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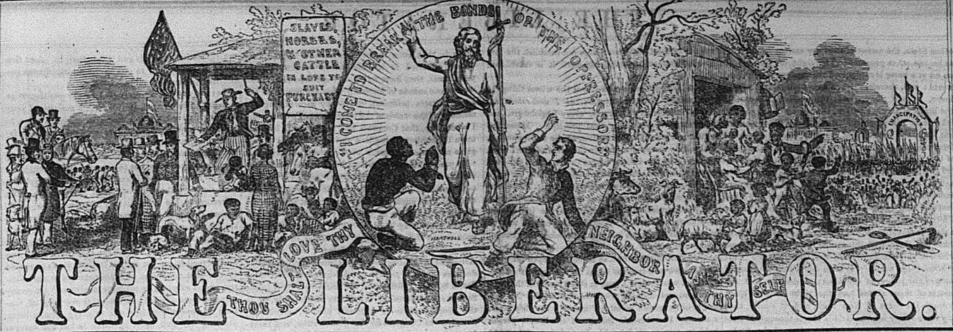
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financa Committee, but are not responsible for any of the ST QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL

VOL. XXIX. NO. 9.



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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk 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.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1859.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1582.

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## SELECTIONS.

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter AMERICAN INTRIGUES IN ST. DOMINGO. TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

TO THE ABILION OF A WANTING indications of a crafty Sax—There are not wanting indications of a crafty change in the tactics of the pro-slavery party in the laited States. Finding that very serious difficulties and in the way of the acquisition by America of portion of the island of St. Domingo, they are cendsavoring to tempt the cupidity of France. This is the more necessary, as, up to the present plan, France, as well as England, has strenuously existed American encroachments, both in St. Donogo and in Cuba. The New York Herald is the ag exponent of this new scheme of the American fillusters. That journal proposes that the Emperor Napoleon and the American Government should appleon and the American Government should sus to an arrangement, by which he should regain assession of the pld French colony of St. Domingo sow the empire of Hayti); and they should, as a (now the empire of Hayer), and they should, as a cale pre quo, be permitted to annex Cuba to the Union. Louis Napoleon is complimented for having shown himself to be a practical man, far above the coal tendencies of European humanitarians, and apable of rightly estimating the true elements of His efforts ' to re-invigorate willied well-being. His efforts to re-invigorate he is advised to direct his attention to the mer French colony of Hayti, or St. Domingo. France, continues the New York Herald, ' now holds a mortgage over Hayti of some one hundred and eighty or two hundred millions of francs, which ever be paid. In view of this state of things, we advise Louis Napoleon to send out a portion of the fleet and army he has prepared, and take possesof the once rich colony so foolishly thrown away by the first French Directory. By so doing, he will do a great good to civilization, give employment to the Armament that now alarms Europe, and augment se power of France with a colony containing thirty the usual square miles of territory, and capable of unlimited expansion in an industrial sense.

There is, of course, no truth whatever in the statement of the Heraid, that France holds a mortgage of wit kind over Hayti. The simple truth is, that, in s, Hayti entered into two treaties with France. France recognized the independence of and by the other, which was a financial liati and by the other, which was a financial convention, the latter country agreed to pay the sam of sixty millions of francs to the former color sists of St. Domingo, as an indemnity for the losses they had sustained during the revolution. It was agreed that this indemnity should be paid in the form of annual instalments, and, up to this time, the engagement has been honorably fulfilled. So much for the story of the New York journalist. The-reads will perceive by what despicable falsehoods the scheme to despoil a nation of its liberties and in-

pendence is sought to be justified.
In another article, published on the 9th July, the New York Herald says:

The probability of an entente cordiale between France and the United States, in regard to the future political relations and industrial security of Cuba and Hayri, is beginning to attract public attention.

No political arrangement between two Governwhole civilized world, when once effected, than the transfer of these two islands—one to follow the course of its former sisters, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, and of its former sisters. Louissana, Florida, and Texas, and become a State in our Union; and the other to return to its allegiance to France, and accept from it the civilization it has lost, and the skilled labor and capital so necessary to enable it to become a contributor to the wants of the world. The proposition will, no dould, evolve some opposing discussion, for there are never wanting opponents for any plan, no matter how nerally advantageous it may be. But there are in econdition of both Hayti and Cuba reasons which But there are in rall far interference on the part of governments that comprehend the true march of the world more rationally than do those of either Soulouque or Isabel

In Hayti we have a barbarous and fruitless imitation of the forms of a constitutional absolutism, if such a thing could exist anywhere but in a negro communay. The social condition of the people is no better than that of slaves, with the disadvantage that they re slaves to their own kind, who do not possess th intelligence necessary to guide their labor productive-ly, nor the humanity to govern the bondsmen with lengy. The very existence of this state of things in close proximity to civilized communities is a blot upon the age. France has claims upon Hayti which fully rance has claims upon flayti which fully entitle her to re-assume her sway there, and Louis Napoleon has shewn himself to possess the practical mind necessary to re-organize government and society there. In the growing importance of the transit pate across the American inthmus, and the care with which England clings to her military position, present and prospective, in the Carribean Sea, there are abundant reasons why Franceshould enter again upon that benincon which was thrown away by the agrarianism of the first England.

of the first French revolution.

The situation of Cuba, too, though very different from that of llayti in a social point of view, is equally unstable in its present political relations. The military position which it holds towards this country makes it an important feature in our scheme of na-tional defence, and points with unmistakeable certainty is the fact, that, in the event of any great convul-son in Europe, we must take immediate possession of a fer our own safety. Another element of change in the which the United States are morally bound to guard against, is the policy pursued by Spain there. That government openly consents to the prosecution of the slave-trade, and thereby fosters the elements of a war between England and this country, which must be removed. But beside this, she persistently enter-tains the idea that she will reduce Cuba to the same Make of black barbarism from which the whole world now desires to see Hayti and Jamaica reclaimed. For this purpose is she arming the negroes there, and making them a part of her standing army, while the white Eroics are jealously precluded from learning the use of arms or military drill and tactics. Such a policy, the not changed by the interference of other powers, will inevitably light the flames of a war of races in Caba, in which our people will take part from a feeling of sympathy with the Cubans, and ultimately result in a war between the United States and Spain.

The coolness with which the American writer Proposes that the Emperor Napoleon should play the part of an imperial bandit, and seize upon Hayti without the slightest cause of quarrel, will surprise
he one who is acquainted with the character of the
party of which the New York Herald is one of the organs. They especially hate every thing in the shape of negro self-government, and therefore St. Domingo, the British West Indies, and Liberia. are in turn the objects of malignant calumnies on their part. They exult in the professed belief that right dreams that were entertained of the poitical millenium which was to come to the free nig ger through the black empire of Hayti, or th mulatto-republic of Liberia, have been dissolved; the economical fallacies about free labor being cheaper and more productive than slave labor hav intense laziness of the emancipated black in all the West India islands and Spanish merica; the great social mistake that whites can live in a community where blacks preponderate, and

prosper under a social equality with them, is demonstrated; and the popular error, that the negro is only a white man with a black skin, is fast melting away. No revival of the Exeter-Hall eloquence of the olden time can save its fallacies and its fanaticism from destruction. Its theories have been reduced to practice, and they have utterly failed. No community of emancipated blacks has preserved its industry, its mechanical skill, its knowledge of the arts, or its memory of the teachings of Christianity.

I much opposed to the true interests of England and France, as it is to those of the people of St. Domingo. The crection of a strong negro government in that island would prove a bulwark of defence to our own West Indies; and most assuredly, if England will exercise her influence on the side of union, rather than of separation, she will find that, in this case, duty and interest will go hand in band.

Your obedient servant,

F. W. Chission. arts, or its memory of the teachings of Christianity. Everywhere in them production has declined, handicraft has disappeared, science has waned, and the

craft has disappeared, science has waned, and the moral truths have become sadly darkened.

There is, happily, no reason to believe that the Emperor Napoleon is, in the least degree, favorable to the scheme of spoliation proposed by the Northern organ of the American slaveocracy. The French consuls in St. Domingo have, equally with the English of their favorage with the English of the St. Domingo have, equally with the English of their favorage with the English of their favorage with the English of their favorage with the English of the St. Domingo have, equally with the English of their favorage with the English of the English

social condition of the Haytian people is no better part in affairs. We may instance Giddings, Stethan that of slaves, and that no community of phens, Quitman, Campbell, Orr, Clingman, Harris, social condition of the Haytian people is no better than that of slaves,' and that 'no community of emancipated blacks has preserved its industry, its mechanical skill, its knowledge of the arts, or its memory of the teachings of Christianity,' is worthy only of ridicule and contempt. The falsehood of one part of the statement is sufficiently proved by the annually increasing export and import trade between the United States and Hayti. Appeal from the unscrupulous journalist to the merchants of New York and Boston, and ask them whether the supplies of coffee, of sugar, and of mahogany, which they the unscrupiblous journalist to the merchants of New York and Boston, and ask them whether the supplies of coffice, of sugar, and of mahogany, which they receive from Port au Prince and Jacunel, do not furnish proofs of the industry and intelligence of the inegrout raders of Hayti. There is searcely a mechanical art in which the Haytiens have not attained to a high state of proficiency. The various trades of harness-making, clock-making, goldsmithing, saddlery, and cabinet-making, are carried on with skill and success; nor are these wanting equally gratifying signs of progress in several branches of the fine arts. Hayti also possesses a newspaper press, and a literature of character and respectability. Her his torical writers, Madiou, B. Ardouin, Linstant, St. Remy (who lately died at Paris), and Emile Nau, have ashieved a European reputation; so likewise have her poets, Dupre, Milsent, Ignace Nau, Corcolan Ardouin, and P. Faubert. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state, but full toleration is allowed to all other sects. Ample provision is made for the education of all elasses of the poople. In the chief town of every province there are maintained a college, a superior school for girls, and the other for girls. The smaller towns are provided with a public school for both boys and girls, some of them with two. There are also many private scholastic establishments, there being no fewer than twentyfive in Port au Prince alone. Large numbers of the Sende when many of them have acquired high distinction.

A valued correspondent informs me that 'three they are also obtained, in August last, the greatest

During two consecutive years, Fenelon Faubert and so would Giddings if he could. gained the prize of honor in rhetoric. Alexander him. And yet Giddings and Botts dwell in the same Delva obtained the first prize of Greek in the second class; and young Dupuy a prize in the third class. I may add, that these successful students have been rewarded by their own Government, and that M. Lespinasse, the Secretary of the Haytien Legation in London, has presented each of them with a gold medal, a testimonial which was raised by public the lead of Adams in his championship of this right. subscription in Port au Prince.

of the law, or enters into the service of the state, so that there is growing up in Hayti a highly educated that there is growing up in Hayti a highly educated the country recollects the agitation which sprung that there is growing up in Hayti a highly educated from the enfranchisement of the negroes of the brightness and middle class. It cannot, of course, aristocracy and middle class. It cannot, of course, in the arts and sciences, education and religion, as older and more favored communities have done. But taking into account that only sixty years have elapsed since Hayti was peopled by a nation of slaves, offered, in the House, nine resolutions touching this elapsed since Hayti was peopled by a nation of slaves, that she has suffered severely from internal disruption and civil war, and that she has had to develop session of, or to re-enslaye these negroes, were unauthorized by the Constitution and laws of the United independence with no counsel or assistance from any of the civilized governments of the world, every uncountered by the resolutions, a wild storm broke out, and the state of the world, every uncountered by the resolutions, as wild storm broke out, and the state of the state prejudiced observer must admit that she has effected wonders for her own elevation and advancement.

But even if the facts were otherwise, it is scarcely becoming in those who advocate the enslavement of the negro, who withhold from him, as far as it is possible, all the means of intellection and moral in the negro, who withhold from him, as far as it is possible, all the means of intellection and moral in the negro of intellection and moral in the means of intellection and moral in the means of intellection and advancement.

St. Domingo. During the twenty-two years that this union existed, the whole country became the scene of surprising improvements; both the East and the West participated in the benefits which flowed from peace, union, and contentment. 'The face of the castern country (now the Dominican Republic),' says an eye-witness, 'changed immediately after the union had been accomplished. Slavery was forever abolished there. A new and better administration was established; an armed and regular force organized; the Haytian system of legislation introduced; order maintained in the interior, and the scaports guarded from attack; labor encouraged; the exportation of precious woods increased; and agriculture developed. The results soon became manifest. The great markets of the West received and disposed of large numbers of the cattle of the East. The more talented Dominicans were called to the Haytian legislature and courts of justice. The funds of the great commercial bodies, especially the Realish beaves at Care Haytian Caracters. The content of the content of the caster of the results soon became The funds of the great commercial bodies, especially the Realish beaves at Care Haytian. Granters that have passed since this with ungovernable fury for two days. Though the previous question was pending, the Speaker, Mr. White, of Kentucky, a liberal-minded man, ruled that Giddings could be beard in his defence, as a matter of 'ptivilege.' The House, insane with passion, overruled the Speaker. Giddings stood dumb before his accusers. After a struggle, the resolution was adopted—125 Yeas to 69 Nays. Among the Nays were John Quincy Adams, Caleb Cushing, William Pitt Fessenden, Millard Fillmore, Francis Granger, Robert C. Winthrop, and John McKeon, all honor to him! Giddings resigned his seat, returned to Ohio, and was sent back by a splendid majority.

In the seventeen years that have passed since this event transpired, the people of the North have taught the House of Representatives some salutary lessons concerning the discussion of of the English houses at Cape Haytian, Gonaives, Itali till, so far from resolutions and detaits on the St. Mare, Port au Prince, and Jaemel, were diffus- slavery question being ruled out of order, it has been determined by the compact of the state of the country, revivifying to ome almost disorderly and impossible for members to talk or act upon anything else! 'It does move though!' said Galileo.

On the death of Adams, his Anti-Slavery mantle followed by the shoulders of Cidding His course.

F. W. CHESSON. London, 14th Dec., 1858.

lish, set their faces against American intrigues in that country; and the policy of France is opposed, equally with that of England, to the acquisition or conquest of Cuba by the United States. The articles in the New York Herald must, therefore, be simply regarded as 'feelers,' and it is gratifying to know, that, as yet, they have met with no response from the French press.

Washington, Feb. 21, 1939.

Great changes will take place in the next House of Representatives. Some members of the present close of this session. Others may reappear upon the scene. A few who led in the memorable conflicts of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of conflicts of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of the last session have been called to other theatres of the present close of this session. Others may reappear upon the last session have been called to other theatres of the present close of this session. Others may reappear upon the last session have been called to other theatres of the present close of this session. Others may reappear upon the last session have been called to other theatres of the present close of this session. Others may reappear upon the last session have been called the last session have been called to other theatres of the present close of this session. from the French press.

The statement of the New York journal that 'the and here and there one has played a conspicuous

A valued correspondent informs me that three er, for Speaker. Botts, Goggin and Wise voting with Haytians obtained, in August last, the greatest Giddings for Hunter! Goggin now runs for Goverhoners at the Academy of the College of Paris. nor of Virginia. Hunter and Wise oppose him,

He shared with him in the perils of the fight, and the glories of the triumph. He bore a distinguished When the education of the Haytian student, who visits France, is completed, he returns to his own country, becomes a merchant, adopts the profession of Texas, the Oregon Joint-Occupation, and the

e pretended that Hayti has made the same progress Creole, by the British authorities in Bermuda, when possible, all the means of intellectual and moral im- warrantable, and deserving the severe condemnation provement, and who endeavor to shut him out from of the people of this country, and of this body in particular. The State of Virginia having been the law of nature and of Providence responsible for passed in the call for resolutions, Mr. Botts could the results of their own selfish and unchristian not offer it, and he handed it to John B. Weller, or What every friend of the negro must desire to see | Ohio, for that purpose. The tempest, which had lulled on the withdrawal of the paper, now burst is the re-union of the two sections of the island of forth afresh on this resolution of censure. It raved St. Domingo. During the twenty-two years that with ungovernable fury for two days. Though the

The funds of the great commercial bodies, especially he was then. And Mr. Giddings has sat in the for the English houses at Cape Haytian, Gonaives, Hall till, so far from resolutions and debate on the

he standard of independence on the ground of dis- fell upon the shoulders of Giddings. His course content with the new Haytian constitution, and especially with that clause of it which gave religious freedom to all sects. The separation, which has continued since 1844, has given birth to foreign intrigue and domestic treason; it has divided the Dominican Republic into two hostile camps, and it suffer all the clause of a hardward of the shoulders of Giddings. His course of all the phases of the Kansas controversy, from its initiation in the repeal of the Missouri compact, down to the crowning infamy of the Lecompton swindle, would have met the approbation of the great man whose fame in coming genera-

life around him. Though he be an interesting spectral to be beloiders, and though it be a treat to hear his, on questions of order, give from memory, or, it may be, from his own personal observation, the rulings of previous Congresses; or to see him silence some upstart negro propagandist with a crushing fact, or impale him on a sharp retort, or roast him referes of any wrong whatever; and, as Chief Juswith irony as he implores his Republican colleagues ties. The agray has turned him out of the Supremental the majesty of that State, and will be treated therefor like an outlaw and a felon. Any white ruffian may, with property in broad daylight: he is forbidden to institute an action in any Court of Oregon for the of the case out of sight, nor can we shrink from plain speaking—we prefer to call things by their right names, let the blame fall where it may. We with irony as he implores his Republican colleagues not to interrupt by cries of order his 'young friend from the South,' who is cursing like a very drab in vindication of the Divine origin of Slavery; yet your interest in the aged man culminates as you go with him to the old Hall, and he points out the dued, no matter on what specious grounds, to aid them is dealership. with him to the old Hall, and he points out the localities where thrilling events transpired in times gone by. Here is where Adams stood when he offered the famous petition for the dissolution of the Union. There spoke Kentucky Marshall when he denounced him as guilty of high treason. Here sat the farry McDuffie, and yonder the classic Everett. Standing in this aisle, Corwin delivered the inimitable speech, describing a Michigan militia-muster to the life, and killing Brigadier-General Crary stone dead. By the side of that pillar stood Webster, when he promounced the immortal oration that fulmined over Greece, and roused the drooping spirits held on the doorstep of the Senate, and are not

ing with great severity to this attack. Black, armed with a pistol and heavy sword-cane, and followed
by three or four Southern Members, (one of whom
at least to take the restriction off from Kansas, in

