EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, -AT THE-

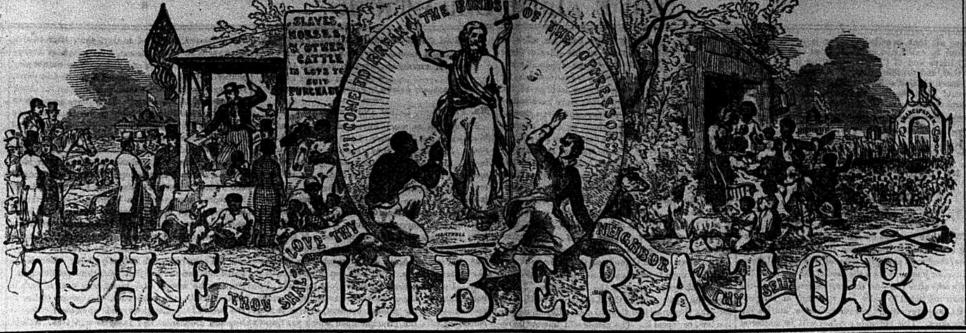
ANTI-SLAVERY OPPICE, 21 CORNEILL.

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J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

-WILLIAM BLIRRY CHANNING.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are seithers

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathens, in

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERTED FROM 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 looking 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.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 10.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1858.

## WHOLE NUMBE, 1417.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Lawrence Sentinel. BY THEIR WORKS YE SHALL KNOW THEM.

Professions, now-a-days, are unreliable criterions by which to determine the character and intentions either of individuals or of political parties. But their actions are a true index of their sentiments and predilections.

Application was made by the 'Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,' to our House of Representa-tives not long since, for a permission to hold a meettives not long since, for a permission to hold a meet-ing of the association in the Representative Hall. It has been eastomary to extend this courtesy to those associations, and for those purposes only which are praiseworthy, and calculated to promote the pubare praiseworthy, and calculated to promote the public weal, and is always considered as an expression of encouragement and approbation. It therefore becomes the natural inference that when this liberty is granted, the grantors intended it as an earnest their great sympathy and commendation. The petitions above referred to was granted, and in pursnance of that permission, the assiduous foes of the Union and Constitution belched forth their defiance to all law, in the place of all others where its majesty should be sustained and vindicated. Now, w are the characteristics of this organization, of what elements is it composed, and what purposes does it seek to accomplish? Let their accredited organ, the Boston Liberator, whose unremitting slogan is, No Union with Slaveholders,' which denominates the Constitution 'a compact with death and a covenant with hell,' and terms our revered Washington quite a decent man, considering the times in which he lived '-furnish the answer. Let the open and undisguised avowal of their orators, and the sedi-tions sentiments promulgated in their fiery resolves and intemperate appeals, answer. However lurid with treasonous emanations its refulgence may be, their light has not been hid under a bushel. Every person of common information among us knows them to be the most strenuous champions of disunion, to the attainment of which darling aim their untiring ndeavors are directed. No one can take shelter under the plea of ignorance. If he lends them the aid of his countenance and support, it is done with full knowledge of their character and designs, and the merit of the action is the standard by which he must b: measured. The Republican party, as a party, has always professed a repugnance to disunion sentiments, and repelled with asperity the charge of en-tertaining them. But it will prove a difficult task satisfactorily to harmonize this action with these pro-fessions. Had a community of 'Latter Day Saints' preferred a similar request, would it have met with any other reception than ridicule and unqualified rebuke? Of course not. Yet their request, in such a case, might be allowed, with the same propriety as is shown by our Legislature in this instance. The dogmas of Mormonism are no more obnoxious or detrimental to national morals and sound policy than are those doctrines inculcated by the self-same Anti-Slavery Society, under the tutorship of such teachers as Garrison, Remond and Phillips, and which has so recently been the recipient of such a

'This Society of agitators is publicly pledged and sworn to labor, in season and out of season, for the subversion of the Constitution and the dissolution of this Union. Knowing this to be the chief end of its organization, the Massachusetts House of Representatives throw open their doors for them to come in, and permit them to desecrate the place with their traitorous talk and their unblushing profanities.

mark of favor from the Republican members of our

State Legislature. It is a burning shame, that a

sentiment, should place the 'Home of the Puritans' in so false a position, by becoming its apologist and abettor. The same spirit which ostracised the 'Great Expounder,' and adjudged him unfit to hold

forth in Fancuil Hall, stamps with the seal of official approval the conduct of a fanatical set of per-

loving citizens of the old Bay State hasten the day

when this spirit shall receive its fitting chastise-

nicious nullifiers. May the intelligent and Ur

When such men give out that they are holding the rod over the heads of legislators, and openly attempt to interfere for giving legislative shape to their wild dogmas, it is full time they were met by the stern rebuke their highly censurable conduct has earned at the hand of those whom they boast of having already whipped in. The remedy for such evils as proposed by Mr. Cushing, is the only true one; kick such fellows,—menaces, petitions, pro-fanity, and all, out of the State House altogether. The place should not be polluted with their presence. It is no time to show further patience, or further courtesy. Unless the Legislature promptly send them forth into the street, it confesses itself craven, and forfeits the respect of all men who are in the habit of respecting themselves.'-Boston Ledger.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

We have received a lengthy article from Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Topsham, in which he complains of the strictures we thought it our duty to make upon the proceedings of the anti-slavery convention, lately held at Bradford, with a request that we publish the same. This we decline to do, not out of disrespect to Mr. Johnston, but because we never can consent, while we have charge of a public journal, to open its columns for the question of a dissolution of the Union. We regard the Union of the States as the palladi-

um of human liberty, and were that to perish, atl well-grounded hopes for the advancement of the races of the earth in the scale of freedom and true progress would perish with it. The Constitution may not be perfect in every respect, but it is the best that the great and good statesmen and patriots of the Revolution could frame, and it finds its defence and its strength to-day in the affections of more than and its strength to-day in the allections of more than 20,000,000 of people. We must not change it for any system of government, whether political or moral, which mad-cap disunionists can devise. We have no fellowship with those who, as Webster once forcibly said, because a spot obscures the face of the sun, would cast that glorious luminary from the firmament. Neither do our anti-slavery views carry us so far as to compel us to join hands with the slavery propaganda in maintaining that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument. We do not so in-terpret it. The framers of the Constitution did not so understand it. All that is wanted is, to bring the Government back to the principles and policy of its founders. To this end, we shall labor with all our strength, in the future as we have done in the past. And those who thus labor, in our judgment, are the true friends of the black race, as well as of the white.

We sincerely hope that the State of Vermont will never again be disgraced by the presence of a cabal, whose end is the destruction of the Constitution and the Union. Such meetings may seem more in place in South Crrolina, but they are oppressive to the patriotic descendants of the Green Mountain Boys--Bradford (Vt.) Autora.

Anti-Slavery Convention recently held in Vermont, made by the Editor of the Bradford Telegraph, but it none there, except Rev. Mr. McKeen, but he took was basely refused an insertion in that paper.

THE ANTISLAVERY CONVENTION AT BRADFORD.

To Dr. Mann, Editor Bradford Telegraph:

MR. MDITOR,-I may presume that, as a professed Chistian, and as a Democrat, you are in favor of free discussion, and of the freedom of the press; and I may presume, also, that you are willing to lend the columns of your paper to those who think you have done them injustice. Especially should you be

your theories as expressed near the close of your article, I do not propose a reply. If your religion or your Democracy teaches you that 'when one law, either good or bad, is trampled down and successfully resisted, there is an end to all government,' I

must allow you to enjoy your belief.

You object to the counsel given to not obey some laws on the United States statute book.— I suppose you mean the Fugitive Slave Law, among others. Do you think there would be an end to all government, if that law were disobeyed? Must all laws be obeyed just because they are enacted by the majority of the people, or by the party in power? I wish you were a slave, and a fugitive slave, just long enough to learn better moral philosophy; or, that you were in Austria, or in the Pope's dominions, long enough to learn that every law which a man or set of men may choose to enact, is not to be voluntarily obeyed.

You say, 'Bad government is better than none at all.' Suppose it is, does it follow that we may not refuse voluntary obedience to laws requiring us to violate the laws of God? Whatever you, as an Administration Democrat, may say, I 'have not so

The good Lord deliver us!'

since you hold that 'we, in Vermont, have nothing more to do with Slavery in the several States, than we have to do with the revenue imports of Great Britain,' I can only utter my protest

call it 'an out-and-out Garrisonian, Disunion State Convention.' By what authority do you so denominate it? Is there anything in the Call to justify they wash their hands from the blood of the slave.

N. R. JOHNSTON. you? The Call was signed by about four hundred persons; and probably not over twenty of them were in favor of disunion. And as for the doings of the Convention, the charge is wholly groundless. Among the five officers elected, not one was in favor of disunion. Among all the resolutions passed, not one said a word against the Constitution, or about favored the resolution, would make it a disunion

Convention. Editorial honor requires you to do justice to your I introduced the resolution, political opponents. I introduced the resolution, and favored it; but I am unwilling for you to do injustice to those who opposed me in that matter. f you are willing to let your readers judge for them-elves whether it was a disunion Convention or not. you will publish the resolutions which were passed This you are now in honor bound to do; and then, as a faithful chronicler, you owe it to your readers. Wherein any of these resolutions are erroneous, you have an opportunity of showing. You will find them published in the Green Mountain Freeman, and probably in other papers. Then, as you readers will want to know the character of the resolution which did not pass, I will here give it to you. It is as follows : -

Whereas, the Union of the States was formed by anholy compromise with Slavery and the Slave-Power, which demanded the continuance of the African slave trade, representation in Congress for slave property, and the delivering up of slaves escaping from their masters; and, Whereas, these compromises were incorporated into

he Constitution: and. Whereas, ever since the adoption of the Constitution, and owing principally to its pro-slavery compromises, the number of slaves has been on the increase,

your fling at Ex-Gov. Slade as the 'School-marm

SELECTIONS.

| Say, 'There they were, mixed up with Congregational ministers and Methodist ministers, and churchmen of every faith.' Horrible! I wonder you can be a member of the Democratic party, or ston, was sent in reply to a scurrilous attack upon an Anti-Slavery Convention recently held in Vermont, who were the Congregational ministers? I saw.

| Say, 'There they were, mixed up with Congregations to intended up with Congregations to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because on the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because on the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because on the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because on the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because on the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because of the moment they saw that he was there. These dainty contributions to literature he has lately collected into a book, which may, perhaps, because of the most disgustant of the most disgust no part in the proceedings any more than yourself.
Only two Congregational ministers signed the Call,
and neither of them was at the meeting.

Speaking of the 'black men,' you say they spoke in derogation of the Union and the Constitution, against the South and every thing in general.'
'Against everything.' Did they speak against the
Bible, against Christianity, religion, morality, liberty, truth, philanthropy, or pure Democracy? but only against Slavery, and those men or systems or institutions that defend and support Slavery. bave done them injustice. Especially should you be willing to do so, when you have full power to write what and as much as you please, in reply.

I wish to notice briefly your leader, in the last week's number of the Telegraph, headed, 'Dissolution of the Union—A Northern Republic, &c.' To with James Buchanan at its head.

with James Buchanan at its head.
Your declaration that 'Mr. Pillsbury came down upon the Church of all denominations without mercoy, saying in so many words, that if the Church could be destroyed, it ought to be,' I regard as wholly untruthful. I heard him use no such words. To my mind, he conveyed no such idea. His position was, that the large and popular denomination fellowship slaveholders, and many of their leading divines advocate Slavery, and their churches are not only pro-slavery, but are the bulwarks of American slavery church, was at ease. 'Circumstances after cases.' Why did you not inform your readers, that while Mr. Pillsbury was speaking, a Methodist told him that 'if he would shut his mouth and sit down, he would look better '? You took special care to inform your readers that

thereby to heap reproach upon him. You know that Garrisonianism is very hateful to Democrats, as well as to Republicans. Well, what is a Garri-'Tyranny,' you say, 'is by far preferable to anarchy.' But does it follow that we may not try to abolish tyranny, or to reform the Government? No one wants anarchy. We want freedom for all; whilst you uphold tyranny, and cry out against those who try to remove or destroy it.

You say that the 'Constitution of our counter olditionists is—'No Union with Slaveholder.' ought to be revered, and held in sacredness, next to the revealed will of God, hardly allowing ourselves to think it possible for it to be destroyed. Against such infidelity, I cannot hope to persuade you, until you learn that Slavery is a sin and evil so enormous that the Constitution cannot sanctify it; but from such reverence for a human doctrine, I would pray—

'The good Lord deliver us!' favor of electing men to office who traffic in human flesh—who buy and sell Christians—who grow rich on their unpaid labor, and who are guilty of as great crimes as that which the United States law declares to be piracy. On the other hand, Mr. Johnston is a *Hydropathist*, and is in favor of keep-

ing man-stealers out of office, and treating them as they treat lunatics in the Asylum, with the shower against such misanthropy.

But it was my intention to correct some of departments, as legislators, judges and executors; the Hydropathist would have them stay at home N. R. JOHNSTON.

> MR. CALEB CUSHING. Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

Boston, Feb. 10, 1858. You did that illustrious son of Massachusetts, of disunion. The only shadow of foundation for your charge is, that a resolution favoring disunion was offered and discussed, but not passed; unless the fact, that some of the speakers in the Convention you intimate that his course on the bill enabling Atheists to testify in the courts of justice might be offensive to the great National party of which he is a defence and a sweet ornament ('et prasidium et dulce decus'), you mean to imply that that consideration could have influenced him in the most infinitesimal degree in such a case. You do not know, perhaps, that this distinguished person is not only one of the most substantial props of our State, but one of the most highly polished pillars of our Church. I remember, several years ago, an evangelically pious gentleman, who had long resided in St. Petersburg, was asked by a brother saint, 'What manner of man the Emperor Nicholas might be? 'I tell you, Sir,' was the emphatic response, 'I tell you, Sir, that he has been grossly misrepresented. The Emperor Nicholas, Sir, is decidedly The same description, undoubtedly, might pious! be given with equal truth of the eminent personage in question. His expeditions into Mexico and China were, I apprehend, undertaken rather in a missionary spirit than in one of conquest or diplomacy. Their object was rather to spread the knowledge of Protestant Christianity among the Catholics and the Pagans, than to enlarge the area of our Freedom or of our Translator. It is not to be surround that or of our Tea-tables. It is not to be supposed that such a man could be made to swerve from the line of religious duty by any mere sublunary notions of a political character. At any rate, he was not.

the number of slaves has been on the increase, the Slave-Power has become more and more dominant, and the Federal Government has been one of the strongest allies of the Slave-Power, so that almost every power under the control of the National Government is now made subservient to the interests of Slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That the Union which was framed in iniquity should be repudiated, and the way framed in iniquity should be repudiated, and the way prepared for the establishment of a Northern Republic, in which justice and righteousness may prevail.

And here let me say, parenthetically, oppropos to the tea-table, that you were rather too hard on your little tea-and-toastical cotemporary here, The Evening Transcript, in your comments on the speech of the great man in question on the uses made of the Representatives' Hall by the Anti-Slavery Society, and the logical deductions he made from these premises. I understand that The Transcript is a native of the same respectable though somewhat moldy old town of Newburyport to which we owe the nativity of Mr. Cushing. Now it is the fortieth article, or And here let me say, parenthetically, appropas in which justice and righteousness may prevail.

You err in your statements respecting the Committee on Resolutions. There were fire on that Committee, instead of three. The name of two you do not mention. And you should have informed your readers, as was stated in the Convention, and, I suppose in your hearing, that Judge Tabor was absent when some of the resolutions were reported, and knew nothing of their character, and would, no doubt, have dissented from the disunion resolution. and knew nothing of their character, and would, no doubt, have dissented from the disminon resolution. You should have stated also, that Asa Low, a member of the committee, did not agree to the resolution, but only to the whereas prefixed.

Your fling at Ex-Gov. Slade as the School-marm. but only to the whereas prefixed.

Your fling at Ex-Gov. Slade as the 'School-marm man' is characteristic of your whole article. William Slade, as a good man, as a friend to human rights, and as a friend to Education, is above the reach of the Bradford Telegraph.

You seem to think you have used up the Convention when you inform your readers that Parker Pillsbury, two colored men, and a man who works on the Sabbath, were prominent members. Suppose the last man, to whom you refer, had been a member of a Democratic Convention, or of a Temperance Convention, or any other reform meeting, would you have told your readers of it? Was not the Convention merely an Anti-Slavery Convention? Could every man, who chose to come in answer to the Call, be questioned as to his views or practice in regard to the Sabbath, or on religious points? You

anguage.

But to return to Mr. Cushing. If any one sitting in the Scoffers' Seat should presume to question the 595. And yet we do not believe that Caleb disbursfacts of his soundness in the faith, or of his vital ed a lonesome shilling for this attention upon the facts of his soundness in the faith, or of his vital plety, such a one can be put to an open shame. His claim to these characteristics was solemnly authenticated and indorsed by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts several years ago, and thus put on record, under the sanction of the State. It happened on this wise. The Board of Overscers of the University at Cambridge was reorganized about 1852, to obviate certain cavils that the control of the College was entirely in the hands of the Unitarians. This was not strictly the case; but there was an outcry raised, and the old plan of a board of life-members, filling their own vacancies, joined with the Governor, Senate and a few other ex-officion members, was abandoned, and a board substituted consisting of a rotating body (if there be such a word as rotate), of which a certain number was to go out as rotate), of which a certain number was to go out every year, their place to be filled by the Legislature of that year. I dare say I am not altogether right as to this, but it is near enough for my present purpose. • The intention of those who promoted this change, it is supposed, was to restore the con-trol of the University to Calvinists, or orthodox, work cost money; and it is hardly fair that a spec-as they are denominated hereabouts, who had long ulative person should avail himself of their manifold thought that they were kept out of their kingdom unjustly. But when the revolution came, they were not permitted to enter in and possess it, as of hereditary, indefeasible right. All the nations round about—the Methodists, and Baptists, and Episcopalians, and Universalists, even—put in their claims to a share of the booty they had all united to win. So the Board was parceled out among them all, and the custom is still kept up to maintain the balance of power among the sects. At the outset, however, when the selection of the orthodox constituents of the new Board was in question, Mr. Wendell Phillips was nominated as one whose fitness in every other particular could not be denied, and the orthodoxy of whose Calvinism was beyond thought that they were kept out of their kingdom

ATLAS CUSHING.

