TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an-13 Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN

pollars, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are so

be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inarted three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soesties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:-FRANCIS JACKSON, ED-MIND QUINCK SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



SLAVES

death, and an agreement with hell."

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a povenant with

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, acy espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without scure in aiding other States in binding on men an arighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, IN PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE monr. 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.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1519.

## SELECTIONS.

VOL. XXX. NO. 5.

WHO ARE THE POLITICAL DISUNIONISTS. AND ON WHAT GROUNDS.

Extracts from a Speech on 'THE DISUNION FOLLY,' delivered by Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 25, 1860 :-Now, Mr. President, I intend to place before the

Senate, and, as far as I can, before the patriotic, liberty-loving and Union-loving men of the Free States, the predictions of disunion, the arguments for disunion, and the menaces of disunion, made by some of the presses and some of the men in the interests of slavery,—presses that are the exponents of, and men who are the acknowledged leaders of, the sectionalized, slavery-extending Democracy. I want the people of Massachusetts, and of the country, to see that the political secessionists and distry, to see the trusted exponents and the accepted leaders of the national Democracy. I want the alarmed conservatives of the North, who hasten into Union-saving meetings, to see and to realize that the men who are now blurting their disunion sentiments into the unwilling ear of a loyal people, arethe leaders of that party which they, by their shrinking timidity, are upholding in power. I want the deluded masses of the Northern Democmey to see the hypocrisy, the arrant cowardice, of me, who are fatiguing the weary ar of the country with their worn-out professions of love and devotion to the Union, while they dare at rebuke the disloyal avowals and menaces of the leaders they follow with craven soul and fettered

When, Mr. President, the Republican party, summoned into being and into action in 1856, by the aggressions of slavery, by the crimes against the people of Kansas, appealed in tones as earnest as ever issued from human lips to the American people, to their sense of justice, their love of libertheir emotions of humanity, and their senti-nts of patriotism, to all that is highest, noblest, and holiest in human nature, to rescue the Government, arrest slavery extension, redress the wrongs of the people, and give repose to the country, by the Government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, Democratic presses and Demo-cratic leaders, whose vital and animating-principle is the propagation and expansion of human slavery on the North American continent, raised the startling war-cry of disunion. Timid and selfish con-servatism which saw, unmoved, liberty cloven down in a distant Territory, and heard the imploring apming cabins illumed the midnight skies, shrank appalled when it heard this cry of disunion, opened long purse, and continued the destinies in the keeping of men who avowed their intention to ruin, if they could not rule it.

Sir, when that uncertain contest was going on when the election of Fremont seemed to the leaders of the Democracy not only possible, but probable the Senator from Louisiana, (Mr. Slidell.) one of the most skilful leaders of the slave Democracy the acknowledged friend and champion of Mr. Bu-chanan—declared to the country, that 'if Fremont should be elected, the Union would be dissolved.' The bold, dashing and out-spoken Senator from Georgia (Mr. Toombs) declared, with emphasis, that if Fremont was elected, the Union would be dissolved, and ought to be dissolved.' The Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason) then, as now, at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who avowed on the floor of the Senate that . the South has the right to the natural expansion of slavery as an element of political power,' declared in a public letter, that unless the aggression upon the rights of the South—as he was pleased to designate the rehe was for the separation of these States.' Mr. Butler of South Carolina, then a leading member of the body, which placed him at the head of the important Committee on the

1,)

When Fremont is elected, we must rely upon what we have—a good State government. Every Governor of the South should call the Legislature of his State together, and have measures of the South cided upon. If they did not, and submitted to the degradation, they would deserve the fate of slaves. I should advise my Legislature to go out at the tap of

Sir, I might quote other declarations of Senators, in which these ideas are expressed; but I must pass on. In the House, as the records will bear evlence, these sentiments were profusely uttered by the men who upheld the course of oppression in Kansas, and dictated the policy of the Democratic party. Mr. Keitt, in a fiery and vehement speech to the people of Lynchburg, Va., exclaimed, in tiew of the apprehended election of Fremont—

'I tell you now, that if Fremont is elected, adthe Union is treason to liberty. (Loud theers.) I tell you now, that the Southern man who will submit to his election is a traitor and a coward. athusiastic cheers.)'

This speech, so contemptuous, so defiant towards the people of the North, so emphatic in its avowals of disunion, was promptly endorsed as 'sound docrine by John B. Floyd, now Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War-a gentleman of whom the Boston Post, the leading Administration organ in New England, in 1850, said, 'Henceforth he must be treated as a disunionist, and the most dangerous of them all.' In the autumn of 1856, Mr. Brooks of South Carolina received from the people of his district an ovation. Senator Butler and the Sena-ter from Georgia (Mr. Toombs) attended, and other Southern Democratic leaders sent applauding letters. To the assembled people of his district, Mr.

We have the issue upon us now; and how are we meet it? I tell you, fellow-citizens, from the bot-n of my heart, that the only mode which I think available for meeting it, is just to tear the Constitution a Southern Confederacy, every State of which will be a slaveholding State. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I believe it, as I stand in the face of my Maker; I telieve it, on my responsibility to you as your honored Representative, that the only hope of the South is in that hope effective is to cut asunder the bonds the us together, and take our separate position in the family of nations. These are my opinions. They have always been my opinions. I ha unionist from the time I could think. I have been a dis

Now, fellow-citizens, I have told you very frankly and undisquisedly, that I believe the only hope of the South is in dissolving the bonds which connect us with the G. with the Government,—in separating the living body from the dead carcass. If I was the commander of an army. I never would post a sentinel who would not swear that slavery is right.

'I speak as a man—as a private gentleman—as a slaveholder; and I tell you that our hope is alone in the South; and the only mode of making that hope trailable, is for the South, by some act, to effect of dissolution of the American Union. And I say this

establishing a Southern Confederacy, parties, presses, the admiring Faulkner, that 'it is the fortune of Representatives or Senators in Congress, who is not pledged to the lips in favor of disunion. Indeed, we well remember that one of the most prominent lead-ers of the co-operation party, when taunted with submission, rebuked the thought by saying, "that in opposing secession, he only took a step backward to strike a blow more deadly against the Union."

the Southern people are without spirit, and without threats are made to intimidate the people. purpose to defend the rights they know, and dare not Sir, the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. 1)

to the Presidency held correspondence with Southern Governors, to concert measures preparatory to disanion; that he and his disanion compeers orin the event of Fremont's success. The Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Delta, a the voice and votes of Abolition enemies." journal high in the confidence of the Pierce administration, wrote,-

'It is already arranged, in the event of Fremont's election, or a failure to elect by the people, to call the Legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, to concert measures to withdraw from the Union before Fremont can get possession of the Army and Navy, and the purse-strings of Government. Governor Wise is actively at work already in the matter. The South can rely on the President in the emergency contemplated. The question now is, whether the people of the South will sustain their leaders.'

election in 1856, that-

'The South would have dissolved the Union, if remont had been elected President of the United States; that Gov. Wise and the Virginia leaders were ready to take the field-march on Washington, depose the Federal officers, take the Treasury, archives, buildings, grounds, &c.—declare the Confedera-tion de facto overthrown. He said the thing would have been easy; there were thirty thousand men ready; twenty thousand cavalry; sets of accountements; that the public mind was sufficiently excited to overcome all domestic resistance, and that they could whip the North in the fight.

Evidence of the disloyal, revolutionary and treaonable course of Henry A. Wise is also furnished y Charles J. Faulkner, late Representative of the arper's Ferry District, chairman of the Congressional Democratic Committee in 1856, and now Minister to France. At a Democratic meeting, recently held in Virginia, over which Mr. Faulkner presided, he said,-

When that noble and gallant son of Virginia, that the "irrepressible conflict" how few would, at that time, have justined so note and decided a measure? It is the fortune of some and urge the Southern States to dissolve the Union great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their upon the election of a Black Republican to the Prescontemporaries. Should Wm. H. Seward be elected idency of the United States, by a sectional Northern in 1860, where is the man now in our midst who party, and upon a platform of opposition and hoswould not call for the impeachment of a Governor of tility to Southern slavery. how few would, at that time, have justified so hold that I have announced my determination to approve and decided a measure? It is the fortune of some and urge the Southern States to dissolve the Union Virginia who would silently suffer that armory to pass under the control of such an executive head?

This ' noble and gallant son of Virginia' who, 1856, 'saw far in advance of his contemporaries, who was ready, if Fremont had been elected, to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry,' is now looking with hungry eye to the Charleston Convention, and is now the applauded and favorite hero of class of men in the North, who are stammering into the ears of a doubting people their uxorious love of the Union; and the Democratic orator, who would demand the impeachment of a Governor of Virginia, if he should permit the arsenal at Harper's Ferry to pass under the control of William H. Seward, if elected to the Presidency, is nomi-nated by a Democratic President, and confirmed by the united voice of the Democratic Senators, to represent the Republic at the Court of Louis Napoleon This Democratic administration, and this Democratic party, which invokes the support of the Union-loving, conservative men of the Free States. sends to the proudest monarchy of the Old World the man who uttered this insurrectionary and disloyal sentiment. Yes, sir; Democrats, with the eivil war and disunion. Let the real friends of law. the administration, and the men who lead the

Democratic party.

Sir. the Richmond Enquirer, the leading Demoeratic organ south of the Potomac, during the can-vass of 1856, avowedly advocated disunion. That exponent of the slave Democracy said,-

· Sumner and Sumner's friends must be punished and silenced. Either such wreches must be punished and silenced. Either such wreches must be hung or put in the penitentiary, or the South should prepare at once to quit the Union.'

If Fremont is elected, the Union will not last an

our after Mr. Pierce's term expires.'

'If Fremont is elected, it will be the duty of the South to dissolve the Union and form a Southern

Confederacy.'

'Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let her, if possible, deach Pennsylvania and southern Ohio, southern Indiana, and southern Illinois, from the North, and make the highlands be-

These emphatic avowals of disunion were applicated by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a control of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a control of the people who had, by a unanimous of the people who had the peop These emphatic avowals of disunion were applied by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a ar locting; ready to new missioned by the people who had, by a unanimous dominions on a ar locting; ready to new missioned from the second proposition of the speak for them in this Capitol. Well might the second proposition of th 'Upon the policy of dissolving the Union, of sep-strating the South from her Northern enemies, and lant son of Virginia,' will not accept the tribute of politicians and people, were a unit. There is not a some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of single public man in her limits, not one of her present their contemporaries ?? May not shivering, despairing conservatism indulge the faint hope, other 'noble and gallant sons of Virginia, and of the sunny South, may, in humble imitation of the far-seeing Wise, be 'threatening disunion only to

We are entering, Mr. President, upon another Presidential election; another great struggle for Sir, the erratic, aspiring, blustering Wise, who supremacy in the national councils, between the opwould introduce slavery into the heart of the posing forces of slavery extension and slavery re-North, who would allow slavery to pour itself out striction. The nation once more presents to manwithout restraint, and find no limit but the South- kind the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict ern ocean,' in the autumn of 1856, told the people with avariee and oppression.' This 'conflict' is of Virginia that— The South could not, without degradation, submit to the election of a Black Republican President. To tell me we should submit to the election of a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, is to tell me that Virginia and the fourteen Slave States are already subjugated and degraded (cheers); that the state of the people in State Legislatures, are already subjugated and degraded (cheers); that the state of the people in State Legislatures, and in these Chambers, disloyal and revolutionary

Sir, the Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Iverson.) maintain. (Cheers.) If you submit to the election before the meeting of Congress, boasted before the of Fremont, you will prove what Seward and Burlin-game said, to be true,—that the South cannot be condition of the poor men in the South, compared to the degraded WHITE SLAVES OF THE NORTH, is ow-He avowed his readiness to put the military force of Virginia upon a war footing; and he gave the valorous assurance to his disunion associates that the chivalry of Virginia would hew its bright way through all opposing legions. Rumor said, and I believe truly, that this Democratic aspirant of a Southern confederation:

'In a confederated government of their own, the Southern States would enjoy sources of wealth, prosdisonion; that he and his disunion compeers or-ganized a plot to seize the arsenal as Harper's Fer-ry; to take possession of the navy yard at Norfolk, and inaugurate rebellion, revolution and disunion, destiny to ours, and Cuba, now withheld from us by

Coming into this Chamber, the honorable Senator early sought occasion to say :

· Sir, I will tell you what I would do, if I had the who had the right to control me. Sir. I go farther Mr. Corry of Ohio reports Mr. Banks of Virthan that. I would counsel my constituents instantly ginia as having said to him, a few days after the who thus trample on our rights. This is what I

In a carefully prepared and very elaborate speech, recently delivered, the Senator from Georgia said:

Sir, there is but one path of safety to the South; but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic slavery, and that is, a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements—a confederacy of Slave States alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a confederated republic, with a constitution which would be an entrance of all seconds. shut out the approach and entrance of all becongrous ous and conflicting elements, which should protest the institution from change, and keep the wiole nation ever bound to its preservation by an unchangeable fundamental law, the fifteen Slave States, with the power of expansion, would present to the world the nost free, prosperous and happy nation on the face of

the wide earth. which recent events have only seemed to confirm, that the "irrepressible conflict" between the two sec-Henry A. Wise, declared, as was said he did, in Octo-ber 1856, that, if Fremont should be elected, he speed, and must end, in the Union, with the total would seize the National Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, extinction of African slavery in the Southern States,

> The Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Brown,) in the speech to his constituents, from which I have already quoted, and in which he avows his desire to acquire territory in Central America and Mexico, to plant slavery in,' says:

. Whether we can obtain the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we cannot. But I would make an honest effort, and if we failed, I would go out of the Union, and try it there. I speak plainly-I would make a refusal to acquire territo secause it was to be slave territory, a cause for disunion, just as I would make the refusal to admit a

Surely, no one can mistake the position of the Senator. If the people of the Free States, who be-lieve slavery to be what denry Clay said it was, 'a curse,' a wrong-a grievous wrong,' that 'no contingency could make right,' should refuse to acquire territory because it was to be slave terri-tor, he would make that refusal cause for dis-union. The Senator has laid upon our desks an address, delivered in the capital of the State he so accents of Union upon their lips, sanction the ap- ahly and faithfully represents; and in this address I find this declaration :

'The election of Mr. Seward, or any other man of of order, and of the unity of the Republic, mark his party, is not, per se, justifiable grounds for disand remember this want of fidelity to the Union by solving the Union. But the act of putting the government in the hands of men who mean to use it for our subjugation, ought to be resisted, even to the disruption of every tie that binds us to the Union.'

> On the 6th of July, the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Davis,) whose ability and large and varied formation are acknowledged by the Senate and the country, delivered an elaborate address to the people of this State. By common consent, the country recognizes the Senator from Mississippi as one of th foremost leaders of his section and of his party, an his opinious command attention and consideration. In this address, the honorable Senator says:

For myself, I say, as I said on a former occa

that if John C. Fremont is elected President of the United States, our people ought to have sense enough to know that the issue is upon them, and cannot be avoided.'

I speak on my individual responsibility: if Premont be elected President of the United States, I am for the people in their majesty rising above the law and leaders, taking the power into their own hands, going by concert or not by concert, and laving the States have sent their own hands after the election had been won by the aid, by the swert to give. When this happened, when the Government was in hostile hands, when the presidency is material aid,' of alarmed and quaking conservation, and archives of the Government. (Applause.)'

These emphatic avowals of disunion were ap
These emphatic avowals of disunion were ap
These emphatic avowals of disunion were ap
These emphatic avowals of disunion were apernment was in hostile hands, when the presidency and the houses of legislation were controlled by the enemies of the South, he was for asserting the independence of Mississippi; he was for immediate withdrawal from the Union. And in view of the performance of their duties, they will not invade the server of public affairs the honorable Servers and aspect of public affairs, the honorable Senator advised the people of the South to turn their old mus-kets into Minnie rifles, prepare powder, shot, shell, annumition of all kinds, and fortifications, so as to

in this speech, prepared with the elaborate care that Senator is accustomed to bestow upon the subjects he discusses here, the Senator assumes, in effect, the position that it is impossible for the people of the South to live under a government administered by the Republican party. He says:

Do you suppose that we intend to bow our necks to the yoke; that we intend to submit to the domito the yoke; that we intend to submit to the domination of our enemies; that we intend to sit here in your presence as hostages for the good behavior of our conquered people—a people who will be under your administration, not as sovereigns to rule, but as subjects to be governed?"

In response, the Senator says:

but, in conclusion, will only say, that, if she is faith-ful to the pledges she has made and principles she So much for the people of the free States. As to has professed; if she is true to her own interest and their representatives in this Capitol I will say, that her own honor; if she is not recreant to all that State if, while in the discharge of their duties here, they has professed; if she is true to her own interest and pride, integrity and duty demand, she will never submit to your authority. I will add, that unless she and all the Sonthern States of this Union, with perhaps but two, or, at most, three exceptions, are not faithless to the pledges they have given, they will never submit to the government of a President proessing your political faith and elected by your sec-

When the Senator from Alabama took his seat, the Senator from California (Mr. Gwin) rose, and declared that he considered 'it as the inevitable result, that the South should prepare for resistance, in the event of the election of a Republican President.' The Senator went on to argue that the South must, could, and would, dissolve the Union, if the strife begins. So much their constituents will de-That Senator went on to show how the South could carry out the scheme of disunion : how she could seize the public property within her limits; that, by doing so, before the Government passed into the control of such an Administration, to administer the Government in that portion of the country. And he declared that 'it is impossible for a Repub lican President to administer this government over the slaveholding States of the Confederacy; ' and

man) assures us, that in the South 'there are hundreds of disunionists now, where there was one ten years ago; 'that in some of the States men who the country could have witnessed the applauding would willingly to-day see the Union dissolved' are in the majority; and in other States a large class of men are 'ready to unite with them upon the happening of a cause.' And he says :

'In my judgment, the election of the Presidential of the Black Republican party will furnish scorn of an indignant people.