He repeated the words, and went on with his speech. At that moment, Mr. Dawson, of Lou-isiana, rushed to the spot, cocked his pistol, and shouted, 'I'll shoot him! by G—d. I'll shoot him!' The peril of Giddings was imminent. Quick as thought, Mr. Causine, of Maryland, his hand on his pistol, leaped into the aisle between Black and Giddings, to defend the latter; Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, also armed, took a position at the left hand of Giddings; Charles Hudson of Massa-chusetts planted himself on his right; while Solomon Foot, of Vermont, now in the Senate, stood immediately behind him, to prevent an assault from that an assault from and Rayner, of the South, and Hudson and Foot of the North, with Black, Dawson, and other armed and incensed men in front, stood Giddings, his head towering above the crowd, delivering his speech with great vigor and entire self-possession, and never, from the beginning to the close of the melee, losing the thread of his subject, except when, as Black approached him, he hurled at him the defiance, 'Come THE PEOPLE OF OHIO DON'T SEND COWARDS

pict the scenes that have passed before his eye, and in so many of which he has borne a leading part, during his 'Twenty Years in the House of Representatives.' He cannot render a higher service to the cannot render a high It is understood that Mr. Giddings will spend his during his 'Twenty Years in the House of Represen-tatives.' He cannot render a higher service to the country, nor make a more valuable contribution to Union. But as that was not done, we do not see but the great cause. Let us hope that he will not take for his model the heavy volumes of Mr. Benton, on in the decidedly to the advantage of Kansas, whena similar theme .- [ Corr. of N. Y. Tribune:

## THE ADMISSION OF OREGON.

We hold that the great body of the Republicans voted just right on this question, and of course that the filteen who separated from, opposed and defeat-ed them, did a grievous wrong. Our reasons are

They who thus voted to keep Kansas under the grindstone of the English bill of last Session, were the champions of the instant admission of Oregon. They ought to have been beaten, especially when there were Republicans enough to beat them, and it is a shame that they were not. If Oregon in 1860, unbalanced by Kansas, shall elect a Pro-Slavery President, then woe to those Republicans whose votes will have enabled her to do so!

Slave Power as Arkansas—that it will lave her vote solid for stealing Cuba, keeping Kansas in subjugation, and for reopening the African Slave-Trade whenever it shall desire and demand it. Indeed, no logical champion of the 'Popular Sovereignty' dodge can oppose the revival of the Slave-Trade whenever it shall be demanded by even one Slave State. How could he? With what face could he deny the demand of the people of Texas, that they be permitted to inport such labor as they deem best suited to their needs and their circumstances? If it be the inalienable right of a thousand squatters on a Western Territory to establish Slavery if they see fit, why not of a sovereign State to buy her slaves in the cheapest market rather than the dearest? We deft any advocate of what is called 'Popular Sovereignty' in the Territories to oppose the demand of any State to be allowed to stock her cotton-fields with African rather than Virginia negroes without stultifying himself. At all events, Joe Lane & Co. never balked at-any determined requisition of the Slave Power, and never will. And these men are now admitted, by Republican votes, to the seats in Congress which should be filled by Republican members from Kansas.

III. Oreenn is not even in the letter a Free State.

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Dominican Republic into two hostile camps, and made it suffer all the calamities of a bankrupt exchequer and an impoverished and decimated people; and, lastly, it has led to war between two provinces which had previously enjoyed all the blessings of a fraternal union. It is cause for regret that the influence of both France and England has been employed to maintain and widen this separation. Doubtless the present deplorable state of things may give more power and importance to officious consuls and their subordinates; but it is unquestionably as

where he promounced the immortal oration that fulmined over Greece, and roused the drooping spirits of her people in the struggle for independence. On this spot the chair of Adams rested for many years, and it was here that the great patriot fell.

We must give one scene in the Old Hall more in detail. We write from recollection. In 1846, the Indian appropriation bill was under consideration in Committee of the Whole. Mr. Giddings attacked an jæm which proposed to pay the State of Georgia for certain runaway slaves who had found shelter among the Creek Indians. Mr. Black, of Georgia, replied in a grossly foul personal assault upon Giddings. Amid much excitement, Giddings standing in the side aisle at the left of the chair, was responding with great severity to this attack. Black, arm-

is now a distinguished Senator.) crossed the hall, order to secure the admission of Oregon. Want of and coming within striking distance of Giddings. nerve in a few has changed what might have been said, 'Repeat those words, and I'll knock you an inspiriting victory into a humiliating defeat.

Yesterday, we briefly and in moderate terms expressed our disapproval of the admission of Oregon as a State. The more we reflect upon this act, the less do we find in it to excuse the conduct of those who voted for the bill, and the more firm becomes our conviction that a great wrong has been done which it is difficult to palliate, and which it will be still more difficult to remedy. There is little doubt, in our mind, that the verdict of the vast majority of the people of the free States, and a very respectable minority of the slave States, will be an emphatic condemnation of this act of Congress. It was wrong in itself-primarily, radically wrong, and it will require a vast deal of ingenuity, and a mountain of arguments, based on expediency, to justify the deed. Various arguments will doubtless be urged in ex-Various arguments will doubtless be urged in ex-cuse and justification. We are willing to be con-vinced, but nothing, as yet advanced, tends to change our first impression of this admission of Ore-gon. The Journal of yesterday has the following

ever she shall legitimately apply for admission. As to Oregon herself, we welcome her into the Union. She is one more in the phalaux of free States. Hitherto she has been rather freely colonized and ruled by Democratic office-seekers and office-holders; but that day will soon pass over. By virtue of her position, her interests, and the principles of her thronging immigrants, she will ultimately become the New England of the Pacific coast.

I. Free Kansas is held out of the Union under a provision of law requiring her to have a demonstrated population of at least 93,340 before she can even apply for admission. Oregon has notoriously less than that number—decidedly less than Kansas. At the elections held by these two embryo States respectively last Summer, Kansas polled (for and against the Lecompton Constitution) 13,088 votes, while Oregon polled (for Governor) 10,049, and for Congress 10,105. Kansas has since gained very rapidly, owing to the 'Pike's Peak' Gold fever, while Oregon, which is a much older Territory, is gaining population but slowly. Kansas must have at least twenty per cent. more inhabitants than Oregon. The House, just before voting in Oregon, voted (in effect) not to remove the peculiar and invidious conditions imposed on Kansas (118 to 95). They who thus voted to keep Kansas under the grindstone of the English bill of last Session, were the champions of the instant admission of Oregon, when the interest of the New Peach in the Congress of Oregon? But the Journal must be aware that, in voting for this Oregon bill, these Democratis that, in voting for this Oregon of the precedent and no the champions of the instant admission of Oregon, when the interest of the New Peach and the provised of the English bill of last Session, were the champions of the instant admission of Oregon, when the interest of the New Peach and no the champions of the instant admission of Oregon, when the interest of the New Peach and no the champions of the instant admission of Oregon, when the interest of the New Peach and no the champions of the instant admission of Oregon. This is simply substituting a glorification over the

President, then woe to those Republicans whose votes will have enabled her to do so!

II. It is said that Oregon is a Free State. Those for free State as to be anxious to welcome a State, who care more for words than things may rest satisfied with this assertion. But those who look below surfaces know that, practically, Oregon, as a free State, we are not so strenuous for free States as to be anxious to welcome a State, whose constitution is inhuman, proscriptive, anti-republican, and in contravention of the federal laws. We had much rather wait until it has a constitution that is at least decent, proper, and based in some degree on justice. If we must rejoice over the adstance or its laws, then we may be called on to glorify Utah with laws forever fixing polygamy, as a legal insti-

this Constitution, manufactured by Johnson Litticians, imposes.

In a series of years relief may come—probably will—but who shall answer for the wrongs perpetrated meanwhile? No—we cannot wink the facts of the case out of sight, nor can we shrink from plain speaking—we prefer to call things by their right names, let the blame fall where it may. We should not withhold our opinions because they may be discomind to some mon of our own party, nor be disagreeable to some men of our own party, nor give utterance to timid and balf-hearted talk, through fear that it may be unpopular to condemn the admission of a new State. What sort of excuses our members of Congress will frame for their conduct, we shall all learn in good time. Mr. Comins said in the debate :

'There were provisions in her constitution which, if called upon to vote, would never receive his sanction, but in the vote which he gave for her admission, he did not regard himself as responsible for each and every item in her constitution. He voted for her ad-mission on general principles.

We should be glad to have Mr. Comins state clearly on what 'general principles' he voted for this bill. Suppose that a town charter were asked for, and very much needed by a set of people, but that it were made a condition that all red-haired women and cross-eyed men should be, in that town, deprived of all privileges which others enjoy, and made liable to seizure and imprisonment, and ignominious expulsion—would Mr. Comins vote for such a measure on the general principle that a charter, required by a great majority of the people peitioning, ought to be granted?

But we must pause in our remarks. This subject leserves the thoughtful and candid attention of very citizen, and should we hereafter be convinced that our present judgment is erroneous, we shall be only too glad to reverse it.—Boston Atlas.

The Worcester Transcript, speaking of the on the Oregon bill, says:

'We notice with great regret, that two gentlemen from this State, Messrs. Comins and Tnayer, voted for its admission. If the telegraph is correct, eleven members of the Republican party voted for it—just the majority by which it passed. We trust that it will not be claimed by any one—we are certain that it cannot be honestly claimed by any onethat by his vote Mr. Thayer represented the views of his constituents. Were the admission of Oregon, with her present constitution, and with the refusal to admit Kausas, left to the vote of Worcester Disrict, it would be rejected four to one.

It was a fitting result of this vote, that when the Democrats serenaded their most distinguished men, including the President, for the admission of this new State, they went to Mr. Thayer's residence, and serenaded him.

### ABOLITION 'WITH A BUT.'

A colored chattel, from Portsmouth, Virginia,-Bob Butt, by name—bas become quite a lion, by reason of his faithful services in time of the great sickness there, by yellow fever, three or four years ago-he having, as is said, attended to the grave, and buried with his own hands, more than a thousand of the victims. Recently, in a removal of some of the bodies for a re-interment at Philadelphia, Bob accompanied the remains as a sort of Major Bob accompanied the remains as a sort of Major Domo of the house of the dead—and is still there, we believe, soliciting aid to free himself from bondage. This he does under patronage of his master, and other Southern friends, who are willing, for a

But why thus impose upon a poor fellow, 'not able to take care of a thousand of the dying and the dead? It slavery is a blessing, as the South contends, why impose the curse of emancipation upon so faithful a thing as this colored chattel has proved himself? Why should not the master say to him, 'My good fellow, you have been so faithful, and done so well for my pecuniary interest in digging graves at five and ten dollars apiece, on pressing occasions, that you need have no fear of freedom being forced upon you, in these dull times, or at any time. They are running this matter of abolition into the ground but, never fear, you shall live and die my slave, as in duty bound. Nobody shall run you off living, or into the ground death, as a free nigger. The boon of slavery you shall still enjoy. This giving one the freedom of a city, or any other freedom, is all moonshine. To be sure, it is sometimes voted as a mat-ter of form—and was once given in Carolina to a slave, for saving the State Capitol from conflagration —but it was a burning shame thus to impose upon the poor fellow. They should have guaranteed to the blessing of perpetual bondage, without any of these freedom-mongers to molest or make his afraid. —Bangor Courier.

DEMOCRACY OF THE BOSTON POST. The following piece of blackguardism, from the Boston Post, is a fair specimen of its 'democracy':-

The literature of Boston, like the tea of on great grandmothers, is getting to be all black 'Congo;' a negro is always to be found at the bottom of the cup. Be it Fraternity Lectures, or Mercantile Lestures, or Monthly Periodicals; sermon, essay, poetry, philosophy, or what not, the members of the Mutual Admiration Abolition Society will be found them becomes one another and abusing their council. there bepraising one another and abusing their country. Conspicuous among this pestiferous transcen dentalism and anti-Americanism is the 'Atlantic Club,' as it is called, made up of the principal Abolition writers and orators. It is pity to see that they have drawn into their colored circle such names as Holmes and Longfellow and Agassiz, especially the latter, which belongs to the universe of science, and should never be narrowed down to such a squar-ing of the circle of his great reputation. These literary gentlemen do not seriously mean to be made use of by small politicians, but an incident the other day placed them completely in the power of such day placed them completely in the power of such managers. Mr. Blair, a gentleman of very moderate abilities and a heavy talker, left his own slaves hard at work for their master in Missouri, and came all the way to Boston, upon invitation, to delight an Anti-Slavery audience with his lecture on the universal freedom of the colored gentlemen. The black' politicians gave him a drink at Parker's, over which Gov. Banks presided. The 'Atlantic Club,' we are told, happened to be dining in another room of the hotel, and so it was easily contrived to draw these literary gentlemen in to help make up the glorification of Mr. Frank Blair, and more especially of those who feasted him. The newspapers have told us that the invitation to the Club to join

have told us that the invitation to the Club to join the Blair party was accepted, and Messrs. Lowell, Holmes, Longfellow, Whipple, Emerson and Agassiz entered the room and were cordially received, when a felicitous season of enjoyment followed.

This is not a very flattering picture to send abroad of the intellect of Cambridge and Boston. The grand old town in revolutionary days resisted the tax on black Bohea, and abandoned the beverage.

The modern Athens seems to delight in making her The modern Athens seems to delight in making men of letters and science pay tribute to 'Congo.

## The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MARCH 4, 1859.

NO SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS-ANOTHER HEARING.

On Thursday forenoon, last week, another hearing was granted in the Representatives' Hall, by the Com mittee on Federal Relations, to the petitioners for the passage of a law, giving liberty and protection to every fugitive slave coming within the limits of the Com monwealth. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the Hall was well filled by a deeply interested audience, whose feelings were evidently wholly with the object of the petitions. The speakers, on this occasion, were SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq., Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, FRANCIS W. BIRD, Esq., WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. The speeches of Mr. CLARKS and Mr. BIRD we hope to be able to print next week. Below will be found those of Mesers. SEWALL and GARRISON. The hearing being now closed, it is hoped, and reasonably expected, that the Committee having this matter in charge, will make a favorable report without delay, and that the Legislature will promptly meet the case in the right manner, by an overwhelming vote.

Outside of the Commonwealth, as well as within it there is a great deal of interest felt as to the action o the Legislature on this subject. Onward!

SPEECH OF SAMUEL E. SEWALL, ESQ. BEFORE THE COMMITTER ON PEDERAL RELATIONS. In support of the Petition asking for a Law to prevent the Recapture of Fugitive Slaves,

IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 24, 1852.

PRONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY JAN. N. W. TERRINTON.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I regret that I was not present at the former hearing before the Committee. Although I have a very few remarks to offer, I am afraid I shall tread upon ground already occupied by other gentlemen. Yet, as I was not present, and have not been able to read what they said, I trust I shall be pardoned if, in any degree, I take up the same positions that they have.

The petitions upon your table are very numerously signed; but yet, if there had been a systematic effort to present to the Legislature, the whole extent of the feeling which is expressed in those petitions, I have no doubt the number could have been increased tenfold. Indeed, gentlemen, I believe that the whole body of the people of Massachusetts, men and women, who are capable of thinking on this subject, agree in the wish of these petitioners, and that it is only a very small and insignificant fraction of the community who oppose it. The claim of these petitioners is, that no person coming into this State as a fugitive slave, should ever be allowed to be torn from its protection; and, I doubt not, that it is the feeling of this Committee, I doubt not that it is the feeling of the Legislature, that this wish of the people of Massachusetts should be carried into effect, unless there is some controlling, overwhelming reason to prevent it.

Massachusetts has already passed a great variety of laws more or less connected with this subject. We have ancient laws against kidnapping; we have the old writ of Aabeas cornus; we have the old writ of personal replevin; we have new laws giving new force and vitality to both those writs; we have laws denying the use of our jails for the purpose of imprisoning fugitive slaves; laws prohibiting our magistrates and officers from taking any part in the surren der of fugitive slaves; laws prohibiting our militia from coming out to protect officers who may be car rying off fugitive slaves; we have laws giving counsel to every man who is arrested and imprisoned as a fugitive slave, and aiming to secure to him a trial by jury. Besides these, we have numerous resolutions upon the same subject. Resolutions expressing the feeling of abhorrence with which we regard slavery and the slave trade; the earnest desire of Massachu setts that slavery shall not go into any new territory, and her determination that no new slave State shall be admitted into the Union. Besides, upon this par ticular subject of the rendition of fugitive slaves, we have various resolutions; - resolutions, at one time, I am sorry to say, admitting that Congress had power to legislate upon this subject, but still expressing the abhorrence of Massachusetts of the enormous crime which the Fugitive Slave Law attempts to perpetrate, and the diabolical means by which it seeks to accomplish it. But in a later resolution, passed in 1855, this State has made one great advance, at least, in denying that Congress has the power to legislate at all in re gard to fugitives from service.