It is our duty as national journalists to notice all hasty, ill-considered and impolitic legislation, whethhasty, ill-considered and imported registation, whether it may occur at Washington, that subline seat of government, or in the humbler, less ugly and less ostentations State capitals. We cannot, in adequate terms, convey to the reader our sense of horror and the will reserve a national bone or two for the spanters, convey to the reader our sense of horror and the will reserve a national bone or two for the spanters, convey to the reader our sense of horror and the will reserve a national bone or two for the spanters. terms, convey to the reader our sense of horror and desolation, when we read in a Boston paper that the Massachusetts House of Representatives had solemnly excused the Hon. Caleb Cushing from attendance for the space of time of five days. We rapidly and mentally revolved the consequences. We said to ourselves: 'Now that the guiding light of that erratic body is about to be withdrawn, may we not anticipate a coup d' etat? What revolutionary measures, subgersive of all sound government, may the introduced—ave carried too, during that not be introduced—aye, carried too, during that fatal five days' seclusion of the Newburyport guide, philosopher, and friend! Who will speak a word the master and crew had abandoned her with their for the unhappy Judge Loring and his salary? Who will stand up for white folks? Will not the black, all beheld a dreadful scene; the slaves forced their moment. We cannot say, and we care not, what his business was. This being a penitential season, beans in his boots. But even these exercises cannot be received as sufficient excuses. The House of Reresentatives of Massachusetts without the ex-Attorey-General, for five long, weary, wretched, anarchi-al days! Think of the Republican members, with nobody upon the other side to answer, rushing upon each other like so many cats of Kilkenny, with fratricidal intentions, and absolutely leaving nothing in the hall, except a little fur and the emblematical

Treasury of the Courier the handsome sum of \$1,-

to the Boston Courier should hold a mass meeting in some small chamber, and should petition the editor of that sheet to suppress Cushing. If a news-paper is to be maintained in Boston exclusively for his deification, we respectfully submit that he should

advantages, unless he is willing to disburse the scot.

The truth is, the little handful of men in Massa-Wendell Phillips was nominated as one whose fitness in every other particular could not be denied, and the orthodoxy of whose Calvinism was beyond all doubt. But the Legislature shook its head, and chose Mr. Cushing in his stead. In view of which choice, a pious Methodist present declared aside that they had said, like the Jews of old, 'Not this man, but Barabbas!' So you see there can be no question of the soundness of the orthodoxy of this valuable letters.

BYLES.

The fifty years ago. Winthrop stands shivering on the brink, and is not yet baptized in the waters of sons who would like to pour forth, but nobody cares to listen to them. Caleb, however, is a novelty, the can talk—ye gods, how he can talk! Therefore the antediluvian gentlemen are making the most of him, and they may be sure that he will make the most of them. Office in Massachusetts he cannot hope for, and he is speechilying with no view to place at home. But he is determined not to be forgetten, and prefers notoriety to oblivion. If he has gotten, and prefers notoriety to oblivion. If he has the skill to make certain silly people roast his chest-nuts, so much the better for him. But it would be hard to tell upon what meat he has fed, that he is

'The ship was rolling in the breakers with all her sails flapping about, and appeared to be full of slaves; the master and crew had abandoned her with their the yellow, the red races take this opportunity of securing 'rights which white men are not bound to respect'? Our opinion was, that the house had acted very injudiciously at this critical moment in allowing its Mentor to absent himself for a single her heavy lurching for some time prevented their boarding; when they succeeded, the scene was hor-rifying, the slaves still forcing their way up from he may have retired for private prayer, or for intro-spective contemplation, for self-flagellation, or for walking from Boston to Newburyport with unboiled attempts to pacify them were useless; force was and continuing to throw themselves overboard. All attempts to pacify them were useless; force was necessary to drive them below until peparations could be made for their safety. We are told by one of the slaves who could speak Portuguese, that they were told the English would cut all their throats.

As soon as the boats could be attended to, the cut-

ter was backed under the stern, and a rope her; then three of the slaves were permitted up at a time, and lowered into the boat, the whale-boat contricidal intentions, and absolutely leaving nothing in the hall, except a little for and the emblematical codfish! It is generally understood that Mr. Cushing is the Atlas of petrified Massachusetts conservatism, and bears upon his shoulders that granite globe. Suppose the ancient and veritable Atlas had slipped off his orbicular burden, and departed upon a pleasure excursion! Where should we all have been? When Palinurus falls into the sea, what can save the ship?

We will answer, we will tell you. Atlas Cushing departed for five days, but like a defunct grinder, he left his organ behind. He left it also in the usual tune, with an unusual volume of wind in the bellows, and all the stops properly arranged; so that the artist locun tenens has only to turn away for dear life until the return of the original performer. When we saw the announcement of Mr. Cushing's departure, we supposed that the publication of the Boston Courier would be suspended. Whom it would write of, what bright particular star it would worship during Mr. Cushing's obscuration, we were at a loss to determine. But a retrospective review satisfied us. Even as a country doctor, who may not see his patient again for a week, leaves behind him a large collection of medicaments, so Dr. Cushing has a leave collection of medicaments, so Dr. Cushing has a leave when heart with that look of maternal love yeying them through the rollers to the large boat,

From the New York Independent. THE CONFLICT AND THE CRISIS.

STANDING ARMY, A PALLING PREEDOM, AND A SILENT MINISTRY.

Actum est de te. Periisti! Who can look into the futurity of the destinies of the United States,

even for five years? But it does not require either a powerful imagination, or a morbid terror, to hear a powerful imagination, or a morbid terror, to near the sentence of perdition upon American freedom, Actum est de te! The people are offering their necks to the yokes of their tyrants, and putting into their hands the very knives with which to complete the sacrifice. Never was such a spec-tacle beheld, of a nation deliberately renouncing and betraying its privilege and power of sover-eignty and self-government, and trembling, cring-ing, and bowing at the motion and will of its own servants, whom it has set as its despotic rulers, servants, whom it has set as its despotic rulers, giving them a standing army to support their own despotism. The madness of the Hebrews, when they asked of God a king, was but a momentary vertigo, in comparison with the permanent insanity of degradation, with which the people of this country are consigning all their manliness and independence, and everything dear to con-science and to freedom, over into the dominion of that meanest, most removedless, and most ferocious of all human tyrannies, a slaveocracy!

What meek, inoffensive, peaceful lambs are our Senators and Representatives! They bleat in de-light at the anticipated sacrifice. They vote new light at the anticipated sacrifice. They vote new regiments of troops (and volunteers or regulars, they well know it makes no difference) to keep down the people, while the nation's throat is cut. The marks of remaining spirit and energy among them are seen almost solley in the butting of the goats, while the sheep are led to the slaughter. Pleased to the last they crop their flowery food, and frisk and play, while the butcher grinds his cleavers.

But the court-lambs that lose their heads are only metamorphosed into wolves, and turned into the fold again, while the wool of their old skins is the fold again, while the wool of their old skins is just as good as ever to pull over the eyes of others. Undisguised trickery and lying, corruption and bribery, violence and fraud, stalk at large, and the few good men that remain are compelled to cry out under the burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see, 'O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? even cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save? Why dost thou show me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance? for spoiling and violence are before me, and there are spoiling and violence are before me, and there are those that raise up strife and contention. Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the ighteous; therefore wrong judgment proc

Yea, the wicked dosh compass about the righteous, and they that were thought righteous are as
dough for the purposes of the wicked; so that the
passage in Hosea, with imagery that it might have
been thought never again could be so completely
realized, is illustrated by a reproduction of the very transactions of abomination there recorded.

For they commit falsehood; and the thief cometh in, and the troop of robbers spoileth without. And they consider not in their hearts that God remembereth all their wickedness. They make the king glad with their wickedness, and the princes with their lies. They are all as an oven heated by the baker, who ceaseth from raising after he hath kneaded the dough, until it be leavened. For they have made ready their heart like an oven, while they lie in wait: their baker sleepeth all the night; in the morning it burneth as a flaming fire. They are all hot as an oven, and have devoured their judges. There is none among them that calleth unto me and they do not return to the Lord thair unto me, and they do not return to the Lord their God, nor seek him for all this! Woe unto them! for they have fled from me; destruction upon them because they have transgressed against me. Though I have redeemed them, yet have they spoken lies against me. But their calf shall be broken in pieces, for they have sown the wind, and they shall cap the whirlwind.

reap the whiriwind.

Kneading their dough, and devouring their judges!

These are among the smallest of their operations,
when the wicked compass about the righteous, and are permitted to use them, and the tution itself, for their purposes; and the Dred Scott decision, and the promulgation of its prin-ciples, with its bitter fruits forced down the throats ciples, with its bitter fruits forced down the throats of a submissive people, are the natural result. Only one thing was needed, only one element, to constitute in our government an exact counterpart presentment of the picture of iniquity in the Scriptures, and that we now have in full; the garroting of truth, and the practice of open unadulterated forgery and lying in the halls of legislation, and in the seat of the suprome magistracy, and in the published deliberate messages and edicts of the magistrate, in defiance of the moral sense and common sense and undisputed knowledge of the or the magistrate, in defiance of the moral sense and common seuse and undisputed knowledge of the whole community. 'Those that sat in the gate speak falsehood, and judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off, for truth backward, and justice standeth afar off, for truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter. Our judges are evening wolves; they gnaw not the bones till the morrow. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh and the judge asketh for a reward, and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up. The best of them is a briar; the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hades.

uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up. The best of them is a briar; the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge.'

I pray thee, O prophet of the Lord, of whom is this spoken? Was it written of the Jews, and are we transmuted into their identity of depravity and judicial blindness? Have we gone back by the dial of Ahas three thousand years to arrogate and appropriate, with irresistible application, this indictment of baseness and villany as ours? Let the iniquitous and despotic legislation now being wrought to its perfection in Congress, and the violent stifling of inquisition into crime, answer. In what legislative assembly on earth was there ever before such indorsement of known frauds, and such open, deliberate, daring suppression of inquiry? The fraud discovered and proved, glaring and undeniable, and yet legal investigation forbidden, and that in the sight of all the people! The witnesses at hand, with full and perfect evidence, and yet not one of them permitted to appear in court or to speak! It is as when, in a land of slavery, a man shall openly, daringly, steal, murder, commit adultery, and the eyes of a thousand slaves shall be upon him, but there shall be no legal proof; so these crimes in Congress are crimes with only slaves as witnesses, and there can be no testimony. The thing may be never doubted, but the law so ensuaringly contrived, and the conspiracy of suppression so unanimous, that the prosecutor himself shall be prosecuted, condemned, and hanged, while the criminal goes free. 'None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth infiguity. They hatch cockatricus' eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper.' And so on, to the end of the chapter, which, had it been now first revealed from heaven for our condemnation, could not more accurately have depicted our iniquity and shame.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDS

Will the free North never take the government Will the free North never take the government, and administer it for freedom? The people are like the unarmed passengers of a ship, with a pirate in command at the helm. He is armed to the teeth, and his officers with him; and while he stands with his revolver in one hand, and the other on the wheel, giving his orders, what can the cowering, shrinking, unarmed rabble do but obey? But privary on heard a ship is not to be compared. But piracy on board a ship is not to be compared in its criminality, with the piracy of usurpation in the State for the sake of slavery. There is no higher crime than that of usurping the authority of law by fraud or violence. And it is a participation in the monstrous guilt, when men unsel a compliance with it, a submission to it, an ignoring of it, or a concealment and voluntary forgetfulness of the prime iniquity. Nothing but resistance and revolution can be right. It cannot be right, because a lie has been told, to support it as the truth, rather than take the trouble to contradiet it. Yet this is the principle of those who have counseled submission to the usurpation in Kansas, submission to its laws, as if the government were a legal and legitimate authority. Submission to such a government, the receiving and acknowledging of it as right, is the destruction of all government, and a bount for the highest evine. bounty for the highest crime.

an enactment of the British Parliament, their own legitimate government, for taxing them without representation. In the short period of seventy-five years, so infinite a change has passed upon their descendants that they are enforcing on free citizens, with the United States army, laws enacted by an illegitimate legislature laws without legal authority, laws acknowledged by the very Senate that maintains them to be unconstitutional, barbarous, infamous! The sun in heaven never shone upon a more monstrous transaction. Innocent men patriotic citizens are denounced by the President of gained, gentlemen, by resisting what they so strongly the United States as rebels, subject to be arrested for demand? They are permanent—official station is treason, on the charge of refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of a legislature admitted to have been casily changed—and they will allow no incompegality of laws, admitted to have been illegal and sive in the extreme! And this whole iniquity, with most ingenious devices for its perpetuity, can be wrought into a state constitution, to be forced upon a free people, and a standing army kept on the iness for such enforcement, and these outrages can be proposed and perpetrated in the confidence that the spirit and conscience of the people are so broken and debauched, that neither tance nor retribution is anywhere to be apprehended. Nor was there ever a more idioti Insign than the imagination that, such a constitution being once supreme by United States law, and enforced by United States troops, the people would be permitted to throw it off, or that, if they atdespotism would not by violence confirm it.

We have reason to fear that under the conspiracy of the Church and the Ministry to maintain a sworn and absolute silence in regard to these monstrous crimes, in regard to any crime of government for the support of slavery, however monstrous, and to prevent the thunder of God's Word from breaking out; we fear that under the policy of churches to muzzle the ministry, and under the miserable submission of the ministry to have their pulpits and their lips thus muzzled, the conscience of the people really is too far debauched and broken to hope for any real resistance, any effectual opposition, against niquity of slavery in itself, or the tremendous sin of fastening a slave-constitution on the govern-ment and people of a new state.

In proportion to the boldness and remorselessness with which the defenders of slavery advance, is the

shrinking cowardice with which many in the ministry retreat; and in proportion to the thoroughness with which slavery fills the whole field of politics, are the anxiety and determination of many of the ministry to keep religion out of it, or not to apply the Word of God to it. They are afraid of it, they are distressed by it, they denounce its reprobation from the pulpit as fanatical, agitating, radical, exciting, exasperating, disturbing, breaking the peace. Their maxim is, Purity if convenient, and Truth if not troublesome, but Peace at all hazards and at any rate. And so, in that time, that place, country, and crisis, of all history the most important, the most solemn, in that conflict of all others in the world demanding the World of God and its ministers in the field, fearless and powerful in God, they have drawn back, have proved timid men and time-servers, have deserted heir guns, and let them be spiked, and entered into a mutual compact not to bring the Word of God into pulpit action, but to leave it slumbering in the ind-broken testimony of half a century ago And they will meet in council to propose insisting on the claims of the Sabbath, and at the very sam time will denounce as a profanation of the Sabbath any presentation, on that day, of the claims of four millions of their fellow-creatures in bondage to the freedom given them by the Word of God!

Just so, when our Saviour was on earth, they were such sticklers for the Sabbath, and the highest or thedoxy, that they denounced even him, the Lord of the Sabbath, for the healing of the people on the Sabbath day! It was Seribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, that thus proclaimed their zeal for the Sabbath, by their inhumanity to man. Perhaps our modern Pharisees are no whit nearer to God, nor more acceptable to him, when they also strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel; proclaim the obligation to keep the Sabbath so holy, that all mention of the miseries of those who are in bonds, all Just so, when our Saviour was on earth, they wer of the miscries of these who are in bonds, all prayer for them, all preaching on their behalf, all demunistration by God's Word of the wickedness of treating them us chattels and brute beasts, is itself on of that holiness, and a sin against God While the church and the ministry continue thus basely to belie and botray the Word of God, and refuse its application to one of the greatest forms of iniquity that now lays waste the world, who can wonder at the gigantic, uncontrolled sway of that iniquity, or at the swiftness and comprehensiveness of its advance, or that, opposing and exalting itself

above all that is called God, or is worshipped, it should be enthroned as the dearest idel known of politicians and of Christians, sitting in the temple of God, and parading itself if not actually as God, at least as God's Missionary Institute and Vicegerent! Let the people look to it, and let the churches and the ministers awake!

C.

# The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 5, 1858.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

When the petitions for the removal of Judge Lor ing were first presented to the House of Represents tives, they were promptly referred to a Special Committee for joint action on the part of the Senate. For six weeks after this for some mysterious reason—the Senate neglected to make any reference of the peti-tions, thus preventing their consideration, until a few act—the Governor and Council also. Either enforce days since. This culpable conduct will be matter of the law, or repeal it. The people will tolerate no reinquiry hereafter. On Tuesday forenoon, the Joint peal, and they demand its execution. Shall they or a Special Committee gave a hearing to the petitioners, pro and con, in the Representatives' Hall. No one appeared on behalf of Judge Loring, but a brief com-

the Committee, as the response of the numerous peti- public repose, and promote public justice. God tioners for the removal of the Judge. To the Joint Special Committee of the Legislature, to

whom have been referred the petitions for the removal

of Judge Loring.

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned, petitioners for the removal of EDWARD GREELEY LORING from the office of Judge of Probate for Suffolk county, respectfully beg leave to submit, in reply to the invitation extended to them to show cause why their prayer should be granted-

That they deem it wholly superfluous to re-open case which has twice been fully examined in all its bearings, and elaborately argued, before two Committees of the Legislature, upon whose Reports, in the affirmative, the Legislature has twice voted, by a very large majority in both branches, in favor of the object prayed for; and which the popular sentiment of this Commonwealth, deep-rooted and unconquerable, demands to be met in a prompt, manly and satisfactory manner, both by the Senate and House of Representatives, and by the Governor and Council. The time has gone by for hesitancy or doubt, for argument or procrastination. Not an additional ray of light can be needed, on your part, to guide you to just conclusions. The subject has been discussed from Barnstable to Berkshire, for the last three years, at every fire-side, in the social circle, in the public assembly, in every newspaper, and wherever men congregate. It requires no repetition of words, no new evidence, but only acrion, in conformity with the will of the people, expressed through multitudinous petitions from year to year, and by the twice-recorded verdict of their representatives, in General Court assembled.

Twice have the people of Massachusetts had their olemn decree defeated, respecting the removal of Judge Loring, by a Governor whom they have been unwilling any longer to tolerate in office; and they now look confidently to the present Chief Magistrate, that he will promptly comply with their wishes, it requested to do so on the part of this Legislature. They ask that this case may be met upon its merits, and by a direct vote; and not be superseded, or evaded, or jeoparded, by any other question. They regard this as paramount in importance to all other matters now before the Legislature, because it relates directly to the honor, the dignity, and the sovereignty of the State, and to the imperilled cause of liberty throughout the land. It is not a local concern, affecting only the county of Suffolk, but is as broad as the Commonwealth, and full of significance and | and interest to the whole country. What is to be tency or treachery to defeat their irrevocable purpose. If, for the third time, they shall find ther selves baffled, their moral indignation will burn with new intensity, and a deeper agitation will follow. Is

it desirable to prolong this excitement? It has been artfully attempted, by those whose sympathies are wholly Southern in their tendencies, to excite odium against the movement for the removal of Judge Loring, by representing it as limited to 's fanatical association. Let the numerous petitions before the Committee be examined; and it will be seen that those whose names are appended to then touch every rank in life, every variety of calling, and are irrespective of party lines-including a considera ble portion of the women of Massachusetts. They represent no anti-slavery organization, but truly indicate the all-prevailing sentiment of THE PROPLE. It is a popular, not an abolition demonstration.