Early in the session, Mr. Nelson of Tennessee, se

To the suggestion that they 'ought to wait for some overt act,' the Senator says :

'No other "overt act" can so imperatively demand resistance on our part, as the simple election of their candidate. Their organization is one of avowed hostility, and they come against us as enemies. Referring to the distinguished Secator from New

York, (Mr. Seward,) he declare that-

'The objections are not personal merely to this Ser ator, but apply equally to any member of the party elected by it. It has, in fact, been suggested that, as a matter of prudence, for the first election they should choose a Southern Free Soiler. Would the colonies harshly u have submitted more willingly to Benedict Arnold than to Lord Cornwallis? But the Senator seems to be in favor of the seces

sion of the States, but not of the secession of the members of Congress. He says:

that this is a point to be voluntarily surrendered to

The Senator from North Carolina evidently in dulges in the pleasing illusion that 'the public enemy,' as he is pleased to characterize his fellowcountrymen, will abandon the Capitol, if ' the southern members of Congress' remain in the Capitol. 'If lives should be lost here,' exclaims the Senator, 'it would seem poetically just that this should occur'! If, after this declaration of seeming valor, the Republicans, in the event of their success in November, do not flee from the Capitol with as much haste as did the 'chivalry' of this region in the late war with England. I am quite sure the Senator from North Carolina, who is 'struck' with the original idea 'that this is a point not to be voluntarily surrendered to the public enemy,' will be disappointed in his expectations. But the Sena-tor goes on to express his emotions of contempt for men of the non-resistant school. 'I cannot fied,' says the Senator, 'words enough to express my abson and Wendell Phillips, who stimulate others to deeds of blood, and, at the same time, are so cowardly that they avoid all danger themselves. expression of 'abhorrence and detestation' for such n-combatants, such 'cowardly creatures,' is, I suppose, intended to admonish us on this side of the Chamber that the Senator is terribly in earnest when he makes proclamation of his wishes in these

n so doing, to secede from this Capitol, nor surren der it to those who may remain within the Union. Having declared that, if lives are to be sacrificed, it will be poetically just that they should be excrificed here on this floor; and that, as so much has gone forth from this Capitol to inflame the public mind, here on this floor; and that, as so much has gone forth from this Capitol to inflame the public mind, it is but proper that the first fruits of the struggle should be reaped here, the Senator gives us, therefore, distinctly to understand that there may be a physical collision— a bloody struggle; that the scene of this conflict is to be in the legislative halls of this Capitol. To simply say, in reply to this of this Capitol. To simply say, in reply to this threat, that northern Senators cannot thus be intim-

be ready against any emergency.

The Senator from Alabama (Mr. Clay) early addressed the Senate upon the resolution introduced by the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason); and of the people of the free States, or the character of

preferred to illustrate it by deeds. They are not fighting men by profession, nor accustomed to street broils, nor contests on 'the field of honor,' falsely that they are more desperate and determined, more reckless of consequences to themselves and to their antagonists, than are those who are more accus-I make no predictions, no promise for my State; tomed to contemplate such collisions. The tightest are assaulted with deadly intent, I give the Senator from North Carolina due notice, here, to-day, that those assaults will be repelled and retaliated by who will not dishonor fathers that fought at Bunker Hill and conquered at Saratoga, that trampled the soil of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane to a bloody mire and vindicated sailors' rights and national honor or the high seas in the second war of independence. Reluctant to enter into such a contest, yet once in, they will be quite as reluctant to leave it. Though they may not be the first to go into the struggle, they will be the last to abandon it in dishonor. Though they will not provoke nor commence the conflict, they will do their best to conquer when the mand of them when the ' bloody struggle ' the Senator contemplates is forced upon them; and they will not be disappointed when the exigency comes. I say no more; I await the issue, and bide my time.

Mr. President, during the protracted and excited contest in the other end of the Capitol, the leaders of the Democracy have avowed the rankest disunior sentiments; and these avowals of disloyalty to the Union have been often rapturously applauded on the Democratic side of the Chamber and in the galleries, that 'the election of a Republican President is the inevitable destruction of this Confederacy.'

Clings Officials, Government contractors or dependents. nevitable destruction of this Confederacy.'

The Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Cling-Sir, if the Union-loving, liberty-loving, patriotic throngs in the galleries, and the applauding Democ racy on the floor; and could have witnessed the mocratic smiles, the Democratic nods, and the Democratic congratulations, they would visit upon the actors in this farce, and upon their compeers here and at home, the stern rebuke and withering

distinguished member of the Southern Opposition, rebuked the disunion sentiments which had been so profusely scattered through the debates by the seces sionists; and he avowed his devotion to the Union in tones of thrilling eloquence. His patriotic and national sentiments received the enthusiastic ap-plause of the Southern Opposition and the Republicans. The patriotic sentiments of the eloquent Tennesseean, reminding us of the days before the advent into these Halls of the secession disciples of Calhoun, when the followers of Clay, aye, and of Jackson too, had made the Chambers echo with sentiments of devotion to the Union, seemed to grate harshly upon Democratic ears. Mr. Pryor of Vir-Richmond Enquirer, echoed the disunion sentiments of Governor Wise, rose and propounded to Mr. Nelson this question

Would you be willing Wm. H. Seward should I may say, however, that I do not think there will be any secession of the Southern members of Congress from this Capitol. It has always struck me that this is a point to be voluntarily surrendered to of those powers, or would he resist it even to the ex-tent of going out of the Union?

Sir, this question clearly implied that Mr. Pryor would resist, even to the extent of going out of the Union, the inauguration of Wm. H. Seward. But that was early in the session. Gov. Wise, who, if Faulkner is to be relied upon, 'sees far in advance of his contemporaries,' had not then avowed his resolution to fight in the Union, and to stay in the Union. The Enquirer, the family organ, which is engaged in warning the people of the South not to precipitate disunion, but to prepare for it,' has de the wonderful discovery that ' the election of a Black Republican advocate of the "irrepressible conflict," will be the withdrawal of the St porting such election from the Union.' As Governor Wise has resolved to fight in the Union, and as his family organ has declared that the election of a Re publican is a withdrawal of the States supporting his election from the Union, Mr. Pryor will not now resist the inauguration of Wm. H. Seward, ' to the extent of going out of the Union; ' but cling to this new 'Virginia abstraction,' and assume that the States voting for Mr. Seward are out of the

Mr. Curry of Alabama, in a speech which is by far the most comprehensive and philosophical presenta-tion of the issues yet made on the slavety side, in the House, said :

words:

'As from this Capitol so much has gone forth to inflame the public mind, if our countrymen are to be involved in a bloody struggle, I trust in God that the first fruits of the collision may be reaped here.'

This language, Mr. President, admits of but one interpretation. Gentlemen from the South, who are in favor of a dissolution of the Union, do not intend, in so doing, to seeded from this Capitol now arrange.

'However distasteful it may be to my friend from New York, (Mr. Clark.) however much it may revolt the public sentiment or conscience of this country, I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to gow that the election of William H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase, on any such representative of the Ropublican party, upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy to-greater.' (Applause on the Denocratic side of the House.)

Mr. Pugh of the same State, in a speech of mucl rhetorical beauty and eloquence, said :

If, with the character of the Government well de-

patible with the honor, equality and safety of the South; and the sooner it is known and acted upon, the better for all parties to the compact.

The truest conservation and wisest statesmanship demand a speedy termination of all association with such confederates, and the formation of another union of States, homogeneous in population, institutions, interests and pursuits.

Mr. Moore of the same State, said :

'I do not concur with the declaration made yesterday by the gentleman from Tennessee, that the elec-tion of a Black Republican to the Presidency was not cause for a dissolution of the Union. Whenever a President is elected by a fanatical majority at the President is elected by a fanatical majority at the North, those whom I represent, as I believe, and the gallant State which I in part represent, are ready, let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on their reserved rights and say—"As to this Union, we have no longer any lot or part in it." .

Mr. Boyce of South Carolina, before the meeting of Congress, addressed his constituency in an elaborate and very carefully prepared speech, in which he says that the election of a President by the Republican party 'would constitute of itself a good reason why the South should refuse to submit to their rule.' Our policy is, first, to prevent, if possible, the election of a Republican President; second, if this must occur, in spite of all our wise exertions to the contrary, to cause it to occur under such issues as will best enable us to set up a southern government." 'The great point, then, is to ripen public opinion at the South for a dissolution of the Union, in the contingency referred to-the election of a Republican President.' He avows that 'it is the fixed policy of this State to secede as soon as the Republican party elect their President. 'If we desire to ripen public opinion among ourselves for southern inde-pendence, in the event of the election of a Republican President, we must exercise the policy of mod-eration in our movements preliminary to that result. We must use the most consummate prudence now, that we may be able to profit by the most desperate

Mr. Bonham, of the same State, said on the floor of the House :

'As to disunion, upon the election of a Black Republican, I can speak for no one but myself and those have here the honor to represent; and I say, without hesitation, that upon the election of Mr. Seward, our new other man who endorses and proclaims the doc-trines held by him and his party—call him by what name you please—I am in favor of an immediate dis-solution of the Union. And, sir, I think I speak the sentiments of my own constituents, and the State of South Carolina, when I say so.'

Mr. Crawford of Georgia, as a quotation from his speech will show, spoke not only for himself, but for his associates from that State; and his disunion sentiments received the applause of his Democratic

Now, in regard to the election of a Black Republican President, I have this to say, and I speak the sentiment of every Democrat on this floor from the State of Georgia: we will never submit to the in-auguration of a Black Republican President. (Ap-plause from the Democratic benches, and hisses from the Republicans.) I repeat it, sir-and I have authority to say so—that no Democratic Representative from Georgia on this floor will ever submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. (Renewed applause and hisses.) • • • The most confiding of them all are, sir, for "equality in the Union, or ndependence out of it: " having lost all hope of the

Mr. Gartrell, also of Georgia, has supported the position assumed by Mr. Crawford. He declares:

Just so sure as the Republican party succeeds in electng a sectional man upon their sectional, anti-slavery latform, breathing destruction and death to the rights unmistakable and decided action; and that then "he who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned." I need not tell what I, as a Southern man, will do—I think I may safely speak for the masses of the people of Georgia—that when that event happens, they, in my judgment, will consider it an overt act, a declara-tion of war, and meet immediately in convention, to take into consideration the mode and measure of re-dress. This is my position; and if that be treason to

Governor McRae, of Mississippi, declared that he was not willing to submit to the election of a Republican President upon a Republican platform:

· I said to my constituents, and to the people at the eapitol of my State, on my way here, that if such an eyent did occur, while it would be their duty to determine the course which the State would pursue, it would be my privilege to counsel with them as to what I believed to be the proper course; and I said to them what I now say and will always say in such a creat that my coursel would be take independent. an event, that my counsel would be to take indepen-dence out of the Union, in preference to the loss of constitutional rights, and consequent degradation and dishonor, in it. That is my position, and it is the po-sition which I know the Democratic party of the State of Mississippi will maintain.

Mr. DeJarnette of Virginia will resist the inauguration of the candidate of the Republican party, if that candidate is Mr. Seward, for he says:

'Thus William H. Seward stands before the country a perjured traitor: and yet that man, with hands stained with the blood of our citizens, we are asked to elect President of the United States. You may elect him President of the North, but of the South, never. Whatever the event may be, others may differ; but Virginia, in view of her ancient renown, in view of her illustrious dead, and in view of her sic semper

Mr. Leake, unlike his colleague, Mr. Pryor, will not follow the lead of the late Governor Wise, and fight inside the Union. Mr. Leake evidently does not see so far in advance as does that noble son of

·I repudiate the sentiment which the gentleman ascribes to the late trovernor of Virginia. I choose rather to refer to the Representatives of that State to hear her sentiments than to any other source. It never entered my head, and I undertake to say that it never entered the brain of any Representative of Virginia on this floor, to fight inside the Union. The idea is ridiculous in the extreme. It is the reduction

And Mr. Leake emphatically declares that-

· Virginia has the right, when she pleases, to withdraw from this Confederacy. (Applause from the Democratic benches.) • • • • That is her doctrine. We will not fight in the Union, but quit it the instant we think proper to do so.

Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, openly avows, on the floor of the House, that 'their determination is fixed and unalterable: that they will have an expan-sion of slave territory in the Union, if you will allow it, or outside of the Union if they must,' and that sentiment was received with Democratic applause.

'The question now is, if we sever the connection which binds us and the North together, how are we to preserve the institution of slavery? There is but one mode by which, in my humble judgment, it can

F

been
John
He
foun
W
ciate
ble 1
own
confi
clain
clusi
ernm
ed to

proce ginis when cated ginis tent 24 toria tion Fugi sons trag to b

a da civil such liber cend 20

quis viev vote men arse stea Kan

and

rage

port

Sen

tion

caus

lette

that

shar

chu

just by righ for, belo

Roc the thou

only which

the

turn to d

E.

whie istic

age,

the

Stat

of (

cole

Cot

Cor

tim

eon Bar

present hun who ple born aidi

be perpetuated for any considerable number of years. That mode is by expansion, and that expansion must be in the direction of Mexico.
There is in Mexico a large extent of territory that is suited to the cultivation of cotton, sugar and rice.

In my opinion we must, and we are compelled to expand in that direction, and thus perpetuate it—a hundred or a thousand years, it may be.

'It may be asked, when will the time come who we shall separate from the North? I say candidly, if the views expressed by the gentleman from Iowa are, as he says, common to the Republican party, and if they are determined to enforce those views, I declare myself ready to-day. I would not ask to delay the time a single hour.

· You ask me when will the time come? when will the South be united? It will be when you elect a Black Republican—Hale, Seward, or Chase—President of the United States. Whenever you undertake to place such a man to preside over the destinies of the South, you may expect to see us undivided and indivisible friends, and to see all parties of the South arrayed to resist his inauguration.'

We can never quietly stand by and permit the con-trol of the Army and Navy to go into the hands of a Black Republican President.

Union sentiments, whenever or by whomsoever uttered, grate harshly on Democratic ears, tuned to the accents of disunion. When Mr. Stokes, of Tenthe other day rebuked the disloyal sentiment which so glibly fall from Democratic lips; when he in eloquent, manly, and patriotic language declared his devotion to the Union; when he quoted and en-dorsed as his own the words of Henry Clay, that he would consent to the dissolution of the Union-never! never! hever! ' the Democracy foamed, and gnashed its teeth in impotent wrath.

Governor Letcher, of Virginia, in his recent mes sage to the Legislatore of his State, avows the rank est disunion and revolutionary sentiments. In this document he declares that if a Republican President

'It is useless to attempt to conceal the fact that, in the present temper of the Southern people, it cannot be and will not be submitted to. The "irrepressible conflict" doctrine, announced and advocated by the ablest and most distinguished leader of the Republican party, is an open declaration of war against the institution of African alarment whereastic states. rution of African slavery wherever it exists; and I would be disloyal to Virginia and the South, if I did not declare that the election of such a man, entertainnot declare that the election of such a man, entering such sentiments, and advocating such doctrines, ought to be resisted by the slaveholding States. The idea of permitting such a man to have the control and direction of the Army and Navy of the United States, and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers, postmasters included, cannot be entertained by I might quote, Mr. President, the avowals of dis-

union sentiments by other Democratic leaders, and other Democratic presses; for these avowals of dis-loyalty to the unity of the Republic are scattered, in rank luxuriance, broadcast over the land. But I must pause. I have, however, gathered up enough of these noisy menaces of disunion, which are falling thick and last around us, to show to the Senate and the country that the accepted leaders of the Democratic party are secessionists and disunionists, with the accents of disunion perpetually on their lips, and its spirit burning in their hearts. Phave also gathered up, from the mass of facts which lie at my enough to show that the Democratic party is tainted with the odor of disunion, that the stain of disloyalty is now indelibly stamped upon its brow. I have shown, too, that these menaces of disunion, which Democratic leaders are hurling around us in this Capitol, go unrebuked by the northern Democracy. whose glory it is to follow these apostles of secession and disunion. The country will not fail to see, and to mark, too, the discreditable fact, that while Democratic leaders in these Chambers are muttering angry menaces of disunion, and while such madnes unrebuked, even by the faintest whispers of the Democratic representatives of the loyal North and West, the Democratic presses in the North and West are busy-not in raining upon the heads of Democratic disunionists the withering rebuke of patriotism —but in the work of misrepresenting and maligning those who cling to the Union with unswerving fidelity, alike in victory and in defeat. The country, too, will not fail to see that the Democratic orators dare not, even at a safe distance, utter the softest censure against the disloyalty of leaders they follow ndman follows his master; but they are appealing to the selfish fears of men to disown their manhood, and by acts of humiliation appease the awakened wrath of the Democratic chieftains now menacing the integrity of the Union.