There is one thing in all this legislation which is melancholy. The statutes and resolutions of the State in regard to slavery,-and there is a great mass o them, show a constantly growing feeling and senti ment in this State, an irresistible progress in favor of freedom and against slavery. But, still it is sad, that in all these laws and resolutions, from beginning to end, there is a tacit, and sometimes an express admission, that there is an obligation on the part of Massachusetts to surrender the poor trembling fugitive This is melancholy; and, in the present state of public sentiment, it is disgraceful to the State. Now, the people of the State come before you, -I may say the whole people come before you, and declare that Massachusetts is under no such obligation, and they call

upon the Legislature to give effect to their will. In order to express my views more fully, it may be well for me to present to the Committee the draft of a bill which I have prepared, that I suppose would be satisfactory to these petitioners. I have not given a title to it, but will call it 'An Act relating to Sla wory."

. He it enacted &c. Suc. 1. Slavery cannot exist in Massachusetts. Every person living in this Commonwealth is free Every person who may hereafter come into this Com-

monwealth, or be born in it, shall be free. Sec. 2. Any person who shall arrest, imprison, or carry out of this Commonwealth, any other person, for the alleged reason that that such other person is a slave, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding ten years.'

I think, if such a law could be passed, -a law similar to that which now exists in the State of Vermont, -it will be satisfactory to the petitioners, and satisfactory to the people of the State. It makes the arrest of any person as a slave a high crime, to be punished by our law. No matter whether such person is a runaway slave, or is brought here by his master. whether he comes here from a foreign country, or from one of our sister States, he is free ; Massachusetts proteets him, and declares that to attempt to carry him

away is a crime. The first peculiarity of this act, you will notice, is that it is in some degree declaratory of what is now the law here, -that is, that every person in the State or coming into the State is free. Every one will admit that this is true, with the single exception of runaway slaves; and the words of the law are intended to be general, and embrace this case of runaway slaves. But, it may be said, Why make any declaration of the known law of the State? why legislate except as regards runaway slaves? This is the reason. It is the systematic attempt, on the part of the Southern States, and especially of the Supreme Court of the United States, to change the established law of slavery, and to force it upon the territories and the free States, in some shape or other. The established and known law of slavery is this : Slavery is the law of force ; being against natural right, it is local; it only exists in the State where it is created, and by posi-

as he can other property. The right of property in The law cannot be established until it is established an ox or a horse is recognized throughout the civilized world; and, therefore, when a man owns an ox or a Gen. Jackson said- and it was the wisest thing he horse, in one place, and the animal strays into ever said- The Constitution, as I understand it the limits of another nation, the owner may go and Every State, every Congress, every Legislature, and take it as his property. But slavery being nothing every man, is bound by that principle. Massachubut force, the slave is not property, except where the setts must take the Constitution as she understands it. force controls him, and when he gets out of the reach and not be dictated to by the Congress of the United of that force, he is free. Now, the judges of the Uni- States, or by the United States Court. It is our duty ted States Court are endeavoring to change this law, and say that slavery is a just and legal institution, it means, and how far we are bound by it. And it is and that property in slaves exists everywhere; and that if a man takes a slave into any territory of the but the Legislature also as much as the individual United States, he is still a slave: that if the owner of a slave is travelling through one of the States, he may | yield obedience to an iniquitous decision, they rannot take his slave with him; and in the Lemon case which is still pending before the United States Court in some shape or other, it is no doubt the intention of chusetts. But if there is a distinct law of the State, of course, interferes with any such assumed right of I wish, and I believe the people of the State wish, that such a declaratory act should be passed.

the assertion, that the right of carrying away fugitive slaves has been established by the long practice of seventy years, since the United States Constitution since that time; therefore, before considering the construction of the clause of the United States Constitution, and showing that we are under no such obligation, I have to examine that objection.

The clause in the Constitution to which I refer is as

under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, he discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'—Art. 4, sec. 2.

Now, the positions which I take are these: First, that the words 'person held to service,' &c., in this clause, do not imply or include a slave; second, that Congress has no power to legislate upon the subject of fugitives from service; and, third, that whatever the meaning of these words may be, even if they do include slaves, even if the clause was intended to give the power of legislation to Congress, still, that this clause is absolutely null and void as far as it concerns fugitives from bondage, because a violation of the immutable law of God, and, in that respect, it imposes no obligation whatever upon any State. These are the positions which I propose to argue, principally as legal questions, before this Committee. But, as I said, I am met at the outset by this objection, that the long practice of seventy years, under the Constitution, of the extradition of fugitive slaves, and the decisions of the Courts recognizing it as a right, do, in fact, establish it, so that it is too late now to dispute

First as to the practice. The length of time during which any wrong is continued can never make it right. If, on the day the Constitution was formed, it was wrong to surrender a fugitive slave, it is just as wrong, and just as illegal, now. No length of time can sanctify oppression, It is no matter how many years a nation has been under the yoke of a despot, when the nation rises and breaks its chains, the whole world applauds the deed, and admits no rights whatever in the oppressor. The slave born in South Carolina to-day, is, by right, just as free as the slave brought from Africa two centuries ago. The right is not lost in the least degree by the lapse of time; and, if, when the Constitution was framed, we were not bound by it to surrender fugitives slaves, we are not bound now to surrender them.

Next as to the decisions of the Courts. There is an almost superstitious idolatry upon this subject-more even amongst the public, than among enlightened jurists. The public seem to think that the Courts are oracles, and that the decisions they make are sacred take as it regards their functions, and as to the legal can be rightfully applied; and for that very reason, effect of their decisions. Do men grow wiser in a single day because they come upon the bench? Are the opinions of nine judges any better than the opinions of nine lawyers of equal skill in the law? Who will say so? Is not a book written by a learned jurist as valuable in regard to opinions, as the opinions of a Court? Why, in all nations, the volumes written by learned jurists, of the highest order, have always had a weight of authority greater than the opinions of ordinary judges, and always ought to have, because, being formed on reason and on principle, they deserve more weight. Now, it is true, that on matters of mere practice, and many other subjects, which involve no great principles of justice, and which may as well, or nearly as well, for general rules, be settled one way as another, the decisions of courts are to a great extent acquiesced in as authority in their own States. Even in regard to these classes of subjects, they are authority only to a limited extent.

Are not the decisions of Courts reversed every day by themselves? Look at the volumes of Reports that have been published. There is not one of them in this country, or in England, of twenty years standing, in which there is not more than one case that has been overruled, and in some, many cases. Judges are constantly overruling the decisions of their predecessors and occasionally even their own. Take the early volumes of reports in Massachusetts, that are thought such sacred precedents-there is not a volume among them that has not had several cases overruled: and in the course of half a century, I venture to say many more of those cases will be overruled. The reason is this: Law is a progressive science, founded upon principle, and when the Courts make a mistake of principle, they settle nothing but the case before them; they cannot settle anything else. A question presented to a Court, which really involves a great principle, is never settled until it is settled right; and then it is not the authority of the Court that settles the duestion, but the rectitude of the decision, it being in conformity to reason and justice. (1)

We have greater lawyers in this country than any the decisions of those men have been overruled by by this awkward periphrasis, the persons who drafted

decisions as the responses of oracles, that the earliest created equal, and have 'inalienable rights,'—do you case on record under the Constitution, decided that suppose that these men intended to surrender fugitive the owner of a slave could not claim his return. The slaves when they accepted the Constitution? I do case I refer to is well known, but it will bear repeti- not believe it. I believe, if the men and women of case I refer to is well known, but it will bear repetion. The decision was given by Judge Harrington in the Supreme Court of Vermont, in 1807. A fugitive slave had been brought before the court, and the master had made out his title as he thought satisfactive. torily. But Judge Harrington said that a link in the

other State, the owner of the slave cannot follow him, opinion of the former ones, does not establish the lav.

to examine the compact for ourselves, and see what not merely the individual that is bound in conscience, and though Courts may sometimes compel men to make it the law.

Considering this, then, as an entirely open question just as open and fresh as it was the day when the Consome of the judges of the Court to declare that the stitution was formed, I look at these words of the Conmaster of those slaves had the right to take them stitution, and inquire, what do the words, 'No perthrough the State of New York, and, of course, that son held to service or labor, ' mean? Do they mean any slave owner might take his slaves through Massa- a slave? Is a slave, in the eye of the law, a person held to service or labor'? Is a slave a 'person positively declaring that slavery cannot exist here, that, What does the civil law say ?- and the law of slavery is the same every where. Slaves are held 'pro nulany slaveholder to carry his slaves through it. It is, lis, pro mortui:, pro quadrupedibus.' Pro nullis-they therefore to meet the aggressions of the Southern are held as no persons; pro mortuis as dead; pro States, and especially of the United States Court, that quadrupedibus as quadrupeds- horses, asses, chittels. That is what the civil law says about saves. The slave laws of the Southern States are precisely But then as regards this denial of the right to carry the same. The law of South Carolina says distinctly, away fugitive slaves. We are met, at the outset, by they are 'chattels personal, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.' They are not persons. It is not a mere form to say, they are not persons; they can make no contracts; they cannot own or inherit propwas formed, and by numerous decisions of the Courts erty; they have no property that can descend to their heirs; they have no heirs; they have no wives; they have no children. Their wives and children do not belong to them, but to their owners. They have no right of self-defence. However violently they may be assaulted by a white man, they cannot raise a hand to protect themselves; they cannot appeal to a court of justice if they are injured. The law does not recognize them as persons. Then, when the State says they are not persons at home, shall it pretend to come to Massachusetts, and say they are per-

sons, under the words of the Constitution? How can slaves be ' held to service or labor under the law of any State?' Are slaves 'persons held to service'? The clause means 'persons' held by contract, express or implied, to service or labor! A slave is under no obligation to perform any service for his master: he is driven like the ox or the horse. to his labor; and it is as absurd to talk of a slave being ' held to service or labor' as to talk of an ox or a horse being 'held to service or labor.' It cannot be; he is under no obligation. He never made any such contract. He cannot make it.

But there were two large classes of persons, at the time the Constitution was formed, to whom this clause under consideration would rightfully apply; these were apprentices, and persons known by the name of redemptioners :'-persons who were brought over here from Europe, and, not being able to pay the expenses of their passage, bound themselves to serve for a term of years to pay those who brought them over. There were, then, at the time the Constitution was formed, actually two great classes of persons to whom the clause would apply. I have myself known of a case where the attempt was made in Boston to carry back an apprentice to Philadelphia as a fugitive from service. Happily, the movement was defeated by a writ of habeas corpus from our Supreme Court; but still there was no question but what apprentices came under this clause. That being the case, there are great principles of law which say, that if this clause applies to other persons than fugitive slaves, it can-not apply to fugitives slaves for that very reason. The principle of law, the universal and well recognized principle, is this that where the terms of a private compact, or any treaty or public compact, or any Constitution or statute whatever, can be rightfully, justly and consistently with equity and good conscience applied to one class of subjects, and can only unjustly and inequitably be applied to another class of subjects, those terms shall only apply to that class of subjects to which they can be rightfully applied. Then here is a class of subjects-apprentices and redemptioners-to whom this clause of the Constitution mny be stated in still more general every compact and treaty shall be construed, if possible, so as to make it lawful and just, and not unlawful and unjust. And, therefore, when this clause of the Constitution says that 'no person held to service or labor shall be discharged from such service or labor' by the laws of another State, it means, ' no person' lawfully, justly 'held to service or labor'; and when it says that a State shall not interpose laws to prevent the return of such fugitive, it means when they can return him without committing a crime-

when they can fairly and honestly do it. I will take a parallel case. Suppose a contract is nade by a man saving, 'I agree with A B for a compensation of \$200, to saw two cords of wood every day during the ensuing year.' That embraces in terms, you see, Sundays as well as week days. Now, the law says no man shall do any work, except of necessity, on Sundays. This contract must be construed in reference to the law; and although it says, absolutely, 'every day during the ensuing year,' the law says, ! that means every day on which he can legally saw two cords of wood, and does not include Sundays.' The construction which must be put upon the Constitution is precisely similar. It must mean those persons who are laufully 'held to service or labor,' and who can be returned without a violation of the great principles of law and justice. This is the construcion, I have no doubt, that every jurist in Europe would adopt, if the question was put to him; and that is the construction which, I venture to predict, every Court in the free States will finally come to. It is the construction which the Court of Wisconsin has already come to.

But I know that it has been often said, that alhough the words in question do-not mean exactly slaves, yet it was the intention of the parties to the Constitution that they should mean slaves. I think it is entirely unimportant what the framers of that instrument meant, the Committee who drafted it, or the Convention that accepted it. They were not the upon the bench of the United States Courts. Are not parties to be bound by it. The parties to that intheir opinions upon matters of law at least as valuable strument were the people of the United States; and as those of the judges? Perhaps there were some when we are searching for the meaning of the instrulawyers on the United States bench as good as any ment by ascertaining what the intention of the parties there now. I recollect the names of Marshall, and to the compact was, we must ask what did the people Story, and Johnson on that bench. We know that of the United States intend? It is very likely that more recent judges. I do not say which decisions the clause intended to smuggle in slaves-very likely were the best, or which decisions are most likely to indeed; but have they not excluded the idea of slastand; but I say that the new judges overruling the very by the very words they have used? That is the question-and although they intended to bring in (1) We have a very striking example of the little re- slaves, if they have not done it, they must take the gard which is paid to the decisions of courts as au-thority, in the history of the Bank of the United strued as the parties intended, I say that the parties States. The Supreme Court of the United States had again and again decided the act establishing this court to be unconstitutional. Yet in Congress its court to be unconstitutional. Tet in Congress its
onstitutionality was questioned with the greatest vehemence and pertinacity to the last hour of its existwho had read the Declaration of Independence, when It may be well to remind those who regard legal it was new and fresh, declaring that 'all men are created equal,' and have 'inalienable rights,'-do you ion they did entertain in regard to this subject at

periphrasis, they have failed in their intention. And titions lying on your table. we have no means of knowing what the people of the Let me say a word in regard to the petitioners as United States intended, except by ascertaining the meaning of the words of the instrument. Furthermore, own legislative body has undertaken, in advance, to I would say, that Congress has no power to legislate pour contempt upon them; to represent them as faupon the subject of fugitive slaves; that this clause natics, incendiaries, and traitors; to identify them gives no power whatever to Congress. It says that with the class known as radical Abolitionists. Now, No person held to service or labor in one State, un- gentlemen, you have but to examine these petitions to der the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in see how utterly false is such a charge. charged from such service or labor; but shall be de- reference to the Anti-Slavery movement as such. livered up, on claim of the party to whom such ser- I mean that men and women have put their names to vice or labor may be due.' This compact evidently the petition, as people rush out in common to put out a persons held to service or labor'; and the 10th that there is no fanaticism in it; that the persons w States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to not given to Congress by the Constitution, and therefore it is reserved to the States. I will not, however, dwell upon this point, because the Legislature of this State has already explicitly, by its resolutions of 1855, taken this very position, in almost the very words

etitioners rest their claim. Admit that this clause in the Constitution was intended to refer to slaves; admit that Congress has the power to legislate on the void, because a violation of the higher law of God. I ever in this Legislature shall seek to vote down the any one of you feel that this clause of the Constitution imposes an obligation upon him? Gentlemen, your hearts rebel against it, and the heart of every man in Massachusetts rebels against it. We have a prayer of this petition will be to come under the diclaw within us which tells us we cannot be bound to tation of the Abolitionists; that the Abolitionists boast commit this enormity. If it were necessary, there is that whatever they decree is enacted by the Legislano end to the authorities which I could cite, to show ture; and you are summoned, by every feeling of the opinions of great men on this very subject; saying self-respect and manhood, to stand your ground, and that no treaty, no compact, no statute is binding, when it calls for the commission of crime. I might cite passages without end from Cicero, from Grotius, from Vattel, from Puffendorf, from Milton, from granted-and it is true-then one of two things is many of the greatest names in the English law, from also true :-either that the Abolitionists of the Com-Fortescue down to Blackstone; I might cite cases monwealth are a large majority of the people, and so where, again and again, statutes have been set aside it is the popular and all-pervading sentiment of our because they violated this great principle, because State which is branded as fanaticism; or else that the they attempted to compel what was in its nature un- Abolitionists, few in number, have always been so just. But I do not rest the claim of the petitioners wise, so sagacious, so just, so humane, in every reon authority. I say that the feeling of the whole quest they have yet made, that the people have been people of Massachusetts is this :- 'We will have constrained to say 'Amen' to it. (Applause.) And nothing to do with the surrender of fugitive slaves; this, gentlemen, is the simple fact. The Abolition we abhor the deed, and we will not do it'; and we ists, though held up as fanatics and madmen by demand of the Legislature of the State to do what priest and demagogue, have no fanaticism and no they can to prevent this crime from being committed, | madness, either as to their object or the spirit which to save the State from again becoming slave-hunting animates them. WE BELIEVE IN THE DECLARATION

distinctly the feeling of Massachusetts. I do not tion; but, alas! the nation is hypocritical and perknow that what I have written will suit all classes of fidious. We believe in the inalienable rights of the petitioners, because many who are anxious to have man, and our crime has been, that we have refused this law passed do not exactly agree with my construct to compromise these rights to accommodate any party tion of the Constitution, but still I believe that they or sect, or to sustain any law, constitution, or comare resolutions that a large part of the petitioners pact. We shall surely be vindicated at the court of would like to have passed. I think that the effect of conscience and at the tribunal of God, and the verthe passage of this law and of these resolutions will dict of posterity will be,- The Abolitionists were in be, to strengthen our citizens, and to give courage to the right, and the nation was in the scrong. our officers and magistrates in resisting the iniquitous | Let us see, gentlemen, whether there is any cause and unconstitutional act of Congress.