The grounds on which the removal of Judge Lor ing is demanded are various, in the public mind, but in the petitions they are narrowed to one single specification, because that admits of no evasion, and relates to the sovereignty of the State, and to enforcement of its laws. It is as follows:

That by a law passed May 21, 1855, by the Legisla-

No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the acts of Congress named in the 6th section of this act, or to serve the same, shall, at the same time, held any office of honor, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth.

That in open defiance of this law, and of the voice of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed (without distinction of party) by the action of two separate Le-gislatures for his removal, but twice rendered inopgislatures for his removal, but twice rendered inop-erative by Executive non-concurrence, Edward Gree-ley Loring, while acting as a Commissioner of the United States, continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk; thus setting an example of contumacy unbecoming a good citizen, and wantonly disregarding the moral convictions of the people of this State as pertaining to the enforcement of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill.

ment of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill.

They, therefore, earnestly pray the General Court again to recommend to the Governor and Council, the removal of said Edward Greeley Loring from the the removal of said Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate; and thus enforce a whole-some law of the Commonwealth, which it is his declared purpose to disregard, and thereby vindicate the sovereignty of the people of this Commonwealth.

The law here referred to was passed by the Legislature in connection with the Personal Liberty Bill, (a Bill, the adoption of which was hailed with exultation by the friends of freedom throughout the North, and which has given intense dissatisfaction to the 'lords of the lash' at the South,) in consequence of the deep moral repugnance of the people of this Commonwealth to the odious Fugitive Slave Law, which they regard as equally inhuman and unconstitutional; and also on account of the summary manner in which Judge Loring, as United States &c., &c., will repay the most deliberate perusal, and Commissioner, remanded Anthony Burns back to chains and bondage, against law and against evidence, to his own disgrace, and to the shame and sorrow of Massachusetts—thereby fearfully endangering the public peace, and bringing this great commu nity to the verge of bloody violence and horrid mas While the law forbids no citizen from filling the office of Slave Commissioner, who chooses to ac in that capacity, it expressly declares that no person holding any office of honor, trust-or emolument, under the laws of this Commonwealth, shall at the same time be a Commissioner of the United States. to carry into execution the Fugitive Slave Law.

Judge Loring has continued to violate this law ever since its enactment, and openly defice the Common-

wealth. He will neither retire from his office as Judge of Probate, nor yield up his office as Slave Commissioner. If he had not been apparently lost to all self-respect—if he had had any considerations for the moral convictions and humane feelings of the people of this State—he would long since have voluntarily vacated his judicial position, and given place to some other person, against whom no such aversion existed. This he would have done as an act of magnanimity, and to show that he was not animated b any selfish motive, even though believing that he had faithfully discharged a most unpleasant duty as Commissioner. But his is a contumacious and defiant spirit. He triumphs over the law, and tramples it under his feet. He declares that he will never obey it, and that he will not only be Slave Commis but Judge of Probate also, any law of this Common

realth to the contrary notwithstanding. Gentlemen of the Committee, this is the issue yo are called upon to meet, and in reference to which you are to make your report to the Legislature. This is solitary individual, rule the old Bay State? As legislators, of what avail will your enactments prove, if every factious spirit is to be allowed to disregard them munication was received from him by the Committee, with impunity? Vindicate, then, the insulted majes-acknowledging that he is violating the law of the ty of the State, give heed to the voice of the people State, because he regards the law as unconstitutional, and thereby confer upon this Legislature and the The following paper was read by Mr. Garrison to present State administration lasting honor, secure the save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! For the petitioners,

SAMUEL MAY, FRANCIS JACKSON. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, THEODORE PARKER. WENDELL PHILLIPS, SAMUEL MAY, Jn., ROBERT F. WALLCUT, JAMES JACKSON.

MEETING AT ABINGTON.

An anti-slavery meeting, for Abington and town surrounding, was held on Sunday last at Union Hall, North Abington. It was well attended by a goodly number of those faithful men and women whose names and services have rendered Plymouth County nemorable in the history of the Anti-Slavery strug gle. Three meetings were held :- that in the forenoon being addressed by Samuel May, Jr., and Sarah P. Remond, after passages from the prophetical books of the Old Testament had been read by W. L. Garri-

In the afternoon, Mr. Garrison addressed the meeting. He took for the principal subject of his remarks somewhat singular sermon recently preached at the centre Orthodox church of the town, by its pastor, Mr. Abbe. The sermon, which was on the text-Without holiness no man shall see the Lord,' had een published in the Abington Standard, and thus challenged public notice and criticism. Its one idea' was, that good things are not necessarily hely things, nor are good persons necessarily holy persons For example, a horse may be a good horse, but is not therefore a hely horse ! a lion may have very good qualities, but is not therefore a holy lion! (This ar gument must have quite floored the assembly !) So temperance, said the Rev. preacher, 'is good, very good, and anti-slavery is good, very good, but neither the one nor the other are holy, nor can make any one holy, and are good for nothing as a passport to Heaven! The only magic words which will open the gates of Heaven are ' Christ crucified.' Altogeth er, as a specimen of crude and puerile reasoning, o absurd and unmeaning illustration, and of daring ex periment upon the common sense and reasoning ca pacities of an audience, the sermon may challenge comparison with anything the press, of town or coun try, has ever called upon their readers to peruse. As an attempt, however weak, to stab the cause of antislavery under the transparent mask of friendship, and with the long face and canting tone of the sectariar priest, it was a fair subject of remark in an anti-sla very meeting; and Mr. Garrison did not fail to improve the opportunity, although it would seem he must have realized something of the man's feeling who once told how hard it was to kick against nothing. and bearing of the resolutions, found below.

Miss Remond made a brief appeal to the m in behalf of aid to the cause; and Mr. May spoke both of the Past and the Future of the Anti-Slavery

In the evening, the time was occupied by Miss Re nond and Mr. Garrison in a manner evidently to edify and delight the audience.

All honor to those in Abington and elsewhere who, unmoved by any fears, doubts, or hopes of world ly favor, have so long and steadfastly upheld the tandard of Truth, Righteousness, and the True Reli-

The meeting was presided over, in an able and dignified manner, by Micah H. Pool, Esq., and Briggs Arnold officiated as Secretary. Elbridge Sprague and Philander Shaw were a Committee of Finance and some \$13.00 or \$14.00 were collected to meet ex-

The following resolutions, among others, wer adopted by a unanimous vote :

Resolved, That while opposition to chattel slaver nay not be evidence of the possession of that 'hol ness, without which no man shall see the Lord,' it certain that the holiness which is in complicity with that most wicked system, or which recognizes as o the household of faith those who enslave their fellowmen, or which does not participate in the struggle t break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal-is either arrant hypocrisy or the most deplorable self-delu

Resolved. That whoever does not see in the imbr ed slave 'Christ crucified,' shall look in vain in any other direction for their Lord, -if the test of characteristics ter is to be accepted, as recorded in the 25th chapte

It was voted, That the proceedings of the meetin together with a copy of the resolutions adopted, furnished to the Abington Standard, with a reque for publication in that journal.

THE LIBERATOR, this week, will be four peculiarly interesting and valuable. The admirable address of Mrs. C. H. Dall, delivered before the Legislative Committee, and the forcible petition fro SARAH H. WALL, of Worcester, in defence of the ight of suffrage in this Commonwealth, without regard to sex-the letter of N. R. JOHNSTON-the Isaiah-like description of the fearful condition of our ountry, by Rev. Dr. CHERVER, copied from the the instructive and eloquent speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS—the response of Messrs. SAMUEL MAY, FRANCIS JACKSON, THEODORS PARKER, and others, to the Committee in the case of Judge Loring prove extremely interesting to all our readers.

Among several communications we are relu intly obliged to exclude from our columns this week, for want of room, is a letter from our friend PARKER PILLSBURY; in reply to a criticism upon his meech concerning the Topeka Constitution, by T. W. HIGGINSON. Mr. PILLABURY has been confined to his chamber by illness, in this city, at the residence of EDMUND JACKSON, Esq., for several weeks past, we are happy to announce is on the recovery.

The Colored Troupe of Northern Vocali will give their Concert at the Mcionnon, on Tuesday next, March 9th. They are said to be excellent.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACRUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY, THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 28, 1858.

ically reported by JAMES M. W. YERRINTON MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

called us back to the fundamental principle of the said he, there are two ways. There is the broad Anti-Slavery movement,—away, partially, at least, from the mere discussion of method. If there was and narrow way that leadeth to perdition, and there any mistake in the latitude of discussion to-day, it tion. 'How is that?' saked the Deacon. 'Why,' was that we wandered off too much into the mere said the preacher, 'it is perfectly plain. There is the discussion of means. Yet, I do not think this a mis- broad and narrow way that leadeth to perdition, and take, I adhere, however, to the old method. I do there is the narrow and broad way that leadeth to not think my friend Fosten's proposition is an ex- destruction.' In that case, this negro takes to pedient one, at the present moment, even if it were the woods!' (Laughter and applause.) So, as consistent with the principle upon which our Society between Buchanan and Douglas and Gen. Wilson, rests. Neither do I agree with Mr. Higginson, that 'I take to the woods.' That is, I take to the natural it would never be possible for a political movement element of ethical and moral discussion with the to grow out of ours. On the contrary, I think the people, freed from the cobwebs of constitutional obli time may come when this movement may give birth gations and church resolutions. We are to make to exactly such a political enterprise as Mr. Fostan men 'fanatics'-nothing else is of any service. There described this afternoon. But whenever it does, are men who have made up their minds that, at any other men than ourselves will inaugurate it. It hazard, at all costs, to the present Church, and the distrust, and odium, and personal antipathy that we have,—it would be hardly in the nature of things, meets them. They are not silently to cherish the that we should inaugurate a successful political move- purpose—they are to proclaim it. I would like to difficulty at all, -if we could only create that public whole State should. I do not care what politicians opinion, without which all politics is in vain. The are doing at Washington. We can make those polislave system, strong as it is, viewed as the Slave ticians obey us. All this individual agitation is Power, is weak, truly despicable, before a determin- necessary preliminary to politics, and that is our ed, broad, individual, Anti-Slavery purpose.

A year ago, I travelled on the Northern bank of the Ohio River. On the other side lay the hills of Kentucky. What prevented the slaves, whom I character of the nation-religiously, as well as pocould see on the bank on the other side, from coming litically; and in order to do it, we must necessarily to Ohio? A quarter of a mile of still, placid water! be very slow, as my friend Fosten thinks we are What prevented the slaves of Louisville from coming We gain very slowly on a prosperous, industrious over, and taking their freedom on the Ohio bank? It was not studded with dwellings, it was not cov- of material gain. It is very hard to plant the selffootsteps of freemen on the free soil of Pennsylvania. politics, the hearts, of the men of the free States.

if they will listen to him-I will abolish slavery in hearts, I do not know. people, we could have disabused them of the supersti- the New World, and the help of the commercial car keep it a moment; it is the vile pro-slavery deterly, politically ;-by just that sort of defiance which

at him! Until we have done that, all political organization is vain. That is the basis of it.

The people do not believe the black man a man they think they do, but they do not. They see with supremacy of their party. It is upon that mass of their prejudices, not their eyes. The Anti-Slavery enterprise is an effort to teach the American people, what Horace Mann did not know six years ago, plains of Maryland that he does to his blood brother; until we have done that, we have not the means of a political movement; and when we have done it slavery would not be possible less than a hundred miles from the frontier of a free State.

I think, therefore, what we need is the old fanaticism' with which we were charged. We must be fanatics. The moment we acquire an atom of re spectability, you may be sure we are lowering our standard (spplause); for the country is all wrong, pased on wrong, thoroughly impregnated with wrong, that what we are to preach, is just what we began to preach thirty years ago; that is, that every man's first duty, as an American citizen, is to get rid of This individual life, that begins in religion, un slavery; as an American Christian, to protest against derlies politics. It is the basis, the superstructure it; and we are not to cease, day or night, crying out, that no man bears the most distant relation to Christianity, who does not stand in the pulpit and proclaim to every man who hears him, that his first Christian duty is to trample under foot all constitu- Not one of you is socially abused as you ought to be tions and all laws, to reach the slave and free him. (Loud cheers.) I do not believe Christianity has any have done so. As they said of Christians in the nearer or closer duty than that; and we are to pro- fifteenth century- No good Christian dies in his bed claim it. It does not matter whom we follow. I would to-day ; there ought to be no Abolitionist who has just as soon follow Douglas as Wilson, and just as a shred of character left. If he has, he has made soon follow Buchanan as Douglas. The whole of some mistake, and should go home and correct it politics is rotten. The only value in Republicanism for all around him stands a Pro-Slavery Church a that man always grows wiser by his errors. Ex- that he ought to have insulted into absolute hatred mistakes. Republicanism is one grand mistake, and tinually yielding up its humanity for some temporar these men who believe in politics up to a higher angry. By his side stands some trader or merchant level. They did not believe us at the beginning, who is selling his soul for customers; he ought to when we preached the doctrine that politics was not have told him the truth. His life should be devote possible under this Constitution; -they proceeded to to an exhibition of the truth. That is the way try it, and are trying it. When Freedom is trodden nation is to be reformed. Do you suppose you car out under the Federal heel in Kansas, they will be take a man of vaulting ambition, like HENRY WILnearer believing than now. When the seven regi- sos, the favorite of thousands, who feels that he car ments the President asks for are granted, and the place his foot in the Senate of the United States, and ments the President asks for are granted, and the military power treads down resistance to the Lecomuton Constitution-perhaps the Republican party will be wiser than to-day. But it is only for a school, and to teach you what the United States Govern

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., | friend Foster described to-day, that, after two or hree years, it would die out, from a lack of availability. It is the nature of politics. You cannot play politics. When you have played it one or two years you begin to want to see some practical results. Look at the Republican party! They have gone down from James G. BIRNEY, lying in his honored grave I have been as much interested as my friend Mr. WRIGHT, in the discussions of the morning and afternoon. I do not think they were by any means wasted hours. On the contrary, the great object of sil these meetings is to learn what lies before us, where we are, what we have to do,—and what we have to do it with. It seems to me that Mr. WRIGHT wisely called us back to the fundamental principle of the said he there we have to do the negro's sermon down in Virginia. 'My brethren,' would hardly be possible for men who have done the Constitution, and State Government, and Federal work we have done for twenty years, incurring the Government, they are to render liberty possible for ment, to change the face even of a State, much less make Ohio and Massachusetts so intensely sacred to of one half of the Union. On the contrary, it seems freedom, that every slave as far South as New Orto me that our work is to take the minds of these leans should know it, and the burning prayer of millions, and educate them up to a higher level. I each should be, God grant that before I die, I may do not see that we can go beyond this; certainly we set my foot on the soil of Massachusetts!' We cannot at present. After all, there would be no should not only cherish the purpose, we should progreat difficulty in the Anti-Slavery enterprise,-no claim fearlessly that we meen to be rebels - the

Let no man despair because this work goes o slowly. We are changing the vital and essential money-loving country, intensely devoted to the love ered with wharves, it was not watched by police, - sacrifice of a rigid Anti-Slavery, or any other prinwhy did they not come? Why do they not come ciple, in the heart of such a people. That is what every day? Why is it possible, in Louisville, for a we have got to do. There is no royal road to it. I slave driver's wife, with her own hands to murder acknowledge, with Mr. Fosten, the darkness of the one of her slaves, and yet some thousands of slaves picture. Every day I live convinces me more and remain in that city, and nothing but a narrow stream more of the truth and necessity of our motto of of water between them and a so-called free State? Disunion. I do not know that, even if the Union What makes it possible? This: because the inhab- should be broken to-day, we have vigor enough left itants of Ohio are exactly as much slaveholders as to make it break in such proportion as to secure the those of Kentucky; because the hearts of Ohio are freedom of the slave at once. It was possible. If just as bad as those in Kentucky; because the pul- we could have produced a public opinion twenty pits of Ohio are just as vile as those of Kentucky; years ago, that, with WEBSTER and other then living because the Governor of Ohio, Republican though he men at its head, should have said to the South- No be, is more of a coward than the Governor of Ken- you shall not have Texas; we will have Disunion tucky. (Applause.) If any man wants to feel the first, -if we could have had a public opinion that weight of the American Union, he has only to go would have produced and sustained such politics and sit on the banks of the Ohio, or on the one side of then we could have checkmated the Slave Power. the Pennsylvania line, and look across and see slaves and, possibly, we could have burned it out within its bought and sold at fair prices within the sound of the own limits. But it has annexed Texas, it is in treaty with Mexico for more territory, it has its beel on He will learn then that it is not law that makes slavery Kansas, its eye on Cuba; and before this Republican possible in Maryland, -it is the public opinion of the school has graduated any body from it, the South phabitants of Pannsylvania; it is the religion, the will have Cuba, and perhaps have girdled the Gulf with slave States; and when she is so strong as that, If you will give me Ohio crowded with Aboli- how much will be left for the North to do, even denists - such as HENRY C. WRIGHT can make, when the purpose of Disunion is planted in our

Kentucky in twelve hours. I do not care what men If, twenty years ago, 'Non-extension of Slavery are doing in Washington or in Kansas,-I do not or Disunion, had been the motto of Northern care how many regiments are voted in the Capital, politics, all this could have been prevented, and the give me Ohio, as a State, acting on the maxims Slave Power, pent up within the fourteen or fifteen which Mr. WRIGHT has just laid down as self-evident, States, would have died out. It has got a new lease write them on her heart, and you have abolished now; it has got a new and wide extent of territory; slavery in Kentucky and in Maryland. If, in the it has new crops and harvests, and a vast field to ty years that this cause has been preached to the operate in. It has some of the noblest sections of tious reverence for forms, and of Saxon hatred of race. ital of the Old. I do not know how much real we could have abolished slavery in the border slave strength it has; but it has gone on increasing in States. It does not rest on law; no police could strength continually, because the Northern political movement did not wake up to its true policy. The mination of Northern men. How is it to be got rid North is always relying on alternatives - now a Tariff, of? Not by half-way preaching in the pulpit. The now a Bank, now Internal Improvements, now this Slave Power is to be met only by defiance-religious- measure, and now that. The South has only one-SLAVERY; and she carries it at the point of the bay Mr. WRIGHT has proclaimed with regard to it. That onet, and she always will. And not only this, but is, we are to plant in the heart of every individual she is eating out the Northern conscience. I think citizen this determination: We will free the slave, my friend Mr. WRIGHT complimented Boston far too wherever we see him; and we will trample upon highly when he said there was not a man here who every human and so-called divine law, in order to get would sacrifice his child to the Union. Slavery ha eaten out natural affection so entirely, that I think you will find the people willing to sacrifice almost any thing to the gain of the hour-to the political corrupt religion and vassal politics that we have go to make an impression, and create a power that will defy the Slave Power of the nation. It is a long that he owes the same duty to the black man on the work to do. We are to do it by the vigor of ou individual protest, and the weight of our individua to teach them to realize the New Testament; and lives. If it cannot be done by this means, then, at present, it seems to me, there are no other means before us. We have not reached a time when we can organize into politics. What you are to do, yo Abolitionists who complain that you have nothing to do, is to go home and sit like Mordecai at the gate of your religious church, in your own city or town until you shame it into some sort of agitation. Into the chalk mixture of the Orthodox Church of som secluded village, I want to drop a single morsel of the salt of real Anti-Slavery, and see the agitation its whole religion wrong, and nothing but what it that will ensue, - and every man of you can do that deems fanaticism is hot enough to attack it. I think I ask of the Abolitionist who claims that he ha

nothing to do, if he has turned his own town upside down? He can do that. of politics. You who cannot speak, you can act. You that are not allowed to vote, you can make yourselves felt. Go home, and each, in his own cir cle, startle it by the fanaticism of his Anti-Slavery You have not lost all your reputation-you ought to erience keeps a dear school, and teaches us by our him. All around him stand parties that are con t is a necessary mistake, perhaps, in order to lead office, and he ought to have scolded it into being curb him down into the friftless effort of a perpetual minority of the State of Massachusetts, re ording votes for nothing? No, indeed! If you could get a thousand such men to vote for somebod who can never be elected, and who, if elected, can as a Republican, and Douglas as good as either. never be permitted to fill his office, how long do you I believe, if we inaugurated a party like that my suppose that would remain? When they had in-

creased to five thousand, they would say- It is fool. ish work for us to vote year after year for nothing, We will take a man who can go inside the Capitol at Washington. The same temptation besets all polities. But let me take those five thousand men, and instead of weakening their position by the annual attempt at voting, let me tell them they are bound to proclaim that our religion is a sham, that until preaches disobedience to wicked laws, it does not reach back to the first three centuries of the Christian era, much less to the New Testament; -let them teach politicians that it is a disgrace to rote that while they vote under a pro-slavery Constitution, the man who lifts his hand to swear to support that Constitution, the better he is, the greater is the evil he does to the conscience of the nation ( Hear, hear');—let them proclaim that even such men as SUMNER and WILSON are only confusing the meral sense, and while we recognize them as honest in their efforts to try what they think a good method and deserving of a trial, declare that, in our opinion, they are compromising away the dearest hours that are given for the education of the nation, and strengthening the Slave Power. Give me, therefore, five thousand men, and let them do this, and I will revolutionize the State.