Mr. President, the American Democracy, led by slave perpetualists and propagandists, secessic unionists, now in the light of this age, stands before the nation the enemy of human progress, and in favor of the conservation and propagation of old abuses. No longer does the Democracy utter the mocracy sympathize with man at home or abroad, struggling for the recovery of lost rights, or the enlargement of existing privileges. Does the Legisla-ture of Kansas pass an act for the abolition of slavery there? Democracy resists it, and arrests it by Executive action. Does the Legislature of Nebraska, left ' perfectly free to form their own domestic institutions in their own way,' pass a bill to wipe from that vast Territory the pollution of slavery? De-mocracy resists it, defeats it by the Executive veto, and applauds that veto, Does the Legislature of New Mexico enact a bloody slave code? Democracy prompts it, praises it, applauds it. Does a sover-eign Commonwealth lighten by humane legislation the burdens of a proscribed race, so that it may rise into the sunlight of a broader and higher manhood? Democracy is outraged, shocked, and it avenges itself by gibbering taunts, jibes, and jeers. Does a slave State enact or propose to enact statutes to still more oppress those already bending under the iron heel of oppression, or to check the action of its own citizens who may be prompted by sentiments of benevolence or a sense of justice to lessen the bitter-ness of bondage, or give freedom to their own bondmen? Democracy approves and applauds it. Does Walker, at the head of a lawless band of fillibusters, decree slavery in Central America? Democracy hails and applauds that decree. Does any indica-tion point to the possible abolition of slavery in Cuba? Democracy protests, cannot permit it, will pay \$200,000,000 for that slaveholding isle, but will not accept the 'Gem of the Antilles,' if burdened with freedom. Does England strike the fetters from the limbs of eight hundred thousand West India bondmen? Democracy deplores it, disapproves it, and persists in misrepresenting the effects of that great act of justice and humanity. Does the Emperor of Russia propose a plan for the emancipation of millions, not of the African race, but of white men? Democracy shakes its head, shrugs its shoulders, utters no note of joy, sends no word of encour-agement or greeting to the enlightened monarch who would enlarge the rights and elevate the condition of men. Does the Republican party, imbued with the sentiments of the Republican fathers, propose to arrest the expansion of slavery over the Territories of

the Republic, and save those Territories to free labor, check the re-opening slave traffic, and put the national Government in harmony with a progressive Christian civilization? Democracy, smitten with the consciousness of its waning power, raises the startling cry of disunion. To its abandonment of the sentiments, opinions, and policy of the Republi-can fathers, to its betrayal of the rights and interests of free labor and the cause of human rights at home and abroad, is now added dislovalty to the integrity of the Union. Let the intelligent patriotism of the nation rebuke this mad exhibition of folly and fanaticism which would shiver this Union into broken fragments, and proclaim, in the words of Andrew Jackson— The Union must and shall be preserved.

DEATH OF MRS. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. A heavy cloud was over the Anti-Slavery Anniversary in Boston, last week, in consequence of the painful intelligence of the sudden death of the gifted, beloved, and greatly honored Mrs. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, widow of the late Professor Charles Pollen, at Brookline, on Thursday, 27th ult. after an illness of a few days, of typhoid fever, aged 72 years and 6 months. A full tribute to her character and worth hereafter.

FREDERICK BROWN, brother of Capt. John Brown being now in the vicinity of Boston for a short time will be happy to visit a few places and address audiences on subjects of paramount interest at the present time. Persons desirous to avail themselves of this opportunity to hear a swong and earnest friend of Liberty, will please write immediately to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

The Liberator. Annual Meeting, be 10 A. M., 2 3-4 P. M., and 7 throughout the world.

Adjourned to the afternoon. NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Massa

At half-past 10 o'clock, the meeting was called to

order by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society,

and opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was given.

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, made

the Annual Report of the Treasurer's finances. It

showed Receipts \$9.863 78 : Expenditures, \$9,272 47 ;

James N. Buffum of Lynn, William Whiting

B. Southwick of Milford, were appointed a Commit-

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Society,

made a brief report of the Society's doings, and of

The Nominating Committee reported the following

On Business-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phila

lips, J. H. Stephenson, Stephen S. Foster, Maria W.

Andrew T. Foss, Charles L. Remond, Oliver Johnson.

The Society, by a unanimous vote, elected the

A brief discussion, on the Petitions to the Legisla-

ture for a Law against Slave-Hunting, took place, in

which G. W. Stacy, S. May, Jr., A. T. Foss, E. D.

Draper, Lewis M'Lauthlin of Pembroke, Mr. Allen of

Mr. PHILLIPS did not think it at all wonderful that

petitions, especially such as that asking for the remo-

val of the Webster statue, should recently have fallen

somewhat into the shade. 'The events of Harper's

Ferry, so exciting and so energetic, have generated

WENDELL PRILLIPS, from the Committee on Busi-

1. Resolved, That the present condition of Church

plication of absolute right to national affairs, holding

2. Resolved, That the proposed laws of Senators

Power to make Free Speech, a Free Press, and Anti-

Slavery action in the Free States, an indictable of-

Mr. Phillips spoke at some length and with much

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Phillips having

audience-Frederick Brown, of Ohio-a very strong

form, and was greeted by the cheers of the meeting,

who rose spontaneously to welcome him. As he ex-

pressed his thanks to the audience, in a few words, for

T. W. Hinginson, of Worcester, rose to explain

to the teacher's anti-slavery principles and character.

He (Mr. H ) thought that gentleman was not removed

on this account; he had investigated the whole mat-

ter, and was satisfied that Mr. Sprague's anti-slavery

sentiments and course were not the reasons of his re-

moval. He also dissented from Mr. Phillips's opinion

that Worcester, or that Massachusetts, would not pro-

tect her citizens from an assault of the Federal power,

acting in behalf of slavery. It will be time enough

to bring this charge when she has been tried and

found wanting. When persons claimed as slaves, or

Massachusetts to protect them, and she fails to do so,

then let her be arraigned. At present, it has never

been tried. To sustain and strengthen freedom, you

must trust freedom. Every fugitive sent from Massa-

chusetts to Canada has helped to demoralize Massa-

chusetts, accustoming her to yield, instead of stand-

fugitive slave to remain and live within her borders.

JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, of Worcester, dissented en-

could be share Mr. Higginson's confidence as to the

Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER-I reside in Worcester.

come there for protection. A question answered by a

as the voice of the city. Neither the Mayor nor any

responsible official of that city has ever given coun-

tenance or assistance to such a measure. Even the

time of need.

after the adjournment.

interest was manifested to see and to hear him.

force, in support of these resolutions.

an impatience of mere intellectual discussion.

ness, reported the two following resolutions :

each to its highest duty.

States for trial.

the progress of the cause during the year past.

fered prayer.

to be correct.

Meeting.

Committees :-

Ashby, Joseph Merrill.

Committees as reported.

participated.

lish it with the proceedings.

ed Assistant Secretary.

AFTERNOON. - Re-assembled at the Meionson BOSTON, FEBRUARY 3, 1860. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair. ANNUAL MEETING

Mr. Jackson exhibited a small bell, recast from th old bell on Liberty Hall in New Bedford, which had been presented to him, as President of this Society,

by the Hon Rodney French. The little bell, which has a beautiful tone, bea chusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at this inscription : the Tremont Temple, commencing on Thursday, Jan-

'Made from a fragment of Liberty Hall Bell. New The resolutions reported in the morning being be ore the meeting, remarks were made by GEORGE W.

STACY and DANIEL RICKETSON, who prefaced his re-Rev. Mr. BALDWIN, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, ofmarks by the following resolutions: Resolved, That, dreadful as slavery is, its abolition,

in order to secure the highest good of humanity, must e accomplished without bloodshed. Resolved. That to be a true abolitionist, it is nece Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, \$591 31. The report sary to be true to humanity, and therefore any meas-

was certified by the Auditor, Wn. I. Bowditch, Esq., ares which violate the great cause of human rights, though intended for the good of the slave, cannot be Voted, To accept the Treasurer's Report, and pub-Resolved, That so long as the Anti-Slavery agita-CHARLES K. WHIPPLE was nominated and appoint-

tion is conducted on the principles of peace and good will, we can reasonably absolve ourselves from any violent measures adopted by others for the liberation Concord, Josiah Hayward of Salem, Samuel Dyer of of the oppressed. Abington, Charles K. Whipple of Boston, and Pliny The discussion was continued by DANIEL S. WHIT-

ver, who thought there need be no clashing on this tee to nominate the usual Committees of the Annual subject; that it was the duty of every one to oppose slavery with those instrumentalities which he believed to be right. Being a Non-Resistant himself, he could wish that every man in the land were as Wm. Lloyd Garrison is; if that could not be, he should wish him o be as John Brown seas. (Applause.)

NA. LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Commitce, sported the following resolutions :-

Chapman, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, 3. Resolved, That in view of the present activity of thought on the subject of Slavery, we recommend On Finance-James N. Buffum, Elbridge Sprague, to the friends of freedom throughout the State to in-E. H. Haywood, Miss Sallie Holley, Miss Georgiana stitute, each in his or her own neighborhood, discussions for the consideration of all questions relating To Nominate Officers of the Society-Edmund Quinto human rights in this so-called Union. cy, James N. Buffum, William Whiting, William

4. Resolved. That he who asserts that there is not an 'irrepressible conflict' between Freedom and Slavery-between free institutions and slave institutions - between the spirit which abolishes human chattelism and the spirit which perpetuates it-but that these are harmonious elements, or by compromise and forbearance can be made such in the same government, and can be brought into collision West Newton, J. Merrill of Danvers, and others, only by the efforts of fanaticism or sedition-is either idiotic, morally speaking, or a self-convicted demagogue, intent on nothing but the gratification of his own desperate ambition.

5. Resolved, therefore. That the party which talks of 'the glorious Union' existing between the North and the South, and of the duty of maintaining it as an object of paramount importance, is smitten with judicial blindness and bereft of reason-talks of what has never been, and, in the nature of things, can never be possible-is either the dupe or the ally of a stuand State demands of us the most stern and rigid appendous imposture, which an insane and criminal experiment of three-score years has demonstrated is working the overthrow of all the safeguards of freedom-and, consequently, is a party neither to be Douglas and Bigler indicate the purpose of the Slave trusted nor followed.

6. Resolved. That 'the glorious Union,' ever since its formation, has signified nothing but the supremfence, and probably to carry offenders into the Slave acy of a Southern slave oligarchy, as unscrupulous in the attainment of their object as a band of pirates as murderous in spirit as they are knavish in conduct, who have always dictated the policy of the nation, and who claim a divine right to rule, according to said that a brother of Capt. John Brown was in the their pleasure, alike the slaves on their plantations and the people of the Free States, without remon strance or interrogation, and as the condition of th FREDERICK Brown, being invited, came to the plat- perpetuation of 'the glorious Union' aforesaid.

7. Resolved. That the privileges accorded to North ern citizens sojourning or traveling in the South, under this Union, are these :- to wear padlocks upon their sympathy with him, and with his brother's family, tears flowed freely down the rugged cheeks of to the Moloch of Slavery-to speak in behalf of the men, as well as from the eyes of women, throughout enslaved at the peril of their lives—to be tarred and slavery sentiments-to be thrust into prison, and sold as slaves on the auction-block, if they ere of African the circumstances relating to the dismissal of the descent—to be scourged, branded, lynched, and driven Principal of the Worcester High School, which Mr. out by mobocratic violence, even while in the prose-Phillips had spoken of, and represented to be owing cution of their legitimate business, simply because

they are Northern men. 8. Resolved. That the privileges accorded to South ern citizens sojourning or traveling in the North, under this Union, are these :- to speak with impunity whatever they please as against free institutions and free society-to advocate alavery and the slave traffic as worthy of universal extension, without interfer ence, menace or personal danger, and to an unlimited extent-to hold any meeting or mublish any journal they may choose, in which to assail the uncompro mising friends of freedom as fanaties and traitors, and persons charged with treason to the Slave Power, to glorify the lords of the lash as the only true will, instead of flying to Canada, or to Europe, trust friends of their country—and, in whort, to threaten, bully, and calumniate, ad libitum, whatever or who ever is deemed by them to be adverse in spirit and sentiment to the sum of all villames."

9. Resolved, therefore, That the motto of the Amer ican Anti-Slavery Society, No Union with Slaveholders,' commends itself to the regson, conscience ing her ground. Worcester has publicly invited the and hearty adoption of every man claiming to be loyal to the Declaration of Independence; and it become the solemn duty of the North to carry it into imme tirely from Mr. Higginson's ideas respecting the true diate practice, as demanded by even instinct of selfreasons of the dismissal of the High-School teacher preservation, and by all that is obligatory in the claims of that city. He believed that the teacher's antiof justice and humanity. slavery action was the reason of his removal. Nor

ANDREW Foss said that the Democratic party had people of Worcester making any resistance to United once occupied higher anti-slavery ground than the States authority in defence of persons assailed in Republican party occupies to-day. But there is now no longer anything left in the Democratic party to respect; all the really good and liberty-loving men have been sifted or driven out of it, by its successive alleged traitors to this pro-slavery government, to humiliations before Slavery. Its base pro-slavery character is to-day everywhere recognized. But the promiscuous audience in Worcester is not to be taken Republican party, which once took high ground against Slavery, and which in some quarters still professes to be the anti-slavery party of the land, has bee so far demoralized by its efforts to obtain supremacy mechanic Senator from Worcester said, in a public in the country that it has become, said Mr. F., in my meeting there, that he could not vote for the protection of Massachusetts citizens against the Federal of true anti-slavery.

Government, and no disapprobation came from the J. B. Swaser, Esq., of Boston, spoke of the duty meeting. There is a strong under-current of feeling of the citizen in the present aspect of affairs. He in that city against any man who takes a disunion thought every citizen would soon be called upon for action, and not the expression of opinion merely. No Mr. Higginson explained. Mrs. Foster never people can go on prosperously, in direct and habitual comes short of her duty in telling the people of Wor- violation of the laws of God. Slaveholding is such cester of their deficiencies and faults, in respect to a violation. Yet the great majority of our citizens the Anti-Slavery cause; and she always predicts that will still deny that they are in any measure responsithey will fail in protecting fugitive slaves and their ble for this, even while they are directly contributing defenders. She has said that no official of Worcester to the slaveholding power by their taxes, &c. He had sanctioned the measure of protecting the fugitive had been asked if he was willing to break up the Unslave at all hazards; she appears to have forgotten ion, founded with so much pains, and productive of that the gentleman (William W. Rice, Esq.) who so many advantages; and he would answer, that is presided at the Worcester meeting which invited the was with the greatest reluctance, and very slowly fugitive slave to remain there, had since been elected that his mind had come to the idea of the necessity Mayor of the city by a triumphant vote. We have a dissolution of the present Union. He had no desire one place in Massachusetts in advance of the rest of to interrupt or weaken, much less to destroy any good the State. -Let us trust it, and make trial of it in thing connected with the Union; but he knew, and no man could deny, that this Union stands upon ar John Breson made a few remarks on the subject unjust, unhallowed and despotic bargain-a bargain of the wrongs of the Indians of this country; and as which consigns millions of our fellow-men to the en he proceeded to call up a young Indian woman to durance of unutterable wrongs; and he knew that sing a song, objection was made by Mrs. Poster, as such a Union ought not to endure; that the mischief out of order; and the singing was postponed until which flow from it must far out-weigh all its benefits; that it must be, as he verily believed it was, an en-

Voted, That the hours of assembling, during the couragement to tyrants, and a curse to mankind, ask a thing right in itself, and in strict accordance J. H. Fowler, of Cambridge. We want set

Every step of the anti-slavery movement is towards We want to know what rights have the People, as against, and in spite of, this tyrannical government. Mr. F. introduced and read a very long series of resolutions, expressive of his own anti-slavery faith and mode of action. He proceeded to say that he had been a non-resistant; he was so in the time of the delivery of Anthony Burns into slavery from Boston. Twice at that time he had been threatened by the soldiery with blows; he had bared his head, and told them to strike if they chose. Now, however, he was a non-resistant no longer. The non-resistant Abolitionists, he thought, must stand aside, and make room for a phalanx of fighting men. At such a time as this, he did not see how a warm-blooded young man, who believed in such a thing as human rights, could be a non-resistant. He himself was ready for the conflict-ready for anything but slavery. knew that sometimes these words fell from the lips with but little meaning to them. He thought he un-derstood their meaning, and that he was prepared to

give his life for the cause of liberty. W. L. GARRISON said he appreciated the spirit, and honored the manly utterances of his friend Fowler. Every man should try his own spirit, and make sure of his own position, Mr. F. had said that in the Anthony Burns' times, he was a Non-Resistant; but was no longer so. Probably, said Mr. G., there has not been so much of a change in my young friend as he himself thinks. He has condemned the non-resistant spirit as slavish and servile, and has quoted resolutions of the New Hampshire and Tennessee Legislatures towards the colored race. condemnatory of such non-resistance. Mr. G. said, he, too, would condemn such non-resistance; that was not the non-resistance in which he believed. Who was the true representative of non-resistance? We journment; FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair. all say Jesus Christ. Was there aught servile in him? to nothing slavish, mean, or cowardly.

