools, Mr. Sumner's course has been singularly genero towards his foes. I speak not only of those at home hose birth and breeding might have taught them at and public enemies who assailed him with different weapons. Since Mr. Brooks struck his coward blow, your Senator has been continually in a condition more painful and dangerous than the newspapers represent for the words. or the public know. It is now eight months since the assault; not only has he been kept from the public business of his Senatorship, but there has never been an evening when he could sit erect in a chairhe can only lie on a couch. But no man, I think, has heard him say a word against Mr. Brooks. He has left that for the nation and the world. The assassin has gone home to his God, slain, I take it, by the unskilful hands of his physician-the same who so malignantly attended upon Mr. Sumner. Congress cindicate the right of the Southern States to hold me now buries whom once she morally expelled. Of old time, when a warrior went to his grave, men bore his things werse than that. I repudiate the doctrine sword on his coffin. A wise and kind woman suggests that a Bludgeon should be carried on the coffin of Bully Brooks; let me add, with a revolver laid at right angles—the Southern Cross.

I must say a word of the other Senator, Mr. Wil-and the Whigs are already gone.

The Republican Convention declared that the right otherwise difficult. A country schoolmaster told me, Party of Slavery is sure of ultimate defeat and disbelieves, with Pranklin, that "Slavery is an atrocious Has Massachusetts come to this? ent of human nature"-with Adams, that trust" with Jefferson, that "one hour of American from the Constitution itself (art. 4, sec. 4), "the United Slavery is fraught with more misery than ages of that States shall guarantee to every State in the Union of which we rose in rebellion to oppose '-with Madison, Republican form of government.' The Nation has that "Slavery is a dreadful calamity," that "imbecil-not fulfilled that guaranty to the bondmen. I think ity is ever attendant upon a country filled with the 'Supreme Court' has not determined what a Re with Monroe, that "Slavery has preyed upon the vitals of the community in all the

parties concerned do not like it, let them shut their cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave."

One is Mr. Garrison. I think no man now living . . 'The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Jones], says has done America so great service. He has called the Mr. Wilson, 'quoted a remark of mine to the effect here to-day. I believe it. GOD is the great agitator. While his throne stands, agitation will go or until the foot of a slave shall not press the soil of the

eastern or western continent.' . . 'We believe, with Burke, that "Slavery is a state so degrading to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ough not to be suffered to exist." We believe, with Henry Clay, that "Slavery is a curse a curse to the maste a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave; that it is all wrong, and no possible contingency can make i right." . . 'We believe in the sublime doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that all men ar created equal, and have an inalienable right to liberty. We believe that doctrine to be embodied in the Con stitution, that without due process of law, no person can be deprived of liberty. We do not believe, with Mr. Calhoun, the Declaration of Independence to b a "rheorical flourish." We do not believe it to be what Mr. Pettit pronounced it, "a self-evident lie." We do not believe it to be "an eloquent and passion ate manifesto of a revolutionary war"-" mere glit tering and sounding generalities of natural right. We believe it to be a living truth, from the pages of the New Testament, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Constitution of the United States.' He bestows these rather moderate commendation

on the anti-slavery men of a different stamp :-

on the anti-slavery men of a different stamp:—

'I will do them the justice to say here, that they have for years devoted their lives and their property, and endured contumely and reproaches, for the bondmen of America; and here or elsewhere, while I express my total disagreement with them, I will say that they are men of self-sacrificing devotion, and men of great ability, who have studied the Slavery question in all its aspects, collected volumes of statistics bearing upon it in all its relations—men at whose feet the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bigler] and other Senators who so glibly pronounce them fanatics, might sit and learn something of Slavery in America.