I know this seems harsh, but we are bound to the

harsh. It seems cruel, ultra-critical, to be thus

tearing apart the character of men who think ther

are doing good service to the slave. But how long

have we been in this school? Thirty years. What have we learned? We have learned that there is nothing to be done but to throw down the gauntlet to the Slave Power, and defy it, in the name of Justice and Religion alike; not keeping any measures with it; not saying, with HENRY WILSON, that if the rights of the Slave States are ever invaded, they shall find his hand the readiest to defend them. Every Republican throat on the floor of Congress is stuffed with pledges en wigh to smother its owner, that he will never interfere with slavery in the States. That is what we call politics. What is the use of it? No te at all, unless outside of it, and below it,-I mean, below it as a foundation, -stands a movement like our, educating the people better than their leaders,people more determined, more sagacious, more advanced than their leaders. And such a people exist To-day they exist. Mr. Higginson said with area truth, that underneath this scheming Republican party rested a film of ice, on which its stately machinery was standing; and below were the mil and file, ready for far more radical measure, and far more determined purpose than any which the politicians dare recognize. O, yes, that is always the case! It is the constant criticism of their own rask and file that keeps these men in Congress up to my level of Anti-Slavery determination; and if you will give me a Massachusetts containing ten thousand such men as Mr. FOSTER described this afternoon, ready to take the State, and anchor it outside the Union,-granting that ten thousand such men exist which I do not believe,-I will have HENRY WILSON give you an Anti-Slavery speech from his chair is the Senate, within three months. The moment you will convince me there is a nucleus in Massachusers that demands it, I will get the work done. All we have got to do now is to make the nucleus. We have done a great deal. Times are changed. I can remember when Peter Sprague, standing in Farmi Hall, pointing to the portrait of Washington, said a his emphatic iron tones, "that Sharcholder!"- and if Fancuil Hall rose in rapturous applause. But Es-WARD EVERETT remembers not to mention that fat to-day; and the Anti-Slavery agent who reminds a audience that Washington was a slaveholde, a thought very unkind! That is a great change. Let we have not yet succeeded in making the Anti-Slavey sentiment as unequivocal, and outspoken, and dramined as it should be. There is no use in keeping terms with the pulpit and the press. There is no me in Abolitionists calling the Tribune an Anti-Slavery paper,-it is not, it is a sham. (Applause.) The more good articles it has, the greater injury it dos I know that seems harsh criticism to some. I the you, in my opinion, it is necessary criticism. If it come to close battle with the Slave Power, it and by such instrumentalities that the kind of Aut-Slavery purpose necessary for the contest is to be preduced. I do not want an Anti-Slavery sympolic that, when a fugitive slave stands in State Street, wide awake to protect him, to a certain extent; determined that it shapes the very policy of the State, and gives out to the world that the Commonwealth and shall be, a refuge for fugitive slaves. I know I am making this point of more impor-

ance than some Abolitionists deem it deserves. think it the very Thermopylæ of the Anti-Slave, movement. I believe that, as in the old fable, the mother of Achilles, when she plunged him into the Styx, to make him invulnerable, left out his bed, and that, in the end, gave him his death, so, when our fathers made the compromises of the Constitution tion, some pitying angel put it into their hearts a admit the clause for the recovery of fugitive slave. and it was to be the spot on the heel that was to get the slave system its death at last, through the sympthies of Northern hearts. I believe that through that one single point, you could make slave property ulucless, even in defiance of the Slave Power. It st could only lift Illinois, or Ohio, or Pennsylvania, up to the level of a decent anti-slavery determinated there could not be a slave in Maryland & Kentucks. And how long do you think the system would strvive after that? Horace Mann says that when the Constitution is abolished, slave property will be alueless, because nothing can keep the slaves from rusning away, while God gives us nights. If that parts ment is the only thing that stands in the way, and se cannot get rid of it by voting, we can get rid of it, st Mr. Watour has told us, by teaching the people to trample it under their feet.

Some men say- What is the use of presching Disunion? You cannot bring it about.' If we can educate ten thousand men up to our platform, and plant them along the frontiers, we can make the proud Wickliffs of Kentucky yield up their shree without a law. They cannot keep them. That is a you and me to do; and the moment we have created people who are not to be frightened by the cry d Traitor, or Infidel, that moment we shall have Disunionist to represent you in the Congress of the United States, and every where else.

My friends, my faith in the abolition of slaver always contemplates three methods. One is black It is possible that the slaves in some corner of the slave territory may rise; and any considerable range would carry such terror into the adjoining counter, that that might inaugurate some method of emmipation. I do not despair of that, when I recolled that the fright caused by twelve men in Northers Tennessee, who were suspected of plotting an insurrection, and hung so hastily that they were dead before the alarmed slaveholders discovered that it val all a mistake,—when I recollect that this fright mair Richmond tremble, two hundred miles cast, I do not despair of this alternative. I have no respect for the permanency of an institution that knows it sleep a the edge of a volcano. My other alternative is, that the South, in the madness of success, may stamp had iron heel on Kansus, or some other Territory, so bei ly and haughtily, that the Northwest, -which has far less respect for law than we have-may rise, and lighting the torch of civil war, wave it over the Union, and divide it, without our will, into two great communities. That is possible, if this vile opiate a Republicanism does not lull and best the awakening ascience of the West. We might have heard such tidings two years ago. The guis were loaded and shotted to their lips, the hearts were ready, and hands that would have pointed them against United States banner in the Territory of Kinst

tweaty months ago, but for the timid counsels of Republicans in the city of Washington, that bade them wait, lest they should endanger the success of Premont, or some other candidate. The time may come mont, or shirit of some other Territory, or even of Kansas herself, may send forth the electric spark that shall are the Western heart, and stir it into resistance. That is not impossible. But my other alternative is the one on which I more confidently rely and that is, that when we have stirred this Northern conscience to a proper feeling on the subject of slave ry, when we have got rid, in the political arena, o this dread of the charge of being Disunionists,when we have educated the people out of the reach of Republican leaders, until they are determined abolish slavery at all hazards, -then I think it is possible that, construing their own Constitution to sui themselves, and availing themselves of their own soy ereignty to preserve an individual State, they may set the example, and rally around it neighboring States; and then, over that Constitution, defying it, construing it into nothing, assuming power, they will abolish slavery in the Southern States by a law of the Unionviolating all compromises, and judicial decisions, and the provisions of the Constitution. If we do our duty, these Northern States will soon be in the mood of mind to usurp the power and wield it to whatever end their own aroused consciences may point. If this does not come through our faithfulness to principle, through our preaching of individual responsibility, we shall never get it out of a political organization. Religion underlies it. Our first battle was with the Church, our last battle will be with the Church. When WARD BEECHER slams his door in the face of the American Bible Society and Sunny-Side Adams, it will be an act worthy of that Luther of the Orthodox world. When a man, in full standing, and with a religious character left him, shall undertake to say to his brethren in the Church, 'There can be no Christianity unless it includes Anti-Slavery,' and when our movement to educate the people comes up to support him from behind, comes up to give him the fulcrum on which the lever of his revolution is to be planted, and do-what CHEEVER and BEECKER are capable of doing, if they had only the heart and foresight to attempt it, that is, pledge the real religion of the country against the religious organizations, and shame the organizations into the confession that they are synagogues of Satan, and draw out from them all the teligious vitality that remains within them .when that is done, we can inaugurate a new epoch in politics, not until then. My friends, the fight is just this. You cannot

grapple with the Slave Power without the religious element. What we have to do is tantamount to rev clution. No body of men ever rose against civil abuses, against civil usurpation, but on the spur of religious enthusiasm or starvation. I am not now speaking of slaves; to their honor, they rise often. The lave who does not write his own merit in the catalogue of insurrections hardly deserves freedom. I hope no Abolitionist will have the weakness to apologize for, explain, or deny the glorious merit of slave insurrections. (Cheers.) If I drank any toast, I should drink every day after dinner, 'Success to the first insurrection of slaves in a Northern slave State! (applause,) for I think no slave proves his manhood, except those who rise and at least try to cut their masters' throats. In San Domingo, they wrote the history of their manhood, from 1522 down to 1780 in a continual series of insurrections, and they deserved to be the first State that inaugurated the glorious doctrine of Immediate Emancipation. (Loud applause.) Some trace its origin to ELIZABETH HEYRICK, in England, and some to the door of our distinguished friend WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. It does not belong to either of them. No pale face can claim it. The black race on the plains of San Domingo announced it, and proved it, and stood by it, for sixty years. But I say, no people ever rose against civil cor-

ruption, except on the spur of religious enthusiasm or starvation. Man is an idler by nature, and will endure any thing rather than give up his indolence and his case. Nothing but the most inordinate abuse will ever crush the inherent idleness out of any of us; for we all love ease more than ideas. Freedom is born of ideas; Despotism is most often the mere gratification of the senses. Revolution, therefore, never comes, except from religious enthusiasm or from want. We, in America, cannot be starved into tion. The very basis and nucleus of our cause is the constant, unintermitted, unceasing proclamation before the world and the church, that the American church is the synagogue of Satan, and that ours is the Christianity of the thirty-one States. (Loud applause.)

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You may deem that fanaticism -- whatever you choose: I believe that nothing else will suffice for the exigencies of a country like ours, fighting against a Slave Power composed of two thousand millions of dollars, the aristocracy of the Constitution, and the Saxon contempt for the black man,-the three elements of an Aristocracy such as Europe cannot show in the most despotic of her governments; and against it, it is in vain that Mr. SUMNER hurls his eloquence, and Senator Wilson tries his intrigue; it is in vain that SEWARD uses now his diplomacy, and now his silence, and Governor Chase tries his submission. Neither the one nor the other, neither half-hearted courage nor whole-hearted eloquence will offect any thing against a system planted in money, bulwarked by aristocracy, and crowned by that strongest of all qualities in the Saxon, the contempt for a race that they have held under their heel. No!

against such a three-ply cable, there is no vigor in any thing, except the uttermost demand of Christian, rigid principles, and the repeal of all religious character and all Christian consistency to every form of apology for an intermixture with it. Where this cause began, there is where it is to plant itself constantly-in an unintermitted warfare with the American pulpit, in an effort to educate these twenty millions of people. Mr. CALEB CUSHING, down there in Fancuil Hall, has the hardihood to affirm that the idministration of Franklin Pierce never did an act in regard to which they did not consult the dignity, the wishes, and the honor of Massachusetts! Yes, he had the hardihood to make that statement in Fancuil Hall. Men would say, 'It is odd he should.' It is not odd at all. He believes it; I have no doubt he believes it. I knew a man once, who died at the age of seventy years. He had cheated every body wit whom he came in contact, and the last time he stood in a court, it was to be guilty of forgery; and wher on his death-bed, the clergyman who sat at his side urged him to repent of any sins that might have marked his life. He looked up with unaffected simplicity, and said he, 'Sins! sins! I don't think I ever committed any!' (Loud laughter.) I think Caleb Cushing is the same sort of a man. (Renewed laughter.) I think there are men out of whom the capacity to distinguish moral right and wrong has been burned, if God ever gave it to them. Now, from Caleb Cushing, up to the commonest apologist for slavery who sails with an easy conscience on the broad current of the Republican party, as some ships do for any harbor that happens to be most profitable, from him up to them, I think that whole force of the American mind is the one that our hard work is to plough up, and plant the seeds of moral right and wrong, and educate them up to the purpose, and determined opposition to the Slave Power. We can only do it by recognizing it as a religious duty. I deepar of any other means. What is politics? Today it is stirred to action—to-morrow, it is gone. Today it gathers round us—to-morrow, it is cheated of its purpose. As Mr. Hugunson showed us so throughly this afternoon, the Slave Power sits in thoroughly this afternoon, the Slave Power sits in perpetual session, colid, sleepless, iron, organic power. He is not a wise man who, to avoid the inconvenlence of change, stays in his decaying house till it. keep them up to the white heat of an unceasing

loo—all bayonets, all iron. What have we to oppose it? Why, now a caucus, and then a convention; liberty and religion, in this country, are too imminent, now a series of resolutions, and then an address; now a series of resolutions, and then a prayer. What does it avail? sults of a revolution, in either department. Our persults of a revolution, in either department. a sermon, and then a prayer. What does it avail? Chaff! The sea-bird besting against the rocky coast of Massachusetts,-the foam striking against Nahant rocks! It amounts to nothing. There it sits; it can bide its time. It can wait until Webster is cheated, and buried at Marshfield; it can wait until the Whie party is gone, the Democratic party sundered, the Republican party cheated—wait any length of time. And all this will come soon-too soon. It can wait until that man is old, and this tired; until that man is bankrupt, and this man's zeal has grown cold. It sits like that rock in Sinhad the Sailor, and draws out all the nails from the piratical ship, and lets the party go to pieces. There it sits! How are you going to make head against it? I want a thunderbolt wrought in the brain of Jupiter himself, such as Luther launched when he struck down Catholic supremacy, such as the Puritan hurled at the throne of England before he left it to plant an Empire here in the Western world. We want the religious enthusiasm that bore up those centuries above their sisters, and make them stand out prominent in the struggles for human liberty. And until we understand that we must effect this education of the popular mind, slowly, 'line upon line,' we have done nothing. Perhaps it will take generations-I do not know. All I know is, that at present, virtue seems to be burned out of us. I want to plant in these Northern States a hatred of Slavery, deep as three centuries of unreasoning prejudice has planted the Protestant plant against the Catholic. I would like to see the Protestant that ever had the fairness to read a Catholic book or to listen to a Catholic lecture. He would laugh at the idea; it is an exploded thing. He has got his Protestantism in his bones. We have to make our Anti-Slavery not a part of the blood, but a part of the bones,-make it in the very nature of a Northernes I love a Southerner! He carries a DEAR GARRISON: slave in his right hand wherever he goes. Even if he comes to Bunker Hill, Senator Mason drags one with him, and crams it down Robert Winthrop's throat. (Applause.) That is the sort of man I like. I would like to take Faneuil Hall, and Hancock, and Otis, and Garrison, and go to Richmond, Virginia, and crowd them down Mason's throat, 'under the October sun of the Old Dominion.' When the Northerner has the purpose to carry that wherever he goes, then we will go every where, and carry that

for being a Massachusetts man ! There are a great many propositions we might make; there are a great many points of attack on the popular mind. Mr. Higginson thinks we are not broad enough. We are chained face to face. It is the classic fable of the living and the dead chained together. We breathe into each others lips' every thing intended. This failure I attribute to no person breath we draw. My hatrod of slavery is most intense when I go into an assembly of young men here in Boston, see them growing up into citizens of our old State, and know that the influences under which they are brought are influences that will steal more than half their souls and tie their lips, and that they will not dare to speak their own thoughts on this subject of slavery, or any other; that they will hold their manhood at the bidding of somebody else; that their from which, I am sorry to think, none of us are exhumanity ranges as high as the ledgers of Milk Street, and their religion as high as the pulpit of the Old South, and no higher. (Applause.) It is because I have looked into the faces growing up into the veriest slaves, - contented slaves, - who, unlike the black slaves of the plantation, need no guard to keep them in order. The white slaves of the streets of Boston,they are contented slaves. They eat their allotted food out of the national trough, and say it is all well. And this is American Christianity; he is an Infidel who denies! (Applause.) God grant that they may spare for me a piece of marble large enough to write 'INFIDEL' at the top, and 'TRAITOR' at the bottom! (Prolonged applause.)

freedom and belief throughout the Union. But now

he goes skulking down to Washington, and apologises

#### REVOLUTION LESS DANGEROUS THAN UNRESISTED DESPOTISM.

indefinite continuance of despotic power is the terror and carnest lovers of liberty in one general movement which has been inspired among the people, by their against the existence of the Slave Power? But does false teachers in Church and State, in regard to an- any such aim or purpose appear on the face of this revolution; we are too prosperous; the only way by archy, and to that which they represent as the fore- report? Does it present any such plan of political runner of it, revolution. We have always been taught that a bad government is better than none, and that their State Constitution had paved the way for their the danger of no government, after the overthrow of free admission to all the important offices of the Coman authority already existing, is so very imminent and monwealth, without an oath to support the U. S. Con fearful, that submission, even to gross despotism, is stitution, and without union with slaveholders?—nay better than a revoltuion which may have anarchy for that that cherished instrument expressly prohibit

philosophize upon the recent attempt to assassinate secure the organization of a party which, by getting the villanous usurper, Louis Napoleon, sapiently re- possession of the reins of government, should take marks that it is always a perilous position for a nation Massachusetts out of the Confederacy, thus giving when but a single life stands between it and revolu- force and practical effect to our doctrine of ' No Union tion : especially when that life is exposed to a thou- with Slaveholders'? Why did it not also tell them sand dangers, and is liable at any moment to be cut that it is against the organization of such a party, and short, not only by the course of nature, but by the against such political action, that the Massachusette hands of desperate men ; that it is admitted by all, that Anti-Slavery Society is now wielding its powerful inthe Emperor' has had the narrowest possible escape; fluence? Had the report done this, it would have that this daring attempt, made right under the eye of fairly represented the aspect of the meeting so far a the Paris police, awakens ominous conjectures that my relations to it were concerned. . Had it done this the next may be successful; and that thus, France its readers would have been put in possession of the appears to be standing on a precipice, surrounded by essential elements of a correct judgment of the merits

gulf of revolution, anarchy and civil war,
This, be it remembered, was published just after the news had arrived that Louis Napoleon has so far completed his elaborate scheme of despotism as to have after the infamous combination of force and fraud by rate and depreciate the results of its labors. I have which he caused himself to be declared Emperor, onperiodical press of France.

rality, and true religion !

il is in quiescence. The sooner the popular American religion is cast out as worthless, and its clergy obliged to resort to useful occupations for a support, the soon-er Christianity will have an opportunity to be heard and accepted in its place. The sooner the sham democracy which now upholds despotism in America is overturned, the sooner will a true and genuine de racy, a government of all, by all, and for all, have a chance to try what it can do for the public welfare It is good, and not evil, order, and not disorder, which is to be expected from a separation from slaveholde in the government and priests in the church.