1. Resolved, That the clause of the Constitution of held to service or labor in one State under the laws asked the Legislature to record a strong and solemn thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence protest against the existence of slavery in the Disof any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, does not give any power to owned by the whole nation, and under the exclusive Such service or labor, does not give any power to Congress, but imposes an obligation upon the States. jurisdiction of Congress, and for the government of 2. Resolved. That all acts of Congress regulating which the nation is responsible. Our petition was the return of fugitives from service are usurpations, and null and void. [That is no more than the Legis-

lature has already declared.] 3. Resolved, That the words ' person held to service or implied contract.

the rendition of fugitive slaves, the clause would be, to that extent, null and void, because a

rotect the persons of its citizens, and all others comthat fugitive slaves coming within this Commonwealth It did so. Is it any thing to be ashamed of? come subject to its laws and entitled to its protection.

What the petitioners wish is, that Massachusetts (Applause.)

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: of our outraged colored citizens. I do not rise to define my position. I am an Abolitionist; and therefore for the abolition of slavery in

old Bay State, now and forever. (Applause.) report, that you are on the side of humanity and justhose who can consent to kidnapping in this State, under any circumstances, or for any considerations

How extraordinary is an interview like this! and that we meet here gravely to deliberate whether it us to 'hide the outcast, and bewray not him that wandereth!'-or whether we ought not to cooperate with slave-hunters, and reduce their victims again to bondage !

And what man, seeing this, And having human feelings, does not blush, And hang his head to think himself a man!

people of this Commonwealth, hitherto,-great inthis Legislature may say or do, in the premises; if it for this purpose. (Applause.) be in opposition to the will of the people, -as those who sit in these seats are but the mere creatures of now allows slave-hunting on her soil as constitution-

truth is, that, even if the persons who drafted that multiplication of words can strengthen it. And this clause intended to include slaves by that clumsy is the case presented to you in the multitudinous pe

consequence of any law or regulation therein, be dis- been signed without distinction of party, and with no imposes an obligation upon the States to surrender conflagration which is threatening to consume the city; Article of Amendments to the Constitution expressly have signed it are not agreed in their views in regard declares that all spowers not delegated to the United to the best method of attacking slavery in our coun-States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the try, and of effecting its ultimate abolition. On many points we are divided: but on this one point of mathe people. This is a power, plainly, manifestly, king Massachusetts free soil to every human being planting his foot upon it, there is but one opinion among the people, and that opinion will prevail. No insult, no ridicule, no menace, on the part of any man or body of men, as against these petitioners, will avail any thing. I know the heart of the Commonwealth; I know what are the pulsations of the peo-But there is still a further ground on which these ple; I know that if there be one thing, more than another, which unites them at this hour, cost what it may, it is this proposition to consecrate our soil to freedom by giving protection to every hunted fugisubject: still, they say that the compact is null and tive slave who may come to us for protection. Whoam not going to appeal to authority to prove this. I prayer of these petitioners, will have an account to ask you, gentlemen, whether any one of you would be settle with the people, and the people will have an concerned in the surrender of a fugitive slave ? Does account to settle with him; and none can doubt which way the balance will turn.

A member of this House, in the spirit of demagogueism, has raised the outcry, that to grant the not be driven by such 'fanatical agitators.' Now gentlemen, if this be true, that, hitherto, all that the Abolitionists have asked of the Legislature has been or American Independence; and all our fanaticism, I have thought that it might be well to have some from the beginning to this hour, has consisted in solutions, in addition to the law, to express more this-in meaning just what we say of that Declara-

for blushing, on the part of the Legislature, that it has . bowed to the dictation of the Abolitionists,' and the United States which provides that 'NO person done certain things at 'their command,' We first triet of Columbia-not a slave State, but territory promptly responded to by the Legislature, and it has no need to be ashamed of its action.

We asked, again, that there might be an expression of sentiment, in behalf of the State, against the interof labor' in said clause do not imply or include a State slave trade, which presents more than the horrors slave, but only a person held to service by an express of the foreign; for there are circumstances attending it which are peculiarly distressing and revolting; 4. Resolved, That if the said clause expressly pro- and the Legislature again responded to the appeal in

Next, when the daring attempt was made to overviolation of the immutable and higher law of God, and ride the forms of constitutional law, and transcend would impose no obligation upon this Commonwealth the powers of the national government, in order to as a sovereign State, or upon its citizens as individuals, secure the extension of slavery by the annexation of 5. Resolved, That it is the first duty of a State to a foreign slave State to our own, Texas, we petitioned the Legislature to place on record the protest ing within its limits and claiming its protection; and of Massachusetts against that lawless and wicked deed.

Again: when South Carolina and Louisiana undertook to imprison such of our colored seamen as were should no longer stand in the mean and shameful po- found in their ports, -not only to imprison, but also sition she now occupies,-attempting to overrule the in various instances to send them to the auctionoperation of the Fugitive Slave Law by legal subtle- block, and sell them as slaves to pay their jail fees,tics, and efforts to give the slave a trial by jury, and we called upon the Legislature to protest against this various other devices ; but that she should come for- perfidious and oppressive treatment, and to send ward firmly and boldly, and say, 'The soil of this agents to those States to seek legal redress by taking State is free, no slave shall ever be taken from it. an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus let Massachusetts, as she did in the Revolution, The request was complied with-with what success, lead the van of the States in the cause of freedom, gentlemen, you well know. But, surely, the Commonwealth has no reason to be ashamed of its course in this matter-only ashamed that it has been intimidated from making a fresh effort to protect the rights

Again: In some sections of the State, especially in Boston, colored children were illegally excluded from Carolina, and for the abolition of slave-hunting in the the benefit of public schools, and compelled to herd together as a separate and despised easte. For a long. When, a week ago to-day, you kindly consented to time, the aristocracy of Boston was contumacious and give another hearing on this occasion, I took it for defiant toward the popular feeling of the State on this granted it was not because your minds were not point, and resolved that there should be no blending made up on this question in the right direction, but of white and colored children in the common schools only as an act of courtesy to the petitioners; for I of the city. We asked the Legislature to decree, in mean to take it for granted, at least till I see your unmistakable terms, the abolition of all complexions distinctions in the schools. It did so : and in Bostice; and that I am not looking into the faces of ton, to-day, the blackest child sits quietly and honorably by the side of the whitest. Gentlemen, there is no cause for regret or shame in this act.

Again : the protest of the Legislature has been re quested, and granted, against that 'bill of abomina how it will read in the history of the Commonwealth! tions, the Fugitive Slave Law, the passage of which excited a thrill of horror throughout the civilized will be right, or proper, or safe, or constitutional, for world; and also against the infamous Dred Scott de cision, and the swindling Kansas and Nebraska act. What true son of Massachusetts has cause to blush at what has been done in these particulars?

The last thing we have asked, what we are no asking, is, that every fugitive slave coming to this State shall be protected, and that no person from the South may be allowed to hunt him on our soil a Massachusetts man, under these circumstances? It though he were a wild beast. All the other requests implies great moral degradation on the part of the have been granted, and is this to be denied? Is there any doubt with regard to the public opinion on this humanity of heart, -that, for seventy years, we have subject? Do the people still rule in the Old Bay allowed the slave-hunter to course with impunity over State? I take it they do; and I affirm that they are our soil, from Cape Cod to Berkshire, and every ready for this measure. They want no delay, no palterwhere, at Plymouth Rock, in Faneuil Hall, on Bun ing, no dodging; but they want a decree, simple, ker Hill, to seize his poor hunted victim, and drag plain, explicit, which shall protect every fugitive him back to the hell of slavery. The time past must slave coming within our borders. I trust, gentlesuffice for all this. The people, thank God, have re- men, that your report will be unanimous, and that solved that it shall come to an end. No matter what you will bring in a bill which shall be most effectual Gentlemen, the petition implies that Massachusetts

that will, -the people will 'send them to Coventry.' al. This is either true or it is not. If it be true, then When an appeal is made, at any time, any where, the people of Massachusetts are a commonwealth of in behalf of justice and mercy, it carries with it every kidnappers by constitutional agreement. Hence, every thing of argument, and rhetoric, and logic, and law; man who does not protest against the deed is to be exists in the State where it is created, and by positive law; therefore, when the slave gets out of that
State, he is necessarily free. When he gets into any

The Judge
that they did entertain in regard to this subject at
thing of algument, and rectoric, and logic, and law;
man who does not protest against the deed is to be
that time, every one of them would spurn the idea
and no additional words are needed, in fact, to enput into the category of kidnappers. He may be a
that they intended to surrender fugitive slaves. The

He may be a Republican, but he is a Republic He may be a Democrat, but he is a bea eratic kidnapper. He may be a Presbyterian, he cratic kidnapper.
dist, or Unitarian, but he is a Methodist, Units, or Presbyterian kidnapper. Every man who is for putting an end to this nefarious business be an accomplice in it, and, of course, reveals to be an accomplice in the shows that, in that direction to that extent, his heart has been turned to the that he is willing to trample upon the law of to and disregard all the claims of bleeding hone and disregard and slave-hunters are permitted is If it be true that such that the permitted by through the Commonwealth, and seins they was wherever they can find them, then it is time, me people now say it is time, to put an end to this ever. But if it is not true that there is any levis ing us, any contract compelling us to allow this, de of course, it is the greater shame to us that with allowed it so long, and there can be no valid offer. to the passage of the desired decree. We stad by in the name of the living God to say, that to me, what your parchments may be, or how many com you may have made to seize the fugitire, to the the wanderer, the law of God is paramount one and your iniquitous parchments are to be given up and your impations pledges are but to kept, and justice is to be maintained at all burn e Your covenant with death shall be annuled, your agreement with hell shall not stand. If we in made any such covenant, or entered into toy me agreement, shame to us that we have kept the le it will be to our honor and glory when we trans beneath our feet. I cannot, gentlemen, place the same coating

upon the Constitution, respecting the realing fugitive slaves, which my respected friend Mr. Sen has done. I cannot plead that it is not in the be to give up the fugitive slave. It is for those who to do so; for myself, I cannot outface this nation, is say, that, for seventy years, it has never usdens its own Constitution in this particular. I believe Massachusetts consented, with her eyes open, ad is the sake of making a union with the South peak to allow the slave-hunter to come here, and take h prey; and I would not spend one moment in a trans ing to argue, on the words of the Constitution in we have never agreed to do any such thing. 1h. lieve that the intent of a bargain is the bargain whatever may be the language used, and I will a try to get rid of an obligation, however unjust by false interpretation of the instrument. I be Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, let Marshall, and all those who made the Constant and the people who adopted it, understood what the were about. They knew that they agreed to allow slave representation in Congress; Jet the sum in not to be found in the Constitution, Therings, gently and deliberately agreed that the foreign intrade should be prosecuted for the term of two years, without Congressional intervention; juties did not allow the term 'slave trade' to be inserted a the Constitution. They also understandingly april that slaves who should escape from their mastes in other States, should be given up. Why, gentlem, the Fugitive Slave Law itself, which cross and universal disgust and horror, does not contain the words runaway slave, or slaveholder, or slave-calder, in its language, it is entirely unexceptionable. By the language of the Constitution of the United Sun! -What a waste of time and effort it would be be gue, from the phraseology of that refarious livide it was never designed by Congress to refer to fagure slaves ! Enough that, for seventy years, all the Com, all the Legislatures, all the Congresses, and all is people, have understood these compromises of in Constitution in precisely the same way, and prosons ed them obligatory. It is too late, therefore, to go up a new and unwarrantable construction of the Custitution, in order to justify us in doing right mi obeying God. All I have to say is, as one helder loyalty to God to be paramount in all cases, I care at though every word in the Constitution befor slaver. or every sentence an agreement on our part to stan by it. In that case, it is all null and void, and acrise of the deepest dye for us to carry it out; and wi stand here on the ground of eternal justice, menpeal to the law of the living God, and ask you be likewise. Gentlemen, the cry of treason has been rised in

this hall. 'Treason !' I thought treasen was surthing very plainly defined by the Constitution. Inderstand it to be an overt act-giving aid and could the government. It is no treason in which we to engaged; it is loyalty to Heaven. It is only tensor to the devil and all his works. (Loud applause) know they said, of old, when they perpetrated the crime which has shocked all generations mer the event took place, and the remembrance of which will go down to the end of the world, causing a university shudder,-I know, when they nailed Jesus to the cross between two thieves, they justified themseled by the plen, " WE HAVE A LAW, and by the lie is ought to die; his blood be on us, and on our children But I know that they were none the less guilty or the ground, and that their pretended regard for the lar was loathsome hypocrisy and horrible impietr. And I maintain that, in view of all the light we copy, as living as we do eighteen hundred years after these all dark days of Judaism, it is, before Ged, a grater crime in us to allow a slave to be carried of from the soil of Massachusetts, than it was in the Jews to aller Jesus to be crucified. We have incomparably nor light; and guilt must be in proportion to the smooth of light enjoyed and resisted. For myself, I would rather take my chance hereafter with those who p the spear into the side of Jesus, than with those with in this day, with the gospel of Christ in one hand mi the Declaration of Independence in the other, cases to allow a human being to be transformed into a less and to be carried off from our soil to strips mi bondage.

How is it, gentlemen, that latitude and longitude make such a wide moral difference respecting acts that are essentially alike? By the law of the land, pe know that whoever seizes a man on the coast of Africa and makes or helps to make him a slave, is sojudge guilty of piracy. True, the law is now a dead letter for it is a Slave Oligarchy that rules us; still it mains the recorded judgment of this nation, that very one who enslaves a native-born African is guilty piracy. Now, 'a man's a man for a' that.' Are then to consent to be pirates, by joining in the chast and hunting down those who come to us for salet and protection? Allow me to give you an account if the latest case of an escaped fugitive slave which has taken place in this State. I will read you the number tive, as taken down from the fugitive's own lips :-

On the 4th of December, 1858, I secreted mysel on board the brig William Purington, of Bosts. Capt. James L. Bryant, then lying at the wharf Wilmington, N. C. Three days afterwards, the sailed for Boston. About three days out, I was covered by the mate of the brig, who informed by Bryant that a runaway slave was on board; when upon the captain, in a great passion, swore trin oaths at me. He threatened to blow my brains on and to send me back to Wilmington, the first change he could get. I had forty-five or fifty dellars in the cie tied up round my body :- the mate searched my and took the money from me, in the presence of the captain. I asked the captain to give it back to me several times, but he only swore at me, and refused and has never restored it to me. He ordered me into the booby hatch, which was filled mostly with berels of spirits of turpentine, rosin, &c., to punish me as I believe. I could not lie down or walk there, bel could only sit upon the barrels, for several days and nights. The air was so close there, and so imprenated with the fumes of the spirits of turpentine, the I became almost entirely exhausted. I could neither stand nor walk. I told the mate I should sook in

there; he saw my condition; then the captain ordered me on the open deck, and forbid my going to any other part of the brig, day or night. There I recovered from the bad effects of the spirits of turpentine. I could not sleep upon deck, the weather was so cold : my feet and hands were so badly frost-bitten, that I an yet (Feb. 25th) unable to work, and under the

From the day that I was discovered in the brig, the captain directed that only bread and water should be given to me. He said that was too good for me; but the the crew caught a porpoise, I was allowed some of that. I was treated in a brutal manner, both by the captain and mate. My sufferings were terrible in the booby hatch, and on the deck.

The brig put into Holmes' Hole, and lay there se eral days. I was obliged to keep upon the deck there. I endeavored to get on shore while in that harber, but could not succeed.

On the evening of Dec. 26, we arrived at the oute harber of Boston. A pilot-boat came along-side, but the captain refused to take the pilot, saying that he knew the way in. Soon after, he got aground in the Narrows. All hands were then called, and great exertions were made to get the brig afloat; but they sould not succeed, as the tide was falling. All hands worked till midnight, and then turned in. I had worked as hard as the rest to help get the brig off, but there was no rest for me. The captain ordered ms to remain on deck, work the pump, and keep her free. At daylight, I let myself down into the ship channel, and swam to Lovell's island, a distance of shout two hundred feet, as near as I could judge. I the travelled over to the other side of the island entirely out sight of the brig :- there, in that cold morning, I kept constantly walking to and fro, to keep from freezing, for about two hours, when I spied a mail sail boat, and held up my pocket handkerchief as a signal of distress. The boat neared the pland; I hailed them, and begged them to take me on board. They did so, and took me up to the city, and landed me upon Commercial wharf."

Such is the narrative. I know nothing personally of the captain or mate of that vessel, but from this representation, which I have no doubt is strictly true, they are evidently devoid of all the feelings of our common humanity; and the last thing I should wish to do would be to touch the hand of either of them. But, gentlemen, what a case is this ! The victim, in our own harbor, in the wintry month of December, throws himself overboard, at the risk of drowing or freezing, in order to effect his escape; for he well understood that he might be taken back to slavery gren from Massachusetts. The question is, shall he be protected among us; or shall we join with that captain and mate, be as inhuman and brutal as they seize him, and send him back to the South? Massachusetts says, . No; God forbid! Let him remain.