He goes on and declares what he considers the design of the Republican party :-

Since I took my seat in the Senate, early in F'eb ruary, 1855, I have travelled more than thirty thou-sand miles in fourteen of the free States; I have seen hundreds of thousands of American citizens in coun sel; I have listened to many of the ablest men in the country; I have counselled with them; and I never yet heard one word uttered claiming power in Congress, or proposing to usurp power in Congress, to abolish Slavery in the slaveholding States. The venerable Senator from Michigan [Mr. Cass] mistakes in the idea that many persons voted under the conviction that they were voting for the abolition of servitude in the States. So, then, if the Republican party had come int

ower, it would only restrict slavery in the territories. I think him a little mistaken in his opinion. I certainly have heard Republicans, and quite prominent Republicans, too, claim the Congressional right to abolish slavery in the slave States. But Mr. Wilson not only declares that the Repub

lican party does not now intend to abolish slavery in the slave States, but he says-· When the Constitution was framed, the men wh

framed it did not intend to give Congress the power to abolish Slavery in the slaveholding States. Open-ing the Constitution of our country, we find no power specifically granted to Congress to abolish Slaver Yet he says elsewhere-

When the Constitution was framed, there was no

man in America who believed that the idea of property in man, to use the words of Mr. Madison, embodied in that Constitution." But Mr. Wilson goes much further. He defends

ards, not simply as a Means for the attainment of nobler ends. Thus he says-

the Union as an End which is to be secured at all haz-

'When the Republican party was organized, the avowal was made that the Union must be maintained. The declaration of Mr. Webster, "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable; the declaration of Andrew Jackson, "The Union must be preserved," were borne throughout the canvass on all our Here the Union is the Purpose, not the Instrument

as Liberty itself. Now, I venture to state a public secret, that some leading Republicans did not value the Union much for itself; nay, some thought it was a hindrance to both the immediate Welfare and the future Progress of the People, and did not much care how soon it should end; but they knew it was a popular cry, and intended to outdo the Democrats them selves in shouting that watchword! The Democrats wanted Union for the support of Slavery. The Republicans shouted the old erv. 'Union! Union! But the old faith in Union, for its own sake, is gon by; at least, it seems so to me. He goes further yet:-

'In the public press, and before the people ever here, the doctrine was maintained that we were fo the Union; and if any men, North or South, laid their hands upon it, they should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths, and leave traitor names in the power, traitor deaths, ar history of the Bepublic." This passage, it seems to me, has been condem

more harshly than is necessary. He would hang men as traitors who should lay hands on the Union to destroy it! Exactly so; but the Constitution declare least truth and good manners, but of the more open what treason is - lovying war ' Of course, it is to be supposed he would say this. Looked at carefully, it means only the same as his oath to support the Constitution and the laws. But I confess I see no reason

Here is another passage :-We vindicate the rights of the States—the right of the Southern States, if they choose, to hold men in Slavery and the right of Massachusetts, Vermont, Michigar and Wisconsin, to protect, by their own legislation. the liberty of every man that treads their soil, his liberty has been forfeited by due process of

I think this the worst sentence Mr. Wilson over uttered. No word spoken in this Congress has given me such pain. He pledges the Republican Party to in slavery! Mr. Webster, Mr. Douglas, has said few The Republican Party will not vindicate the right of the Southern States to hold men in slavery. If does, then the People of the North will tread the Republican Party in the dust, where the Know Nothings

him here. Mr. Wilson has come to his present posi- of the States must be preserved. Did it admit that tion through a narrow path, which was also steep and any State had a right to do wrong, and that right must be preserved? Has any State a constituti When Henry Wilson was three and twenty years privilege to prevent the attainment of the Purpose of old, I put him through Colburn's First Lessons.' He the Constitution, to annul the unalienable right to had only one of the great helps to eminence—the one | Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness? Whence most commonly overlooked-great personal honor! does such a State derive the privilege? From th In a time of need, Massachusetts wanted an able Sen- Constitution ? Does the Constitution, in its provision ator-firm, courageous, progressive. She did not go of means, confer the right to defeat its ends? From to one of the historical families, nor take a great sea-demic man; she went into a shoemaker's shop, and authorise slavery, which is 'an atrocious debasement authorise slavery, which is 'an atrocious o took HENRY WILSON. Gentlemen, he deserved the of human nature'? Shame on the base, unworthy place,—has he ceased to deserve it now? He has thought! A shoemaker of Massachusetta vindicate lately made a speech, which contains good things. He the 'right' of South Carolina to hold men in slavery !