The instinct of all men, and especially of Americans, is so strongly in favor of government, that anarchy, in our country, could in no circumstances be more than a very transient evil. In the language of physicians, it is an acute disease, which may perhaps be violent, but is soon over. It is the chronic diseases lethargy, paralysis and the like, which are most hope less, and with such a one are we now afflicted. Son of a race whose praises we are perpetually sounding because they had spirit enough to break the yoke of an oppressor, we endure injuries which are to theirs like the loins to the little finger, and yet are acquies cent and supine, fearing revolution more than tyranny, disgrace and guilt combined. And, worst symptom of all, the popular religion is in alliance with the wicked government, and its ministers cry . peace, peace!' and oppose reform alike in Church and State s the vicious government destined to stand until men shall see the closeness of its connection with the fals religion, and shake themselves free from both with one effort ? Let us hope for the best, and, while hoping, fail not to work for it. C. K. W.

### REPLY TO MR. MAY.

As my disclaimer of the speech attributed to me in the official report of the recent annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society 16 not accepted by the responsible Secretary, Mr. May, I must ask the further use of your columns to place myself in a true position before the public in this matter.

It will be recollected that the substance of my ob jections to the official report in question was that while it affected to give a verbatim report of my first speech, it, in fact, did nothing of the kind; neither did it give a fair and impartial abstract. In his reply, Mr. May admits that the report was not verbatim, as represented, but claims that, as an abstract, it was not justly liable to criticism. He assures us that he ' tool unusual pains to listen to the speech, and to presen a fair abstract of it.' This averment I cordially accept. I have never suspected any intentional wrong What I affirm is, an essential failure to accomplish the al unkindness, but to the blinding influence of an unreasonable prejudice against the measures which the speech was designed to advocate. We are all familiar with certain states of mind in which it is impossible to understand a distasteful subject, and, hence, impossible to fairly represent its advocates. In this case, I freely concede the utmost purity of intentions, and only claim a weakness common to our nature, one empt:

Mr. May thinks this report a 'fair abstract' of my speech. I regard it as a clouded and partizan statement, calculated (not designed) to prejudice the views which it assumes to represent. What is an abstract? Is it not the substance, in a condensed form. retaining the principal outlines, and of such a character as to make the same general impression as the speech itself? Anything short of this, instead of enlightening, would only serve to bewilder and mislead its readers. But, will Mr. May contend that such is the character of this report?

What was the special aim and purpose of the speech in question? Was it not to lay before the Society a plan of political action which should be free from objection, on the ground of principle, and at the same time answer all the reasonable wants of political abo One great help towards the firm establishment and litionists; trusting thereby to unite all the sincere the requirement of such an oath, and, in spirit, forbids ts sequel. the requirement of such an oath, and, in spirit, foroids
Thus the New York Exangelist, in undertaking to such union? and that my aim and purpose were to langers, and liable to be suddenly plunged into the of the question on which we are now unhappily divided.

But the fault of this report is not one of omissio merely. Ever since my first divergence from the es tabllished policy of the Society, on the subject, of politproposed new 'repressive laws'-a repetition of the ical action, a persistent course has been taken, in vadentical measures which were employed immediately rious quarters, to represent me as disposed to under been repeatedly charged with having said that the ly that these are intended to be permanent, instead Society was dead, that 'it had lost the staff of acof temporary measures-taking away such fragment, complishment, that tit was doing nothing, &c.; to or rather shadow, of liberty, as yet remained to the all of which my emphatic answer has ever been, Not. guilty. That I have frequently criticised its policy. As if France could be in a worse condition than ab- in reference to political action, is true; but, instead solute subjection to such a man, carrying on the con- of disparaging its labors or influence, I have usually trivance and execution of means to consolidate and based my arguments in favor of a political party on perpetuate the power of such a dynasty! As if the the assumption of the existence, in the community, danger to France were not in his life, rather than his of a much larger amount of anti-slavery than ever death! As if her only hope were not in arising to the apponents of my views are prepared to admit cast off such a yoke! As if revolution were not her It is they, in fact, who disparage the labors of the only possible resource, a forerunner indispensable to Society by affirming that now, after a quarter of a prepare the way for freedom, intelligence, sound mocentury of anti-slavery preaching, we are without sufficient material even to commence a political But what wonder that the Evangelist deprecates demonstration in favor of a free government. This revolution abroad, when it steadily works for the pro- report, in effect, repeats this old, but oft-refuted longation of tyranny at home? It edvocates the con- charge. In answer to Mrs. Foster's earnest and tinuance of the American Union, though the Slave heart-felt appeal for redoubled efforts, and an anti-Power is triumphing over our liberties as thoroughly slavery revival, it puts into my lips the dispiriting as Napoleon is over those of France. It seeks to response, 'It cannot be done. The community canstrengthen that great bulwark of slavery, the Ameri- not be aroused as they were in the early days of our can church. It sustains the American Board of Com- cause. What I said was, in substance, not that the missioners for Foreign Missions, the Home Missionary community could not be aroused as in the early days Society, the Sunday School and Bible Societies in of our cause, but that this could only be done by such their openly pro-slavery position. It postpones ener- a change in our policy as should adapt our preaching getic and efficient rebuke even of the disgraceful con- to the altered circumstances of the times. Instead duct of the Tract Society, until it shall appear whether that ally of slavery is to be sustained by the churches. It seeks to repress, by the enforcement of unjust laws, the legitimate and Christian use of the first day of the week, and to uphold those superstitious observances by which an anti-Christian clergy have sought our object, and thereby succeed in awakening an in-

which a wiser policy and more earnest seal would warrant us to anticipate. But what I did say on this point was, that our Society was not now geining in numbers. At the same time, I also said that we were citizens and the friends of humanity generally to constantly creating anti-slavery which we could not used only by our enemies—dead capital, which added nothing to our productive wealth—that this was the nocessary result of our unwise and unreasonable opposition to political action, and that this unfortunate state of things would continue to exist till we should enlarge the breadth of our platform, and welcome upon it all who were willing to work for the slave, leaving each one entirely free to select his own imdements, and peculiar field of labor.

This report attributes to me the absurd declaration that 'The dissolution of the Union they (the people) deem impossible ! If such were my views, how, with any show of propriety, could I come before the meeting with a proposition to recommend the organization of a political party for the express purpose of dissolving the Union? My statement was, that the people deem the dissolution of the Union, by our present agencies, impossible, and I added, that I believed it too. But I also argued that there was amongst us a numerous class who were not only ready to 'let the Union slide, but only wanted the opportunity to give it a most effectual start; and further, that the only E. Scott. reason why they were not now acting with us was, because we denied them the only mode of action which they could understand, and in which they had any faith.

Such are some of the prominent errors of this report. Standing alone, it might not have been of suficient importance to claim my attention, especially as I am extremely averse to personal controversy. But it is one of a series of similar misrepresentations, from various quarters, the combined influence of which has materially interfered with the success of my labors. I have, therefore, felt it my duty to place the matter before your readers in its true light, or, rather, to speak with more modesty, to give my own version of it, and to ask of them a candid judgment. I will only add, that I am well aware of the nature of the task assumed, in attempting to change the long-established policy of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on a point on which, more than any other, it is peculiarly sensitive. I know very well the giant strength of the minds with which I have to contend. I know, too, their immense, well-deserved personal influence. Nor am I ignorant of the potent influence of pride of opinion, and of attachment to established usage, even with the best of men. Nor yet unconscious of my own weakness, and entire inability to do justice to the cause to which I am committed. But, so deeply am I impressed with the importance of this change, so vast and beneficial are its promised results, that I should do violence to my mos sacred convictions, did I not continue, in the face of whatever odds, to urge it with increasing earnest ness till my views shall gain the ascendancy in the Society, or I become convinced of their error.

S. S. FOSTER.

#### WENDELL PHILLIPS, C. C. BURLEIGH AND WM. W. BROWN IN CORTLAND, N. Y. DEAR MR. GARRISON:

WENDELL PRILLIPS has just made us his annua visit, and laid the friends of Freedom and Progress in this place, under new obligations to him for the very eloquent and efficient 'labors of love' described in the article which I forward you from the Cortland Co. Republican. ' CE.,' it is no more than justice to say, is Mr. Alvin Sturtevant, a young man Rec'd from S. May, Jr., for collections: who not only holds the pen of a ready writer, but of a promising one also. The report reflects much credit upon him, not only for its ability, but for its accuracy, particularly as he took no notes, and wrote sole ly from memory. Mr. Phillips's audiences varied from three hundred to five hundred persons, gradually increasing to the last-a large collection of people for a country and sectarian village like ours. Of course, he made again a deep impression upon the public sentiment in favor of himself and his views.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH and WM. WELLS BROWN have also been with us, and done good service, each in his own way, for the Anti-Slavery movement. Mr. Burleigh's lectures were, of course, admired for their logical, rhetorical and critical ability; and Mr. Brown's Dramas have compared favorably with the most attractive Lyceum entertainments of the season. of the labors of each, but I have not, and must pass them over with this slight notice. Mr. Brown is still hereabouts, working industriously, and, I think, profitJohn Hindhaugh, " 288—to " John Hindhaugh, " 288—to " hereabouts, working industriously, and, I think, profit-ably, both for himself and the cause of the slave. Joseph Cowan, Jr. " I saw him vesterday at the Academic Exhibition of Central College, McGrawville, which was, by the way, a fine affair, and very creditable to the students Miss Lupton. Headingley, and institution-nearly a thousand persons being present as spectators. Mr. Brown gave one of his Dramas, in the evening, to a large and appreciative Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, Livaudience in the College Hall. W. H. F.

THE GREAT FANEUIL HALL MEETING. Friends of Freedom, awake! and come to the meeting to be held in Faneuil Hall, on Friday evening, March 5th. That untiring and devoted son of Liberty, William C. Nell, has sounded the trump of freedom for you to rally. Yea, rally, and commemorate the massacre of 1770, when Attucks fell, and bled for Liberty! Come, listen to the eloquence of Philips, Parker and Remond! Come to the charms of music—participate in the refreshments—and view the Friends of Freedom, awake! and come to the meetmusic-participate in the refreshments-and view the relics of by-gone days !

Come one, come all! Rock the Cradle of Freedom and render this an occasion to be remembered. JOHN T. HILTON.

than to express the hope that it will be generously responded to. The celebration takes place this evening.—Ed. Lib.

Annival or Mr. And Mrs. Wern. Among the Andrew Paton, do. do., 6 00—to 4 ...

Annival or Mr. And Mrs. Wern. Among the Jas. Anderson, Kirkealdy, do., 6 00—to Jan. 1, 1859.

John Smith, do. do., 6 00—to 4 ...

Andrew Paton, do. do., 6 00—to 4 ...

Robert Meggett, do. do., 2 24—to April I, 1858.

Jas. Anderson, Kirkealdy, do., 6 00—to Jan. 1, 1859.

passengers in the steamship America, which arrived at this port on Monday last, were Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Webb, of Philadelphia. They speak in the warmest terms of the kindness they have experienced on board the ship, at the hands of Captain Moodie, and of all the officers and persons attached to the ship, They report, too, a marked change for the better in the deportment of the American passengers, as compared with the former experiences of many of their friends in like circumstances. We rejoice, of course, at every favorable indication of this kind.

We regret to find that Mrs. Webb's health is not so good as when she left America. By direction of her physician, she has been passing several of the past months in the South of France, having been

bor physician, she has been passing several of the past months in the South of France, having been compelled entirely to auspend her public readings. Mr. and Mrs. Webb have experienced great kindness and very many friendly attentions during their for-following day and evening. Speakers—Aaron M. Powell, Charles Lenox Remond, Susan B. Anthony, and others will address the meeting. many friends. They are soon to leave America again, and seek a home in the West Indies,—at Kingston, Jamaica;—Mrs. W's health rendering a in a warmer climate necessary, and Mr. lish friends, an appointment in the Post Office of

very soon distribute to the subscribers to this paper in Massachusetts, petitions for the right of suffrage for women. We shall start them early, that no excuses of hurry, or occupation, may prevent them from being numerously signed. We wish to overwhelm the next Legislature with numbers and names. Meanwhile, Mrs. Dall's argument appears in this pa-per; let it be read, lent and circulated, as one means of interesting the indifferent and prejudiced.

citizens and the friends of humanity generally to Fancuil Hall, on Friday evening, March 5, 1858, PUS ATTUCKS and his associates, has been selected by history as the dawn of the American Revolution.

The exercises will consist of speeches from Wen-LENOX REMOND, THEODORE PARKER, Hon. THOMAS RUSSELL, Dr. JOHN S. ROCK, CHARLES W. SLACK Esq., and, it is hoped, Rev. T. W. Higginson-in terspersed with the following poetic offerings:-

Freedom's Battle-written for the occasion by Miss Frances E. Watkins, and to be sung by the Misse Whitest, Miss Cooley, and Mr. John Grimes. Colored American Heroes of 1776. Sung by the Attuck's Glee Club-George Washington, Jr., Thos.

S. Boston, Ira S. Grav, George L. Ruffin, Edward M. Bannister, William H. Simpson, and John F. Hoyt. Parody on . Red. White and Blue - written for the ecasion by Miss Charlotte L. Forten. . Sung by the Northern Vocalists-Elijah W. Smith, James Henry, James Titus, Benjamin Roberts, and Miss Amanda

Mrs. Cordelia Howard DeGrasse, and the Misser Amanda E. Scott and Adelaide V. Putnam, will alternate at the Piano.

At intervals, and for the remainder of the evening ausic will be furnished by Bond's Quadrille Band. REPRESUMENTS.

Among the Relics, Emblems, Documents, and few living mementoes of Revolutionary Historic in terest, will be present the following :- Powder Horn and Cup belonging to Crispus Attucks-Flag of Gov Hancock, presented to Colored Soldiers-Mrs. Kay daughter of the Ensign who received the above-Mrs Eunice Ames, aged 92, pensioned widow of a colored Bunker Hill soldier-Grandmother Boston, aged 105 years-Father Vassall, aged 88-the whole promising an attractive and significant occasion.

Tickets, 75 cents each-to be obtained of B. H Greene, 124 Washington street, Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield street, S. S. Hanscom, 76 Cambridge street, R F. Wallout, 21 Cornhill, and at the door.

Doors open at 6 o'clock. The exercises will mmence at 7 o'clock precisely.

Boston, Feb. 22, 1858. WILLIAM C. NELL.

### TREASURER'S REPORT Of Receipts, from Jan. 1st to March 1st, 1858.

Rec'd by hand of S. May, Jr., from E. D. and A. F. Draper, of Hope-dale, to redeem balance of pledge in full, Proceeds of A. S. Pair at Abington, From C. F. Hovey, to redeem pledges for past year, Rec'd by hand of R. F. Wallcut, from

Rev. A. Battles, Bangor,
B. Spooner, Plymouth, to redeem
bal, of pledge,
Mrs. C. P. Collins, West Haven, Ct., Mrs. E. Chase, Lynn, to redeem pledge, A. M. J. M. Page, Deerfield,

0 50-18 00 N. H., m Wendell Phillips, to redeem pledges, From S. May, Jr., for collections and donations at annual meeting, Bos-

363 44 From Mrs. H. S. Robbins, J. W. Spaulding, Pepperell, Ira Gray, Reading, D. M. Allen, Westminster, 5 00 5 00 Maria Eastman, Worcester, Dr. H. O. Stone, Framingham, all to redeen pledges, James West, Haverhill, Mary E. Alden, Middlebo

From Female A. S. Society, Concord, proceeds of Bazaar and dramatic entertainment, From Abijah Allen, Millbury,

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer. Brookline, March 1, 1858.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The General Agent of THE LIBERATOR acknowledges the receipt of the following sums from subscribers in England and Ireland, forwarded by R. D.

2 88-to 80-to 24 00 3 00—to " 3 00-to " 1 50-to April 1, 1858.

Rev. S. Alfred Steinman, 200—to Jan. 1, 1805.
erpool, England, 3 00—to Jan. 1, 1805.
Joseph Moore, (old acct.)
Haleburns, Eng., 5 52—to April 1, 1857.
Joshua Sharratt, Buckley, 2 76—to July 1, 1858.

Also, subsequently remitted by Mr. Webb-Eng. 4 80-to Jan. 1, 1859 Also, from subscribers in Scotland, by Andrew

JOHN T. HILTON. Paton, Esq.—
Paton, Esq.—

After this warm-hearted appeal from our old Wm. Robertson, Glasgow, Scotland, 6 00—to Jan.

Admittance to day sessions, free.
to evening sessions, 10 cents.

N. Y., on TRUSSPAY and FSIDAY, March 11th an 12th—at which C. L. Remond, A. M. Powell, and S. B. Anthony will be present.

An Anti-Slavery meeting well be held at MILTON, Ulster Co., N. Y., on Saturday evening, which is a subscriber to this paper or soon distribute to the subscribers to this paper.

B. Anthony.

F. H. C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in N

IT IS NOT A DYE! MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

# HAIR RESTORER

## WORLD'S Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!

THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamum or Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL COLOR!

The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the best hair dressing extant for young or old,

hair dressing extant for young or old,

to take pleasure in presenting the following undeniable proofs that these are the best preparations either in Evrope or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything. GREAT BRITAIN.

REV. W. B. THORNELO, Prescot, Lancushire, says- Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp, says, . I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Al-

. H. EATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black."

REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Boston, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes.' REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n N.

F. City. . I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylobalsamum for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful black." REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Adv.,' Buffalo,

N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. 'I am happy to

bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my gray-REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Soc.

'We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum." REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H.

Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of another of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened, and has a handsome appearance since using Mrs. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Pitcher, N. Y. 'Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to fall, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dve.'

REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

World's Hair Restorer Depot, NO. 355 BROOME STREET. N. V.