Gentlemen, let those who raise the cry of disloyalt to the Union, in disparagement of the friends of hu manity in this Commonwealth, go to the South where they belong. They are feverishly anxious foresth, that the law should be scrupulously kept and the compact carefully observed, when fugitive player are to be caught; but as to the outlawry o our colored citizens at the S uth, and the ruthless violation of our own constitutional rights in that secbin, they have no complaint to make, no censure to beinw. Let them go and seek a residence in Georgia or Alabama. They have no sympathy with the free parit of Massachusetts, are perfidious to her highest terests, and approvingly see her insulted and dishonored by the entire South. I recommend one member of this House, who represents not the Commenwealth but Carolina, to lose no time in taking the cars southward; and if he is anxious to see the Constitution maintained, let him there begin the work of rebuking and exposing those, who, for the vilest purposes, are ever disregarding its most sacred proons, before raising the senseless cry of treason tresson!' from these seats, against those who are true

to the principles of freedom. Talk of 'our glorious Union'! THERE IS NO Uxion. The free States are conquered provincesthat is all. We are living under a usurpation, bold, sudacious, bloody, and the forms of government have become mockeries. There is no Union; and the mar who throws up his cap and cries, . The Union for eyer!' is morally in a condition to be sent to a madhouse, and have a straight-jacket put upon him. There is no Union-none, I mean, for free souls and manly hearts. There is a Union for slaveholders slave-traders, slave-speculators, slave-hunters, and their Northern pimps and allies; but none for honest, manly, freedom-loving spirits in this land. Take the hast Presidential election, which proves all that I say is regard to our living under a usurpation. James Buchanan is the President of the United States! Just as legally and constitutionally so as Louis Napoleon of France. We have had no constitutional Presidential election. When, in all the slave States, the slaveholders made it perilous to the life of any man to say -- I am in favor of the election of John C. Fremont'-when, in all the South, it was not posable to hold a Convention in favor of Mr. Fremont, ing his name, except at great personal hazard-when berder-ruffianism actually took possession of every tallot-box at the South, to secure the election of James Buchanan-was not that the overthrow of the very forms of Republican government, and the triumph of high-handed usurnation? I understand a constitutional election to be this: entire freedom of choice for all parties, without limitation, and without perilthe recognized right to hold meetings, employ speakers, and use all necessary means to operate upon public sentiment, in order to success. This was the freedom accorded to the Democratic party throughout the country. During the campaign, distinguished Southera slareholders were every where at the North, at all Democratic gatherings of local importance, advocating the claims of its Presidential candidate. They found their way to Bunker Hill, into Faneuil Hall, and down to Plymouth Rock, declaiming against impartial freedom, and hotly opposing the election of Mr. Fremont; but who thought of putting them in bodily peril? Who, in all the North, among the most beated partisans of Mr. Fremont, thought of saying. Wheerer dares to avow himself in favor of the electies of James Buchanan, the candidate of the slave chigarchy, let him be lynched, or driven south of Mason and Dixon's line ? Nobody. On the Demoeratic side, there was liberty of speech, of locomotion, and of choice, North and South, to the utmost extent. But what Republican ventured down South to advotate the claims of Mr. Fremont? Why did not Mr. Wilson, or Mr. Hale, or Mr. Seward, or any other distinguished leader or advocate of the Republican party go? Because they knew if they went, they would come back again ! Is this the enjoyment of con-

stitutional liberty? Besides all this, even Southern men,-not Abolifinists, not hostile to slavery in spirit or purpose on Southern soil, -for simply avowing their preference le Mr. Fremont, (as in the case of Prof. Hedrick, of the University of North Carolina, Mr. Underwood of Virginia, and other highly respectable citizens,) were pelled to seek safety in flight, and have not deemed it advisable to return to their homes and firesides n to this day. In one instance, a friend of Mr. Fremont was shot dead in the presence of his wife, and the obliged to flee for her life. Under such circumstances, this is not a constitutional government, but a bloody usurpation; and a brute-force slave oligarchy reigns over us.

In a recent speech in this city, Gov. Banks intinates that, in his opinion, those who seek a dissolu tion of the Union are 'not of women born'! With all due deference, it seems to me, rather, that he who goes for perpetuating such a Union must be made of cast from and may therefore be appropriately styled. Correspondents must wait patiently.

the little iron man.' I would like to have Gov. LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. Banks, if he dare, go to South Carolina, and simply advocate the non-extension policy of the Republican South, and, taking the Constitution with head, have not been able to give any definite information as wagis, and waying the American flag over his head, the actual state of his health. But, a few days since, from your horrible oppression'- and then come back and tell us of his reception, and what he thinks of duty of any to uphold it, except those who are 'not Mr. Thompson himself, (as dictated to his son, he

Gentlemen, I know what the plea of the South is and I admit its full force. They put our colored citizens into jail, they send them to the auction block, they drive them to unrequited toil as slaves on their plantations; and they make you and I outlaws, if we print. attempt to talk about freedom. Their excuse is which are utterly antagonistical; because, in one part as little delay as possible. of the land, man is man, and in the other, he is reduced by another to the condition of a mere perishable piece of property. So that, when Senator Seward said in his Rochester speech, this anti-slavery My Dean Garrison: movement is no fanaticism, no ebullition of transient feeling, no party device, but grows out of the nature of things-is, because it cannot help being-is, because the nation must be either all for freedom or all conflict-he recognized the simplest truth in the uniled in their blindness to undertake to do that which God cannot reconcile good and evil, light and darkness; and no power can put into the same union liberty and slavery, free men and slaves, without confore, by the South, in regard to this subject. If we allow slaves to be hunted here, why is not slavery everywhere right?' asks the South. 'If you are ready to give us your aid and support and protection in holding four millions of slaves, why not allow us to have twenty millions, if we can get them? Where is your conscience-where your morality-what are ous struggle for the redemption of the bondman. your ideas of right and wrong? What is damnable in Massachusetts, morally, must be damnable in Virginia: and you must either go against slavery everywhere, or admit that slavery is right everywhere.' Here, I say, the South has us in the argument, and drives us to the wall, because we occupy a foolish, inconsistent and criminal position.

You will be admonished, doubtless, by those who are unscrupulous in their devotion to Southern interests, that you have taken an oath to sustain the Constitution of the United States. Well, gentlemen, what is that oath? Does it bind you to give up the fugitive slave, or to consent that he shall be hunted on Massachusetts soil with impunity? If it does, put that oath under your feet, and dare not carry it out, to enter, now a generation ago. You yourself have as you regard your own souls' salvation. That oath been a remarkable instance of God's sustaining power. is not binding upon you for a moment. But there is Of all who gathered around you, in the early days of an oath which harmonizes with the law of God; which your Anti-Slavery career, how few have been waited is on the side of humanity and justice; and which upon by the angel of death! True, some have disapyou have taken upon your souls to see fulfilled, as pertaining to the rights of man. It is this:

ARTICLE 1. All men are born free and equal, and among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of sequiring, possessing, and protecting property: in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

The oath lies upon your souls, to-day, gentlemen, to maintain these rights. It is an oath that you can and must carry out; an oath that the people of this State are resolved shall be carried out; and if this Legislature will not do it, another one will be chosen which will assuredly stereotype public sentiment into

I have referred to the plea of the South, that she is shut up to the terrible necessity of disregarding all her relations and agreements with us, in order to perpetuate her slave system. Now, I would have nothing done by way of vindictive retaliation; but I would say, as the very worst thing I would have done to the South, for the atrocious injustice she has done to us or to nominate and advocate an electoral ticket bear- and our citizens,-I would say, in the language of Whittier-

· Have they wronged us? Let us then Have they chained our free-born men!

LET US UNCHAIN THEIRS! (Applause.) And that is what the people of Massachusetts are resolved to do.

Pass the law, then; not in anger, nor by way of retaliation-no, but that Massachusetts, in this respect, may stand at least by the side of Austria; - Austria, that our judges are ravening wolves but if they should Nothing could exceed the gratification I enjoyed on do so, you will have done your duty. You are not my way to the place of my destination. The scenery responsible for the action of the Courts, and the people of the Mediterranean-a three days' stay at Malta will settle the matter with them.

to this movement will be unavailing, because it is 'of and eighteen ships of war in the grand harbor)-a heaven, not of men.' It is the conscience of the trip from Alexandria to Cairo by railway-and people of the Commonwealth in insurrection against seven days' detention at Sucz, which enabled me to satanic wickedness. The Anti-Slavery struggle is for visit Joseph's well in the desert, to join an expedition the freedom of man, without distinction of race or to set a trap for a hyena, to go to the spot (called the

fall, it shall grind him to powder.' 'Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring! In vain ye limit mind's unwearied spring: What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep. Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep No! the wild wave contemns your sceptred hand, It rolled not back when Canute gave command!

I conclude by asking you, gentlemen, to join with the people in crying out, in thunder tones, that all the nation may hear, in the language of our own Lowell-

From being slave, or making slave, (Loud applause.)

We are again excessively crowded for room and compelled to omit a great deal of matter designed for this number, together with many communications.

It is some time since any direct intelligence has been received from our beloved but deeply afflicted party. I would like to see him go to any part of the friend, George Thomrson, Esq., and therefore we South, and, taking the Constitution with him as his have not been able to give any definite information as to openly tell the slaveholders- I am against your slave we received a long and highly interesting letter from system, root and branch, and I call upon you to cease Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, dated at London giving a minute account of his interview with Mr. Thompson, with respect to his illness, situation, &c. our glorious Union, and whether he considers it the Since that came to hand, the following letter from being deprived of the use of his hands,) has been received; and though it was written for our specia perusal, it is of such a nature, and there are so many friends of Mr. Thompson who will take the livelies interest in reading it, that we venture to put it in

It will be seen that Mr. T. has had a long and dis the old one, 'Necessity-the tyrant's plea.' They tressing illness, from which he is slowly recovering; say, and they say truly - We do the best we can under and that, in consequence of it, his pecuniary resources the circumstances. If we should permit the free colored for the support of his family have been entirely cut citizens of the North to come among our slaves, they off. Shall one so deserving, so cloquent in the cause will whisper of liberty, and incite them to insurrection. We regret that we are driven to this course; to strike the fetters from the limbs of eight hundred we know it is illegal and unconstitutional; but we thousand slaves in the British West Indies, and to cannot maintain our slave system without it, and electrify this country in the memorable days of 1834-5. self-preservation is the first law of nature.' And in behalf of three millions of slaves on American again, with regard to the white citizens of the North soil, -be allowed to suffer in this respect? It is dewho are Abolitionists, they say- It will never do for sirable, therefore, that a liberal pecuniary testimonial them to come down South, and avow their anti-sla-should be sent to Mr. Thompson, from this country, very sentiments; for if they do, they will operate as a token of the regard in which he is held, and of upon the non-slaveholding whites, and ultimately our the sympathy which is felt for him and his family in slaves will be taken out of our hands, and this we his present adverse situation. Whoever, on reading cannot permit. I admit the force of their plea as the letter, may feel desirous of contributing (to howslaveholders; and it shows the folly and madness of ever small an extent) to this object-a subscription attempting to form a union between elements that having been already favorably started—are requested can never coalesce. All the trouble between the to send their donations either to ROBERT F. WALL-North and the South has been to this hour, and will cer, 21 Cornhill, or to Francis Jackson, Esq., 27 be to the 'bitter end,' not because of a difference of Hollis street, who has kindly consented to act as soil and climate, but because of institutions and ideas Treasurer, and to forward the amount to Mr. T. with

> 1 - Fentiman Road, South Lambeth, ? LONDON, Jan. 31, 1859.

The two most joyful events which have happened

to me, since my return from India in July last, have been the receipt of your letter, and a meeting with our mutually beloved friend, SAMUEL J. MAY. If you for slavery, or else there will be perpetual trouble and had accompanied him, we should have composed the trio which one cold, clear, frosty morning left the verse. Our fathers, in framing the Constitution, were door of the Marlboro' Hotel, Washington Street, in a lumbering stage-coach, for the good town of Groton, it is not in the power of God to consummate,-for and the hospitable roof of Dr. Farnsworth. This was a quarter of a century ago. We were all then young men; we have now reached the grand climacteric but, though advanced in years, we have not left thos fusion and strife. We are driven to the wall, there- principles behind us, which at first attracted us t each other, but have carried them with us in our journey of life, and are as much concerned for their spread and triumph, and are even more convinced of their truth and righteousness, than when we first found ourselves in the ardor of comparative youth banded together as recruits and comrades in the glori-

Mr. May, notwithstanding the brevity of his stay in London, found time to pay me two visits, and I found strength enough to be his guide and companion through the labyrinthine halls and corridors of the stately palace of Westminster. | From our friend I obtained much valuable light on the position, projects, and prospects of the political and non-political parties in the United States. While I was in India. received regularly and read with eager appetite the Liberator. I am, therefore, tolerably posted up in all matters relating to the operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

I often think that a special Providence has watched over the prominent laborers in the field you were first peared, fulling from gradual decay and extreme agea Lovejoy has sunk under the fire of assassins-a Follen has been mysteriously cut off by a fearful catasave certain natural essential, and inalienable rights: trophe-and a Shipley has gone the way of all flesh; but you, with the Chapmans, the Westons, the Quincys, the Phillipses, the Burleighs, the Fosters, the Mays, the Wallcuts, and others still live, fighting beneath the same banner rallied by the same watchword, and struggling for the same divine object. Not less singular, nor less worthy to be recorded, has been the all but universal constancy, integrity and fidelity of those who have, from time to time, like the disciples of old, left their secular callings to bear the cross of Anti-Slavery, and to be the followers of Him whose mission it was to preach deliverance to the captive. The annals of the past do not, in my belief, furnish a more striking exemplification of stedfastness and perseverance, on the part of men and women espousing, under the influence of humane feelings and high principles, an unpopular and persecuted cause. No such fruits can be shown among the converts to any system of mere human philosophy; and those who, in their pride and prejudice, brand the abolitionists of the Garrisonian school as infidels would be much perplexed, if called upon to account for the fact, that lives like those which have illustrated the movement, of which you are the honored leader, have been formed on any other code of ethics than that which was promulgated by the great Teacher, who taught his disciples from the Mount of Judea. You ask me to write you about myself. The 12th

of January, 1856, saw me on board a steamer, leaving which proclaims that the moment any slave, from any Marseilles for Malta, on my way for the second time part of the world, shall touch the deck of an Austrian to the banks of the Ganges, on a commission of inship, or any part of the Austrian soil, his chains shall quiry into the nature and qualities of the fibrous proburst asunder, and he shall be protected against re- ducts of India, with a view to the importation into capture or harm by the whole power of the nation. England of such as might be adapted to the manu-Let the old Bay State try to reach the position of facturing interest of the country. My health was Austria! If the Courts shall nullify what you may then good, and I contemplated a five years' residence enact-it is surmised that they will, but that is to beg abroad, including a visit to China, a tour amongst the the question, and we ought not hastily to conclude Himalayan regions of India, and a journey to Persia. (full at the time of bustle and activity, created by the Gentlemen, I conclude by saving that all opposition presence of thirteen thousand British troops on shore color. It is God who inspires and guides it, who bears Valley of Encampment) where the Israelites made it upward and onward; and it is impossible for Him their last halt before their passage of the Red Sea to be overcome or vanquished. No matter who the and also to the well of Moses on the opposite shore man may be that shall try his hand against this move- where Miriam sung her song of triumph,-these and ment, he will fall in the end. No matter what party other occupations, with the enjoyment of high spirits, may attempt to put it down; that party will be dash- and a climate than which I could conceive nothing ed in pieces. It is a rock; and 'whosoever shall fall more delicious or heavenly, filled up my time, unti thereon shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall having not our mails, passengers, and a large amount of treasure on board, we sailed at midnight beneat the light of a full moon for the Rock of Aden, and thence via Cevlon to Calcutta. I landed at the city of palaces on the 25th of February, in time to witness the departure of Lord Dalhousie, the unscrupulous spoliator of the native Princes of India, and the author of the iniquitous Burmese war; and the installation of the present Viceroy, Lord Canning, who is, I believe, a man who would much rather win laurels in fields of peaceful industry, than amidst the horrors and crimes of war. I had not been five months on shore, before I was visited by a violent attack of the liver, and was ordered a voyage to Ceylon for my recovery. I returned, and resumed my duties, and was tolerably well re-established during what is called the cold season. In the following June, my

pointed. Worse symptoms than any which had be-fore appeared, and which threatened a fatal result, ING HIS OWN CHILD-JUSTICE AT WASH. detained me a prisoner in the island for more than three months; during the whole of which time, I exthe months; during the whole of which time, I experienced an amount of hospitality and kindness at the hands of previously unknown individuals, which not only alleviated my sufferings, but saved my life.

Once more I returned to Calcutta, and, trusting to the effect of the cold season, recommenced operations, and continued them until March, 1858, when, utterly be broken down, and told by my doctors that nothing but the air of my native climate would raise me up again, I took passage in a screw steamer via the Cape of Good Hope for England. Hitherto, a sea voyage had always had the effect of restoring me when an invalid, but this time such was not the case. My sufferings before I reached the Cape were dreadful, while at the Cape I lost the use of my limbs by paralysis, and reached home in a perfectly helpless condition, requiring the same kind of assistance as an infant,—my food having to be conveyed to my mouth by others, and requiring to be lifted even from one chair to another. During the last six months, I have been gradually recovering; I can walk with almost my accustomed ability, and eat and sleep well. It is my nervous system that is now most affected, and I am incapable of bearing much excitement or mental effort. I am still deprived of the use of my hands for the purpose of writing, and send you this letter by dictation to my son. I have had many invitations to take a share in the agitation now going on, on the Reform question, but have been compelled to decline them, as it would be perilous to venture upon public speaking in my present state; besides which, I cannot dispense with the services of a male offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present wetter of the many invited the excent of the ma perienced an amount of hospitality and kindness at attendant, and should not like to be thrown upon the To an objection from the countel for the defence

of my income, as my salary has been withheld from the time I was forced to relinquish the field of my exercisms, and I cannot hope for any from a new source could not be deemed sufficient to hold the prisoner until the re-establishment of my health permits of my entering upon some fresh sphere of labor.

