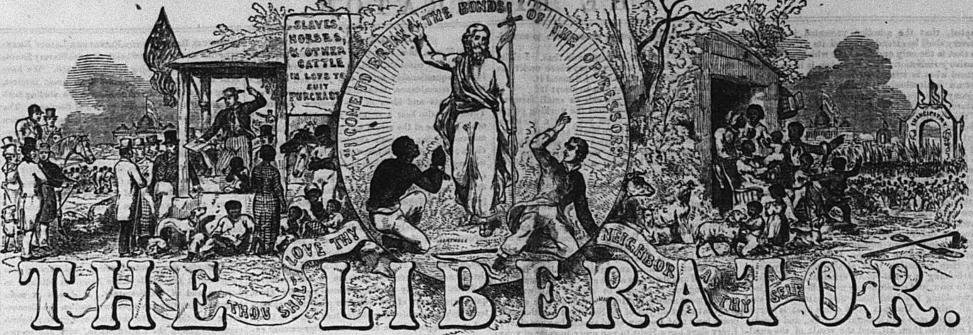
BOBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an

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The following gentlemen constitute the Finanmittee, but are not responsible for any of the the of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printe s.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

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

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

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

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1860.

# WHOLE NUMBER, 1529.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXX. NO. 15.

A PHILLIPPIC FROM PHILLIPS.

The abolition literature of the country has recenten enriched by two quite remarkable lectures from Wendell Phillips, one openly advocating disevering and cursing at the Constitution and the Faters of the Republic, and the other a labored attempt to show that systematic 'agitation,' that is, anitual faithlessness to compacts and compromises, an indispensable element of social progress, and is an independent the true normal principle of development in popular government. The latter production is as curious a specimen of adroit sophistry as the records of modern litical special pleading, in all their plenitude (various fallacy, exhibit. Stripped of its specious disguises, it is an effort to prove that the precept, mind your own business, is obsolete and wholly contrary to the spirit of the age, and that he is your true reformer, who, overlooking the grave maladies which afflict society at home, in the spirit of a large and expansive benevolence, seeks for objects of tear-in sympathy and chivalric championship amid other Constitutions. This, set off with a rhetoric somewhat showy, and interspersed with many a hit, sally and historical allusion calculated to tell for the ment upon an audience, is after all but the old story which fanatics never tire of rehearsing; and if Mr. Phillips had nothing else to say in the course of his elaborate harangue, it would present no topic fresh enough for special remark. But, episodically, he has a variety of criticisms upon men and institutions, from Edward Everett down to Banks, which are both amusing and instructive. Seward be can't abide. He takes occasion plainly to intinate that the once fearless standard-bearer of Reiblicanism has fallen under the most sinister and grapt Wall street influences, and no longer merits didence and support of the party which has eclared an irrepressible war with the South. He has the same compliment to pay to Nathaniel Banks, thim he accuses of a style of political speech-making which 'finds an echo in every bank vault in Bos-And so he goes on dealing his sounding blows here and there upon the heads of prominent Republicass, charging them with evasion, truckling, trimming, political inconsistency, and the postponement lared principle to objects of personal ambition. This, as testimony coming from the most advanced wing of the Republican forces, cannot be gainsaid. is no doubt that Wendeil Phillips, fanatic

SALEB CUSHING IN CONNECTICUT.

er section .- St. Louis Bulletin.

though he be, sees clearly the consequences of a tim-

id, wavering and non-committal policy on the part

f roliticians who have heretofore shown their hands

so fully, and committed themselves to the cause of a

caseless slavery agitation so unequivocally. They sacrifice the esteem of their best friends, and what-

ever respect their opponents may have entertained for them. For Republicanism now to assume the garb and mock the tones of the time-honored advo-

ates of constitutional law and order, is deliberately to cast away its dearly purchased prestige at the

North, without adding one tittle to its chances of support among the really conservative men of eith-

of Obio have recently declared that these personal liberty laws were designed only for the protection of the liverty of the citizens of the States in which there are enacted. They have allowed themselves to be deserved by the false titles of the laws in question. Although in their titles these laws pretend to be for the protection of the citizen, yet all the metments are, in express and explicit the sole purpose of multilying the acts of Congress for the rendition of slaves. These State acts do not throw any saleguard around the fugitive for imputsi crime. A white man is now in any case, but black is in all, protected by shese personal liberty

It has been said that no trial by jury is provided. by the acts of Congress. Well, what then? When a fugitive from the justice of Connecticut takes refuge in Massachusetts, is he entitled to a trial by jury in Massachusetts? No, he is sent back to be tried by the law of the State where the crime was