We talk a great deal about the compre ing to Slavery is a sacrilegious breach of Constitution : we forget its GUARANTEES. Look at this, where it has existed "-with Montesquieu, that "even that to answer that question, an American is not to go

to the historic past of Greece, Rome, Venice, Holland but to the American Programme of Political Princi ples in the Declaration of Independence; to our Pragramme of Political Purposes in the Presmile to the Constitution—' We, the People of the United States Constitution— it is in order to form a more perfect Union, establish jutice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the co mon defence, promote the general welfare, and seem the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterit, the blessings of the Constitution for the Γ_{th} ted States of America';—aye, to the Ideal Judge which is dear to the human race, and gets forelad-owed in the Golden Rule of Jesus and the Prayer of noble firen. I say, Shame on the Senator who vindicates the 'right' of the Southern States to hold men in slavery! All the more shame that he was a shoemaker before he was a Senator, for his con contact with the daily life of common men should have kept his moral instincts fresh and pure. If sho, makers forget the instinct of humanity, what will a dinary Senators do? But I do not give up a man for one ill thing-nar

though so ill as this. Henry Wilson has done many noble things; I trust he will do many more. I have always held him to be a brave, an upright, a just, and an honorable man. He has endured temptation before now. In 1848, when the Whigs nominated Gra. Taylor, Mr. Wilson refused to sustain him. He was poor; not very thriving or thrifty, with a family dependent upon him. He was ambitions of the respect of worthy and respected men. Some Whigs told him they would make him agent in their factory, with a salary of \$2500 or \$3000 to begin with, and more in prospect, if he would not oppose Gen. Taylor! We don't ask you, said they, to say a word, only to hold your tongue, and let your victuals stop your mouth.' Henry Wilson would not hold his tongue he spoke manfully against the continuous encrosed. ments of the Slave Power, against the corruption of the Whig party. Last spring, you know what honorable service be

performed after his generous colleague had been so foully assaulted. His own life was in peril-I should not here dare tell you how imminent his bodily peril was, nor how he was defended, nor do I care to remember what other Northern men trembled and turned pale. Remember this he cannot now go to his place in the Senate without a revolver in his reck. et. Let us be just to his error, also generous to the man; for I trust that, as in times past, he will ret do long and faithful service to the great cause of He. I saw it stated in the newspapers, some time since

that during a debate in the Senate, a Southern charged Mr. Wilson with saying that the slaves had a right to rise in insurrection and cut their masters throats,' and Mr. Wilson replied that he had never said so. I do not know his position on that matter, and seldom covet a position other than my own; but I should not have been sorry to be a Senator from Massachusetts when such a question was asked. I would have called the attention of the Senate, of the South, and the world, to my words, and then realed that I not only think, but am sure, that the American slaves have the natural, moral right to rise in inserrection and cut their masters' throats for the sale of freedom, and the time may come when it will be their natural, moral duty to do so; and if I were held in bondage as they are, in the centre of the continent, and a file of men two thousand miles long stood between me and my natural liberty, that I would split that thread of life from end to end, and secure my natural right to liberty, even if I hewed down a man at every step, and walked blood red from Texas to Canada. It is high time that this was said at Washington and at Boston! Why, what means that pile of stones at Bunker Hill-what the celebration of the great days of the Revolution, and the memory of its men! Well, the Idea of Freedom is destined to preval-

to prevail in America and become a fact. Many will falter and turn off, but others will come forward and take their places. There may be unity of spirit and diversity of manifestation. It will be one function of this Convention, of these men and women, to quicken the sentiment of Freedom and Philanthropy, another, to furnish therefor the appropriate Idea-while the Political Abolitionists organize it into the Fact of institutions. So a part of our work must be to cribeise the action of others. We have never been charged just enough to be also generous? In the Anti-Slave ry Household there must be Fathers and Mothers, yea, Grand-parents also; but likewise babes and sucklings of Liberty. Let us be a little indulgent to the boys and girls; they will be growing while we are working. The Anti-Slavery ladder, like the visionary one of Jacob in the Old Testament myth, has one end in the calm silence of the upper heaven, but the other must needs rest on the poor humble ground. There will be men on all the rounds, and the lower will not always comprehend the higher. But let not him who has climbed as far as Mrs. Foster and Mr. Garrison be over-severe to such as stand lower down, but with faces turned toward heaven. Rather let the lofty cheer and encourage the inexperienced, his voice a trumpet talking with them and saying, 'Come up hither !' In the Commonwealth of Liberty, as in the Kingdom of Heaven, 'there are shallow brooks which lambs may wade, and rivers also where elephants can swim'; but elephant and lamb belong to the same lord, and brook and river seek the same ocean.

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