I am greatly cheered by the kind sympathy convered to me, through your letter, and the many mesassurance that'I cherish the strongest possible attach- monstrating against the excessive and unrea only by the ties of a common object, but by the most he would raise the bail still higher. Such is lega sacred bonds of friendship and affection, only equalled by my admiration of the lofty virtues and inflexible courage which they have displayed in behalf of the down-trodden slave.

Such is segal justice in this city—a fair specimen, according to my observation, during the last two years.

This case is, indeed, hard. The little son alluded to is the last of a number that have been forcibly tasacred bonds of friendship and affection, only equalled down-trodden slave.

I must here leave off, for I am tired. My affectionate remembrances to Mrs. Garrison, to the dear friends at Weymouth, to Wendell and Mrs. Phillips, to Edmund Quincy, to Charles and Mrs. Hovey, to his only child.

South, this free American father is to be tried in a criminal court of the Federal metropolis for the crime of having harbored his only child. John T. Sargent, (whom I will shortly address a letter to, in reply to his own to me,) Mr. Wallcut, S. May, Jr., and to the whole ' household of faith.'

Now and ever, your affectionate friend, GEORGE THOMPSON. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

A STRINGENT PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL. [Correspondence of the New York Tribune.]

ALBANY, Feb. 26, 1859. Mr. Powell, from the select Committee to whom were referred the petitions for an act for the better protection of personal liberty, reported this morning by bill entitled 'An act to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens of the State of New York,' which pro-

Sec. 1. No person within this State shall be comsidered as property, or treated as such; nor shall any person within this State be deprived of liberty or prop-SEC. 2 Defines due process of law.

SEC. 2 Defines due process of law to be the usual process and forms in force by the laws of this State,

and provides for a jury trial.

Szc. 3. Whenever any person shall be arrested on the ground of owing service or labor to any person not an inhabitant of this State, either party may claim a

is now enfittled. Sec. 4. Every person who shall deprive or attempt to deprive any other person of his or her liberty, con-

of \$1,000 to \$5,000, and imprisonment from 5 to 20 name. years. Sec. 5. Neither descent, near or remote, from an a slave or not, nor color of skin or complexion, shall disqualify any person from being or becoming a zen of this State, nor deprive such person of the rights

SEC. 6. Every person who may have been held as a slave, who shall be brought or come to this State, shall be free. and privileges thereof.

SEC. 7. Every person who shall hold or attempt to hold in this State, in slavery or as a slave, any person or any free person, in any form, or for any time, however short, under the pretence that such person is o has been a slave, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of 5 to 20 years, and fined from \$1,000

SEC. 8. Any person sustaining wrong or injury by any proceeding punishable by the preceding sections Constitution, when of this act, may maintain an action and recover damfer as I took any. ages therefor in any Court of record of this State.

SEC. 9. No person, while holding any office of honor, trust, or emolument, under the laws of this State shall in any capacity issue any warrant or other process, or grant any certificate under or by virtue of the Fugitive Slave Bill, or shall in any capacity serve any

such warrant or other process.

SEC. 10 Provides that any person who shall violate any provisions of Sec. 9 of this Act shall be deemed to esigned any office he may hold under the laws of this State, and shall be thereafter forever ineligib to any office of trust, honor, or emolument, under the

Sec. 11. Any person acting as attorney or couns

from practising in the Courts of the State. SEC. 12 Subjects any Sheriff, Deputy Sheriff, Constable, Policeman, or other State, County, City, or Town officer of this State who shall arrest, imprison, detain, or aid in arresting or returning any person adjudged to be a fugitive slave, to imprisonment from two to ten years, and a fine from one to ten thousand

SEC. 13 Requires the Governor, by and with the advice of the Senate, to appoint in each county of the State an Attorney, whose duty it shall be to defend all persons claimed as fugitive slaves, to receive \$50 each person so defended, to be paid by the State on the warrant of the Governor.

This bill, which it will be seen contains some of the more important features of the personal liberty laws of Vermont and Massachusetts, was drawn by Mr. C. S. Spencer, and the Assembly by a vote of 65 to 26, made it the special order for Wednesday next at 12 o'clock. That vote looks very well, and it is to be hoped that the 'curvature of the spine' does not prevail to such n extent as to endanger the passage of this bill

through the Legislature. . CHEEVER delivered a grand address in the Assembly Chamber last evening, in behalf of the passage of such a law as is proposed. The Chamber was well filled with attentive listeners, but it is to be regretted for circulation. It is most admirably adapted to help that but few members of the Legislature, for whose enlightenment the address was made, were present. forward the good work, which is sufficiently describ-They, however, were the losers, for the address was ed in its title,—'No Slave-Hunzing in the Old Bay one of the most terse, compact, vigorous statements of STATE.' Let the edition be immediately bought, and the claims of freedom over slavery, to which I ever the circulation. It is for sale at the following listened, and I have heard some speaking on that subject in my time. As stronge as it may appear, the speech contained a number of new and strong points speech contained a number of new and strong points single, 5 cents.

against the inherent wrong of Slavery, and the way
the Doctor did hurl the thunderbolts of God's wrath against slaveholders and their abettors, was a caution to that kind of sinners. The address ought to be published, and extensively circulated.

A cold-blooded assassination took place in Washington, on Sunday last. Dan. Sickles, member of Congress for the city of New York, deliberately shot Philip Barton Key, Attorney General for the District of Columbia, and son of the author of the Star Spangled Banner.' Key was unarmed : he survived but a few minutes. The alleged provocation health again gave way, and again I sought, by a trip for killing him was his seduction of Sickle's wife .-Sickle was committed to prison. to Ceylon, to recover it; but in this hope I was disap-

ING HIS OWN CHILD-JUSTICE AT WASH INGTON.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22, 1859.

offices of strangers, as I should be, if I at present went the magistrate replied that the accused had had notice, for he had himself mentioned in his presence that such an affidavit would be taken, which is true. for trial, the magistrate said that 'if Mr. Diggs of Maryland were present, he had no doubt that his testimony would make the evidence strong enough; as it was, he thought it probable.'

On this insufficient and exparte testimony, he said sages of regard brought me by Mr. May. I wish it were in my power to furnish practical proof of my gratitude; but you must accept, for the present, my own son! While the friend of the accused was rement to the very dear friends with whom it has so amount of bail, his counsel also suggesting that \$500 long been my privilege and honor to be united, not became so excited as to say that if he went on talking.

ken from their father, as fast as he has reared them and now that the oppressor cannot find the last re-maining object of a heart-broken parent's love, in order to sell it off to the far South, this free Ameri-

#### CRISPUS ATTUCKS.

The subscriber proposes a Meeting and Levee, or Monday evening, March 7th, at Upper and Lower Chapman Halls, in commemoration of the Leadership and Martyrdom of CRISPUS ATTUCKS, the Colored American, in Boston, March 5the 1770, the day which History has selected as the dawn of the American Revolution.

The exercises will consist in part of speeche from a galaxy of distinguished friends of freedom. interspersed with vocal music, original and appropriate to the occasion, performed by volunteer Glee Clubs and choice selections on the Piano, augmented by Gates's full Quadrille Band.

Among those who have been invited to participate during the evening are, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles Lenox Remond, Hon, Thomas Rus sell, Dr. John S. Rock, Hon. John A. Andrew, and Rev. J. B. Smith.

Tickets to the whole, 75 cents each. To be ob tained at 21 Cornhill, and at the door. Admittance to the meeting, (exclusive,) 10 cents. Doors open a jury trial, and shall have 20 peremptory challenges in to the meeting, (exclusive,) 10 cents. Doors open at addition to the challenges to which a person indicted half-past 7 o'clock. Exercises to commence at 8 o'clock.

Every effort will be made to ensure satisfaction t all whose presence evinces their appreciation of the trary to the provisions of the preceding sections of this all whose presence evinces their appreciation of the act, shall be guilty of a felony, and subject to a fine man, and of the deed which has immortalized his WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, March 4, 1859.

NOTE FROM MR. HIGGINSON. Will Mr. Garrison notice the following important errata in the report of my remarks in the last Libera

1. At middle of second column, for 'Horace Mann said, I am told, read, 'Horace Mann once said t

me. 2. Second column, 27th line from bottom, dele the

first 'not,' and for 'but' read 'and,' three lines after Your reporter, who is commonly almost infallible misunderstood me in both cases. In the last case h makes me hold to the pro-slavery construction of the Constitution, whereas I took the contrary position, so

Worcester, March 1, 1859.

New Music. The following pieces have just been published by OLIVER DITSON & Co., 277 Washington street, Boston :-

Le Brindisi. Valse brillante par F. Burgmuller. Vocal Beauties of Flotow's Opera, Martha. Povero Lionello, &c.

Pride Schottisch, by Fred, W. Brower,

The New Caledonian Quadrilles, arranged with the original figures by J. S. Knight. These Quafor a slave-hunter, shall forfeit any office he may hold the original figures by J. S. Knight. These Qua-under the laws of this State, and shall be debarred drilles have been recently introduced to supplant the Lancers.

I'm a laughing Zingarella, the Gipsy's Song, com oosed by Abelli.

Newport Lancer Quadrilles, as performed by varius bands at balls in Newport and the great cities. Satanella, the new Opera composed by M. W

Grand Juggernaut March, played in the Grand Spectacle of the Cataract of the Ganges, at the Boston Theatre. Composed, and respectfully dedicated to Thos. Barry, Esq., by Thos. Comer.

Children. Written by Henry W. Longfellow nusic by William R. Dempster, Good Morrow. Sung by Sig. Mario, Sims Reeves and others. Music by Frank Mori.

Hunting Tour; or, 'When ye gang away, Jamie.' Scotch Song, arranged by John Deman.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH'S SPEECH, at the late forward the good work, which is sufficiently describput into circulation. It is for sale at the following low prices :- By the hundred, \$3.00; dozen, 50 cts.

A large edition of Wendell Phillips's eloquen argument, addressed to the Committee of the Legis lature, in behalf of a law to prohibit slave-catching in Massachusetts, has been published in neat pamph let form, and is for sale at this office, at the following low prices: By the hundred, \$2 50; dozen, 40 cts. single, 5 ets. Friends ! help to circulate this valuable

Rev. Theodore Parker has safely arrived a Havana, after a very rough passage. The latest intelligence received from him, we are happy to state, is decidedly encouraging, as all the symptoms of his case were favorable. He has gone to St. Croix.

argument!

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The Vigilance Committee of Boston would inform the friends of Fugitive Slaves, that they have been, and probably will continue to be, constantly in want of places, where such fugitives can obtain employment. Any one in want, or who can employ such help, is earnestly requested to apply to R. F. WALL. CUT, 21 Cornhill, or, by letter, to FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, stating what employment they

TREASURER'S REPORT Of Receipts, from February 1, to March 1, 1859.

Rec'd of S. May, Jr., donations and collections made at annual meeting.

Also from S. May, Jr., for collections from R. H. Ober \$10, Sylvanua Smith, East Boston, 5, E. S. Page, Boston, 1, John B. Prince, Lynn, 10, James N. Buffum,

do. 50,—all to redeem pledges,—from Susan Mayhew, New Bedford, donation, 1,
From Sallie Holley:—Collections at Paxton
1 53, Rutland 5 27, West Boylston
4 26, of Miss Caldwell 1, at Athol 1,
Montague 11 46, of Rev. C. Bradford 1,
at Greenfield 5 09, Deerfield 4 50, Rowe 77 00 4 72, Northampton 2 92, Florence 10, Hopkinton 16 02, Dorchester 16, West Cambridge 8 67, Waltham 6, Greenwood 3, Stoneham 4 25, Stoneham Ladies' A. S. Society 8, a friend 12,

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline, March 1, 1859.

The General Agent of the Liberator acknowledges to have received the following sums from subscribers in England and Ireland, by Richard D. Webb.

From Miss Whitelegge, Manchester, Eng., \$3 00, paying to Jan. 1st, 1859.

From Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Eng., 3 00, paying to do.

Joshua Sharratt, Buckley, Eng., 1 76, paying

to do. From Rev. Dr. Joseph Hutton, Derby, Eng., 3 00, paying to do. From Mrs. Henry Turner, Lentonfield, Ireland, 4 80

paying to Jan. 1, 1860. From James Haughton, Dublin, Ireland, 3 00, pay-

ing to Jan. 1, 1859. From Mrs. Eliza Jacob, Ballytore, Ireland, 4 80, paying to Jan. 1, 1859. From Maria Waring, (Mrs. Palmer,) Waterford, Ire-

land, 4 80, paying to Jan. 1, 1850.
From Miss Barrington, (old act.) Dublin, Ireland,
3 90, paying to Jan. 1, 1859. Mrs. FOLLEN, on behalf of the Managers of

the late Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary, ac-knowledges the following additional contributions: A lady in Brookline, - \$20 00 William I. Bowditch, Esq., - 30 00 Miss Mattie Griffith, New York, 5 00

ROCKPORT .- An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held in Rockport, on Sunday, March 6th, day and evening. WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLS-BURY, on account of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be present.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in PORTSMOUTH, N. H., on Sunday next, March 6. WM. LLOYD GARRISON will speak on

Slavery at Hopkinton, (Hayden Row,) on Sunday forenoon and afternoon, March 13th, at the usual hours of religious services. He will also address the citizens of Milronn, on the evening of that day, in the Town Hull, on Garrisonian Infidelity." E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in

Sunday, March 6. Tuesday, " 8. Wednesday, " 9. Montague, Deerfield, HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in New-

buryport, on Sunday, March 6. Subject, in the afternoon: The Christ of Calvary, and the Christ of Christendom—the difference between them;—in the evening: The Mission of Woman as a Wife and Mother. TO THE FRIENDS OF THE PUGITIVE.

A robust and able-bodied fugitive slave from the South—a carpenter, who has worked many years at house-building, framing and finishing—wants a place. Apply to R. F. WALLCUT, Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cernhill, or, by letter, to FRANCIS JACKSGN.

WANTED-An opportunity to learn book-binding, by a young woman. Apply to W. C. NELL,

COLORED BOYS AND GIRLS .- A good colored Boy can hear of a situation in a family a few miles from Boston. Apply to W. C. NELL, 21 Corn-

An amiable colored girl of 10 or 12 years of age, whose parents or guardians would be willing she should accompany a lady to Europe, can hear of such a situation by applying as above. WANTS A SITUATION .- A widow lady

wishes to get a situation to wait on a lady, or to work as scamstress in a respectable family.

Apply at this office, or at 6 Stillman street.

DIED-In Charlestown, Feb. 23, BATHSHEDA, wife of Samuel Fowler, aged 78 years. In this city, Jan. 22, Mrs. Mary Elsbury, aged 68; Feb. 19, Mrs. Susan W. Akins, aged 83.

NOW READY. #

#### The Life of JOHN H. W. HAWKINS, THE GREAT APOSTLE

OF THE WASHINGTONIAN TEMPERANCE RE-FORMATION.

THE LIFE of a most extraordinary and useful man, and faithful and indefatigable laborer in behalf of degraded humanity. It is a book which no person can read without being stimulated to noble de-All orders for the Book, or for Agencies, should be addressed to the Publishers, Fifty Thousand should be sold in six months.

It makes a handsome 12mo. volume of 420 pages, with several wood-cuts, and a fine steel portrait of Mr. Hawkins. Price \$1.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., 20 Washington street, Boston. February 11.

Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis, Asthma, Croup, Whooping Cough, Diseases of the Throat and Lungs, and Pulmonary Affections. Of the severest type, are quickly cured by that longtried and faithful remedy,

DR. WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY. Says a well-known Editor- This is truly a balsam

and a blessing to invalids. It contains the pure balsamic principle of Wild Cherry, the balsamic properties of tar and of pine. Its ingredients, which are mingled after the true principle of chemistry, are all balsamic, and therefore it is safe and sure in effect. Coughs, Colds, Consumption, and Bronchial troubles disappear under its balsamic influence as though charmed away. Probably no medicine has ever attained so extended a sale, or accomplished so much good, as this renowned Balsam."

CASSVILLE, (Ga.) Feb. 26, 1800.

Messrs. Sern Fowle & Co., Boston, Mass.:
Gentlemen—At the request of your Travelling
Agent, I give you a statement of my experience in
the use of Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. I CASSVILLE, (Ga.) Feb. 26, 1858. have been using it for two years in my family, for Colds and Coughs, and have found it the most efficacious remedy that I have ever tried. For Colds and Coughs in children, I know it to be an excellent

Respectfully yours, JOHN H. RICE.

The genuine article always has written the signature of ' I. BUTTS' on the wrapper, and is for sale by all respectable Druggists everywhere.

Prepared by SETH W. FOWLE & CO., Boston. and for sale by dealers in Medicine in nearly every Feb. 25-4th town in New England.