#### A GRAND BALL. COMPLIMENTARY TO

HORACE SEAVER, ESQ.,

The faithful, honest, and true-hearted Reformer, the unflinching Defender of the Rights of the Workingman, and for more than twenty years the courteous and independent editor of the Boston Investigator, (the able and fearless organ of Freedom of Speech and of Conscience,)

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UNION HALL, BOSTON, On Wednesday Evening, March 10, 1858. Friends are cordially invited to attend. Tick-ets, admitting a gentleman and ladies, \$1.50. Music, by Savage & Melvin's Full Quadrille Band. DANCING TO COMMENCE AT 8 O'CLOCK.

CHARLES H. LAUGHTON,
Chairman Committee of Arrangements.

# REMOVAL

### JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY HAVE REMOVED TO

No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET.

At the intersection of Washington street with Corn-hill, 2d story, at which place they propose to continue their business as Publishers,—and, in addition to their former works, have in press, to be issued in March, the following valuable books:—

Traill's Josephus, with Isaac Taylor's Notes...\$3. The Pittt Street Chapel Lectures \$1.
Debt and Grace, or the Doctrine of a Future Life

The Farmers' and Mechanics' Practical Architect and Guide to Rural Economy \$1.50.

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HOW to make LIGHT, delicious bread, with simple flow, pure scaler, AND NOTHING DLBE. This receipt, and 30 others, on plain Cooking, Hints on Health, &c., a little hand-book of 33 pages, mailed on receipt of 10 cents and a stamp.

Our table has been supplied with this delicious bread for several months, and we would here add that we have accommodations for families and single gentlemen; our rooms are lighted with gas; we have baths on each floor, with an abundance of hot water; also, Electro-Chemical Baths for those who need them. Transiest Board, \$1 or more per day, according to rooms required.

Address WM. HUNT,

Boston, Water Cure, 18 and 20 La Grange Place.

num la poi l'elie le l'elie l'

For the Liberator. HOME TRUTHS. BY UNCLE LUIN.

Awake 1 my drowsy muse, awake; And hoard up gold and pelf; Who nought of earthly love can feel, Except the love of self.

Who search this old world far and wide, And long for other worlds beside To carry on their trade; Who grind the wronged, industrious poor, And drive poor orphans from their door, Or spurn them in their rage.

Who swell with false, inflated their pride Whene'er you talk, or walk, or ride, Or pass some humble door; And own reluctant, or with shame, A relative or brother's name, Because he is so poor.

Who seek the church on holy days, And watch the parson while he prays, With visage grave and long : Your hypocritic voice you raise, And with the congregation praise Your Lord with tuneful song.

To save your guilty souls from ill, You always pay your parson's bill, In legal notes or gold; Unless by chance at some levee, You manage to obtain a fee From sinners lean and old.

Or else by some mysterious bag, Invented by some pilfering wag, To aid the holy cause, You glean from simple girls and boys, With lottery tricks and worthless toys, Regardless of our laws.

Who traffic e'en in human dead. By avaricious demons led To Egypt's catacombs ; Who sail to Afric's burning plains, And bind her simple sons in chains, And sell them from their homes.

Who organize in petty bands, And buy up all the public lands, With promises to pay; And thus the laboring men you foil-By you they're kept from honest toil, Whose hopes are crushed each day.

The bondman's path he sure must tread, And toil for you, to get his bread, Or rob, or beg, or steal; He tugs, and toils, and turns your cranks; You legislate for paper banks, And corporation weal.

To help you in your selfish aims, You speculate in human brains, In flesh and blood and bones: E'en little children too are bound, And sold in market by the pound, Regardless of their moans.

In politics you speculate, And sell the freedom of a State, For ages yet to come : A Constitution with its laws, A statute book without a clause For Freedom's trembling son. In haste to gain you rgolden pelf.,

You really demonize yourself, And fatten on your race; For business' sake, your selfish brood E'en speculate in human food-How shameful and how base !

And starving mothers too must weep, E'en o'er the loved ones while they sleep, Because they have no bread; Oh! shame pursue your guilty tribe, While you on velvet cushions ride, On flowery carpets tread.

You traffic too in liquid death, And rob your neighbor of his breath, Or steal away his brain; That fills our prison walls with crime While wives with mental anguish pine, Or plead with you in vain.

The beauteous fair ones too are bought, And sold again-(you know for what!) But here it is not named; You rob her of her means to live, Then take from her all she can give, And leave her in her shame.

Extortion is your aim and end; It matters not with foe or friend-And still you call it trade; And rub your guilty hands with glee, When next some favorite crime you see And boast-of bargains made.

Ye speculating, pompous tribe, That o'er all honest people ride With cloven feet unshod; Whether in counting-house or street : There're two that you can never cheat ! They are, stern Death and God.

For the Liberator. THE MASTER CALLETH THEE. Not to proud halls, Where menials wai On lordly state. The Master calls.

Ask kind relief. There is the door. The Master's call Bids enter there All ye who care For each and all,

But where the poor,

Or pain or grief,

For all and each Of human race. Of Heaven's grace To such, oh teach ! To guilt or sin,

Where ignorance leads To evil deeds. There enter in. The Master's voice Their deaden May gladly hear, Their heart rejoice.

Yes, ope the door That hides the light From darkened sight Of untaught poor.

JANE ASKBY. TO THE SOUTHERN SLAVEHOLDERS.

Hoist the black banner to proclaim the rule Of Mine o'er Thine-to mock at equal law To make the Christ a fanatic or fool, Like every one who hears his word with awa No! 'tis not thus ye think that ye shall draw The world to your belief; ye still must leave

Enough of righteous seeming to deceive,

Lest they discern your Gospel has a flaw. Ye do not therefore call the slave-lord saint, Nor sing To Deum o'er the trade to-day; Ye wait your triumph—Wait! your victims'
Will never on Time's wing be borne away!

The Liberator.

ADDRESS

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATIVE COMMIT-

In Support of a Memorial petitioning for the Right of

UNIVERSAL SUPPRAGE.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of this Committee:

tive action, upon a question of constantly increa

importance; for no law is better than the bad law

which the want of that action perpetuates on the

statute book. As one of those petitioners, Mr. Chair-

man, I feel too much in earnest to be entertaining.

If I interest you, it will not be by stale wittleisms or

I confess to some mortification in appearing before you. Why should I stand here, and plead for a right

conferred upon me by God, at my birth? Why do I

not sit in those chairs to decide, instead of standing

If the answer be involved in the slow progress of

civilization, if it be easily understood in relation to

the past, it has no possible relation to the present.

The government of mankind truly began in force :

one class after another has been emancipated from

despotic control, as education and religion have con-

in a few rods of the Hall in which you sit; rise the

houses of shame, the homes of our degraded sisters,

The discordant fragments of old political systems

ever struck you, gentlemen, when you were called

upon to consider the complexities of human society,

that while codes have been reformed, and the inter-

ests of orders, classes and trades have been minutely

attended to, one half of the human species has been

left legally, where the first rude arrangements of a

in these changes, the most available instrument of so-

cial improvement and national well-being, namely-

woman-has been forgotten and neglected? Gen-

tlemen, we are sometimes taxed with the novelty of

our claim; but it is as old as the first sound thought

of man. 'Every book of knowledge which is known

is by nature implanted in the understandings of wo-

men,' said the Heetopades, or ancient Vede; and Pla-

ago, saying, 'Should not this sex, which we condemn

to obscure duties, be destined to functions the most

noble and elevated? Have women not given many

examples of courage, wisdom, virtue, and artistic

skill? If weaker or inferior to ourselves, must they

therefore be useless to the State? No; Nature waster

no seed upon a barren soil, and the great art of legis-

lation is to bring into play all the resources which she

clouded and overshadowed, they have lost their

tives; and, indeed, there seems, at present, no reason

Gentlemen, every man who has ever had to con-

the ell-and that one class of women could not be

permitted to vote here, on one class of questions

trained. The choice of vocation involves the protec-

points. We pass over all, to claim first the elective

franchise, because, when once possessed of that, we

ment to remind you, so many years after the Decla-

-a maxim of which it seems imperti-

the right to the elective franchise.

ration of Indepe

sider the theory of a republic has had to encounte

owed, she hath lost her streame."

my soul, gravely enlisted in a worthy cause.

here to argue this question ?

the civil relation of the sexes.

here to argue to-day.

CAROLINE H. DALL BOSTON.

TEE.

Third. The right to sit on juries. In all cases, it seems to us, criminals would meet with stricter justice and more thoughtful consideration from juries comand more thoughtful consideration from juries com-posed equally of the two sexes. A painful duty this would doubtless be to women, but one which the pro-gress of civilization seems to impose upon them. I pass over these three points, then, to urge upon you that of our human right to the elective franchise. I must our human right to the elective fran pass over the reasons by which you are usully urged to act upon this question, to press upon you two, but

In the 6th Article of her Bill of Rights, Massa husetts declares that she will tolerate no hereditary In behalf of the petitioners we appear before you to ask, first, your examination, and then your legisla

What are you, gentlemen, but the very worst sor of hereditary lawgivers, more hopeless than a class of such, composed of a caste or a vocation; nay, even dependent on a patent of nobility—more hopeless, for even this last might be conferred, occasionally, on deserving individuals of an inferior rank. If I interest you, it will not be by stale wittleisms or But by no possibility can the lines of sex be broken modern anecdotes: it must be by the whole force of through, till you, of your own accord, invite us to pass over them.

In the 10th Article of her Bill of Rights, Massa chusetts tells you that no property shall be taken, no laws enacted, no taxes imposed, without the consent of the governed. Do you know, gentlemen, how many women of property are outraged, in the face of

that article, every year? Again, it is urged that we do not ask you to take the lead in this matter, only cautiously to follow ar advancing public sentiment. You will never be able, even if willing, to lead, till your Legislature incarnates the moral sentiment of the women of this State. quered barbarism, till you find the most Christian You are told that women need to protect themselves form of government declaring that 'all men are born and you are asked if it be safe to exclude from this free and equal,' that too in a land where African sla- Hall an influence which is permitted to hold sway very, and the slavery or minority (as you choose to in the church, the school, in society, and on 'change call it) of woman, still exist !! 'Baron et feme' ran Gentlemen, this is no time for anecdotes, showing the old law phrase, translated by Blackstone, 'the how much better we can protect curselves, with your master and his woman.' If the intelligence and aid, than you can protect us alone. I only pause to good breeding of individuals among you make say, that you have never succeeded in excluding them ashamed of such an expression, it is still true of feminine influence from these Halls. It is, however, whether worthy or unworthy, obliged to use irregu Mr. Chairman, a large and formidable mass of suffering still exists in the bosoms of the most civilized ter, through you, upon the Legislature, we ask you countries, untouched by science, unmitigated by to do a very safe thing,-to add open responsibility law. Crime may be calculated with arithmetical pre- where there is already secret and unacknowledged cision, like the distances on the mariner's chart. Withpower.

These are the arguments, in favor of action o this subject; and what objections are ordinarily raised a perpetual puzzle to the legislator, a perpetual blot on against it? First, that women do not wish to vote the fair page of Social Order. As a woman, who might or that they would only vote as their husbands do have been doomed, under certain circumstances, by or that they would vote in opposition to their hus-the arithmetic of civilization, to such a lot, I stand bands, and so occasion domestic discord. I am almost ashamed, gentlemen, to repeat before you such nonsense as this. Has it any weight? Do any still lumber the earth. They cannot work smooth- of you listen to it? Either one of these statement ly with more modern principles of action. Has it annihilates the other two, -cither one is an insult to your common sense. The most plausible is the third, which leads you to infer that domestic discord would be the result of equal responsibility on the part of husband and wife. You do not believe it, gentlemen, nor do J. On the contrary, I believe that noth ing would tend to prevent discord, like the clothing barbarous society and barbarous laws placed it?—that of the wife and mother with the dignity of the citizen. Women, sure of noble subjects, of thoughts and action, would cease to marry early for occupation or amusement. They would enter society responsible creatures, and those tendencies which would

decide political action, those sympathies which determine parties, would come to be considered beforehand, being indicative, as they are, of many a hidden bias. Many an unhappy marriage, the result, in these to pleaded for us in his Republic, two thousand years days, of idleness, propinquity, or half-knowledge, would be averted by the necessity of a decided exhibition of character. Again, you are told that women cannot understand

politics! Ridiculous subterfuge! Do you remember, gentlemen, those ancient women, who brought their jewels to the Senate Chamber, to meet the exigencies of the Carthagenian war !- that Hortensia, whose argument before the Roman Senate freed one thousand women from the grip of its taxation?—that Elizabeth who was, at once, the silliest coquette and Gentlemen, do you understand this great art of legislation? How is it, then, that your practice falls the darkest manœuverer of a manœuvering age? Nay, gentlemen, go to Washington, if you will, and clip so far behind your theory? In a book called 'The Lawes' Resolution of Woman's Rights,' printed in the feminine strings which pull many a puppet of 1632, these words are to be found :- It is true that the National Government, -- nay, rather, if women will man and wife are one person, but understand in what meddle with politics, as they have from the beginporateth with Rhodanus Humber or the Thames, the channels of action, that you may be enabled to judge of their understanding by its fruits. Many a mempoore rivulet loseth her name; it is carried and reber of this Legislature, doubtless, owes to his wife carried by the new associate; it beareth no away, some of the wisest steps he ever took in life. it possesseth nothing during coverture. A woman, as know many a political man, and many a clergyman soon as she is married, is called covert, in Latine, nupta, that is, vailed, as it were-clouded and overshad- largely indebted in this way. I do not complain o it. It is the nearest approach to a true state of things a portion of this coverture for individuals; but what may be true of the wife, is true of the whole sex :

Gentlemen, the Legislature of 1855 did away with that can be made. Whatever a wife has, belongs t her husband, and I henor her who gives, and him who receives. But, gentlemen, while so many o you resp the benefit of such secret service, in streame.' In a note to Christian's Blackstone, it is triumph which a woman does not share, does it besaid, 'With regard to the property of women, there is come you to question her insight, to sneer at her taxation without representation, for they pay taxes understanding? Educate her, gentlemen; educate without having the liberty of voting for representa- her to a knowledge of her country's wants. Foster her natural and noble curiosity in reference to its legislation, and you shall reap a harvest of help, why single women should be denied this privilege.' more valuable than the history of man records !

It would make them masculine, you reply. Gen this bugbear at the beginning. Many of you have tlemen, is the distinction of sex so trivial a thing, trampled it out of sight, because you did not know that an occasional occupation can obscure its limits what to do with it. When will a large body of you Is it a folly of the Creator that the wisdom of man honorably look it in the face? It were better to live shall make him ashamed of, or does it not, rather, lie under a despotism than to be a citizen of a republic so deep in the human soul, to be intensified by all individual development, to be made clear and shining vileges. In Great Britain, women who are able to chiefly in the light of Man's Freedom and God's absurdly restrained from the exercise of rightful pribuy stock may and do share in the government of oversight? Gentlemen, if I believed in this object one of the largest countries in the world, namely, tion, I would withdraw this petition. I have had enough of male legislation; I long for the human British India. Does the money which qualifies them Women would be insulted, you add, if they wen mitigate in any way the offence of sex, strengthen any weak judgment, or shelter from any natural results openly to the polls. Who would insult us? That of an unwomanly assertion? In Upper Canada, they is a question which it belongs to men to answer. So go to the polls, to vote upon a property qualification far as experience can do it, I assure you that one o the most riotous polls on this continent was the one like the men. They go and they return, gentle, lady-like women, protected alike from insult or miscon- at which this experiment was first tried, and it has ception. Do you think, gentlemen, that we do not been as quiet as a drawing-room ever since; nor has know why we lag so far behind the neighboring pro- anything beside unusual courtesy greeted their com

vince? Do we not know, that on the broader plat- ing. Are we less civilized than our neighbors in the form of a republic, to concede the inch is to concede city of Toronto? The last objection, in common use, is the singu larity of the step. Gentlemen, as a matter of fact, only? You must confer, instead, the dangerous right all the objections melt into this. If to advocate ou of universal suffrage. What a shame that it was not petition were fashlonable, we should have no diffiwon at Lexington ! Gentlemen, do not be more pru- culty in carrying our point. And fashionable it will dent than your revolutionary fathers! The smallest eventually become. Within the last year, three Enghuman right involves all superior rights. Thus a lish peeresses have openly come to our side, and one man's right to education, that is, the eduction or drawing out of all the faculties God has given him, Mrs. Jamieson, has addressed to large audiences her involves the right to a choice of vocation—that is, to valuable thoughts on that right of vocation which

a choice of the end to which those faculties shall be your courts still deny to us. And these considerations bring me, gentlemen trained. The didte of that is, the right of deciding how the only argument which I care to use. I base my far it shall be taxed, in how many ways legislative plea for universal suffrage on the need woman has of action shall be allowed to control it—in one word, this noble interest, and this legitimate occupation of her mind and heart; and still farther, on the need I should waste my time and yours, gentlemen, if I men have, nay, I will say on the need men feel, of were to speak to you in regard to any subordinate her intelligent cooperation. And just, gentlemen, let me speak to this last point,—the need you feel of woman's intelligent cooperation. In what legislative can decide questions of education and vocation for ourselves. Under our memorial, we might claim work have you ever yet succeded? Will you boast or what you have done for education, when the highest culture that many a city offers to her daughters is First. The human right to choose our own vocation—s right lately denied to an applicant for the practice of law in Ohio, on the ground of sex—alsome great difficulty does not still challenge and practice of law in Ohio, on the ground or sex-al-though the examination passed was in the highest puzzle your experience? Is there one of them which puzzle your experience? Is there one of them which is not constantly replenished from the ranks of vice and disease? Have you succeeded, hitherto, in curing more than a few scattered cases of either? Have you ever prevented any? In domestic life, see you

it save women from degradation, and shelter then

As an answer, gentlemen, turn to the city of New York, with its open licentiousness, its intellectual professors, male and female, of free love, where men tell us that chastity is only a habit, and the lo which consecrates in your mind and mine, all the Portias of history, and the Imogens and Juliets of poetic art, only a delusion, and prove it by sophisms that shock you into silence! Look at Utah, a sear on the fertile wilderness at the West. Look at any large so unnatural, in degradation so deep, that were I to speak of it in plain words, I should drive you shudlering from these walls. Have you, as yet, contrived o diminish crime? Are your States' prisons empty? your jails yet turned to ware-houses? Or are you till the victims of the inevitable arithmetic, of which I have already spoken?