Evening. The Society assembled in the large Tremont Temple, which was well filled by a most attentive audience.

Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston, took the chair. An anti-slavery hymn was sung-

'Hark! a voice from heaven proclaiming Comfort to the mourning slave,' &c.

The resolutions were read by Mr. Quincy; after

Rev. FREDERICK FROTHINGHAM, of Portland, being called upon, came forward and was warmly welcomed. a future time, will be published in full.

from his old Massachusetts friends, as he came to the ard. he acknowledged John Brown as its legitimate result : Debating Society, but had lately been converted into the following lines: an Association for advertising Anti-Slavery books; and Last of the laborers, thy feet I gain, to such an extent, that not less than five steam-presses are now at work, day and night, to meet the public That I am burdened not so much with grain, demand for Helper's 'Impending Crisis.'

Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, of Boston, [a young colored preacher of the city, a native of Tennessee, ] made an elequent, enthusiastic and stirring speech, which was received by the audience with great applause. He paid a very handsome and respectful tribute to Mr. Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and eloquently claimed a high place among the human races, in the great work of civilizing the world, for the Negro. He said it was a very great mistake to suppose that the slaves at the South were quiet and submissive. 'A dozen insurrections occur yearly. I

plause, the Society adjourned to Friday morning.

## FRIDAY.

Meionaon, at 10, A. M., FRANCIS JACKSON in the

Mr. STEPHENSON, of West Newton! said it seemed to him that no circumstance connected with slavery is so bad as slavery itself. The assumption that one human being can own another is the worst thing that can be assumed. Nevertheless, it is well to consider the horrible details of cruelty and injustice to which 12. Resolved, That the acme of impudence and that claim gives rise; the scourgings, brandings, burnings alive of slaves, and the infringements upon the constitutional liberty of every white man who is a friend of the slave. These should all be studied and pondered, if we would know slavery as it is. Slavery exists in Massachusetts to-day, as well as in

One of the resolutions offered yesterday suggests a mode of action which every one can use, and which will greatly assist the Anti-Slavery cause, namely, the formation of town, village, neighborhood meetings, to consider, inquire into, and act upon, the question of slavery. Great numbers of our people now

ceive from the apostacy of the Church, and mention-ed the shameful conduct of Henry Ward Beecher, who left an appointment unfulfilled in Boston, for party to go back in our national policy to the days of the express purpose of going home to defend the Washington and Jefferson, is as wise as it would be American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis- in case of the universal prevalence of the small pox sions, and who succeeded so well in this shameful or the Asiatic cholera, to propose to go back to the work, that his church had just decided, by a large first few cases of infection, from which all subsequent vote, still to sustain that pro-slavery Board.

rascals, as one of its ministers last night has admit-ted, how is it better than the world? But it is an and were the same experiment to be tried over again enormous blunder and falsity to assert that the Church as many times as there are sands on the sea-shore, the of Christ is composed of such materials. The Church same results would inevitably follow. No strange never contained a slaveholder, and never will; never and we are reaping the whirlwind. They sacrificed contained an apologist for slavery, and never will! the rights of the enslaved, in order to secure a Union;

tition to the Legislature for a law against slave-hunt- denly at an instant." ing, because they could not ask a man to break his Foss, earnestly, 'I can; I can,' I will ask him, said

Legislature for a law to protect the fugitive slave, we arrested or put on trial, by any process whatever, as

with the will and commands of Almighty Justice and Mercy. If any man has taken an oath contrary to

these, ought he to keep such an oath ? Mr. May moved that the subject of donations and pledges to the Society, for its operations during the coming year, be now taken up, and that the Finance Committee now proceed to this work.

Agreed to, unanimously.

Mr. FREDERICK BROWN, of Ohio, brother of JOHN Brown, came forward in reply to the statement of the President that many persons in the audience earnestly desired to hear him speak. He gave a full and clear exposition of his religious and moral conviction, that it is our duty to labor, work and fight against slavery, until it ceases from the face of the earth. CHARLES L. REMOND wished to thank Mr. BROWN

for his speech, in the name of the slave and the nominally free colored man. He thanked him for his frank and full manner of speaking, and for his sentiments. He proceeded to make an impassioned and eloquent speech, in vindication of the equal manhood and rights of the colored people, which was received with great applause, and made an evident impression Mr. FowLER disclaimed the purpose, which had

been attributed to him by one speaker, to undervalue or to speak slightingly of the Peace principle, or o any true Non-Resistant. He utterly repudiated such a thought. No man in the land had produced so ex tensive and so wholesome an influence, to speed the cause of Freedom, as WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the Non-Resistant. (Applause.)

Mr. BURLEIOH followed, defending ADIN BALLOU from the imputation of want of justice and sympathy Adjourned to quarter to three o'clock.

AFTERNOON. At the Meionaon, according to ad

HOMER B. SPRAGUE, Esq., of Worcester, by invi-The farthest from it, of course, all say. He leads us tation, addressed the meeting. After expressing hi respect for those steadfast and faithful friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, who have labored so long and perseveringly, amidst every reproach and opposition, he proceeded to examine the position of the Republican party, which he believed to be anything but an anti-slavery party. He spoke also of the Church,said he had been pained at some remarks made here about the Church; he thought that a distinction should be made between the Church, and the Leaders of the Church. The former, he

thought, are honest in the main, and ready to go right when they should see the right. But with the leaders the case is different, and they have grievously He made an carnest, logical, and eloquent speech, in misled the people. He spoke of the 'Church Antibehalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, which we hope, at Slavery Society, of its insignificant numbers while asserting the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and of the OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq., of New York, was invited probability that, to purchase numbers and influence, to address the meeting, and received a warm greeting it will soon reduce its platform and lower its standplatform. He vindicated the Anti-Slavery movement; In concluding his speech, Mr. Sprague spoke ver

feelingly of the comparatively late day at which his he spoke of its wonderful progress and triumphs in attention had been called to this momentous subthe land. He said that Congress had not only been ject, and in which his efforts had become enlisted in made (as had formerly been said) an Anti-Slavery its behalf, and repeated with much impressiveness

As with a heaviness of heart and brain : Master! behold my sheaves!

Full well I know I have more tares than wheat, Brambles and flowers, dry stalks and withered leaves Therefore I blush and weep, as at thy feet I kneel down reverently, and repeat,

(Warm applause followed.)

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Com nittee, reported the following resolutions :

10. Resolved. That no language can more truly de scribe the American Union, in its slaveholding guarlived eleven years in Georgia, and I know whereof I antees, than that used by the prophet Isalah, in regard affirm. These attempts are carefully and systemati- to a similar compromise with sin in his own day, cally kept out of the papers.' He believed that John namely, it is 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN Brown had more disciples to-day than any other man AGREEMENT WITH HELL; and the warning then given is as terribly prophetic now,- Thus saith the Lord, WENDELL PHILLIPS was loudly called for. He Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to made a most masterly address, reviewing the position | the plummet; and your covenant with death shall be of the Country, and of the Anti-Slavery Cause. [A annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not full report of this speech will appear, it is expected, stand: when the overflowing scourge shall pass at an early day.]

At the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, which had

11. Resolved, That even if the Union were clear of

been received with the most eager attention and ap- every moral stain, still, to regard its perpetuation as of the first importance, and the preservation of liberty as of minor consideration, would indicate absolute fa tuity of mind, and an idolatry of spirit not surpassed The Society met, according to adjournment, at the in folly or criminality by anything existing in Burmah or Hindostan; but, dripping as it is with the blood of four millions of slaves held in captivity by its collective strength, and incurably infected as it is with its pro-slavery compromises, by which the whole country s slavishly subjugated and fearfully dishonored, i deserves to be execrated and assailed by every friend of God and man.

profligacy is seen in the constant accusation of the Republican party, by the Democratic leaders and organs, as disloyal in spirit, if not in action, to the Union,-at the very time they are threatening to rend it asunder, and overturn the government by force, if a majority of the voters shall choose the Republican, instead of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency-thus proving themselves to be a most desperate faction, full of treasonable intentions if they are not allowed to have their own way.

13. Resolved, That we are ready to certify, that the Republican party has never even menaced the existence of the Union in any contingency; and that, of all the political parties that have yet been organized in this country, none has ever surpassed the Republi-JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, wished to give his can party in its slavish subserviency to the Union; testimony to the efficacy of the mode of operation for while it is outlawed in all the South, and can neilast mentioned. His observation and his experience ther hold meetings nor nominate candidates in that had shown him that great good was accomplished in part of the country, and while neither Mr. Seward, nor Mr. Sumner, nor any other of its prominent men. Mr. STACY, of Milford, spoke of the importance of is permitted freedom of speech south of Mason's and active exertion on the part of every true friend of the Dixon's line, it is still insanely engaged in glorifying cause. He mentioned the stimulus we should re- the Union, and pledging itself to frown upon all at-

rote, still to sustain that pro-slavery Board.

Ones have proceeded; for the present appalling state

If the American churches largely composed of of the country is the legitimate fruit of the pro-slavery

of Christ never contained a rescal, and never will; thing has happened. Our fathers sowed the wind, and God has decreed that, in consequence of that sac-Mr. Holden, of Lynn, gave his testimony to the rifice, the Union shall be dashed in pieces, as a potgreat advantage of holding frequent meetings, small ter's vessel is broken.' . Wherefore thus saith the as well as large, for the discussion of slavery, all its Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and parts, all its characteristics, all its results, and all the TRUST IN OPPRESSION AND PERVERSENESS, and stay nethods of opposing it. He also justified the position thereon: therefore THIS INIQUITY shall be to you taken by many persons, who decline to sign our pe- as a breach ready to fall, whose breaking cometh sud

15. Resolved, That if Massachusetts had no othe outh. I cannot ask a man to break his outh. [A. T. complicity with slavery than that of holding herself bound to restore the fugitive slave to his master, H., to renounce his oath, and abandon his official legally arrested within her limits, it would suffice to make her citizens a commonwealth of kidnappers CHAS. C. BURLEIGH. I honor the feeling of fidelity and to involve her in all the guilt of the slave system; hence, that her first duty is, to decree the abo and to involve her in all the guilt of the slave sys we must not concede more than fidelity demands. We lition of slave-hunting on her soil, and to declare, ask no man to do any wrong. In petitioning the come what may, that, henceforth, no person shall be

the slave or property of any other human being ; thus carrying out the first article of her own Constitution which declares that all men are created free and equal, and have a right to be secure in their person against all oppression.

16. Resolved, That there can be no binding ohi. gation upon a State, whether self-imposed or form upon her, to 'frame mischief by a law,' and to con upon her, to stand the needy shall be the lery of violent and bloody men; that no eath to commit crime is to be observed, if taken, though it should never be taken; and, consequently, that the State of Massachusetts has no excuse for refusing to procision freedom to every fugitive from bondage, seeking refuge in this Commonwealth.

Dr. Joun S. Rock, of Boston, made an able adding Dr. John S. Atom, and of the Moral and in vindication of the Rights, and of the Moral and in vindication of the Colored Race. He said that the hardest question he had to answer in Europe was- Why do free colored people remain in the United States?' It was not easy to make European understand this matter. The fact, however, was the the colored people, like other Americans, prefer, and choose, to remain in their own country. They wish to remain here to help to make it a better country, They aspire even, ultimately, to make it fit for a cent people to live in.

The Republican cry-'No more Slave States'good so far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. They should say, rather - No more slavery !

A notice, in relation to the funds of the Society and the expenses of the Annual Meeting, was given by the Secretary. STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, gare, at sent

length, his view of the great service which long Brown had rendered to the Anti-Slavery Came, u well as to the country. He thought it entirely owing to the strict logical and moral consistency of John Brown's life and example, that he had made to deep and extensive an impression. It was owing to a want of this consistency on the part of the Abelitionist, a he thought, himself included, that they had accomplished no more than they have. Mr. Poster said he had recently been studying the Constitution of the United States ;-he had never before given a thorough examination-and his views of it had up. dergone a great change. He was now convined that the Constitution is an Anti-Slavery instrument and the views to which he had arrived had met the entire concurrence, in regard to their legal correct. ness, of some of the ablest lawyers in the city of Worcester. Hence he desired to organize an Aut-Slavery Political Party, to carry out and enforce this interpretation of the Constitution.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said the immense power of John Brown over the people of this country is due, not to his consistency, but to his genuine and the ough self-devotion, his disinterested and self-sacrificing efforts for the welfare of others.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the year ensuing, made Report. This report was, on motion, unanimously accepted, and the following persons were elected of. cers of the Massachuserts Anti-Slavery Society, for the ensuing year :

President .- FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, Vice Presidents .- Andrew Robeson, New Bedford;

Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Henshar West Brookfield ; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston ; Ges. Flint, Rutland ; John T. Hilton, Brighton ; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth ; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Richard Clap, Dorchester; Dsvid P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend: Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport ; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton ; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg : George Miles, Westminster; Timothy Davis, Framingham.

Corresponding Secretary-Sancel May, Jr., Lei-

Recording Secretary-Robert F. Wallett, Boston. Treasurer-WM. I. BOWDITCH, Brookline.

Auditor-EDMUND JACKSON, Boston. Councillors-William Lloyd Garrison; Edmund Quincy; Wendell Phillips; Maria W. Chapman; Charles K. Whipple; Anne W. Weston; William L. Bowditch; John T. Sargent; Charles E. Hodges; Charles Follen.

Adjourned to the evening?

Evening. The meeting was again held at the Iremont Temple, EDMUND QUINCY in the chair. Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, re-

ported the following resolutions: 17. Resolved, That the warmest expressions of gratitude fail to do justice to our feelings on receiing the letters and donations of our British friends for the year 1860. And in the name of the common cause of freedom, so dear to both, we assure then that every contribution from our mother country binds us afresh to them that are in bonds in our own land, whose fate is our fate, and whose cause is our

18. Resolved. That the excellent address of our friend, Mr. James Haughton, of Dublin, to his contrymen in these States, be printed with the proceedings of this meeting, and circulated as widely as we can possibly do it among them.

19. Resolved, That since the last meeting of this Society, we have to lament the loss to our ranks of our laborious treasurer, Samuel Philbrick, ever faithful, ready and outspoken; and of one of the eldest and most devoted and clear-sighted of our members, Effingham L. Capron; and of one, disinterested, fearless, and never wanting, Charles F. Hover, whose munificent legacy to this and kindred reforms shows how truly he was a model reformer in his utter derotion to duty, and his catholic interest in every good

20. Resolved. That we have heard, with deep affliction, of the sudden death of our beloved friend and condjutor, Eliza Lee Folley, who, in the earliest days of our cause, stood side by side with her noble husband, Dr. Follen, exerting all their great intellectual ability and social influence to hold up the hands of those who were laboring for an unpopular cause. Through all the long series of years, this dear and gifted friend has stood faithfully by our side-siways hopeful, always strong-kindling cold hearts, sustaining the timid, and converting the hostile. May her brave and loving spirit be with us to the end of the contest, helping us to imitate the great example she has left us!

21. Resolved, That, in refusing to rise the passport of Miss Remond, (and that with insult and threats of force,) George M. Dallas has shown himself a fitting minister of a government which asserts, as a leading principle, that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect; and that he has thus forfeited all claim to the character of a gentleman-for no gentleman ever insults a lady, be she

appropriately criticise one feature of the enterpris John Brown (as they do one feature of the else rightful and glorious enterprise of Washington, Hancock and Adams)—no one but a Non-Resistant is authorized to complain of the use of arms by the slaves, and in their behalf; and that the censure which has been thrown on John Brown's pikes and muskets by mes. in the State who have always praised the Rerolstionary War, and by men in the Church who have always bitterly opposed Non-Resistance, is fresh eridence of the dishonesty of the one, and the hypocrist

of the other. 23. Resolved, That if capital punishment be justifiable in any case, then a tragical mistake has been made in Virginia; and Gov. Wise, Senator Mason, and the whole body of Virginia slaveholders should have

been placed on the scaffold, instead of freedom-loving John Brown and his companions, under the law, He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be Gund in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

Whereas, the attempt of John Brown and his asso cates, at Harper's Ferry, to emancipate a considerable number of the slaves in Virginia, ended in their own destruction on the scaffold and in the mortal conflict; and whereas, the authorities of Virginia claimed to have jurisdiction of the case, to the exclassion of any jurisdiction on the part of the goverament of the United States, which claim was yielded to by the latter; and whereas, Gov. Wise officially proclaims to the whole country, the ability of Virrinis to protect herself against all her enemies; and whereas, if there are any other persons legally impliested in the doings of John Brown, the courts of Virgins and the courts of the United States are compeunt to dispose of them; therefore,

24. Resolved, That the appointment of an Inquisiterial Committee, by the U. S. Senate, at the instigagist of Senator Mason, the infamous author of the Figlive Slave Law, with full powers to call for persons and papers in relation to the Harper's Perry usgedy, is an act of flagrant usurpation which ought to be resisted by every free State; is palpably oppressive, insulting and malignant in its purpose, and daring step toward 'crushing out' every vestige of ciril and personal liberty at the North, by procuring such action on the part of Congress as shall make the liberty of speech, as against slavery, constructive 'in-

cendiarism' and 'treason.' 25. Resolved, That the satanic design of this ir quisition must be palpable to the dullest vision, in view of the fact that the Senate, by a strict party role, refused to adopt Senator Trumbull's amendment, also to inquire into the seizure of a U. S. amenal in Missouri by the 'Border Ruffians,' who. straling therefrom their weapons, went over into Kansas, wounding and murdering its free citizens, and perpetrating an extended series of horrible outrages in the service of slavery.