For the Liberator. A WINTER MORNING. Oh! a fairy world in the real light! Saw you ever in dream-land aught more bright Than this strange work of the storm last night? No Genii of ocean have beauty more grand Than springs to the light from the frost-spirit's wand Bright flash the diamonds aloft on the trees, Brilliant as gems that are brought from the seas, Grand like the stars 'gainst the deep blue sky, And sparkle rich light from the grass where they li Aye! the tiniest blade and the creeping vine Are as royally decked as the oak and pine; And not the less grand do they look in their pride For the dazzling glory beneath, at their side; While towering in splendor, their gems the most fair Fling out their rich light around every where 'Mong columns of crystal and pillars of light, And arches of pearl, and garlands of white. 'Tis only the Winter can give you a scene " To dazzle your sight with its glorous sheen.

> For the Liberator. THEODORE PARKER. May the soft air,

Of summer climes bring healing in its wings ! We cannot spare him yet; earth needs the heavenly light

Of his pure soul. Our eyes may ne'er have seen The flash of his, nor heard his cloquence; But his high thoughts are winged with fire Of God's great truths; they kindle light afar, Revealving life-the real life-the life with God, So deeply rich, so grandly beautiful.

ODE TO THE CENTENARY OF BURNS. AN ENGLISH PRIZE POEM, BY ISA CRAIG.

We hall, this morn, A century's noblest birth; A Poet-peasant born, Who more of Fancy's immortal dower Unto his country brings Than all her kings!

As lamps high set Upon some earthy eminence,-And to the gazer brighter thence Than the sphere-lights they flout, Dwindle in the distance and die out, While no star waneth yet;

So through the Past's far-reaching night, Only the star-souls keep their light.

A gentle boy,-With moods of sadness and of mirth, Quick tears and sudden joy.— Grew up beside the peasant's hearth. His father's tell he shares; But half his mother's cares From his dark searching eyes, Too swift to sympathize, Hid in her heart she bears.

At early morn, His father calls him to the field; Through the stiff soil that clogs his feet, Chill, rain, and harvest heat, He plods all day; returns at eve outworn, To the rude fare a peasant's lot doth yield : To what else was he born ?

The God-made King Of every living thing, (For his great heart in love could hold them all,) The dumb eyes meeting his by hearth and stall-Gifted to understand !-Knew it, and sought his hand; And the most timorous creature hath not fled Could she his heart have read,

Which fain all feeble things had bless'd and sheltered. To Nature's feast,-Who knew her noblest guest, And entertained him best,-Kingly he came. Her chambers of the east She drap'd with crimson and with gold, And poured her pure joy-wines For him the poet-souled, For him her anthem roll'd, From the storm-wind among the winter pines, Down to the slenderest note

Of a love-warble from the linnet's throat. But when begins The array for battle, and the trumpet blows A King must leave the feast, and lead the fight. And with its mortal foes-

Grim gathering hosts of sorrows and of sins-Each human soul must close, And Fame her trumpet blew Before him; wrapp'd him in her purple state; And made him mark for all the shafts of fate, That henceforth round him flew.

Though he may yield, Hard press'd, and wounded fall, Forsaken on the field, His regal vestment soil'd; His crown of half its jewels spoil'd; He is a king for all Had he but stood aloof ! Had he but arrayed himself in armor pro Against temptation's darts! So yearn the good : so those the world calls wise, With vain presumptuous hearts,

Of martyr woe A sacred shadow on his memory rests; Tears have not ceased to flow; Indignant grief yet stirs impetuous breasts, To think, -above that noble soul brought low That wise and soaring spirit, fool'd, enslav'd,-Thus, thus he had been saved!

Triumphant moralize.

It might not be ! That heart of harmony Had been too rudely rent; Its silver chords, which any hand could wound, By no hand could be tun'd, Save by the Maker of the instrument, Its every string who knew, And from profaning touch His heavenly gift with drew.

Regretful love His country fain would prove By grateful honors lavished on his grave: Would fain redeem her blame That he so little at her hands can claim, Who unrewarded gave To her his life-bought gift of song and fame.

The land he trod Hath now become a place of pilgrimage; Where dearer are the daisies of the sod That could his song engage; The hoary hawthorn, wreath'd Above the bank on which his limbs he flung, While some sweet plaint he breath'd; The streams he wander'd near;

The maidens whom he lov'd; the song he sung All, all are dear ! The arch blue eves .-Arch but for love's disguise,-Of Scotland's daughters, soften at his strain ;-

Her hardy sons, sent forth across the main To drive the ploughshare through earth's virgin soils. Lighten with it their toils; And sister-lands have learned to love the tongue In which such songs are sung.

For doth not song To the whole world belong? Is it not given wherever tears can fall, Wherever hearts can melt, or blushes glow, Or mirth and sadness mingle as they flow, A heritage to all?

## The Liberator.

A CASE OF PARTIAL BLINDNESS. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, annoyed, as it would seem, by the criticisms of some of his elerical brethren upon his sayings in the pulpit and his doings on the platform, has lately published, in two numbers of the Independent, a defence of his position,

lations of a Father to children, we might even say, with such disparagement-as to make his statement well worthy of note in the theological history of the

The church of which Mr. Beecher is pastor affirms its belief in one God, existing as 'The Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost-three Persons, equally Divine. And this is a general expression of the belief of Mr Beecher also. But, the criticisms of the New York Observer having moved Mr. Beecher to give a more particular and minute statement of his individual theological writings, and which is substantially exbelief, and also to set his belief strongly in contrast with a very different one, which he chooses to represent as the belief of Theodore Parker, he made the following statement respecting it in the Independent:

'Could Theodore Parker worship my God?—Christ Jesus is his name. All that there is of God to me is bound up in that name. A dim and shadowy effluence rises from Christ, and that I am taught to call the Father. A yet more tenuous and invisible film of thought arises, and that is the Holy Spirit. film of thought arises, and that is the Holy Sparia.
But neither is to me aught tangible, restful, accessible. They are to be revealed to my knowledge hereafter, but now only to my faith.

The New York Observer, itself holding a firm belief in the equality, and the equal divinity, of the Three Divine persons, was of course shocked by this statement. It was naturally dissatisfied to see the First of these persons (primus inter pares ) reduced to " dim and shadowy effluence,' and the Third to 'a tenuous and invisible film of thought,' and both these represented as arising from the Second, and contrasting unfavorably with him in the important point of giving help in time of need-of being 'tangible, restful, accessible '-and it opposed this representation in strong and decidedly personal language. To be sure, this was only Mr. Beecher's individual opinion; but he was an Orthodox clergyman in regular standing, and his opinions influenced a large number of people; and after the Reverend editors of the Observer had been teaching to thousands of new converts, during the past year, that they might properly gyman of the Orthodox faith. They remonstrated plied-still in the Independent-with a reaffirmation of his position, and the following additional statements in regard to his idea-or his want of idea-of The Father :-'To our mind Christ is clear, definite, manifest, most

accessible. But the Father is not.'
Except in Christ, I have but little conception of

It is very common with Orthodox clergymen to be so intent upon exalting the name, and their professional theory of the character, of Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ, as to disobey and reverse the instructions of that very person. He represented God the Father as eminently 'accessible.' He spoke of Him to his disciples as 'my Father and your Father,' and not only recommended their direct application to this Father in prayer, but gave them a formula of application, as follows, in which there is not the slightest in timation of the need of a mediator between child

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

So much for the statements and the precepts of Jesus. But this great characteristic feature of his sysem, that which makes it a Gospel-good news-glad tidings-the doctrine of the paternal relation of God to tidings—the doctrine of the paternal relation of God to man, and of the filial relation of man to God, has been science, all rightcousness; of Affection, all lovingness; beautifully amplified and illustrated by many of those of Soul, all holiness, absolute fidelity to himself, who have been with Jesus, and have learned of These words describe the Idea of God, and distinguish who have been with Jesus, and have learned of it from all others; but these qualities do not exhaus him. Here are two such passages, which Mr. Beecher the perfections of God, only our present conception him.' Here are two such passages, which a book called thereof.' p. 21.

might profitably read. The first is from a book called thereof.' p. 21.

"If God be preached to men as endowed with Infi-

Why don't you ask your Father to help you?"

Your Father!' said Milly, with a voice of solemnity. 'Don't you know 'Our Father who art in heaven'? You haven't forgot your prayers, I hope, one! Who can fail to love him?' p. 32.

honey?'
Nina looked at her with surprise. And Milly continued: 'Now, if I was you, lamb, I would tell my Father all about it. Why, chile, he loves you! He would n't like nothing better, now, than to have you just come to Him, and tell Him all about your troubles and he'll make 'em all straight. That's the troubles, and he'll make 'em all straight. That's the

way I does; and I's found it come out right, many and many a time."

'Why, Milly, you would n't have me go to God about my little foolish affairs?'

'Law, chile, what should you go to Him 'bout, den? Sure dese are all de 'fairs you's got?'

den? Sure dese are all de 'fairs you's got.'
'Well, but, Milly,' said Nina, appreher.sively, 'you know I've been a very bad girl about religion. years and years since I've said any prayers. At years and years since I've said any prayers. At school, the girls used to laugh at anybody who said prayers; and so I never did. And, since I've neglected my heavenly Father when things went well with me, it wouldn't be fair to call on him now, just because I've got into trouble. I don't think it would

De Lord bless dis yer chile! Do hear her talk Just as if de heavenly Father did n't know all about you, and 't been a loving and watching you de whole time! Why, chile, he knows what poor foolish creatures we be, and he an't no ways surprised nor put out. Why, laws, don't you know he 's de good shepherd? And what you suppose dey has shepherds fur, 'cept de sheeps are all de time running away, and getting into trouble? Why, honey, dat's what dey's fur!'

Milly evidently thought that God the Father was accessible. The other passage we wish to quote, as a clear expression of the same view, is from Theodore Parker's first published volume, 'A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion,' as follows :-

'The world is not nearer to our bodies than God to the soul; 'for in him we live and move, and have our being.' As we have bodily senses to lay hold on matter and supply bodily wants, through which we obtain, naturally, all needed material things; so we have spir-itual faculties, to lay hold on God, and supply spiritual wants; through them we obtain all needed spiritual things. As we observe the conditions of the body, al things. As we observe the conditions of the body, we have nature on our side; as we observe the Law to the paragraph, trusting that all to the paragraph. truth to all men who observe these conditions; we have direct access to Him, through Reason, Conscience and the religious Sentiment, just as we have direct access to nature, through the eye, the ear, or the hand. Through these channels, and by means of a law, certain, regular and universal as gravitation, God inen, makes revelation of truth; for is not truth as much a phenomenon of God, as motion of matter: Therefore if God be omnipresent and omniactive, this inspiration is no miracle, but a regular mode of God's action on conscious spirit, as gravitation on uncon-scious matter. It is not a rare condescension of God-but a universal uplifting of man. To obtain a knowledge of duty, man is not sent away, outside of him-self, to ancient documents, for the only rule of faith and practice; the Word is very nigh him, even in his heart, and by this Word he is to try all documents heart, and by this Word he is to try all documents whatever. Inspiration, like God's omnipresence, is not limited to the few writers claimed by the Jews,

Christians, or Mahometans, but is co-extensive with the race. As (iod fills all space, so all spirit; as he influences and constrains unconscious and necessitated matter, so he inspires and helps free and conscious

This theory does not make God limited, partial, or This theory does not make God limited, partial, or capricious. It exalts man. While it honors the excellence of a religious genius, of a Moses or a Jesus, it does not pronounce their character monstrous, as the supernatural, nor fanatical, as the rationalistic theory; but natural, human, and beautiful, revealing the possibility of mankind. Prayer,—whether conscious or spontaneous, a word or a feeling, felt in gratitude, or penitence, or joy, or resignation,—is not a collection of and an explanation of his defence.

Mr. Beecher is ranked by others, and evidently ranks himself, as a Trinitarian. Yet, in both the documents in question, he treats the First Person of the Orthodox Trinity with such slight regard—nay! considering what are the natural and appropriate reconsidering the natural and app hear, each for himself. He requires no advocate to plead for men, who need not pray by attorney. Each soul stands close to the omnipresent God; may feel his beautiful presence, and have familiar access to the All-Father; get truth at first hand from its Author.

The writer of this also plainly teaches that God, the Father of all men, is accessible to all.

We wish to call particular attention to the fact, that this view of the character of God, which runs through the whole of Mr. Parker's numerous religious and pressed twenty times in different portions of them, is clear, distinct, and unambiguous.

We had charitably formed the opinion that Henry Ward Beecher, being less fettered by tradition and by clerical usage than the majority of Orthodox clergy men, was more honest than they in his dealings with theological opponents. Judge then of our surprise in reading, in this same article, immediately after a long quotation from Mr. Parker, describing the idea of God taught in the popular theology, the following

What Mr. Parker's positive views of God are, find it somewhat difficult to tell from his writings.'

Any reader of Mr. Beecher's article who is acquain d with the very full expression of Mr. Parker's positive view of God which runs through all his sermons, and who is at the same time disposed to make a charitable construction of the very extraordinary statement above, will naturally ask himself-Has Mr. Beecher read none of Mr. Parker's statements but the paragraph just quoted? Has he calumniated Mr. Parker without taking the trouble to read him? A subsequent sentence in Mr. Beecher's article renders this supposition inadmissible; for he says-

Neither can we believe that the Observer would de so unscrupulous and dishonorable a thing as to have avowed its preference for Theodore Parker's views of God, without having read what Mr. Parker did be

Mr. Beecher then has read, and searched-to a ceraddress their prayers to God the Father, and also to tain extent-the writings of Mr. Parker. He consid-God the Holy Spirit-and might expect to find both ers his acquaintance with them sufficient to authorize these 'tangible, restful, accessible,' to the sincere him to speak very unfavorably of them. He quotes worshipper-it must have been unpleasant to see all two more passages from them in this very article; and this so unceremoniously set aside by a brother cler- he proceeds from the passage last quoted (above) to say-taking (or rather, as we shall proceed to show, in a manner somewhat acrid, and Mr. Beecher re- making) an opportunity to be severe upon the Ob-

There are quite a number of things in Mr. Par-ker's books which the Observer had better read before adopting. For instance, adopting the ideas of Ann Lee, on p. 107, he speaks of 'God as the Infinite Faver embrace the Shaker doctrine, that God is male and female?'

It is a pity that Mr. Beecher's patience and perseerance in the investigation of Mr. Parker's views of God lasted only through the collection of passages which might be turned against him! It is a pity that, before representing Mr. Parker as teaching that God is limited by the imperfections of male and female, he had not found (p. 27 of the Discourse on the Function of a Teacher of Religion') this better and real reason for Mr. Parker's speaking of God as Father and Mother :-

'There are no types in human affairs to represent the relation of the Infinite God to man. The words of tenderest and most purely affectional human intimacy best convey the idea; so let us call God our Father and our Mother, too.'

It is a great pity that Mr. Beecher did not perse vere till he found, in this same sermon, the two following passages, which give at once Mr. Parker's positive views of God' and the sentiment which he feels, expresses and inculcates, in relation to Him:-

· God must have all conceivable perfection-the rfection of Being, self-existent, eternity of dura-

'I stand so much alone!' said Nina. 'Other girls have some friend or relation to lean on; but I have nobody!' the Conscience, Infinite Justice—the Creator of all Right; to the Affections, Infinite Love—the Father said Milly to Nina, in a gentle tone.

Ask schof' said Nina, lifting up her head from the finite Holiness—Absolute Fidelity. So here is presented to man the Infinite God—perfectly powerful sented to man the Infinite God—perfectly powerful and Mother of all things which are; to the Soul, Inwise, just, loving and holy, self-subsistent, self-reli-ant. Is any man an atheist to such a God? No, not

But, above all, it is a pity that Mr. Beecher's pa tience did not last long enough to read to the end of the half-sentence which he has quoted in disparagement of Mr. Parker from the third sermon of his book entitled ' Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology.' With only three seconds further expenditure of time and attention, he might have found, and qualified himself to tell-what at present he finds it 'somewhat difficult to tell'-what Mr. Parker's positive views of God are! Here is the entire

· From behind this dark and thundering cloud o the popular theology, how beautifully comes forth the calm, clear light of natural human religion, revealing God as the Infinite Pather, as the Infinite Mother of all, PERFECTLY POWERFUL, PERFECTLY WISE. PERFECTLY JUST AND LOVING, AND PERFECTLY HOLY TOO!

When Mr. Beecher's friends next make for him t Surprise Party,' we hope they will supply him with a pair of spectacles and a mirror. - c. x. w.

#### MR. PHILLIPS ON THOMAS PAINE. EDITOR LIBERATOR :

DEAR SIR-Mr. Phillips, in his argument before the

Legislative Committee last Thursday, misinterpreted, as I think, the expression which he quoted from Paine's 'Rights of Man.' I was sorry to see that magnificent address-which adds new lustre even to Mr. Phillips's brilliant oratorical fame-marred by a seemingly unjust reflection upon the opinions of so taunch a friend of Liberty, and so determined a foe of oppression-under whatever garb - as Thomas Paine,-the man, whom, if I am not in error, first proclaimed that sentiment which the American Anti-Slavery Society has made memorable, that 'man has as property in man; '-and I desire to call attention to the paragraph, trusting that Mr. Phillips will perremark. I am by no means ready to suppose that Mr. Phillips would intentionally thus give currency to an erroneous impression, even for the sake of making sharp thrust at the Democratic party by a constructive appeal to the religious prejudices of his audience.