And in political life, how is it? Does the bright ideal of a glorious devotion to their country grow clearer and clearer in the eyes of men? Does disinterested service preclude ruinous State expenses, and are elections any longer a surprise to the best man? Alas! I need not answer. Where is the politician, now-a-days, who would wish to sit face to face, for an hour, with only a portrait of George Washington, and answer truly the questions those pure, stern eyes would ask him? Do not believe, gentlemen, that I inquire lightly, or in the insane exaltation of a feminine self-esteem. I acknowledge all the melioration that exists; but when ember that I am looking at the best result of thousands of years of legislation, and a century of republican experience, can you blame me if I trace it, as able men have done, to the one-sided character of your administration? So long as statesmen admit that the Magdalens of our great cities are a necessary blot on God's beautiful world, so long shall I continue to ring the charge of inefficiency in their ears. Valuable scientific researches have, of late, tended to prove that the female of the lower orders of insect and animal life is a more highly organized creature than the male, capable, in some instances, of performing his duty, and exceeding it by her own. Do not fancy that I am misled by absurd analogies, drawn from such facts; that I think woman nobler than man, or fitter for the functions hitherto exercised by him. No, gentlemen ; female legislation would be no better than male. What we want are human rights and human legislation. I shall have attained my end, if I induce you to think more deeply on this subject; if I remind you, to some purpose, that such a thing as universal suffrage has never yet existed.

'The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink

together.

If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall men grow? Her freedom serves them both God made man and woman on one platform, no ossible copies of each other, but differing in quality and quantity of character, that each might supply what the other lacked. He made them to walk hand in hand through all the ways of the world; and to a true view of any object, the testimony of both is needed. What success human legislation has thus far had, is owing to such feminine influence as the home pours around every man; and your action will never be more satisfactory, till you get a deeper and holier influence from souls intrusted with the same opportunities for observation, the same encouragenents for thought, that you afford to your own sex.

Mr. Chairman, you will have observed that, in this plea, I never use the ordinary phrase of woman's rights. The rights I advocate are human ;-I know of none that would place me in antagonism to the truest interests of man.

And last, I have to speak of the need which comen have, of a noble and sustaining occupation of mind and heart, such as a practical devotion to the interests of their country would afford. Great, emergencies, it is acknowledged, always call out the noblest feminine traits; but the hours are full of emergencies, gentlemen, whose ministrations you never permit women to feel. In the earlier ages of the world, when might was right, and few men had political power, there were excuses empresses, and the like. What an absurdity, to per- hundred thousand women of Massachusetts mit the right to reign, and refuse the right to serve! ple ensured full occupation to the women. The four and weaving cloth,-ensuring to them sound, active tion divided the labors of the home and the State. At last, machinery wound up the graceful distaff, and silenced the busy whirr of the wheel; and now we are told that we may not even sew. Enthusiastic young gentlemen fall in love with the new machine, and sewing becomes an affair which in-

terests both sexes! Mr. Chaiman, what will you give us to do? Some of us have neither homes nor children, and those who have, with moderate means and good abilities, can despatch our household duties within the limits of a front the customs and prejudices, not merely of few hours. Within a bird-call of this very House are hundreds of women, whom circumstances exempt from the smallest labor, and whom nothing but the lingering influences of New England training urge to their daily toilet duties. In any other land, their very jewels would be clasped by the hand of a servant. What will you do with their long unoccupied days and nights? Tell them to dress, to walk the streets, to flirt, to do ornamental work? Gentlemen, you have taught them too well that these are very unworthy avocations. Do you commend them to the duties of practical beneficence, or to courses of hard study? They have neither the experience for the one, nor the disposition for the other. They lead listless, anxious lives; they grow up to fill your insane asy lums, to lead a giddy career in foreign capitals, to recruit the ranks of free-lovers, to sink into the immeasurable pit of dissipation, -folly and passion fill-

ou have chosen to wrap it in a napkin, but the time your fault, gentlemen, that women grow up without the high sources whence they come. To hear m knowing that all honest work is honorable. Is there a father here, who has not taken pride in

have seen her, I doubt not, outstrip her brother in his tasks, exceed him far in insight. What becomes of this power, when the school-days are over ! It wilts lately silenced in the grave, utters my plea better than

men, like the houseless and unemployed poor, should not ask for a place and an occupation in the world—the demand disturbs the happy and rich, At disturbs parents. Look at the families of girls in this neighborhood! The brothers of these girls are every one

drous narrowness.

The great wish, the sole sim of every one of them is to marry, and the majority will never marry. They will die as they now live. They scheme, they plot, they dress. Fathers grow angry with such daughters, and order them to stay at home. If you sak, what to do? the answer is, to sew and cook. They expect them to do this, and this only, contentedly, regularly, and uncomplainingly, their lives long.

Could men live so themselves? Would they not be very weary? And when there came no relief to their weariness, only reproaches at its alightest manifestation, would not their weariness ferment in time to frenzy?

The "virtuous woman" of the Scriptures was a manufacturer—sha made fine linen, and sold it; an agriculturalist—for she bought and sold vineyards. Men of England, teach your daughters to reach this royal standard! Will you give them no field in which their faculties may be exercised and grow? Look at your poor girls fading round you; dropping off into consumption or imbecility, degenerating into sour old maids, envious, backbiting, wretched, because life is a desert to them; still worse, reduced to gain, by marriage, a consideration which as women they cannot claim. Fathers! you would wish to be proud of your daughters; seek for them, then, new interest and occupation. Keep your girls minds narrow and fettered, they shall still be a plague and a care. Cultivate and strengthen them, and you shall find them the faithful prop of your age.

Gentlemen, once more I urge you to grant the right of universal suffrage, because women need ennobling subjects of thought and life,—because you need their ntelligent co-operation. Disregard my plea, and the omen whom you doom to idleness will become, if they are not already, the most potent source of the corruption of the State. What they were to Athena and Corinth, they will again become to Boston and New York. If you doubt it, question those great cities close, and heed the answer well.

National safety lies in national purity, and labor is the safeguard of purity,—labor of heart and head and hand. For such reasons, gentlemen, I beseech you to agree in reporting a bill to this Legislature, ordering that the word 'male' be stricken from the 3d Article of the Constitution.

We ask no hasty action. Your bill must be agreed to by a majority of the Senate and twothirds of the House, in two successive General Courts before it can become a law. It will not be agreed to, gentlemen, this year-we know it very well; but it will be discussed and made familiar to your minds; you will learn your own strength, and the weakness of the enemy, and thus the first step will be taken. I long to live to see it pass, and to know that life

offers nobler fruit to the daughters of God than I have been permitted to gather. We plant a solid foot into the Time,

And mould a generation strong to move With claim on claim, from right to right, till she, The woman-phantom, she that seemed no more Than the man's shadow in a glass, her name Yoked in his mouth with children's, know herself, And knowledge liberate her.'

EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

PETITION.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts.

Twice before has your petitioner protested against the injustice and inconsistency of a legislation based on the principle, that taxation and representation are nseparable, which allows women to be taxed while she is unrepresented, and twice has she had leave to withdraw. For the third and last time she now presents her appeal to you. During the last session the legislature, a petition for the right of suffrage, headed by one who has carned for herself the rights she claims, was presented to that body, and advocated by some of the ablest minds of the Commonwealth What was the result? The committee very courteously reported 'leave to withdraw.' Why is this? Why is it that a question involving the rights and destinies of the whole human race, should thus be summarily disposed of, while a minor one, such as the measurement of milk, is allowed to engroes their attention for days and weeks in succession? The enough for withholding it from women. But there constitutional convention, after due consideration of is no time so rude and early, that you cannot find on this subject, reported that it would be inexpedient to se only two thousand out of the two for it. A weaker argument than this could not have been In those early times, the primitive habits of the peo- stated. Who that ever circulated a petition does not know the manifold objections it is possible to raise hundred and fifty muscles were kept in constant play, against signing it, when it is of the most simple nature, by grinding corn and tending herds; by spinning yarn even by those apparently in favor of it? Again, very few are willing to spend the time and labor requisite minds in well-trained bodies. Hour by hour, civiliza- for its faithful circulation; so that it is not probable that one-twentieth part of that two hundred thousand ever had it presented to them. Suppose it had been, and a majority of them had

refused to sign it, as it is very likely they might for obvious reasons, it would not at all affect the point at issue. When so few men have the courage to brave public opinion in the defence of an unpopular idea, even when they know it to be right, and ultimately for their own interest, it cannot be expected that wo man, reared in seclusion, will be bolder still to con generation, but of centuries. It was cited as a proof that she did not want the right to vote, because, having the right of petition, she availed herself of it in th cause of temperance, but failed to do so here. It would be just as rational to maintain, as a law of science, that as the sun and moon are both heavenly. bodies, and both give light, therefore every body can see to read by moonlight. It needs no argument to prove that if the sale of intoxicating drinks were suppressed, the deathly gloom now shrouding so many hearts and homes would be dispelled by the glowing beams of joy and love. It is an easy thing to do what has already received the sanction of public approval, as in the Loring petitions, that have since looded the Legislature, with their thousands of female signatures. It requires thought, reason, and what is rarer still, moral courage, to understand the laws by which society ascends the scale of human progress, ing that space in their lives that thoughtful duty and apply them to the relations of social life. It is Gentlemen, such women are a talent that God ing led by impulse rather than by reflection. It is gives. For its wide employment, the earth pants. not until a movement becomes sufficiently familiar to present itself readily to the mind in its general bearis coming when the master will demand his own with ings, that they are ready to adopt it; but it is because usury. Do not think that I exaggerate. I have my- their impulses naturally lead them in the right direcself gone with such women to the insane asylum; I tion, that we rely on them for its ultimate success have seen the physician offer every remedy but the It would be extremely absurd to notice the various only effective one,-useful, honorable work. It is objections that meet us at every step, were it not for intelligence and refinement descant on the frightful picture of descrited homes and neglected children; the intellectual development of a daughter? Many on the formidable spectre of woman scrambling for office, and the almost endless catalogue of disorde and confusions, such as the world has never witnessed; one would suppose that they had lost all faith in the fails for want of aim. A womanly voice, but ability of the Almighty to govern the world he has reated; and that the skill and wisdom by which He has preserved the human race against all the accidents I believe that single women should have more to of time, and the accumulated weights of its own folbetter chances of interesting and profitable occu-stion than they now have; and when I speak thus, have no impression that I displease God by my n human being, claiming the rights and privileges of other human beings. Cold, calculating, little convers ant with the deeper feelings of our nature, must b that man who can suppose that the mother's love which follows her child with such unwearied devotion

acred trust as to be supplanted by the sordid this

It is amusing to note the various devices by which the members of that convention sought to evade this question, constantly pressing itself upon their deliber

One distinguished member, ex-Governor Morton contended that woman was already fully represented because, having the moulding of her child's character during the most impressible years of its existence, she tion of life, into legislative halls, and finally, said he it would not be far from the truth to say that we represent women, and nobody else.' Had that honorable member reflected a moment, his respect for woman would have deterred him from making that sweeping assertion. He would have shuddered at the very idea of making her accountable for such fearful deeds of darkness as, emanating from midnight orgies at Wash. ington, overshadowed the soil whereon he stood with a curse so black, that the horrors of Indian warare and the gloomy details of witchcraft blanch into white. ness beside it.

Hon. Henry Wilson said that, although he never expected to advocate woman's rights, he would like to hear the argument that could be brought forward against it. Another member argued that woman was excluded from the ballot-box by the general voice of the world, and her own modest, dignified, self-e signing consent. Modest, dignified, self-resigning consent! When was her consent ever asked? True, she has submitted; and so did your fathers submit to the usurpations of the British Crown, until submission became intolerable. We demand the right of suffrage because it is our right. No matter whether six wemen or ten thousand desire it, so long as you can bring forward no argument why it should not be granted us. No matter whether we pay a tax of five dollars

or five hundred, it is taxation without representation, which the theory of your government declares unjust and oppressive. The respected representative from this city who presented the prayer of your petitioner to the last legislature, and who had not a word to say in its defence, afterwards made an eloquent speech on the reading and writing amendment, wherein he protested against any test that should restrict the richt of suffrage. He said, 'But if one test is to be intro. duced, others may follow, until the exercise of suf. frage shall become a privilege of classes, rather than the common right of all, free as the airs of heaven. I conclude, therefore, by expressing a hope that even vet the good sense of the house may reject this amendment, secure that in the future, as in the past, the ballot-box will be pure in Massachusetts, and content that none, however unfortunate, shall ever be disfranchised within her borders.' Where, in his mind's eye, was woman when he made that speech? There is a spiritual power which no earthly triba-

nal has ever been able to withstand. Empires have yielded to its sway, dungeon bars and prison grates have melted before it, the gilded palace and lowly but have alike borne witness to its resistless might. This spirit is beginning to be manifested in woman. You may pile your statutes mountain high, but you cannot bind it; you may exhaust your deepest intellect to define her sphere, and prove that she is mentally inferior to man, but you cannot limit it; you may draw your arguments from sources as varied as the universe, it will sweep them all away, and tell you there something beyond the reach of argument, beyond the power of human control, pressing ever onward through every obstacle, that it may fulfil the law of its being. Compress the soul of Luther within the four walls of the cloister, and what is the result? The superhuman effort to free his own mind from the fetters that shackle it shakes the whole world with convulsion that will never cease to vibrate. The goternment that imposes a single restriction on any of the God-given faculties of our being, contains within itself the germ of a revolution. It takes the ken observer of human nature, one who has carefully observed the workings of his own mind, to perceive the secret influences silently at work beneath the dens mass of dress and show. The gayest belle that prom enades Broadway has her moments of inspiration calling her to a higher destiny; her hours of meditation when the consciousness of what she might have been recals to her memory the pure and sacred aspiration of her girlhood, as the grand realities of life burst upon her opening vision; and just in proportion to the intensity of her nature will she seek to drown them by draining her husband's purse, and plunging platform of equality, that a free range can be given to all our powers. Lay a restriction on one faculty, and it may be just the one that most seeks development. Bend the soul out of its natural course, and unless there is sufficient strength of character to overlesp the barriers that intercept its progress, it will show you a life full of weaknesses and contradictions. We were never created to evade responsibilities, but to meet them. If one woman finds sufficient to engage her attention within the sacred precincts of the domestic circle, finds there a sphere adequate to the wants of her own soul, no one wishes to urge her into the arena of public life; but let her not say to an Elizabeth Fry or Dorothea Dix, 'The world has me need of you.

We do not expect to remedy all the evils of society, or that the defects of woman will be speedily corected; she will commit her follies still, as man does; she will sometimes make a mistake in voting, as many wise men have done; but with all her follies, and all her mistakes, she cannot possibly bring on the country a more perverted state of the moral atmosphere that the present, or a worse financial crisis than the through which we are now passing. We do not seed our petitions to you, year after year, merely for you's report 'leave to withdraw'; we demand action, is mediate action. If it cannot be done in the name of affection, in the name of justice it must be done. I in the absence of every argument, after the remoral of every objection, you still persist in refusing in appeal, but one step remains for her to take, ud that is, to refuse to pay taxes-and she will do it Wery few will be willing to make the sacrifice, and very few will be needed. Let one woman resist the arbitrary claims of the law, let her bring the subject directly before the conscience of the people, by their critice of her property, if need be, in the defence of this immortal principle, and the cry of indignated that would speedily be roused against the unrighted deed of those who can thus despoil their own sister and daughters, would soon remove the odious pro

But it is to be hoped that Massachusetts will be more honorable than that; that she, so rich with the memories of the past, with the hallowed association of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill, though older a years, will prove herself as young in generous pathies and noble impulses as her sister States of Obs

and Wisconsin. SARAH E. WALL, A tax-payer of the City of Worcester The foregoing admirable Petition was proented to the Senate by Mr. Earlie of Worcester, at

and on his motion, ordered to be printed.] HAIR DOCTRESS.

MPROVEMENT IN CHAMPOOING A HAIR-DYEING.

MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam Carrons and the public, that she has removed to the Washington at, and 20 West at.; where will be found her Restorative, the most celebrated in the world, as it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces are in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second is none in Hair-Dyeing and Champooing.

Ladies waited on at their residences, either is a out of town.

politars, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to directed, (rost PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inerted three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soremains are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tun

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The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PRILBRICK,



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be purpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 11.

# BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1858.

# WHOLE NUMBER, 1418.

# REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING, Mr. Johnson, of Abington, presented five petitions for the removal of Edward G. Loring from the office for the removal of the County of Suffolk. Laid on the table.—Proceedings Massachusetts Legislature.

Mr. Loring will, we fear, be the death of the Massachusetts Abolitionists. His presence haunts them by day, and their dreams by night are disturbthem by day, and their dreams by night are disturb-ed by visions of his official appearance, in that fanatical community. While we admire the con-stancy and persistence with which he maintains in stancy and personner, the consistency and impreg-nability of his position, it does at times almost seem that the spirit of charity, which is so glorious an attribute of our nature, and the feelings of kindness which so largely predominate in his disposition, might almost induce Judge Loring to resign his office, just to please the gentlemen whose trade in human freedom' is so largely affected by his course. For several years past, the dominant party in Massachusetts have been trying to legislate Judge Loring out of the office of Judge of Probate. With a majority in the Legislature, they have had no diffeulty in passing a bill which would, if carried into effect, require him to resign either that office or into effect, require him to resign either that office or that of United States Commissioner; but, unfortunately, just as the hopes of the Black Republicans seemed on the point of realization, Governor Gardened stepped in with the veto power to tell them, 'Thus far, and no farther shalt thou go.' The Governor, by the way, has appeared for the last few years to be the evil genius of the Republican party in Missachusetts, and has given them a vast deal of continuous and trouble. But at last they have triveration and trouble. But at last they have tri-umphed over him, and now have a clear field for the exercise of all their ultra projects. We shall see whether they have the courage to do now what they have carsed him for preventing their doing in former

We are not surprised to see the subject of Judge Loring's removal again mooted in the Massachusett Legislature. There are men in that body who would not sleep well o' nights, had they no such agitating question to discuss, some such ultra measure to talk about, while enjoying in comfort the people's money. But with all respect for these gentlemen, we ask if

But with all respect for these gentlemen, we ask if they are not aware that they are pursuing a shadow? that while this topic has been a pretty plaything with the inability to perfect it, quite another and a different aspect is presented, now that the whole Government is in their power.

Gov. Banks dare not sign, and he dare not veto, a bill for the removal of Judge Loring. There will be a great waste of legislation on the subject, much valuable time wasted, much mock patriotism indulged in, but some accident will happen to the measure before it is presented to the Governor for measure before it is presented to the Governor for his signature. It will never do to place so ambitious an aspirant for Presidential honors, in a position of

Mantime this question will do, for lack of a better, to aid in keeping the slavery question in some form before the New England people. Judge Loring, on testimony which could not be disregarded, performed a positive and manifest duty in returning the slave Burns to his owners. To have done other-wise would have been to disregard his official oath, and to shrink from a solemn duty. Of course, he is a fair mark for the shafts of fanaticism.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

SLAVE-CATCHING AND JOHN C. PARK. During the last municipal election in Boston, the Hon. John C. Park (Republican !) addressed a meeting of the partisans of Mr. Lincoln, the present Mayor, and showed his pro-slavery flunkeyism as follows :-

'Mr. Park said that all present knew that he was opposed to slavery, and that he would do any thing to remove it; but he would do it by just and constiday, if the State could set up her law against those of the United States in a ceded matter. The State endeavored to put her shield over the fugitive, but she had gone too far. Referring to the Burns case, he said if bloodshed had come between the United States and the State, one party or the other must have been defeated, and, in God's name, if one party must go down, let it be the State rather than the Union. (Great applause.) That Personal Liberty Bill which the Legislature passed was vetoed by Gov. Gardner, and it was an honor to him. Now, Mr. Hall, as Mayor, would be ready to support an unconstitutional law, such as the Personal Liberty Law. Mr. Lincoln, on the contrary, would never do so; and he would, in a case of emergency, never surrender the peace and order of our city into the hands of a military commander. He would be found every where to tell the people that there was law and justice in the land, and to illustrate to them how wisely it had been expounded by Mr. Webster.