Nor is the rule confined to criminal matters. It a debtor absconds from Connecticut into Massachuetts, his bail may retake him without any impediment of personal liberty laws or trial by jury there, and return him to the State of his domicil for the trul of the right. So if your wife, or your minor child, or your apprentice runs away into Massachu-setts, you may bring them back, even without pro-cess of law. All these are cases of white persons, and are not touched by the personal liberty laws of Massachusetts. Nor ought they to be. Nor ought fugitive slaves to be. The great rule of internatisual comity in all Christendom—and the express rule of the Constitution—is, that each State shall respect the rights of property-acquired or existing in another State, and the property or person be de-termined according to the law of the State of the party's domicil. Runaway slaves from Virginia or Maryland are not citizens of Massachusetts nor people of Massachusetts, either necessarily or generally. By unconstitutional laws of Massachusetts they may, perhaps, come to be voters after a twelve Europe, although citizens of the United States, cannot until after two years' residence And, therelore, the pretence in the titles of these personal liberty laws, on which Mr. Collamer and Mr. Wade rist, is a false one—a false pretence, disgraceful to the legislature of that State as falsehood, and still more so because deliberately devised to cover up and conceal a flagrant violation of the Constitution of

the United States.
Again, the abolitionized Northern States habitcally and systematically violate those provisions of the Constitution of the United States intended for the protection of the inter-State commerce and social intercourse, and the reciprocal security of per-sonal property within the different States.

It is a great principle of international comity in

all Christendom, that, as a general rule, every man's right of personal property is to be determined by the law of his domicil, or in effect that of the State of which he is a citizen. Thus it is that a citizen of the United States goes to Paris to sojourn, or to pass through France on his way to Italy, with perfect sense of security, in regard to all his individual rights to person or property. He has not the least lear of being stripped of his apparel or personal baggage, as he might be among the barbarous People of Asia or Africa. That is the great distinction between civilized and savage States. So, also, in France or Germany, it will be respected in the country of his transitory sojourn. That is the international comity of Christian Europe and America. Still it is but a rule of comity, and is subject to be limited or abridged by the local law. Therefore, in establishing the conlederation of the United States, our wise forefathers, those very perfect sense of security, in regard to all his indi-United States, our wise forefathers, those very fathers under whose opinions or example the Republicans disingenuously endeavor to shelter and

hide their own unconstitutional acts and purposes. I say, our wise forefathers saw that it would not do to leave this great principle of inter-State intercourse to the mere discretion of the different States. Accordingly, they inserted in the Constitution the following provision :-

the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the Mr. Calch Cushing, who is not exactly in either

more, indeed, than is commonly supposed. Let us Our Caleb, unterrified, looks the beast of Bashan reflect upon it. A citizen of Connecticut goes to Baltimore with his ship and merchandise for sale, The bull may bellow fortissimo and leap altissimo, possession of it, will you urge that it is your prep-philosophy. The bothered bull must yield, since erty? But the State of Maryland may reply, That four of Caleb's speeches would make the animal as is local law, and we don't care for the local law of Connecticut. Besides, the State of Maryland may cognized by express laws of the different States.

unconstitutional laws in your States? Then I re- know my beauty, and knowing, dare maintain.

off slaves from the South; in promoting insurrec-tion there; in attempting to confer citizenship on that white preachers are fanatical—really leaves the

is one green spot in New England which is not infected, corrupted, poisoned, by the pestilence of Abolitionism. . . . It is the, as your Chairman stated, that the eyes of the country are fixed on you with anxious, with solicitous and admiring gaze. If you prevail, you will have placed the State of Connecticut at the very summit of patriotic glory of these United States. That you will let us all hope, and let us pray to God that you may be thus in his hand a glorious and honored instrument to rediffuse through these United States the spirit of patriotism, the love of the Constitution to the requests a postponement of the dissolution.

### SELECTIONS.

From the New York Tribune.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all or extinguished, we particularly admire the Hou. This provision is of great importance; of far in the article of death.

having on board beside the crew, his wife and child, but there stands Caleb, not in the least scared, and and an indentured apprentice. What prevents the quite ready for the animal, who will soon be puzzled State of Maryland from confiscating the ship and by an extract from Confucius, something highly cargo? When, then, the State officer comes to take impressive in Greek, or a soothing Latin tid-bit of