26. Resolved. That in giving their unanimous support to Senator Mason's resolution, after this refusal a allow an impartial investigation, the Republican Senators of the North not only stultified themselves, but became accessory to all the villany wrapped up in that resolution, and deserve the severest condemna-

WM. Wetts Brown said a great benefit to the cause had been rendered by Mrs. Child's admirable letter to Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. He should suppose that no Southern man or woman could read the letter of Mrs. Mason, without feeling their cheeks tingle for hame. He had, however, found one lady in Massachusetts to justify that letter; though he must, in ustice, say that the lady in question was connected marriage with slaveholders. He urged that all rights and privileges which belonged to, or were good or the white man, are equally good for, and equally belong to, the colored man.

Mr. Brown thought that his friends Remond and Rack need not spend much more time in talking on the subject of prejudice against colored people-he thought the subject was coming right, and we need enly to 'wait a little longer'; in corroboration of which, he told an amusing anecdote of an experience s had had on board a Western steamboat, in which the feelings of the company had been completely tuned against a pompous man who had endeavored to drive him from the table.

E. H. Herwood reviewed, in a spirit of humorous stire, the tecent Faneuil Hall 'Union' Meeting, at which Caleb Cushing exhibited himself so characteristically. He vindicated the character and motives of John Brown, as a man of the highest faith and courare, as the most perfect specimen of a true, a noble, an heroic man, that our country has yet produced.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, fur ther reported as follows:

Resolved. That, in the name of the Constitution of Massachusetts, and the Constitution of the United States, we record our solemn protest against the veto of Gov. Banks, subversive of the equal rights of the colored citizens of Massochusetts in relation to the militia law, and against the opinion of the Supreme Court in support of that veto, and of the proscriptive law of Congress of 1793; for no where does the U.S. Constitution give to Congress the right to insult and outrage any portion of the recognized citizens of any of the States; and the State that consents to such tims, deserves not to be called a free State, but is guilty of the meanest oppression and the basest

28. Resolved, That the erection of the statue of Daniel Webster on the State House grounds, by the consent of the Legislature, on the advice of Gov. Banks, was a fraud upon the people, and an insult to the Commonwealth; and it becomes the duty of the present Legislature, while with one hand putting an end to slave-hunting in this State, with the other to hurl from its pedestal the brazen image of the man whose last years were spent in calling upon the people to be ready to engage in every slave-hunt in their borders, and to 'conquer their prejudices' against aiding and abetting the two-legged bloodhounds of

Mr. Garrison, spoke of the successive bereavements of early and faithful friends which the Anti-Slavery cause has suffered, in unusual number, during the year now past; then of the importance of yet more energetic and consistent labor among those that remain; and finally, of the miserable inconsistency of the Republican party, who shout for the Union while it is destroying the liberty, both political and individtal, of their own members.

The meeting was next addressed by WENDELL

[We hope that the speeches of Messrs. Garrison and Phillips will appear in full, from a phonographic

Mr. Gannison read a very interesting letter from

TROMAS GARRETT, of Wilmington, Delaware. He also read an extract from the New York Tablet, (the Roman Catholic organ in that city,) referring to the recent case of the lynching and unusually base treatment of a young Irishman in South Carolina, in which that paper, its eyes remarkably clear of vision in the existing case, denounced the cruelty and its perpetrators in very proper terms, and declared the Union not worth preserving, where such things could be done with impunity.

The resolutions before the Society were adopted. and the Society, on motion, then adjourned, sine die. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

SAMPEL MAY, Jr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE. Secretaries.

SUBSCRIPTION - FESTIVAL AND ANNUAL

MEETING. The Annual Anti-Slavery Subscription-Pestival errning, 25th ult. The attendance was numerous (two or three thousand persons being present during the evening.) drawn together from various parts of the Commonwealth, and constituting a rare assemblage of intellectual strength, moral excellence, and world-embracing philanthropy. All felt ic to be a delightful and strengthening occasion. A liberal supply of refreshments was gratuitously provided-there vas excellent music, both vocal and instrumentaland speeches made by Edmund Quincy, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Philip Gangooly, the tonverted Brahmin. The amount contributed for the Cause was upwards of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.-

[Further particulars hereafter.] The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society held six interesting and well-attended sessions en Thursday and Friday. The proceedings were sairited, high-toned, and very harmonious.

SPEECH OF DR. JOHN S. ROCK, Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, Jan. 27, 1860.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is no trifling matter, no childish play, to attemp to make a speech upon slavery on this platform, where every phase of the pet institution of this Republic is presented from time to time by these noble men and women, who have devoted their lives to exposing this 'sum of all villanies,' and who have so thoroughly canvassed this question that it is difficult to find a place to put in a word edgewise. It is true the present aspect of the slavery question is enough to make even the stones cry out," vet to make speech after the gentlemen who have addressed you, and before those who are to follow me, is (to borrow a few lines from Shakspeare) to attempt

'To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, To throw a perfume on the violet, To smooth the ice, or add another hue Unto the rainbow, or with taper light To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish— Is wasteful and ridiculous excess.

Such being my feelings, I shall not make an attempt at a speech. I desire simply to present you with a few thoughts on this subject, for I think that in times like these, every man can afford to say something. Yes, now when the impudent negro has entered both Houses of Congress, and is stubbornly persisting in remaining there, not withstanding his seat is closely contested both by Democrats and Republicans; when Wendell Phillips and Henry Wilson are to be driven into Canada, and Gov. Wise is to carry the war into England; when Wm, Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, and the entire anti-slavery host is to be swept away by the powers that be; to make in this direction -not one. when the free colored people are being more severely persecuted than ever; when many men claiming to be the friends of liberty are seeking to preserve an that they have no desire to interfere with the abomination of abominations; and when every thing tends to convince us that we are sleeping on the crater of an interested party, if I express my feelings on some of the points which I have mentioned, and others which have been stated in the resolutions.

Within the last six months, certain pro-slavery and Republican newspapers have been discussing the question, 'What shall be done with the free colored' people?' Such a question, in any other country than this, would be regarded as monstrous. But then it must be remembered that this is in democratical and republican America, where an enlightened Court of Supreme Igneramuses (applause) have decided that and elequent friend, Mr. Remond, seems to feel. I men with black skins have no rights that men with believe there is, to a certain extent, a legitimate prejuwhite skins are bound to respect. Having failed, by dies existing in all communities. It is not founded barbarous treatment, to blot out the humanity of a race, they now add insult to injury. Like Alexander the Great, when he found out that he could not conquer the Scythians, he called them barbarians. But do the men who attempt to discuss this question feel themselves to be slaveholders, and we their property? If not, upon what principle of right can we be disposed of? Has a man or a set of men a right to dispose of that which does not belong either to him or to them? Have the whites a greater right to dispose of the blacks, than the blacks have to dispose of the whites? (Several voices-'No, no!') To be sure, the whites have the physical power, and the means to annihilate the blacks, but has the great moral power of the American people dwindled down to brute force? To entertain such a question is creditable to neither the heads nor the hearts of the freemen of the North.

(Applause.) You know too well that much of the wealth and prosperity of this country has been extracted from the sweat and life-blood of the black man. Now, when his intelligence teaches him to refuse to labor without compensation, you seriously entertain a proposition for removing him from the country! Have you overlooked the fact, that this country is ours as well as yours-that we have won our rights here, not only by incessant toil, but by shedding our blood in its defence? There is not a battle-field from Maine to Louisiana, that has not been crimsoned by our blood, and whitened by our bones.

It is said that the two races cannot exist together in freedom. Such an idea is preposterous. No one are exceedingly degraded, but in proportion as' we simply because I am a colored man. become educated and elevated, the prejudice increases, and we become antagonistic. And it is only as a cultivated industries and highly many lands to do with our rights. Certain enemies of the Antitainly an elevated standard!

handsome surplus left, which goes to support the (Laughter and applause.) free schools and other institutions that we are not permitted to enter, and to take care of those poor know you will not, suffer this exciting question t (Laughter and applause.)

the whites, would accomplish our object as certain and as easy as we could by emigrating to a foreign and applause.) country, and overcoming the disadvantages of language, climate, low wages, and other obstacles which would tend to embarrass us in a strange country. This being our country, we have made up our minds to remain in it, and to try to make it worth vis held at Music Hall, in this city, on Wednesday living in. (Applause.) These are our reasons for prejudice, and the irrepressible antagonism of the races. not wishing to leave this slavery-cursed land. You (Applause.) are sadly mistaken, if you suppose that we prefer being oppressed here, to being freemen in other countries. The intelligent portion of the colored people leave this country quietly, or be driven into Canada are rapidly losing their attachment for this country. But, then, we have ties here, and friends that we are unwilling to leave to their fate. John Brown's sympathizers will never die while we live. (Applause.) ent as to the result of this great contest-but appear-The hardest question that I had to answer in Europe, was,-Why do the free colored people in the United States, who have means, remain in that country? institution of Slavery at the South, and prejudice at Europeans, in general, have no confidence in the success of liberty in this country; and they ridiculed the in this country? I will tell you. It is making every dea of attempting to work out a moral victory among

rights. A Frenchman said to me, one day, 'You might as well preach fasting to a starving man, as morality to an American.' (Laughter.)

Now, those men who object to giving us our rights, say, 'If we give them their rights, we must invite them to our houses, and mingle with them in marriage.' This is a mistake. We ask only for our rights. (Hear.) So far as the social relation is concerned, that must regulate itself. There may be those colored men who have a morbid desire to mingle, socially, among the whites; but I do not think that the desire is greater on our part, than it is on rours. (Laughter and applause.) We all have our prejudices, and our reasons for them. Much of your prejudice against us is, no doubt, on account of the difference in our social and intellectual conditions. Much of our prejudice against you is the result o the injuries we have received at your hands. (Applause.) While I am forced to accord to the people of this country an unparalleled degree of grosierte, and especially so towards the colored man, yet, al colored men do not suffer alike. I see many respectable colored men, who complain of being insulted nearly every day in the streets of Boston. I have been more fortunate: I have never been insulted it this city. I can say more: I have no friends among that class of men called pro-slavery (applause); and yet I have met, from every grade in society, the most unequivocal marks of respect. No one insults me no one ever says a pert thing to me. Even drunker loafers pass me by without unpleasant remarks made in my hearing. I have no friends ashamed to meet me anywhere, or to invite me to their houses, or to visit me in return. I have not one word of complain

MR. REMOND. Will my esteemed friend Dr. Rock tell us why it is that he is not insulted? We know that there is a gentleman in this city who goes to the unholy alliance, and are avowing again and again Slave States, and is not insulted; but we know the reason. Will my friend Dr. Rock explain how it is that he escapes? This very day, when I had not left this hall more than ter minutes, I was assailed with a slumbering volcano, I may, I think, be pardoned as the remark, 'There that d-d nigger that spoke this morning.' I consider the Doctor's point an im portant one, and hope he will explain how he escapes insult.

Dr. Rock, resuming. I have been speaking only of myself. I cannot speak for Mr. Remond; and you perceive that he has not seen fit to tell us where he was, when he was insulted. (Uproarous laughter and applause.)

I confess that I do not feel so thin-skinned, on this color question, as my much-esteemed and very able on the accidental distinctions of color or race. Such prejudice is simply the result of ignorance. But there is a deeper prejudice :- it is of morals and in telligence. If a man feels that I am his inferior, I do not see why he should be expected to associate with me. All men prefer to associate with their equals. The rich prefer to associate together, the learned together, the moral together, and the vicious together; and to attempt to associate the refined with the vulgar, the moral with the vicious, or the antislavery with the pro-slavery, is to attempt to mix oil

Besides, every man has a right to choose his com pany, or to fancy this color more than that. If any man is not pleased with my color, that is his business and I do not think I have a right to meddle with it I have neither the time nor the disposition to trouble myself because he lacks good taste. (Laughter.) I desire the society of no one, unless it is mutual." If a gentleman takes a seat beside me in a lecture-room a concert, or a railroad-car, before making the discovery that I am a colored man, and then shows his ill-breeding by appearing unessy, and finally seeking a sent elsewhere, we are both pleased-he, because he has avoided the presence of a 'nigger,' and I that of a fool. (Applause.) We are, thenceforward, kept apart by the force of mutual repulsion. There is both truth and poetry in the remark of Swift- 'If a man makes me keep my distance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the same time.' (Applause.)

The prejudice that I complain of, is that which robs me of my inalienable rights; and which not doubts our ability to remain here as slaves; but the only closes against me every avenue to wealth and moment we become free, we become an antagonistic position, but which refuses me even the common facilities for gaining an honest livelihood,-there dom, there is but little prejudice against those who forcing me to remain poor and degraded, and that

cultivated, industrious, and highly moral people, Slavery movement, when cornered on this question of that we are objected to! The Americans have cerging the question, by saying, Why! would you be Those who advocate our removal say the free willing to have your daughter marry a nigger? Just blacks are an incumbrance. If such were the fact, I as though your daughter, and everybody else's daughthink we could easily trace it to causes outside of us, ter, were crazy to marry 'niggers;' and the moment and within the detestable policy which this government pursues towards us, and which, if removed, the would seize upon and take him, nolens voicins! (Laughobjection would cease. When white men, with every ter.) If this is to be the result of freedom to the advantage and stimulant, become incumbrances, it blacks, it is indeed sad (laughter); and especiallic se would not be surprising if colored men, who have to the blacks themselves, who are to be still the view but little to hope for, and nothing to aspire to, should tims-first, of avarice, then of mad love. O. I sam be as worthless as themselves, or, as a class, that we almost tempted to complain of the Creator for the should become indolent and improvident. But the giving us such beautiful complexions, and then plancharge is false. We will compare favorably with the ing us among a people who are continually trying to Germans, Italians and Irish, who are not oppressed. extract the virtues from it. (Laughter and applauss) In many of the Free States, we are not only de- Do you not really pity those fathers who have daughtprived of every political and nearly every social right, ters with such strange affections? (Laughter.) Have but we are taxed to support schools and institutions you seriously thought of what is to become of these that we are not permitted to enter. In Philadelphia, timid young men who have been, for years, trying to where there is a larger free colored population than is muster up covrage enough to 'pop the question' to be found in any other city in the United States, we (Laughter.) What desperate crimes will they not are in possession of property, real and personal, to commit on their frail 'human natur,' on beholding the value of several millions of dollars. We pay the darling objects of their affections, like genuin taxes enough to support our own poor, and have a Amazons, bearing off 'great big niggers' in triumph's

My friends, you are brave men. You cannot, whites who 'can't take care of themselves.'- pass away without a manly resistance. 'Only to think of the blacks and zamboes dying out with the The masses of those who have discussed this ques- first generation, the mulattoes with the second, the tion, argue that colonization is the remedy. Per- quadroons with the third, and then, in the fourth haps it is. There are many reasons and much philos- generation,-O! horrible to relate,-the twain will be ophy in abandoning a country and people who have of 'one flesh.' These glorious meetings will be abolso diligently sought to crush us. But, then, it must isled. You will not have the pleasure of destraying be remembered that there is no other country that is the Constitution or dissolving the Union. Your ocparticularly inviting to us, and on this account the cupation' will be 'gone;' and you will not have the masses of the colored people, who think for them- pleasure of saying of the blacks, as we can all now selves, have believed that the same effort made in say of our democratical amalgamation propagandists, working our way up in this country, and in civilizing that the time and places that know them now, will shortly know them no more forever.' (Laughter

So far, I am most happy to say, that the practical friends of amalgamation have been pro-slavery white men, with strong African tendencies, (great laughter,) and one million of mulattoes in the United States demonstrates very clearly the character of American

Now, my friends, the blacks are not yet disposed of and it will be some time before we are. We may or the West Indies, but that does not dispose of us-We are still within speaking and acting distance. At present we are, to all appearances, perfectly indifferances are often deceitful. Every man who snores is not asleep. Now, what impression do you think the the North, is making upon the Africo-American race intelligent colored man hate his country, and swear a people who trample liberty under their feet, and vengeance against it. I doubt very much whether who think it no more a crime to enslave a man than to any considerable number of colored men would, in work a horse; and who have never, since the establish- case of war with any foreign country, take up arms to ment of slavery in this country, wanted an apology defend a government which has never cessed to op-

for enslaving us, or for robbing us of our inalienable press them. (Hear.) There is no country in the world. I believe that no student from the United civilized world, no matter how despotic, that would States has ever taken even a third prize at the Sorabolish our citizenship, or deny us equal privileges bonne reunions. I know the fact which I state. I with others, or refuse to protect us with its strong was in Paris at the time, and had the honor of an in arm. (Hear.) The Austrian Government is far pref- vitation to a banquet given to the laurents. Black erable to this. We hear enough of French despot- men have graduated here; but, if monkeys can pass ism, but the despotism of France, as compared to through college in this country, I am certain that it that of the United States, is as sounding brass and takes men to do so in France, (laughter,) and if black a tinkling cymbal. Napoleon watches with a paren-tal eye over the interests of the humblest of his sub-ropean savants, Mr. Everett will need many facts and jects. He is a great statesman, and knows that the much logic to prove that we are by nature incapaciinterests of his subjects are his own interests. But the tated for liberty. (Applause.) wicked rulers of this Democratical Government, Such men as Everett and Wise, Buchanan and which lives only by devouring her subjects, and, like Cushing, have such a morbid desire for devouring the the ours ou asson of Brazil, which forms its nest of blacks, that they can swallow a 'nigger,' as Bishop the bones of the animals it has killed, build up and Butler's knave did a fool, much larger than himself; support this despotism by the gold wrung out of the and if they can, like him, but get his head between flesh, blood, and bones of the negro. I have no de- their jaws, will carry the rest of him hanging out of sire to insult the Christian world by a comparison be- their mouths, until by degrees they have digested him. tween this unhappy country and France-I would no Now, I belong to that class of fanatics who believe more think of comparing Napoleon III. with Buchanan that every man has the same inalienable rights; that the Last, than I would the Saviour with Beelzebub. any distinctions founded upon color are unjust; and And in case of war between the two countries, the colored man would have considered man would have considered man between the two countries, the colored man would have considered man the colored man would have considered the colored man would be colored to the colored man would be colored ing on the side of France.

her horns.

modes to o press u, ought to remember that the lion had need of the mouse.