Mr. Phillips observes that there is a law above this, [the will of the majority,] which says, ' All your provisions in this kind of corporation must be within the girdle of right.' I know no authority but Thomas Paine-except the present Democratic party-that has denied it. In 1774 or '75, Thomas Paine pub lished his 'Rights of Man,' in which he lays it down as a fundamental proposition that a nation has a right to do whatever they please. All other jurists have Tobacco Tracts which I have published. lished his 'Rights of Man,' in which he lays it down

always laid down the principle that a nation has no right to do, however large the majority, that which

is unjust.'

Mr. Paine, it is true, affirms that 'that which a whole nation chooses to do, it has a right to do;' but the principle is not stated, as Mr. Phillips puts it, as an independent proposition, but is declared strictly and solely in reference to the establishment by such nation of a form of government, or a change of government. In other words, 'whatever form of government, be it republican or monarchical, which a whole nation at any time desire, that form of government at any time desire, that form of government, be there are given to establish,' is the simnation at any time desire, that form of government they have a right at any time to establish, is the simple, and to me, obvious meaning of the words quoted. Mr. Paine was arguing against the assumption defended by Mr. Burke, that posterity can be bound by the legislative acts of their predecessors—an assumption, by the way, which Mr. Phillips found it necessary to combat in reference to the 'constitutional obligations' of which we hear to much pand the sentence alluded things possible. Do we expect the conversion of their predecessors alluded things possible. Do we expect the conversion of of which we hear so much—and the sentence alluded to is found in the following extract from the 'Rights of Man,' which I ask your readers to peruse, and submit to them, if, in the connection in which it stands—to the whole to maniace raving in madness? Do we expect the conversion of inebriates profoundly drunk? And why should we expect victims of Tobacco to be converted when drunk? to say nothing of the whole tenor of all of Paine's political writings-the sentence quoted by Mr. Phillips can fairly admit of Mr. Phillips's interpretation.

or any description of men, or any generation of men, in any country, possessed of the right or the power of binding or controlling posterity to the 'end of time,' or commanding for ever how the world shall neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was as small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said I was a small neer in a pioneer work,—had you said neer in a pioneer work,—had you said neer in a pioneer work ne of binding or controlling posterity to the case of time, or commanding for ever how the world shall be governed, or who shall govern it; and therefore all such clauses, acts, or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themselves null and void. Every age and generation must be as free to act for itself, in the control of t and generation must be as free to act for itself, in all cases, as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The parliament or the people of 1688, or of any other period, had no more right to dispose of the people of the present day, or to bind or to control them in any shape whatever, than the parliament of the people of the present day on which as much money is annually consumed in than the parliament of the people of the present day on which as much money is annually consumed in have to dispose of, bind or control those who are to our land as would support nearly One Hundred such live an hundred or a thousand years hence. Every organizations as the American Board!

With gratitude to God I can say, thousands of

elsewhere. That which a whole nation chooses to do, it has a right to do. Mr. Burke denies it. Where, then, does the right exist? I am contending for the right of the living, and against their being willed away, and controlled and contracted for, by the manuscript-assumed authority of the dead over the is contending for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom of the living. There was a time when kings disposed of their crowns by will upon the contracted for the rights and freedom of the living. There was a time when kings disposed of their crowns by will upon the contracted for the right can be a serving for the contracted for the right can be a serving for the contracted for the right can be a serving for the contracted for the right of the living. There was a time the right can be a serving for the right of the living. The recommendation of the living of t same nature.

#### THOMAS PAINE.

HOPEDALE, Feb. 24, 1859. DEAR LIBERATOR-If no one else offers, I protes against a certain statement of WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., made before the Legislative Committee on the 17th inst., in regard to Thomas Paine's proposition in the 'Rights of Man,' that 'a nation has a right to do schatever they please. I do not believe Mr. Paine of souls! You have a hundred pulpits! We beg ever placed any such proposition in this attitude. you, and men like you, to step aside, let your pul-Certainly, Mr. Phillips is singularly inaccurate in dating his charge; for that remarkable work was published in answer to Edmund Burke, who libelled the French Revolution, which was at least a dozen years after 1775.

I am particular to write, because the remark ministers to a hateful popular prejudice against a man who was as remarkable for his original hatred of oppression, as is Mr. Wendell Phillips. This is a strong statement, but I say it admiring both, and must protest if

Now, will . Mr. Phillips, or some one for him, quote said proposition from the 'Rights of Man?' IRA STEWARD.

## INJUSTICE TO GERRIT SMITH.

To HENRY C. WRIGHT:

DEAR SIR,-Your note to me, in the Liberator of Jan. 14th, has just come to hand. It seems to me Sabbath, which was one of rest, is passed forever. evasive and ambiguous. Had you said of Mr. Smith, The Sunday of the resurrection is what we keep in the letter from which I quoted, . He will, if elect- now; it comes to stir us to greater activity by remind ed, interpret the laws according to his ideas of God- ing us of the duties which adhere to immortality ed, interpret the laws according to his ideas of God-i. e., justice and right; he will use the sword, if needs be, in the execution of that interpretation; and, in so and spiritual labor. To him who enters into the doing, does it not follow that he would be using the spirit of Christ, it matters not so much the details sword to compel others to see God as he sees him? I of his life. The laboring man, when he goes home say, had you spoken in this wise of Mr. Smith, it would toy for his sick child. Another may turn to poehave reduced the whole affair to a mere abstraction, about which I should have cared but little.

But I submit, that the paragraph quoted from your letter is, to all appearances, aimed, not at Mr. Smith's disposition in regard to his official course, in interpretdisposition in regard to his official course, in interpret-ing and executing the laws, but at his disposition, in the abstract, respecting the religious opinions of might be done by reading the Hebrew Scriptures, others. When you say that Mr. Smith desires power with reference to the position and history of women to 'compel all to see and worship God as he sees and Deborah judged Israel, and was its supreme head i worships him, it looks to me like a most unequivocal all civil and religious matters for forty years; the imputation of a spirit of bloody intolerance; the very first reformer after Moses, and the only one who esimputation of a spirit of bloody intolerance; the very caped the judgment of the prophets. Her pure and opposite of which trait is as notoriously true of Mr. active life was without a stain. Moses deceived Smith as of our friend, Mr. Garrison,

with a spirit of religious intolerance, all is right; but of Deborah, the record says only that she saved only I regret your choice of language, and manner of her people from their sins, and ruled wisely for forty presenting your ideas of Mr. Smith. The man in whom the Jerry rescuers found a stout

backer-a mountain of strength to protect them-and who would so wield the executive power of the State as to protect from the slave-hunter the poorest black showed that when the right to education was fairly baby, even though the Union should go to pieces in granted, woman had all that she would ever need t the operation, should not be treated with such careless obloquy as at best your letter amounts to. Yours, very truly,

A. HOGEBOOM. Sheds Corners, N. Y., Feb. 8, 1859.

A WORD TO A BOSTON DEACON

#### On the Evils of Tobacco. In preaching, lecturing, and writing against To

bacco the last ten years, you reproach me having left the Word of God to serve tables. You should understand me, my brother, and un-derstand the effects of this Great Poison on many derstand the effects of this GREAT POISON on many millions of the human family! I wish to state, in few words, my views of the mischief it is doing in some of its bearings. My statements shall be sub-stantiated by explicit testimony, if you will publish such testimony. I cannot; I am poor—you are sigh \*

Tobacco, I believe, hinders the salvation of mul-Tobacco, I believe, illuders the saturation of the last ideal around us, particularly young men. It deadens noble aspirations, allays conviction, absorbs affection, and is the last ideal its votary gives up obtaining it. when be submits to God It injures piety in churches. Used in one form

it renders its victim porcupinish or unamiable among brethren. Used in another form, it soother nerves, abnormalizes mind, and renders its victim good-natured dolt,—a cipher in the church.
I believe it renders Clergymen ascetic, misanthi pic, lank and lean, in more senses than one. It sends them to Saratoga Springs, sends them to Europe, sends them to an early grave.

Tobacco, like strong drink, intoxicares. Some votaries are moderate users, some genteel fumigators and masticators, and others drunkards to all intents

to say nothing of the whole tenor of all of Paine's political writings—the sentence quoted by Mr. Phillips
can fairly admit of Mr. Phillips's interpretation.

There never did, nor never can exist a parliament,
or any description of men, or any generation of men,

generation is and must be competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. When man ceases to be, his power and his wants cease with him; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any authority in directing who shall be its governors, or how its government shall be organized, or how administered.

With gratitude to God I can say, thousands or gentlemen, in various spheres—clerical and others—death abandoned Tobacco. A hundred thousand youth, at least, in our land, are pledged against it; and 'an agitation has begun,' says another, 'worth a thousand times all it costs.' In a word, a beginning is made, an auspicious beginning you will admit, when I tell you it has not cost, year by year, has not cost, year by year, large the salary of a city preacher or organist.

I be you, my brother, to bear in mind that To-

I am not contending for nor against any form of government, nor for nor against any party, here or elsewhere. That which a whole nation chooses to do, globe. Then, should I again ask you for a little aid

when kings disposed of their crowns by will upon their death-beds, and consigned the people, like devil's seed-corn among Boston boys! We are beasts of the fields, to whatever successor they apglad to know that your Young Men's Christian Aspointed. This is now so exploded as scarcely to sociations flourish; but the mass of Boston youth be remembered, and so monstrous as hardly to be chew or puff, wag their heads, and care little for believed: but the parliamentary clauses upon which such things. We are glad so many throng your Mr. Burke builds his political church are of the Prayer-Meetings; but, alas! how few, compared to those who for the hour are spell-bound by fumes of Tobacco! Gentlemen in your city, who publish religious books and papers, I suppose do a good business; but a single wholesale Tobacconist will probably handle more capital, and make more money,

than the whole of them.'

Away, my brother, with all cant about serving tables. You have two thousand places which vend 'liquid death,' to which troops, old and young, repair and drink, as they say, 'to whet their whistle, and smoke to dry it.' Awful trade! awful havoc pits come into line, and pour both Law and Gospel upon twin demons, Rum and Tobacco, and soon glorious old Boston will rise as from a debauch, and no longer hang as a millstone on the neck of Tem-Yours fraternally, GEO TRASK. Fitchburg, 1859.

#### From the Hingham Gazette. MRS. DALL AT SOUTH HINGHAM. Messrs. Editors :- The addresses of Mrs. Dall

here Sunday afternoon and evening, were listened to with deep interest and apparent satisfaction. The subject of the afternoon's discourse was 'The Sab-bath, the Jewish idea of the Sabbath, and the Christian use of Sunday.' The Jewish idea of the Sabbath was one of separation. The man who gathered up sticks on the Sabbath was not put to death on account of sin, but on account of the consequences of the example. We hold the day sacred, not be-cause Moses enacted it, but because it is fitted to the needs of human nature. The Jewish idea of the try, or another may study laws learnt at the nearest hillside,—all will be well, if each of these has entered into the mind of Christ.

The Christian idea of Sunday is not one of separa tion, but permeation. We are not to keep apar Joshua was indiscreet; Sampson dissolute; Davi If, my friend, you did not mean to charge Mr. Smith frail and sensual; Solomon a luxurious idolater The lecture delivered in the evening was not es

pecially prepared for a Sabbath service, but Mrs Dall felt that its application was eminently religious The right to educe or draw out the faculties involved the right to choose the end to which those faculties should be trained, or the right of vocation The right of vocation involved the right to protect and limit that vocation, to decide how far it should be used, &c., &c.; in one word, the right to the elective franchise.

Of this statement, she only considered the firs

term. She claimed that education was not won for woman till it gave her honor, respect, and bread, and told a touching story to illustrate the unfair price of woman's work.

She then showed what was the ideal standard of

female education in France, Germany, England and this country, two centuries ago, and that the dwarfing effect of public opinion prevented it from being practically attained.

In spite of public opinion, however, there was a growth of the best kind, and Mrs. Dall quoted the names of distinguished scientific women in England and this country to prove this position. She also gave an account of the educational efforts of Alice Holliday in Egypt, and of Mad. Luce in Algiers. In conclusion, she claimed a revised and corrected public opinion, as the best educational influence for her, &c., and called on public men to assist them in

South Hingham, Feb. 13th, 1859.

### MOUNT VERNONISM.

One of our American weaknesses is a mania for obbies. The one at present under the saddle is the hobbies. The one at present under the saddle is the 'Glorious and Immortal Memory.' A very excellent hobby in itself, but in great danger of being overjockeyed. This 'Memory' is so mixed up with raffles, lotteries, auctions, Jews, opera-dancers, mountebanks, etc., that if it were not internally glorious and immortal, it would soon become disrep-

In plain English, the memory of George Wash-

ington is the grand stalking horse of the day, and a Humbug could ride it to death, there would some he an end of it. The 'Home and Tomb' are being retailed out in fifty cents-worths; any one puchasing a pecuniary interest to that amount in the property being entitled to a certificate, or course, representing his share in the Mount Verion Steet. One large operator, holding some ten thousand dellars' worth of the Father-of-his-country scrip, will probably realize a hundred thousand dellars by in speculation. He may be considered.

lars' worth of the Father-of-his-country scrip, wall probably realize a hundred thousand dollars by a speculation. He may be considered the big ball of the glorious and immortal memory market.

If the illustrious individual whose sacred doe is raffled for at ladies' fairs, banked upon by them managers and opera impressaries, and made a ball for the circulation of a sensation print, could be related to the country of the moon, how would be related associations? Fancy his indignation at fact. visit the glimpses of the moon, how would be risk such associations? Fancy his indignation at finding that he had unconsciously been made the sleeped partner of a chap-man of slop-shop literature! The case of Caesar 'dead and turned to clay,' as put in the clay, as put in the case of Caesar 'dead and turned to clay,' as put in the caesar 'dead and turned to clay,' pothetically by Hamlet, is less suggestive of basis potnetically of Hand the base uses to which the remains of Washington are applied by the newspapers. per 'bone-miracle' workers.

If Barnum was to blame for making money.

If Barnum was to blame for making mose set of a counterfeit 'nurse of Washington,' what shall we say of hauling the relies of the 'first of making through the advertising columns of the pres to business purposes, and making his catafalque and vertising cart for 'Sylvanus Cobh's last stay!

—New York Saturday Evening Press.

#### SUNDAY IN LONDON.

Have you ever passed a Sunday in London ; not, try to avoid doing so, by all means in per nower. When I went down to breakfast this mean power. When I went down to breakfast this nes-ing, I found some ten or twelve persons, having is ished their meal, and gathered silently around is bright coal fire. I ate a hearty breakfast, den which time not one of the gentlemen spoke a week After I had finished eating, I drew near the part. and taking a chair, remained seated some to ac-utes; at the end of which time, I could stand in longer-in fact, I am too much of a Yanke to be my tongue a very long while—so turning to a root gentleman ritting near me, I expressed an unione able opinion regarding the weather. When I is dressed him, the young man started, apparents a great surprise, and then he answered my man with every appearance of pleasure at having so one to talk to; in fact, we chatted for a long time and I noticed that some of the rest of the pan commenced speaking to each other. The thing us plain. Here had these ten or a dozen bee sing in silence, all wishing to speak, but all of then is much imbued with either pride or 'mauvaise home to begin, lest his neighbor should stub him.

All day long the streets have been deserted mil am disappointed in my expectations as to seing is evening service at St. Paul's Cathedral, sher, I evening service at St. Paul's Cathedral, when, am told, the people congregate each Sundayas say as four o'clock, to hear the singing. At at the get together in great crowds, and render each other as miserable as possible by pushing and crowing. Once the doors open, they struggle to get in, at 't were a matter of life and death; but to-nightly wind and beating rain have damped their ards, as so I must wait for another opportunity to see he serimmage. Here the poorer classes have no has to go to on Sundays or holidays, except the ga houses; and the consequence is a great consumpter of blue rain on those days. How much better it's the Parisian laborer, who, on such occasions, have many fine museums to visit! In these place, he does no wrong, his mind is kept upon healthred jects, and he enjoys the treasures of art and some gathered together at an immense cost, as much is spect France is ahead of England?

Here they cry aloud, if any one advocate to opening of the Crystal Palace or the National Section 1.

lery on Sunday. It is, they say, a descration of the Sabbath. Why, surely, 'tis worse to spend in day in a dark gin cellar, than in lofty, vell-ven-lated rooms, filled with works of art, appealing to is feelings. Why should the poor man, who is an pelled to work all the days of the week, he refuse a sight that cannot but do him good? It is bears superstition and bigotry are still alive, and that wa oses to make laws himself, and then call the the commands of God. Surely the Almighty id not create these poor people to dradge and to tall and to live on without enjoyment and without res No; he gave them sight and senses which enals them to appreciate the beautiful, as well as to wealthy and the noble; and it is only because the are so kept down in England that they are dell as stupid.

I have never seen on the Continent any class laborers more servile and humble than the port England; their cringing is something painful, as in the large cities they all have a look of mistrust poverty, increased in some cases to absolute repo siveness by the effects of gin-that damning care, of not only the men but the women, for I have so ticed here that the latter are as ready to inche s speak now of the lowest classes. Let these por cople have some rational amusement on Sman let them, as the poor do in Paris, go out into the parks and sit there, visit the museums and the pleries of paintings and sculpture, and som a gain and favorable change would take plac; and the poor man finding himself cared for, would rise it is wn estimation, and from that fact alone beens more of a human being, and more services a those who are now so eager to prevent his raised amusement, and thus drive him to drink and home sequent degradation. If the philanthropists of lar on would think more of their own poor than the have hitherto done, the condition of persons would soon be ameliorated, and they would have the satisfaction of seeing the result of the

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Ol 6m

John Quincy Adams

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