#### METHODISM IN MISSOURI-AN IN-STRUCTIVE LESSON.

We clip from the St. Louis Christian Advocate, a highly useful paper, the following intelligence :

'Never has the Methodist Church in Missouri, and throughout the South generally, but particular-ly in Missouri, been in so healthy and so prosperous a condition. From almost every quarter, we hear of revivals and large additions to the membership,

of revivals and large additions to the membership, while peace attends us everywhere.

'We have inquired very closely into the history of Methodism in Missouri since its introduction, and feel perfectly safe in saying that the condition and prospects of the Church at present are better than ever before. Hundreds and thousands are being converted, and added to her membership. The work goes on in every place. There are no strifes and divisions among us—no 'vexed questions' separating and dividing us. We have peace; we have plenty. So may it continue to be in every place and all the time! Our mission is to the world, and wherever we go, we go with peace and truth, with mercy and love.'

If the statistics of the Methodist Church are not at fault, a like prosperous condition to the one above described in Missouri, exists in every Southern State.

This fact carries with it an instructive lesson.

This fact carries with it an instructive lesson. The Methodist Church South was the pioneer of practical resistance to abolition encroachment. In 1844, with unparalleled unanimity, they broke up their union with the Northern majority, rather than submit to anti-slavery demands, and to take a position of inferiority in the Church.

The Southern Methodists said, we must have equality in the union, (of the Church,) or independence out of it. The anti-slavery majority insisted upon the enforcement of their exactions; and the Southern Methodists adopted the alternate of separation. Since that time, the denomination has prospered beyond the expectation of its most sanguine members.

This great example, and its glorious results, should always be kept in mind by the people of the South.

-Mississippian.

SELECTIONS.

SENATOR SULVER.

The Washington correspondent of the Boston Traveller, writing Feb. 20, says:

Senator Samuer is still here, although he has expected every day for the past week to leave for New York, but has remained to vote against the Army.

Bill. His health is much better than when here in December. His step is firmer; his voice is more sonorous, and his walk, while it is much faster now than that of most men; is nearly up to his old mark. He can write longer; read more; and tak wite greater case. In fact, the Senator has said that he considers himself now as almost well; but he is dily aware of the danger of relapse, and consequently guards against all excitement, especially such as consistent with his time the his taste in looking over the collection of the interest commence, he goes into the Library, where he gratically such as a consistency of the considers him. Hence when the morning business is over, and the long-winded specially such as consistency of the consist

tary of the Navy, cross the chamber and offer Mr. Sunner his hand, I thought the era of good feeling had arrived. But I mistook the signs of the times. even courteously in this matter. I am told that Senator John Bell is the only Southern Senator who approached Mr. Sumner in the open Senate Chamber; and Mr. Bell did this with all the courtesy that the occasion required. He is the only Southern Senator who, in the sight of the public, has approached Mr. Sumner. Senator Crittenden, I am told, met Mr. Sumner behind the screen, as he was passing out, and there, out of right, gave Mr. Sumner his hand. General Houston, also, I am Informed, on meeting our Senator in the lobby, one morning, gave his hand. These three gentlemen, and Governor Allen of Rhode Island, are, to the best of my knowledge—and I have taken some pains to verify my belief—the only administration Senators who have spoken to Mr. Sumner since his return life. Very few, if any but the lecture, or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture, or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture, or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture, or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture, or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture of a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture of a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture of a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture of a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigher, purer life. Very few, if any but the lecture or a bigh

mer, and urged him to resign and give place for others. This we think is both uncalled for and unseemily. The laurels bathed in his own blood cannot be worn more fitly during life, than by him who was so brutally struck down in the Senate for daring to defend the rights of freemen in Kansas. Massachuse were twas of his perfess eloquence in times past. He stands the first martyr in our national councils to a descented liberty of speech, and his very persent new truths for each generation to work on another. Time may perchance restore to him his gifted power of speech, and his elevated oratory may again resound through the arches of the capitol, where he has heretofore won such enduring fame; but whether it does or not, we must ever hold in admiration that devotedness which prompts his zeal, and bears him up under bodily infirmities that would paralyze weaker spirits. Let him remain where he is, and when Kansas shall have been disentificated for sew worl of this great thought.

From the Ceruland Co. Repablican.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN CORTLAND.

Wendel Phillips's Lectures in Cortland, without the deep cortes.

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We give place to the hollowing able synopsis of wendel Phillips's Lectures in Cortland, without the great orator advocates. At one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the master minds of the day, as well as one of the m

bunner his hand, I thought the era of good feeling had arrived. But I mistook the signs of the times. The same great impulse which prompted the assault, will prevent the South from acting generously or even courteously in this matter. I am told that Senator John Bell is the only Southern So

from Europe.

Much interest is felt, I find, among our friends in Massachusetts and elsewhere, to know the nature of mate oratory of which no man is more perfectly a Massachusetts and elsewhere, to know the nature of Mr. Sunner's feelings toward the person who inflicted upon him so great a calamity, taking from him nearly two years of active life, and putting in jeopardy both his life and reason. Sharing this feeling, I have endeavored to learn the Senator's sentiments on the subject. Yet I have never heard him tuter one word from which I could even find a conjecture of them, though the matter has been referred to by myself, and by others in my hearing, in the course of conversation. Moreover, I have heard his private secretary, who was his nurse and watcher during the long sultry days and nights of his illness in Washington, remark that he had never heard the Senator speak of the assault or the assailant, or in any way express any feeling on the subject. But I presume, however, that the feelings of Mr. Sumner are justly excited against the Slave Power, which originally instigated and has since sanctioned the assault.

Mr. Sumner's seldom seen, except on his way to and from the capitol, or the Sinthsonian Institute, where I am told he has examined the whole collection of engravings sold to that institution by Mr. Marsh. He accepts few invitations, never attends regular parties or dimers, passes his mornings and evenings at home. If the Army Bill is disposed of, on Tucsday, it is, I am told, his intention to go away for another month, or until his vote is again in request. But until the Army Bill is disposed of, he will not leave, for as he says, he came here to vote against the bill, and will not leave until that is accomplished.

against the bill, and will not leave until that is accomplished.

We are glad to learn from the telegraphic reports that Senator Summer will at once resume his seat, and be present to cast his vote upon the pending propositions for an increase of the army, and the forcing of the Lecompton Constitution upon an unwilling people. Although still suffering from the effects of the dastard blow which shattered his nervous system, and anxious to seek the retired paths of private life, yet a sense of daty and the unanimous wish of those who have trusted their good cause to his keeping, retains him in his place. We have noted with much regret that some of the new spapers of the country, which profess to be devoted to the cause of free soil and free labor, have indulged in very disparaging comment upon Mr. Sumner, and urged him to resign and give place for others. This we think is both uncalled for and unseemly. The laurels bathed in his own blood cannot be worn more fifly during life, than by him who was so brutally struck down in the Senate for the very highest kind—triumphantly sustaining Toussaint's claim as one of the very first of "The few, the immortal names. That were not bern to die.'

Although in the evening, Mr. Phillips showed some signs of fatigue, caused by his three previous efforts, his lecture on his favorite subject, 'American Slavery;' shounded in passages of rare eloquence and beauty. He said that the Bible did not justify ambients upon that and his conscience, and with the Bible he would defend them. He said he would unlettake to defend the Bible against the attacks of all such men as Thomas Paine and Voltaire; but there were thirty thousand churches in the United States, that in one way or another defended slavery; that American infidels claimed that these churches rightly interpreted the Bible, and that there exposition of it was Christianity. If this was so, Thomas Paine and voltaire; but there were thirty thousand churches in the United States, that in one way or another defended slavery; that he

Your obedient servant,
EDWARD G. LORING,
Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk. Boston, March 2d, 1858.

Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk.

Boston, March 2d, 1858.

It will be seen by a report which we give of the hearing this morning before the Legislative Committee in the case of Judge Loring, that the Judge again briefly makes his defence. This time he takes the higher law decrine of Senator Summer intensified, as his ground of justification. He says that he regards it as the solemn duty of the citizen to violate a statute which he deems unconstitutional. He acknowledges that he is violating an express statute of the State, but he says he believes it unconstitutional, and therefore he fests bound to violate it. This is, in our judgment, not a bad doctrine on which to stand in any such case, one little thing, however, being provided or included; viz., that he who assumes this responsibility must also expect to dibide the consequences.

For instance, we believe the Fugitive Slave Bill to be unconstitutional as well as inhuman, and we have violated it often, and shall do it again as often as we get a chance; but if the officials of Buchanan should happen to catch us at it, and convict us, we should of course pay the penalty, however great the injustice. So it is with Judge Loring: he assumes the responsibility of defying and disobeying a statute of the Commonwealth, because he thinks it unconstitutional. If, in consequence of this, he loses reported as a chance is the responsibility of defying and disobeying a statute of the Commonwealth, because he thinks it unconstitutional. If, in consequence of this, he loses

injustice. So it is with Judge Loring: he assumes the responsibility of defying and disobeying a station to of the Commonwealth, because he thinks it unconstitutional. If, in consequence of this, he loses constitutional. If, in consequence of this, he loses represented also. They therefore determined upon sending deputies, and actually pominated three, who

the darkness of barbarism which enshrouds the others.

There is not much difficulty in making logical deductions from a fair starting point, and, where such a point does not exist, Mr. Cushing has a remarkable facility of establishing one of his own invention.

Thus he commences with asserting an equality of the Protestant educated Anglo-Saxon people of these United States, with the Roman Catholic, ignorant, mixed people of Brazil, displaying either a worful iguorance or a perverse disingentuousness in regard to the latter. The misfortunes and revolutions of Mexico are attributed to its mixed races. Doubtless such a condition of society is unfavorable to progress; and it is on account of precisely such a condition that Brazil remains where she is, and is not, as would appear from Mr. Cushing's stand point, upon a level with the United States. In government alone, is she much superior to the Spanish Republic, with which it is sought to place her in such a riking contrast. In one particular, and in one alone, does she recemble this republic. In the estimation of the distinguished statesman and his political associates, this is enough to give her the pre-eminence claimed. Brazil and the United States are the only slaveholding countries of the Western Continent. There was a time when the Democratic party was the exponent of certain principles—when it smeered at other parties for being those of upon a level with the United States. In government alone, is she much superior to the Spanish Republic, with which it is sought to place her in such a riking contrast. In one particular, and in one alone, does she resemble this republic. In the ceitimation of the distinguished statesman and his political associates, this is enough to give her the pre-eminence claimed. Brazil and the United States are the only staveholding countries of the Western Continent. There was a time when the Democratic party was the exponent of certain principles—when it smeered at other parties for being those of one cides—and with true prophetic vision predicted their ruin. It may now well predict its own, for its supreme head has announced that there is but one 'donesite institution'—one idea worth discussing in the formation of new States. And to force this idea of alavery, this idea alone (for to establish alavery itself is impossible,) upon a whole community, he has brought all his influence to bear. This idea is now the watchword of the party. And true to the Democratic rule of 'follow my leader,' the Hon. Caled Oushing cannot make a speech or deliver a lecture without openly or covertly bringing into it the favorite dogman of his party. But where has be done it in this instance? Nowhere, but ye everywhere! The lecture is not what its kille would be under the surface of freeness when have a corned to the United States (and Brazil') from keeping the inferior reseal is subjection. And this is democracy!

He leaves it to be inferred that Brazil cannot beast as pure a race of freeness when there, he has seen in the leaves of freeness which have accorded to the United States (and Brazil') from keeping the inferior reseal is subjection. And this is democracy in the Session, as such as such as a subjection. And this is democracy in the Session, as a subjection. And this is democracy in the Session, as such as a process of freeness when his in the country, in the army and even in the Session, as and devoted to the annotation. There is ev

The Constitution is the controlling declaration of the will of the whole people of the Commonwealth, and as such is its supreme law. An unconstitutional statute, therefore, is not a law but w nullity, and any oath to support the Constitution is an oath to treat such a statute as a nullity.

I have not obeyed the statute of 1855 c. 489, because I considered it unconstitutional, as it was held to be in the year of its enactment by the Governor of the State.

By the authority of the people of the Commonwealth, I was sworn as Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, to support the Constitution, and I fulfilled the letter and spirit of that solemn oath in not obeying a statute which, in my conscious belief, violated the Constitution. As the remonstrances against the prayer of the petitioners are rested on public considerations, I have no right to make them personal to myself, or to appear or answer for them before the Committee. I am, very respectfully, Your obedient servant, EDWARD G. LORING, intelligent people. in with the

constitutional. If, in consequence of this, he loses his office, he can make no complaint, nor can anybody in his behalf.

Let the thing then proceed, and in no event can Judge Loring complain. He has made his bed, and must lie in it.—Botton Bee.

Upon their arrival, they demanded an audience of the Assembly, into which they were admitted. On stating their claims, M. Flortau, the president, a most zealous friend to the cause of liberty, assured them that they need not be dispirited; for that the Assembly knew no distinction between blacks and whites, but considered all men as having equal rights. The circumstances, however, of the mation were such that their claims could not be immediately discussed; (and here permit me to observe, that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the very same which deferred the consideration of the Shave trade also;) but that these circumstances are the

JUDGE LORING'S DEFENCE.

there, and it contains more of the African element than that of the Mexicans.

Brasil is a better governed country than Mexico, insumuch as the Portuguese, at home and abroad, are a more peaceably disposed people than the Spanise of the paticious for the remonstrances against the Sume:

Guntlemen—I respectfully acknowledge the service of the patice addressed to me by your Secretary, and the courtesy with which it offers to me a hearing before you. As I admit the fact which the petitioners allege, I need trespass no forther—pronty your time than to submit to you the reasons for my procedure.

The Constitution is the controlling declaration of the will of the whole people of the Commonwealth, and as such is its supreme law. An unconstitution all statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and as statute, therefore, is not a taw but a nullity, and the removal committee of Slavery. 'Free States' have mobbed, howled down, rotten-egged, and bluggeoned men and women for peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully exposing and reproving our Nations, are a more peacefully ex tive 'and 'National'—then may we share in the jubilant expectations of Gov. Seward. At present we cannot.—New York Tribune.

> PROTEST OF THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE. The Legislature of Kansas—the first fairly elected Legislature in the Territory—a body representing fully the vast majority of the citizens, has passed the following Joint Resolutions, and ordered certified copies to be sent to the President of the United States.

Resolved. By the legislative assembly of the territory of Kansas, that as the representatives of the people of the territory of Kansas, and reflecting their expressed and known wish upon the state government, we most carnestly and solemnly protest against the justice and the right of the Congress of the United States, to force upon the people of this territory a constitution, in the making of which they had no fair voice, which does not embody their wishes, but is in direct contravention thereto, which establishes in their midst a constitution which they can neither sanction nor tolerate, while it is opposed to the well known wishes of a large majority of can neither sanction nor tolerate, while it is opposed to the well known wishes of a large majority of their number, and which in its inception and general character, is in opposition to their interests and abhorrent to their principles.

Resolved, That we ask and demand, in behalf of the papers of this territory.

the people of this territory, the rejection of the so-called 'Lecompton Constitution,' now pending be-fore Congress, and the recognition of the rights and wishes of such people in any action by Congress looking toward the formation or confirmation of a state government for this territory.

Resolved, That a contravention of the rights and

wishes of the people of this territory as herein ex-pressed, would be a good and sufficient cause for ARMED RESISTANCE, which they would justly deprecale, but which every consideration of honor and patriotism would prompt as in maintenance and de-fence of their just and legal rights.

Just on the eve of adjournment, the Territorial Legislature nearly unanimously passed the following concurrent resolutions:

Resolved, That we do hereby, for the last time, solemnly protest against the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution—that we hurl back with indignant scorn the libellous charge contained in the message of the President accompanying the Lecompton Constitution to Congress, to the effect that the freemen of Kansas were a lawless people.

——That relying upon the justice of our cause, we do hereby, on behalf of the people we represent, solemnly pledge to each other, to our friends in Congress and in the States, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor, to resist the Lecompton Constitution and Government by force of arms, if necessary. THE FINAL PROTEST.

That in this perilous hour of our history, we appeal to the civilized world for the rectitude of our position, and call upon the friends of freedom everywhere to array themselves against the last act of oppression in the Kansas drama.

Governor Denver was directed to forward a copy of the above to Congress and the President of the United States.

LET THE PEOPLE ARM FOR RESISTANCE.

The St. Louis Evening News, an independent American paper, has a bold editorial on Kansas affairs under the above caption. After glancing at the outrage and tyranny exercised upon the people of Kansas by the last and present Administration, and the 'lying assurances' given them by President Buchanan, it continues:

'We turn to the people of Kansas. They have been shamefully deceived and betrayed in regard to the privilege of choosing their own constitution, and regulating their domestic institutions. And they have sworn to resist usurpation to the bitter end. We applaud them for it, and say: God speed them in the right! Let them take up arms, and defy Mr. Buchanan and his troops, and return shot for shot, as long as they have a gun, and a man to fire it. When they have all fallen in the righteous cause, there will be a million free men to take their places, and carry on the war.

When they have all fallen in the rightsous cause, there will be a million free men to take their places, and carry on the war.

'What!' says the startled adherent of the Administration, 'will you resist the law, and become a telon and a rebel against the government?

Yes, we reply, even so, if Mr. Buchanan wills it. Tyranny is tyranny, whether perpetrated by George the Third, or James Buchanan and his myrmidons of office-bolders. It is as right to resist usurpation now, as ever before on this continent. No matter, from what source it comes, it must and shall be resisted. There is no dearer right than that of self-government; and if Mr. Buchanan falsines his own promises to the people of Kansas, and attempts, by murderous means, to crush their right to self-government, he is no better than any common deceiver or tyrant, and shall be resisted, personally and officially, till his insolence is rebuked and his tyranny over thrown. And if the end is civil war and blood, so let it be. The like has happened before, and no doubt will happen again, and ought to happen, whenever false-hearted men gain power, and use that power to oppress and harass a free people, and trample upon their dearest rights.

The Kansas game of shuffling, equivocation, villany and fraud, is fully played out.

The issue is now made, and it is a Free government on one side, and the forced rule of a contemptible minority of petty tyrants and usurpers, uphald

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Vorcester