I am certain that if foreign nations knew of the they would meet with here, they would have less respect for the strength of this government. Civil and foreign wars are scourges which every

Christian man must deprecate. I am certain that colored men are patriotic. No man ever heard of a colored traitor. We love this country, and we love you. Nothing could be more foreign to our desires than the necessity for taking up arms against our own country. But there must be an end to this persecution. We ory, and uses them all to aid him in a bad cause.

Greek priest, who, in his condemnation, praised the brother as a slave. (Applause.) nictures of Titian, that he refused to accept. 'Your scandalous figures stand out, said he, from the can- PLYMOUTH CHURCH SUSTAINING THE vass like a group of statues.' And, Mr. Everett. your negroes are so imbued with the contemptible spirit of liberty, that they will attempt to do on a thirty-five years ago. He says:

were so overwhelmed under the load of slavery, that I, myself, who am writing this-I thought the world finished at the line which bounded my sight, and my fellow-countrymen were as ignorant as myself, and more so, if that were possible. I have known many us who have learned to read and write without the benefit of instruction. Such men have become notaries, attorneys, advocates, judges, administrators, and have astonished the world by the sagacity of their judgment. Others have become sculptors and pain-ters by their own exertions, and have astonished strangers by their works. Others, again, have succeeded as architects, mechanics, and manufacturers: others have worked mines of sulphur, fabricated saltpetre, and made excellent gunpowder, with no other guides than books of chemistry and minerology. And yet the Haytiens do not claim to be a manufacturing and commercial people. Agriculture and arms are our professions. Like the Romans, we go from arms plough, and from the plough to arms.' (Applause.)

This is the kind of progress which our humane, democratic government is determined to put a stop to. The negro has no right to become industrious and intelligent. These things only tend to render him more barbarous. It is the lash and ignorance which have raised him to the elevated position which he now holds in this, his paradise.

But, let me tell Mr. Everett a fact which cannot be successfully refuted; and that is, in proportion to the population, Hayti to-day numbers more finished scholars than the United States. I do not mean men who pass through a four years' course of study in a college, where it is the interest of the Institution to graduate as many as possible; but educated gentlemen, who will compare favorably with the best European scholars on the Continent, where they have graduated. Have the brawlers about negro inferiority forgotten that, a few months since, three black gentlemen-Messicurs. Faubert, Dupuy, and Delva, from Hayti, took all the prizes at the reunion of the colleges of France-that the Emperor eent a detachment of his National Guards, with a hand of music, to wait upon Mr. Faubert, the gentleman who took the first prize, the prize of Honor, and to congratulate him on his success? This honor was achieved over students from this, and all other countries in the civilized

\* Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Haiti, par B. Ardouin. Vos. X. Paris et Port-au-Prince, 1852-69.

he does as good; if he acts as good, he is as good We have suffered too much to be indifferent to the if he conducts himself better, he is better. I believe result of a war with any other country. If Governor that the outraged slave has not only the same rights Banks (who is, no doubt, more deeply interested in the as others, but a heavy claim upon you. If there is Chicago nomination than in the removal of the word any human being whose cup of misery is full, it is white' from our statutes) refuses to give us arms to his. He has nothing to console him. He has no , why not ask the slave himself to testify? It was imdefend our country, you ought not to be surprised if bright future in the distance-no faint glimmerings the opportunity offers, and we should resent it. This of hope. Nothing greets him but suffering, and is natural. If you tread on a snail, she will shoot out eternal toil without rest. To-night, after his daily labor, he lives in the bosom of his family; he dan-At present, the colored population of this country is dles his young babe on his knee; his children play third larger than the entire population at the time about him; and his grown-up sons and daughters, of the war of the Revolution, in which our fathers who have walked several miles to be together, divert took part. To-day, one hundred thousand freemen, each other as best they can from the terrible monofcapable of bearing arms, and three-quarters of a mil- ony which is before them. To-morrow!-Great God on of slaves, wild with the enthusiasm caused by of Justice! what a change! The mother and babe the dawn of the glorious opportunity of being able to both on the auction-block, -one to go to a neighborstrike a genuine blow for freedom, will be a power ing State, and the other to the far South! The father that 'white men' will be 'bound to respect.' Will and sons on the plantation, under the cruel driver's the blacks fight? Of course they will. The black lash. The daughters-where are they? aye, where man will never be neutral-he would not if he could, are they ?- in the power of the cold-blooded veteran and he could not if he would. Will he fight for this ravisher! And to all this they are obliged to submit. country right or wrong? This the common sense of There is no custom, no law, and no constitution to every one answers; and when the time comes, and forbid it! There is no public sentiment to forbid it. come it will, the black man will give an intelligent If the slave says, 'My hands, my body, my mind, answer. And those who are continually seeking new myself, a million of Sharp's rifles are ready to make a sieve of his body !

This is the glorious institution which this present democratical government is seeking to extend and smothering fires that are in need only of a breath of perpetuate in this country, and which has already pure air to fan them into a flame, and the sympathy the controlling power of the government. The Executive, the Legislative, the Military, and the diplomatic powers, are under its immediate control. It says to the Executive, ' Go,' and he goes; to the National Legislature, ' Come,' and it comes; and to the Judiciary, 'Do this,' and it does it. It has now turned the sword of government into an assassin's dagger; and to this the Executive and Judicial authorities are close and confidential associates.

The Republicans are checkmating this power; and, cannot suffer forever. And as Mr. Everett has said, in this respect, I think they are doing a good work. and perhaps truly, that at least civil war must be the The idea of 'no more slave States' is good. The result of this conflict, then I would be prepared for fewer the better. (Applause.) But they do not it. If the blacks are to be annihilated, then let it be carry it far enough. I would have them say, 'No done when we are contending for our rights. We more slavery ! The Republicans, however, have no had much better die freemen, than live to be slaves. idea of abolishing slavery. They go against slavery (Applause.) When Mr. Everett spoke of the terri- only so far as slavery goes against their interests; and ble scenes which are to close up this conflict, and cited | if they keep on lowering their standard, as they have Hayti as an example, he ought to have been honest been for the last few months, they will soon say in enough to have stated who were the aggressors, and New England, what they have said already in the the territ le crimes and savage barbarities that were Middle States, that the Republican party is not only resorted to, to re-fasten the shackleson the limbs of the the white man's party, but that 'it aims to place blacks; and to state also that the acts which he spoke white men and white labor against black men and of were not deliberate crimes committed in cold blood, black labor.' Such republicanism is no better than but the result of the most barbarous treatment that democracy. But, in Massachusetts, there is some disgraces the pages of history, and which geaded life, and many true lovers of liberty in the party, them on to revenge. They were fighting for their who mean to do right, even if the heavens fall; who liberty, and were perfectly justifiable in annihilating intend to make the soil of this old Commonwealth everything that stood in their way. (Applause.) free. To all such men, I am ready to give a hearty Mr. Everett quotes from some unknown author, God-speed. Those of us who believe slavery to be whose name he no doubt felt would not add to his not only a crime against morals, but against the cause. I am certain that it was not from Ardonin's eternal principles of justice, cannot consistently ex-Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Haiti, which is the most per- cuse ourselves from using our whole exertions to bring fect and complete history of the Island that has ever about its immediate abolition. The contest is now been published. But Mr. Everett is not particular to going bravely on. We have only to be true to our be correct. He hates justice, facts, and black men, principles, and the victory is ours. A host of noble and garbles from slaveholders, newspapers, and his- men have now met in collision, with a set of dark intriguing and desperate characters, and He is one of that class of great men who are fond of struggle between a slave oligarchy and a free Repubbeing exceedingly little. (Applause.) He condemns (lie will soon close, and slavery go down in the tuthe blacks for wresting their Independence from the mult, never to rise again. (Loud applause.) Then French and English, and driving them from the Island. we will all hail the happy day when we can have a His arguments remind me of the ignorance of the country which recognizes no man as master, and no

## AMERICAN BOARD.

Henry Ward Beecher has long had the credit (with those who are not abolitionists) of being an abolivast scale what was done in St. Domingo.' As an tionist. To those who really hold that ground, it has offset to the quotation which that honored gentleman | been very plain that he has never taken it. His occamade in his Faneuil Hall speech, I will read an ex- sional sharp hits against slavery, like his occasiona tract which will give you another idea of Hayti. It sharp hits against orthodoxy, and for heterodoxy shows what may be expected from immediate eman-show merely what the combination of his interna cipation, and what an oppressed people can do alone. feelings, with his external surroundings, put it into It was written by Baron de Vastry, one of the coun- his head to utter at that moment; but whoever exsellors of Christophe, himself a pure negro, who pub- pects to hold him the next day, or the next week, to lished some reflections on the state of Hayti, about the position indicated by those utterances, will probably be disappointed. He is sentimentally opposed · Five and twenty years ago, we were plunged in to slavery like every man of humane feelings and a the nost complete ignorance. We had no notion of human society, no idea of happiness, and no powerful feelings. Our faculties, both physical and moral, is likely to meet the speaks to the speaks of it without bias from professional considerations, he gymen, the credit of the clerical body is more important than justice, more important than humanity and in the great debate which has just closed in the Plymouth church at Brooklyn, the question was whether confidence should be withdrawn, and cash withheld, from a body so Reverend, pious, and venerable as the American Board, merely because it was pro-slavery; whether, in short, the fruits of a Christian life, as well as the leaves of a high 'profession, should be demanded of that much-professing Association; and whether, in failure of such fruits, the Plymouth church should say plainly, of and to the Board, that it was weighed in the balances and found wanting, and that, therefore, the stewardship which it had misused should be taken from it, and given to another.

> The question whether the money raised by the Plymouth church for Foreign Missions should be entrusted, as heretofore, to the American Board, or given to some Association free from complicity with slavery, has been debated in that church, with intense earnestness, for a month past. When the close of this discussion approached, the friends of the Board in that church found themselves so hard pressed by the reformatory party, under the leadership of Mr Theodore Tilton, that they sent for Mr. Beecher, their pastor, (who was fulfilling some lecturing engagements in Boston,) to come to their help; and he went at once for that purpose, breaking his engagement to preach at the Music Hall. Providentially, the gap thus made was filled, at the last moment, by a preacher equally eloquent and more Christian, Mr. Wendell Phillips; but many of the 28th Congregational Society were astonished to hear that it was to labor in defence of slavery that the eloquent Brooklyn preacher had broken his promise to them.

I have, from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, and other sources, an account of the final meeting (Wednesday evening, 25th inst.) for the discussion of this subjeet, which was attended by two thousand persons.

Mr. Tilton had the floor, to reply to Mr. Beecher's argument on Monday evening; but Mr. Beecher interposed his request that expressions of applause and disapprobation might be refrained from, as unsuitable to the character of 'a church of Christ.'

Mr. Tilton bestowed high praise upon Mr. Beecher, as he is accustomed to do, but said he did not join in the opinion which seemed to be gaining ground, that a pastor could do no wrong. He called their attention to the fact that this Board was the representative of a combination of American churches, whose complicity with slavery was so direct and so extensive, that their ministers and church-members are now holding 600,000 human beings in bondage. He rea minded them that the members of the Indian mission churches had always been allowed to hold slaves, and that their missionaries had always refused to direct church discipline against this sin, and yet that the Board had never even required the exclusion of slaveholders, still less dismissed the missionaries for so prostituting their office. He expressed his surprise that Mr. Beecher called the Board a 'venerable' institution, after such conduct as this; and that he would suffer its age and its reputation for piety to counterbalance such direct violation of Christian duty. He wondered that Mr. Beecher should single out for praise that missionary who had declared it 'impossible to exercise discipline for the buying or selling of slaves.' He wondered yet more at Mr. Beecher's advocacy of the admission of slaveholders to church communion. Why not make the door of the church so parrow that a slaveholder could not enter it carrying a slave with him? And, as to the claim that the ownership in question was for the good of the slave, possible for a man to be either unwillingly a slaveholder, or innocently a slaveholder.

Mr. Beecher had repeatedly advocated the application of religion to politics in the pulpit! Why did he now uphold the missionaries and the Prudential Committee in refusing to make such an application in the Indian churches? Mr. Beecher's father and brother (standing in the minority in an Annual Meeting of the Board) had opposed the withdrawal of Dr. Blanchard's resolution condemning slavery! Would Mr. Beecher now sustain the Board in voting down that resolution? Did he not know that the author of the 'South-side View of Slavery' was every year re-elected a member of the Prudential Committee? Mr. Beecher claimed that the Board spread the Gospel! What kind of Gospel was it? He claimed, too, that the Board was gradually improving! If the improvement is so very gradual as not to encourage us to expect the needed amount of change in our life-time, why should we wait for it? It was said, too, that the Board had no control over the missionaries! Could they not cut off their supplies, and end their connection with them? But, instead of cutting off the Choctaw missionaries, and sending better ones, they had cut off the mission; and they still retained the slaveholding Cherokee mission. Mr. Tilton ventured to apply the argumentum ad

hominem to his pastor, once to his language, and once to his action, and in each case with such pungent appropriateness as to call forth hearty applauses from the church, in spite of the pastoral prohibition. In regard to Mr. Beecher's statement that 'in the Providence of God' he was absent from the earlier debates upon this subject, Mr. Tilton said he had supposed this absence to be 'under the extraordinary dispensation of \$100 per night,' and that the ways of Providence were indeed mysterious. Finally, Mr. Tilton exhibited a Sharpe's rifle-one of twenty-five which had been subscribed for and sent to Kansas by this very church, under the fervent appeals of the pastor, and which had been used effectively against the border ruffians, this particular weapon having been three months in the hands of John Brown-and made an impressive appeal to Mr. Beecher, urging that, if the defence of freedom in Kansas needed the application of such means of resistance, he should at least send to the American Board, and to their Cherokee missionaries, some effective verbal protest, some energetic testimony against their continued complicity with the sin of slavery, and against the disgrace and corruption thence resulting to the Church.

If Mr. Beecher had kept within the bounds of truth in his reply to this speech, the impression of it could not have been effaced, its argument would have remained unanswered, and the vote of the church must have gone against the Board. If the report of this reply in the Eagle be correct, he uttered repeated and flagrant violations of the truth, namely :

1. The only fault he found with Mr. Tilton's speech was, that 'it had nothing to do with the subject under discussion.' (!!)

times, 'and now stands upon a Christian basis.' (!!) -[This is just what Dr. Pomroy said in England.]

3. ' When the Choctaw missionaries refused to teach an Anti-Slavery Gospel, the Board cut them off. '-[Here three deceptive ideas are condensed into one short sentence.]
4. 'Now the Cherokee missionaries had promised

to fulfil the instructions of the Board.'- [Here two decentive ideas are condensed into one sentence 1

5. 'For the last fifteen years, the American Board had been progressing-had been drawing its bands tighter and tighter against the expediencies of slaveholding.' [The only progress the Board has made in regard to slaveholding has been in increasing the number of its hypocritical expedients to seem to be moving, while it stood still. It has never prohibited slaveholding, either in its Choctaw or Cherokee

This long debate ended by the vote of a very large majority of the church to sustain the American Board. All the accounts agree in ascribing this vote to the personal influence of the pastor. If Mr. Beecher had supported Mr. Tilton, the vote would have een unanimous against the Board. As it was, the reformatory party gained everything but the vote. They diffused important intelligence upon the subject, of which the church, through the fault of its pastor, had till then remained ignorant. They made a strong moral impression, bringing out the facts which Mr. Beecher had smothered in silence, and showing the direct manner in which the Church, the ministry and the Board fortified the position of the mass of vulgar and cruel slaveholders. This impression was so strong and so pervading, that nothing less than the sophistical eloquence of the pastor, backed by the prestige of his station, and the magnetism of his personal influence, could have given the vote its final direction.

Mr. Beecher has had the opportunity, in this transaction, to do a work of immense importance towards the reformation of the Church and the overthrow of slavery. He has chosen not only to throw away this opportunity, but to turn his influence actively in an opposite direction. It is well, at least, that he has effectually dispelled the delusion of those

who counted him an abolitionist. Mr. Tilton and his friends have now their choice to make, between two modes of energetic protest and persistent labor against this unchristian attitude of the Plymouth church. Will they protest by withdrawal from the church, or by increased and concentrated effort within it? Surely, they will not now shrink from the further duty that lies before them !- c. K. W.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, West Gloucester, 12.00

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will speak for the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society (Rev. Theodore Parker's) on Sunday forenoon next, Feb. 5, at Music Hall.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Sunday evening, Feb. 8. Thou hast fallen in thine armor, Thou martyr of the Lord! With thy last breath crying, 'Onward !' And thy hand upon the sword. The haughty heart derideth, And the sinful lip reviles, But the blessing of the perishing Around thy pillow smiles.

Oppression's hand may scatter Its nettles on thy tomb, And even Christian bosoms Deny thy memory room; For lying lips shall torture Thy mercy into crime, And the slanderer shall flourish As the bay-tree for a time.

But where the South wind lingers On Carolina's pines, Or falls the careless sunbeam Down Georgia's golden mines; Where now beneath his burthen The toiling slave is driven, Where now a tyrant's mockery Is offered unto Heaven;

Where Mammon hath its altars Wet o'er with human blood, And pride and lust debases The workmanship of God; There shall thy praise be spoken, Redeemed from falsehood's ban, When the fetters shall be broken, And the SLAVE shall be a MAN !

In the evil days before us, And the trials yet to come; In the shadow of the prison, Or the cruel martyrdom; We will think of thee, O brother ! And thy sainted name shall be In the blessing of the captive, And the anthem of the free.

LINES, written by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, and sung at the Music Hall, on the twenty-sixth National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary, Jan. 26, 1860.

THE HERO'S HEART. When he went from the jail to the gallows, he stooped to kiss a colored child that stood near.'

A winter sunshine, still and bright, The Blue Hills bathed with golden light, And earth was smiling to the sky, When calmly he went forth to die.

Infernal passions festered there. Where peaceful Nature looked so fair: And fiercely, in the morning sun, Plashed glittering bayonet and gun. The old man met no friendly eye,

When last he looked on earth and sky; But one small child, with timid air, Was gazing on his silver hair. As that dark brow to his up-turned.

The tender heart within him yearned: And, fondly stooping o'er her face, He kissed her, for her injured race.

The little one, she knew not why That kind old man went forth to die; Nor why, mid all that pomp and stir, He stooped to give a kiss to her.

But Jesus smiled that sight to see, And said, . He did it unto me! The golden harps then sweetly rung, And this the song the angels sung :

. Who loves the poor, doth love the Lord! Earth cannot dim thy bright reward; We hover o'er you gallows high, And wait to bear thee to the sky.'

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE SLAVE-GIRL'S PRAYER. Within the fairest of the Southland's bowers, Beneath thy blue, star-jewell ed canopy, Amid the clustering vines and fragrant flowers, Father, in agony I kneel to thee !

Still through the leaves I see the moonlight gleaming Still hear the far-off murmur of the sea; But, ah! no longer comes the old, sweet dreaming In anguish deep and strong I kneel to Thee!

The dreams of childhood, they were glad ones ever I knew not then the misery of my lot; Too soon I learned; and in my soul, oh! never Can that dark hour of suffering be forgot.

Once every flower and wave and star seemed given To fill my heart with joy; now all is o'er; The glory of Thy earth, and sea, and heaven, But mocks my woe-it gladdens me no more

I know that Thou art merciful and tender; Thou can'st not hear, unmoved, the prayer of wo Oh, take me to Thee! let me now surrender This hated breath-my spirit longs to go. Ah, worse than death the doom of shame and sorrow

That now, oh, Father! waits thy suffering child! The horrid fate that waits me on the morrow, Whereat my heart grows sick, my brain turns wild Only to die! it seems not much to pray for!

"Tis but a little boon, yet oh, how blest! And the crushed soul, with naught on earth to stay for Enters with joy into that perfect rest. The night speeds on ! and yet Thou dost not hearker To the last prayer e'er to be breathed by me :

For I am losing faith and hope in Thee. Oh, hear me, Father ! let it not be shaken-My trust in Thee-my only hope of peace; Oh, grant my prayer! for if by Thee forsaken, By mine own hand my miseries must cease!

Closer the clouds of anguish round me darken.

From friends, from kindred, every loved one parted. No heart to pity me, no hand to save, I seek the refuge which the broken-hearted Find only in the quiet of the grave. Salem. Mass., 1859.

> From the Anti-Slavery Standard. CHARLES SUMNER.

Home, to thy post, brave Sumner !- years of pain, Of sorrowing exile, have but proved thee true ! With silken fetters what hast thou to do? Thine is the bludgeon's blow, the foeman's cane. Teach, still, thy better way! that all in vain The death-stored armory, Right to subdue: That war's unholy orgies are untrue To man, to God : raise to the Christian plane How raise? By strivings, such as Christ's and thin-Lessons of Peace, enhanced by life and deed Proving their origin from source divine

By martyr-suffering, so there be need. Where Mann hath gone-where Abans led th way-Whence all light cometh, thou shall meet the day.

Milney, Nov. 22, 1869.

THE LIBERATOR.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER TO A PRIEND IN BOSTON.

ROME, Dec. 24, 1859. What a stormy time you are having in America! Your cradle was rocked in the Revolution, and now in your old age you see the storm of another Revolution beginning: none knows when and where it shall end. Yesterday, the telegraph brought us the expected intelligence that the slaveholders had hung a negro in Savannah tell a Northern minister- I no Capt. John Brown! Of course, I knew from the mo- want to be free !- I only 'fraid to be slave of sin! dat's ment of his capture what his fate would be: the it, massa, Ise fraid of de Debil, not of massa! What logic of slavery is stronger than the intellect or per- a guffaw he gave when with his countrymen alone sonal will of any man, and it bears all Southern poli- and how he mimicked the gestures of the South ticians along with it. No martyr whose tragic story side, white-choked priest, who bore 'his great com is writ in the Christian books ever bore himself more mission in his work'! heroically than Capt. Brown; for he was not only a But I end as I began-what a stormy time is befor martyr, -any bully can be that, -but also a Saint - us! There are not many men of conscience like John which no bully can ever be. None ever fell in a Brown, but abundance of men of wrath-and the more righteous cause :-- it has a great future, too, time for them-I know not when it is. which he has helped bring nearer and make more certain. I confess I am surprised to find love for the man, admiration for his conduct, and sympathy with his object, so wide-spread in the North, especi ally in New England, and more particularly in dear, good, old Boston! Think of the Old South on th same platform with Emerson and Phillips! Think of sermons like Wheelock's, Newhall's, Freeman Clarke's and Cheever's Thanksgiving sermon at New York-an Orthodox minister of such bulk putting John Brown before Moses! The New York Herald had an extract from . . . sermon. It was such as none but a mean soul could preach on such an occasion; but we must remember that it taxes a mean man as much to be mean and little, as it does a noble one to be grand and generous. Every minister must bear sermons after his kind; ' for of a thorn men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble-bush gather they grapes.' I rather think the Curtises did not fire a hundred cannon on Boston Common when they heard that John Brown was hung, as they did which endered him the prodigy of the past year a little change since 1850, and men not capable of ly disied in opinion in respect to him? repentance are yet liable to shame-and if they cannot be converted, may yet be scared.

Well, things can never stand as they did three months ago. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, at day-break, Old England and New-Great Britain and the thirteen colonies-were one nation. At sunrise, they were two. The fire of the grenadiers made reconciliation impossible, and there must be war and separation. It is so now. Great events turn on small hinges, and let mankind march through. How different things happen from what we fancy! All good institutions are founded on some great truth of the mind or conscience; and, when such a truth is to be put over the world's highway, we think it must be borne forward on the shoulders of some mighty horse whom God has shod strong all round for that special purpose, and we wonder where the creature is, and when he will be road-ready; and real character, those traits (Combativeness and Firmlook after his deep foot-prints, and listen for his step or his snorting. But it sometimes happens that the sas and Harper's Ferry. Nor can I give it as my Divine Providence uses quite humble cattle to bear his most precious burthens, both fast and far. Some trayed in all that has yet appeared in the papers, re-3000 or 4000 years ago, a body of fugitives-slavespoor, leprous, iil-clad, fled out of Egypt, under the is, he cannot have been both the good and the bad guidance of a man who slew an Egyptian. He saw man as he has been represented. What, then, was a man do a vile thing to one of his slaves, and lynch- it, that so much distinguished John Brown from al ed him on the spot-then ran for it.

Those fugitive slaves had a great truth. The world, I think, had not known before 'The Oneness of God'; -at least, their leader had it, and for hundreds know what the sense of fear is or could be. Firmness of years did this despised people keep the glorious in John Brown was like the quality of the flint, which treasure which Egypt did not know-which Greece resists the pressure of your fingers; or like the qualiand Rome never understood. Who would have ty of the granite, which resists the pressure of the thought the Ark of such salvation would have been trusted to such feeble hands!

Some 1800 or 1900 years ago, who would have looked to a Jewish Carpenter of Galilee, and a Jewish tent-maker of Tarsus in Cilicia, with few adherentsmen? Who would have looked to such persons for a truth of religion which should overturn all the temples of the old world, and drive the gods of Olympus from their time-honored thrones of reverence and power? The Rome of the Popes is, no doubt, as Poly-pressed, as it often is in others, by physical fear. theistic as the Reme of the Cæsars-but the old gods are gone, and men worship the Fisherman and in Springfield. Mass., some twelve years since, has the Tent-maker.

been referred to in the papers, lately. That occasion It was the Augustinian Monk who broke the Ro- offered a grand opportunity for the exhibition of his man Hierarchy to atoms. Tough in the brains, tough real character, as, at that time, he had not engaged in the bones, mighty also by his love of the people in the defence of Kansas, and he had had no personal and his trust in God, he did what it seemed only the great councils of the learned could accomplish—he gical operation performed on a lady whom I had renrouted the Popes, and wrested the German world from their rude and bloody gripe.

At a later day, when the new Continent which he witnessed in my lectures, was beyond his God had kent from the foundation of the world-a virgin hid away between the Atlantic and the Pacific pronounced my lectures a humbug, and he ofseas-was to be joined to Humanity, in the hopes of fered to prove it, if I would only allow him to founding such a Family of Men as the world had come upon my platform, and test the consciousness of never seen, was there any one who would have thought one of my patients. To this proposed I consented, on that the Puritan, hated in his British home, and driv- two conditions, namely, that his tests should not enen out thence with fire and sword, would be the Representative of Humanity, and claim and win that Bride, and wed her too, with nuptials now so auspicious? Yet so it turns out, and the greatest social and political achievement of the human race is wrought out lady. To this he readily agreed, aithough it was by that Puritan, with his Bride-whose only dower quite evident that when he attarst purposed his test was her broad lands. Really, it seems as if God chose he had no idea of going through withit himself. He the small things to confound the great. But when we had consulted a physician for a process which should, look again, and study carefully the relation which beyond all doubt, demonstrate the consciousness of these seemingly insignificant agents bear to the whole pain, if any such consciousness existed in the lady force of Humanity, then it appears they were the very who was entranced. And so the next night, Brown agents most fit for the work they did. I think it will and his physicians were on hand, with a vial of conturn out so in the case of Capt. Brown. What the centrated ammonia, and a quantity (q. s.) of dolicho masterly eloquence of Seward could not accomplish, pruriens (cowhage). This 'cow itch,' as it is some even by his manly appeal to the Higher Law, nor times called, is the sharp hair of a point, and when the eloquence of Phillips and Sumner, addressed to applied to the skin, it acts mechanically for a long the conscience and common sense of the people, seems time, tormenting the sufferer like so many thistles or likely to be brought to pass by John Brown-no needles being constantly thrust into the nerves. No statesman, no orator, but an upright and downright one, I am sure, would willingly consent to suffer the man, who took his life in his hand, and said application of cowhage to his body more than once. Slavery shall go down, even if it be put down with Brown bore it like a hero. But, then, he had the adred swords! ' I thanked God for John Brown years vantage of the entranced lady—the skin of his neck ago: he and I are no strangers, and still more now looking like sole leather; it was tanned by the sun, his sainthood is crowned with martyrdom. I am and looked as if it was impervious. Not so, however, glad he came from that Mayflower company-that when the ammonia was held to his nose; for then, by his grandfather was a captain in the Revolutionary a sudden jerk of his head, it became manifest that he war :- the true aristocratic blood of America runs in | could not, by his own volition, screw up his nervous such veins. All the grand institutions of America, system to endure what I had rendered a timid lady which give such original power to the people, came able to bare, without any manifestation of pain.

same source. Virginia may be the mother of Presidents, (she yet extraordinary amount of physical pain, therefore keeps the ashes of two great ones, -only their ashes, another person could do the same. not their souls,) but it is New England that is mother of great ideas. God is their Father-mother also of communities, rich with intelligent and democratic combining with his integrity of character, drew from

proves it and his death. It is not for you or me same 'honest, truthful, sincere,' and brave man, was to select the instruments wherewith the providence signed by this same slaveholding, tyrannical Governor of mankind has the world's work done by human hands : it is only for us to do our little duty, and take | Posterity will do justice to the memory of this marthe good and ill which come of it.

When the monster which hinders the progress of Humanity is to be got rid of, no matter if the battle- ful, and sincere,' and who manifest the rare qualities axe have rust on its hilt, and spots, here and there, upon its blade-mementos of ancient work; if its edge was not insune, he was not a monomaniac, (insane on have but the power to bite, the monster shall be cloven down, and mankind walk triumphantly on, to- Those who speak of him in this manner, do not know morrow, to fresh work and triumphs new.

this\_it wrote itself, and I couldn't help it. I cannot sleep nights, for thinking of these things. I am ashamed to be sick and good for nothing in times like these, but can't help it, and must be judged by

what I can do, not can't and don't. It is curious to find the slaves volunteering to go to shoot men (in buckram) who are coming 'a thousand at a time to rescue Capt. Brown'! The African is as much superior to the Anglo-Saxon in cunning and arts of hypocrisy-except the ecclesiastical -as he is inferior in general power of mind. Didn't

Farewell! THEODORE PARKER.

JOHN BROWN.

Not any spot six feet by two Will hold a man like thee; John Brown will tramp the shaking earth, From the Blue Ridge to the sea, Till Liberty shall come at last, And ope each dungeon door, And God's 'Great Charter' holds and moves O'er all his humble poor,

And then the humble poor will come In that far distant day, And from the felon's nameless grave They'll brush the leaves away,
And gray old men will point the spot
Beneath the pine tree shade,
As children ask, with streaming eyes,
Where "Old John Brown" was laid.

What made John Brown so different from ordinary men. What were the elements in his character when the Fugitive Slave Bill passed. There has been, A. h. nas it come to pass that people are so wide-

It has never been common, I think, for the multitude to be united in opinion respecting any truly great man. We may suppose Individual men and women so far in advance of the race, that it will be impossible for them to be, in all respects, correctly estimated. And, besides, when one or two of the mental faculties happen to be enormously large, the nobler faculties are thus brought into notice, and afforded a chance for display. Thus, one having average Benevolence, and very large Firmness, would be more likely to manifest his philanthropy under opposing circumstances, than another whose Benevoence was large, without a corresponding degree of Firmness.

My acquaintance with John Brown commenced in 1847, when I had what I suppose to have been one of the very best opportunities for a knowledge of his ness, or Counage) which made him the hero of Kanopinion that his character has been accurately porspecting his past or more recent conduct. Certain it other men? I answer, it was PIRMNESS, COURAGE, and his power to endure pain. In this respect, he excelled all the men I ever knew : he did not seem to ocean waves. His distinguishing trait was FIRM-NESS; next was Conscientiousness; next was Combativeness, and then Benevolence. His Firmness combining with Combativeness made him courageous, and he seemed to me to possess more firmness than fishermen-obscure people-unlearned and ignorant fifty men of an average capacity. He was certainly coarse and repulsive in his manners; nor do I suppose his benevolence was above that of common men But, possessing Firmness, Resistance and Courage, as he did, whatever philanthropy he had was not sup-

His conduct in one of my lectures on Pathetism

encounters with Slavery. He had witnessed the surdered insensible to pain, as she alleged, by Pathe tism. This, with the other phenomena which comprehension; and so he arose one evening, and danger the health of my patient; and this to be determined by the physicians of the town; and secondly that Brown himself should submittee the same processes which he should infirst upon the entrance

from that Puritan stock, who trusted in God, and The infliction upon Brown was a terrible one, fo kept their powder dry-who stood up straight when he confessed three days afterwards, that he had not they prayed, and also when they fought. Yes, all been able to sleep at all since the cowhage was rubbed the grand original ideas, which are now on their way into his neck. In submitting himself to that test, the to found new institutions, and will make the future audience declared him 'foolhardy,' as it proved nothbetter than the past or present—they come from the ing against the genuineness of my experiments. It would not follow, that because he could endure an

The degree of counage manifested by John Brown made him the extraordinary man he was; and this, Gov. Wise the testimony that he was 'honest, truth-John Brown came from a good lineage; his life ful, and sincere. And yet, the death-warrant of this Wise.

tyr to Democratic slavery. Men never pause to parley over the errors of those who are 'honest, truthwhich combined in the character of John Brown. He one subject,) nor was he moved by a feeling of revenge. the man. Instead of being revengeful, he was hu-But I did not mean to write you such a letter as mane, even to his own detriment, as may be shown

from numerous incidents in his career. And, above Underground Railway are conducted, and may do all, he was a hero, whose manly bearing and courage has struck terror into the hearts of American tyrants, from which they can never recover. John Brown from which they can never recover. John Brown was never so really alive or so efficient in action as now, and hence it is that the Moloch of December 1. now, and hence it is that the Moloch of Democratic will and others, in Chatham and Windsor. That

Boston, Dec. 9th, 1859.

THE MISSION OF JOHN BROWN. Had the churches and the ministry in this country

only thirty years ago begun and continued an earnest, united, peaceful protest, with the word of God, against the wickedness of alavery, John Brown's protest in action would at this day have been superfluous; such an interference would not have been needed. A right and faithful proclamation of that word of God which made John Brown a Christian Abolitionist would have broken up this whole sys-tem of wickedness in less time than it pleased God to take for the moulding and discipline of his character and life the first great martyr before the Moloch of the sm. We thank God for the grace of God youchsafed in him. He is the legitimate fruit of that piety with which the study of the word of God by prayer baptizes, informs, energizes the soul. He is the masterpiece of that school of the old masters among whom he had his education and brought up his family, Bunyan, Baxter, John Fox, Dod-dridge, the Saint's Rest, the Book of Martyrs, and the Pilgrim's Progress. We thank God for the unaffected deep humility towards God, mingled with such firmness towards men, conspicuous in his na-ture. We thank God for all the precious evidences of his Christian experience and character. We thank God for the triumphant testimony he has been enabled to leave in gratitude for the infinite grace of God, to the honor of His word, to the efficacy of prayer, to the reality of faith, in the confidence of his own soul in God, in Jesus Christ, unshaken in the most trying hour and circumstances of ex-istence. One such man, one such great heart, one such noble Christian, outweighs the baseness of a million hypocrites; and his single testimony against slavery shines like the sun, in spite of all the darkness and lying of all the pro-slavery churches in Christendom. In an age of shams, here is one reality; in an age of speculative theological and edi-torial skeletons hung round with broadcloth, here is one living soul; in an age of paste, here is one rude gem; in an age of dough-faces, here is one of God's flints; here, in a time of hollowness and cant, is a man of faith—a man to whom the idea of disinterested benevolence was a living expression-a man to whom the negro was a brother and a man-a man who, to the death, rejected religious communion with slaveholding ministers as defiling to his soul; on the way to the scaffold, stooped down and kissed a little negro child whom God had put in his path. that through that little one his last dying act might be the giving of a cup of cold water to that enslaved race for whom he died. Here is grandeur; here is God's own work and grace; here, in an age of sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, is one great soul like a living organ, through whose trumpet-tones God had blown an anthem that shakes the land like an earthquake. Can Senator Mason put down John Brown's ghost by a bill of inquiry? Can Senator Trumbull put down John Brown's ghost by standing up to be catechised? Will it put down wn's ghost to declare that slavery is no crime? You might as surely imagine that you had imprisoned his immortal spirit in the grave by put-ting an additional screw in his coffin. Presently you will hear of some new miracle of disinterested love to them that are in bonds as bound with them; and a new battering ram of God's divine word and providence will be driven against this wickedness and Herod again will start from his uneasy slumbers John I have beheaded, but who is this?' John the beheaded, is but the forcrunner of Christ the conqueror; and if need be in this conflict, he will raise up soldiers for his truth out of the stones in the streets. But whoever comes, on whomsoever the mantle falls, he cannot go beyond John Brown in his faithfulness, living or dying; no man can strike a more terrible blow at the heart of the Slave Power, nor bear a more emphatic lawful record in life, in death, as to the incompatibility of slavery and Christianity. Rather than seem to admit to th world that a man defending this wickedness could be a Christian minister, he would pass to the scaffold and the grave alone, rejecting the offer of the gospel from such a man. But God was with him, and John Brown felt that any man who, by defending slavery, maintains the moral assassination of the living as consistent with the gospel, is unworthy and unfit to convey its spiritual revelations even to the dying. We rejoice in the sublime and sacred scorn apologist for such a crime. That dying protestation was a blew against slavery more effective than could Thanks be to God for the firmness and consistency of John Brown's testimony even to the close; for the awfully solemn witnessing, on the verge of eternity, against the wickedness of slavery, as so wicked that the man who defended it would not be suffered to worship the same God with a Christian about to die for his opposition to it. Let that work, and work it will, in the hearts and consciences of millions. Let that work, as by the grace of God it can be made to work, till our churches everywhere shall

tify his cause.—CHEEVER.

prevent the resurrection of John Brown. They

annot silence God's word : they cannot prevent the

such a man as John Brown, from breaking forth as

in a conflagration. They cannot prevent God,

raising up men to execute his plagues against their

henever and in whatever way it pleases him, from

THE RUNAWAY SLAVES. The New York Herald is, at this present speaking, in a state of painful excitement upon the question of slavery, and negroes in general. The un- made to punish the authors of these gross crimes, ever bending firmness of the Republican party in Congress, and the indications of weakness in the Southern ranks, are inciting it to fresh exertion. When Southern fire-eaters are backing down, extra exertions are necessary on the part of their North-ern sympathizers. Hence it is that the Herald is ng up an immense number of 'bloody and facts, in connection with Northern abolitionism, all designed to create a reaction of public feeling against Republicanism, and to help professpecial objects are aimed at: first, to disgust American philanthropists with their efforts to keep the Underground Railway trains in motion: second, to spread an impression among the slaves that they will be worse off amidst Canadian freedom than in will be worse off amidst Canadian freedom than in Southern slavery; and, third, to excite bitter feelings in the States against Britons, on account of the sympathy which the runaways receive in Canada. Southern stately, and, Mark, to excite litter legions in the States against Britons, on account of the sympathy which the runaways receive in Canada. The assertion, that the agents of the Underground Railway are paid for their services, that they devote part of the funds entrusted to them by philanthropists for their own use, and not to the fugitives, may be true to a certain extent. When the trains are kept running so regularly, it is impossible to depend upon volunteer stokers and conductors, and money-seekers may have got in among the workers. Such men have obtruded themselves into the church and every laudable enterprise, but we do not find that the fact checks the labors of the pious and charitable. The assertions of the Herald are entirely unsupported by facts, but they may lead to inquiry into the manner in which the affairs of the

slavery trembles, and stands aghast from the fear of what the memory of that 'honest, truthful, aincre, and 'brave old man,' will yet do for the liberation of the slave.

LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

Boston, Dec. 9th, 1859.

will and others, in Chatham and Windsor. That the fugitives suffer somewhat when they first arrive in Canada, that many of them bring the vices of slavery with them, is beyond question. But the facts, as we receive them, do not justify the sweeping averments of the Herald. That many of these unfortunate fugitives establish themselves in farming and trading and support themselves and their ing and trading, and support themselves and their families in comfort, is unquestionable; that all can do so, if they possess the desire and the capacity to work, is undoubted. The condition of the colored work, is undoubted. The condition of the colored race in Canada, as a whole,—we say it without fear of contradiction,—is favorable to their capability to support themselves by their own unaided efforts, free from the tyranny of the white man. To say that many of them are convicted of petty larceny, and ever of areas are convicted of petty larceny, and even of graver offences, is only what may be said of other uneducated classes. If there are more black convicts than white, in proportion to num-bers, it is due to the vices of slavery, to the num-bers coming in, who find it difficult to procure employment at once, and not to any inherent defect in the race. That the colored man improves in Can-ada, and becomes an intelligent citizen, we have abundant evidence. That the people of Canada have to undergo some penalties, before the work of amelioration can be accomplished, is also true; but we can assure the Herald that they are willing, as a rule, to undertake the burden, and will never shrink from the duty of succoring refugees from the Moloc of Southern slavery. The time will come, no doubt, when that duty will be lightened by the abolition of the fugitive slave law of the United States Then the runaway will be safe from his pursuer in his native country, and will prefer a milder climate to that of Canada. Even with the present law in to that of Canada. Even with the present law in force, many escaped slaves return to the States, after the hue and cry has subsided; and the numbers arriving here do not actually represent those who be

come permanent residents.

Th Herald's commissioner, while representing the colored man to be in a miserable condition in Canada, does not conceal the fact that he possesses considerable political power through the franchise. The two statements are inconsistent; and we can hardly help thinking that poor Cuffee in the South, if he should be permitted to read the Herald's correspondence, will sigh for a land where he can enjoy not only freedom, but power; where the leaders in the community will not dare to cast contumely upon him, for fear of suffering from his vote. The correspondent has a good deal to say against the attempts which have been made by benevolent

persons to assist the refugees in Canada; but every-thing is tinctured with the same spirit of prejudice, and many statements are made which are positively false .- Toronto Globe. NEGRO TROUBLES IN CANADA. The troubles which

have existed to some extent in portions of Canada, in consequence of the number of fugitive blacks from the United States, whose constitutions are unsuited to the climate, and some of whom are, no doubt, viciously inclined, seem to be on the increase. The New York 'On Monday, an intense excitement was caused in

Anderson, C. W., caused by an assault by negroes upon the family of Mrs. Greyean. Four negroes went to the house about 12 o'clock at night, and made an attack upon it. Mrs. G. and three men were at home at the time, and they defended themselves; but, as they were destitute of fire-arms, the negroes made an entrance, and knocked down and beat the immates in a terrible manner. The lady was beaten in an inhu-man manner, and subjected to most fiendish indigni-The next day, officers started in pursuit of the ruf-

fians, and succeeded in arresting them; but, before they could be secured, they were rescued by an armed mob, and set at liberty. This aroused the white citizens, who formed themselves into bands to assist in the punishment of the negroes.

Recent accounts state that the citizens are deter-

mined upon arresting the murderous band mitted the outrages, and the negro population are dis-posed to protect them; and there is, consequently, great danger of a general disturbance. The and blacks, in that and the adjoining township, are about equally divided in numbers; and, while the latter are villainous, the former are determined to protect themselves from outrage

The Detroit Free Press of Tuesday says:

At Chatham, forty miles from Detroit, a gang of negroes took possession of the school-houses on Mon-day morning, and refused to allow the white teachers e authorities were called upon, but dared not enter. The negroes were headed by one Shadd, a negro of desperate character. The negroes demanded not only that the schools should be thrown open to them, but that they should be allowed to partici which he refused the spiritual services of any pate in their management, which, on account of their

numbers, is equivalent to giving them the control.

A conference took place between the negroes and into consideration, and such arrangements made as could with propriety be brought about. A similar disturbance occurred at Sandwich, three miles below Detroit, on the same day.'

Bogus Negno Ournages .- A paragraph in vester day's paper narrated some alleged gross outrages per-petrated by negroes in Canada West. The story was originated by the Detroit Free Press for sensation pur-poses. The Detroit Advertiser affirms that the only foundation for it was a fight between some low whites be constrained to excommunicate this wickedness as heaven, and slavery will speedily be abolished. And now, let men remember that because John Brown is hanged, the stock is not exhausted. There are charging them with taking foreible possession of charging them with taking foreible possession of school-houses and expelling the white teachers. Such and negroes at a house of ill-fame kept by an Indian plenty more of such creations through the power of God's word, God's discipline, God's spirit, when a prostitution of the press to party purposes is disgraceful .- Boston Journal. God's time has come—plenty more of such scourges. They that will keep slaves must be content to do it

as men settle on the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius, with all the offsets God has appointed against the security of such property. Twenty thousand sig-INVESTIGATIONS AREAD. - We understand that it is the intention of some of the Republicans, so soon as the House is organized, to move for a Committee to inquire whether there have been any recent violations of that clause of the Constitution which provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all natures for a Union-saving meeting cannot prevent the eruption of the volcano under them—it cannot privileges and immunities of citizens in the severa States; and if so, what action, if any, of either defire of God's word, when it gets into the bones of partment of the Federal Government, is necessar o punish past and prevent future violations of thi sort; with power to send for persons and papers We hope this will be done, and that there may be thorough examination and exposure of the recenss : and when God commissions such a man wickedness; and when God commissions such a man outrages which have been perpetrated upon peace as John Brown, he will protect his memory and jus-

pened to be dwelling in the Southern States. We also learn that an inquiry may perhaps be in stituted into the recent mail-robberies which have been committed by Government Officials under the pretence of suppressing incendiary publications; and that if the facts seem to demand it, an attempt may be though it be necessary to resort to impeachments to accomplish the object.

If these investigations, together with that in regard

to the Harper's Ferry raid, are presecuted with vigor, much valuable information may be educed for the study of contemplative and conservative minds in all sections of the country.—N. Y. Tribune.

Twenty-eight slaves were manumitted by the feeling against Republicanism, and to neip processional Union-savers. Among other efforts baying this end in view, the Herald sent a special correspondent to Canada for the purpose of raking up everything that could be said in reference to the ev fugitives from slavery in this section of the Queen's dominions. The result is, something more than a page of Herald small print, containing an immense mass of statements, some true, and others false; but all given with a strong bias in favor of were brought to the city by the executors of the will the peculiar institution and its abettors. Three for the purpose of having the documents recorded.

MISSISSIPPI NEGROES ENJOYING CHRISTMAS FESTIV TIES .- The Natchez Courier of the 27th, in noticing the Christmas festivities in that city, says: 'Yester-day was almost a saturnalia for the colored folks

IT IS NOT A DYE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION.

Warranted not to contain deleterious aubstance This pleasant and valuable preparation has been took his pleasant and valuable preparation has been use for many years by hundreds of the most distin-guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from

ANTI BRIDGE STATE OF THE STATE

V

60 ·

R

學

of V

sen the wit as tion of not late

an at west with its so con at tan distribute pro-

by goo protein diff

· IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived beath

from it. Persons personally known to us have come rolung. Persons personally known to us have come volunt-rily, and told us of good results to either themelm or friends, who have used it before it became into in St. Louis. St. Louis Presigning. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE

given universal satisfaction, wherever it has be a used. It can be used with perfect safety, and in perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet. Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Man.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE. MRS. S. A. All Man of confidence. STORER is worthy of confidence. Philadelphia Christian Chronich. Incomparably the best preparation we have the

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. 8. 4.4. LEN's as the Hair Restorer.'

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Ristorn in Mrs. S. A. Alless at the head of all articles of the kind.'

Michigan Christian Bush, Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy.'

Knozville Presbyterian Wilnes. There never has been a prescription or remedy in

improving the hair, published in the Assen, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquesianed standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. Allrs's. Buffalo Christian Advects Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like rela and appearance they cause the hair to assume, of

the only way to have grey hair assume its samuly yournered colon, is to use that which will be fire. ual and yet not a dye-Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's Wolling HAIR RESTORER will do this. U. S. Jewes In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted the greatest discovery of the present day, it was

freshing to come across that which is what it may really excellent article is Ma. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. AJERS. sistant to nature, it is of great service; and a ma by using it often prevents a serious and unnecess loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harden it being a chemical compound of ingredient one lated to facilitate the natural growth of hair." Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston, Those of our readers whose hair is turning green

losing its color, and who are opposed to user a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World'tha RESTORER a preparation that will speedily charge the hair to its natural color, and at the same in render it soft. It is superior to any heretokeep-duced for restoring and beautifying the hair to sessing NONE OF THE BURNING QUALITIES OF A PIL. Philadelphia Mercury. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that ha

mequired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Auss's WORLD's HAIR RESTORER. Why is this? Small because it is a preparation of real ment, and as never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects ascribed to it on the part of its propri-tor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, all we begin to think that it is denominated most sp propriately the . World's Hair Restorer. We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. A.

LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER 'is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wist circulation and immense sales it has schieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally apprecia-ed.' Rahway Regular. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restored To

most successful remedy of the day. We know d instances where its good effects have been remetable.' Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y. From individual cases that have come under our est

observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. At-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly mo-ommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cardially commend it to tice and use of those of our readers who needs remedial agent of this character.'

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorie-At we were travelling in Massachusetts a short use since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two next ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she ad feared that before then the whole would lave turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various per dies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, ad applied it according to directions, and before a jet had passed, she assured us that she had as luxuous, even and beautiful head of hair, as when als was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that is, the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happe and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

Providence Daily Tribune. Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hatt Ristor. ER. It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertion made in its

ble persons. Rahway Advocate and Register. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restours is the best preparation extant for the various diseases inci-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to this natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorating, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in numer-ous instances. ous instances, upon the public as genuine.

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

This preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing posses of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy glossy. appearance almost instantaneously. The Restort is easily applied, and will not stain the fuert lines. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied seconding to the directions. Mercury, Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in sire-tisement of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hill RESTORER are correct. Boston Olice Branch. Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

\*Those unsuccessful with other articles can try th It is just what it purports to be.' Clere. Leeder.

We might swell this list, but if not convinced, We export these preparations to Europe eren, and they are superseding all others there as well as it the United States.

It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the princips wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or Canada.

DEPOT. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. where address all letters and inquiries. Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this on which they make more cont. for circular, terms and information. ed, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of controlled.

See next issue of this Paper for were information or send to Depot for Circulars.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.