say, Show me the statute of Connecticut which ex- speak his mind. Poor, knavish, spongy fellows, pressly authorizes you to own a ship, or even the very proud of a dirty skin, which the world by courcoat upon your back. We do not believe you can tesy admits to be white, who hang about political find any such express law on the statute book of meetings until destiny summons them to hang else-Connecticut. So, as you have nothing to protect where, are shrewd enough after all. They know your ship and cargo except your local law, and can-not even produce that, the State of Maryland seems but one formula of reply, but that is truly formidato have a good case against you. Worse than that, ble. When they hear any thing of slavery, its your wife who is with you has been in the habit at wrongs, its barbarity, and its folly, they turn up home of attending abolition and women's rights their noses as well as their well-crusted facial mushome of attending abolition and women's rights meetings, and has thus got some pretty large notions of liberty in her head, and she sees fit to leave you, taking your child and apprentice with her, and perhaps the contents of your cash-box, and proceeds to establish herself in a free condition at Barnum's. What are you going to do? Will you appeal to the comity of Maryland for redress, pretending that the lady is your wife, the child under your authority, the apprentice held to serve you by the laws of Connecticut? Ah! but the State of Maryland may reply, that is your local law, what do we care for that? That is what the State of Maryland would Confucion mysteries, and possessing as he does an That is what the State of Maryland would Confucion mysteries, and possessing as he does an say, both as to your property and your family, if its inexhaustible store of rare and impressive words, legislators had been corrupted as too many of ours have been, by the fanatfeism and unconstitutional inter-State hostility. They might pass personal liberty laws, as Massachusetts and other States have done, under the false pretence of protecting the gro of argumentation, and the presto of exhortation. liberty of the citizens of the State of Maryland, He can talk longer and louder, more entertainingly but in fact to steal away and kidnap persons under subjection by law to the citizens of other States. They might pass laws to confiscate your property in ships or merchandize, as you have done to confiscate their property in slaves. They are very likely to do so if you continue to pass such laws. likely to do so, if you continue to pass such laws, upon him ethnologically, anatomically, historically; But all such laws, whether passed by them, or by and he comes to a definite conclusion, plainly anyou, would be palpably contrary to the Constitution of the United States, which, in the clause ger has always been a slave, will always be a slave, above cited, protects and secures your rights of person and property in Maryland, as it does those of the Marylanders in Connecticut. Such was the wise thought of the Fathers of the Republic before these days of abolition corruption had come upon the Nathern States. Of the States of the Republic before is that the General should think it necessary to constant the Nathern States. the Northern States. Of yore, these rights of so-sourn and transit were not only guaranteed by the he seems to regard as self-ovident, and which should Constitution of the United States, but were even be so if evident at all. However, something must recognized by express laws of the different States, be pardoned to the cuticular pride which animates Now, most of such laws have been repealed. I bethe General. No rose in a table was ever half so lieve there is but one—the State of New Jersey—in proud of being red, as Gen. Cushing is of being white, which they remain. All honor for this and other 'We,' he says complacently and daintily, 'are of things, to the stable, constant, brave and patriotic that noble white race which is the embodiment of all State of New Jersey! How shameful is the contrast in this respect between New Jersey and other womanly in woman. To be sure, assertions of sutrast in this respect between New Jersey and other womanly in woman. To be sure, assertions of survivery of the states, one of which, for example, the periority of this kind are always just the safest posstate of Michigan, has within the year past, under the influence of Republican passion, made it a penture influence of Republican passion, made it a penture of the state of Michigan with her child's when you have made his head sing and blinded him, and broken for him a few bones, and was a large of the state of Michigan with her child's bones, and when you have made his head sing and blinded him, and broken for him a few bones, and nurse in her company. And thus, in defiance of reduced him to physical pulp and mental darkness, the Constitution, as well as of the principles of in- then is your time to crow—then is your time to ternational county, the Northern States have de- deal in ethnological subjects-then is your time to prived their fellow-citizens of the South of their call the attention of the worldsto the fact that you Constitutional rights of sojourn and transit here, are of a loftier strain than is this animal be and after having done that, pretend to be righteously you, and to point out the goodness of Providence

indignant if, here and there, occasionally, some act of reprisal is applied to our citizens in the Southern States.

Will you say that you cannot conscientiously, in fully, and the sum and substance of it is,—' Nigyour judgment, obey the provisions of the Constitu-tion, and that therefore you pass and retain such No modesty deters him. His motto should be, 'I ply, without now stopping to argue the morality or | We are sorry to say, however, that in maintaining mmorality of your conduct, that this very fact it, he thinks it necessary to depreciate the sense, would serve, if there were nothing else, to prove talents, abilities, of several million of white men that you are unfit to be entrusted with the control who do not agree with him in his opinion; and, of the Federal Government, when your conscience corrupted as it would thus appear to be—would not allow you to administer the government con-Caleb, when he finds it convenient to show that a stitutionally, although having solemnly sworn to majority of the white men of the Northern States support the Constitution. are knaves or fools—when he asserts that white In all these, and in other respects—as in running voters are dishonest, that white orators are designnegroes, and to foist them into the militia; in pergoverning classes of the North in a position little mitting and sympathizing with an armed invasion of better than that of 'niggers.' He tacitly but subthe South; in vituperating the citizens of the stantially admits, that his 'noble white race,' in South because they have slave property; in seeking to exclude them by legislation or by force from the political safety and perpetuity, is no more to be re-Territories—I say, in this and all other methods, lied on than if it were darker than midnight. The the Republican States have, by their official actions General has proved altogether too much; that is, indicated their unconstitutional spirit, in the open admitting that he has proved anything, which we violation of that instrument which is the founda- can only do under protest. We have here at the tion of our government. The Republicans having North an angry, vicious, mischievous, ill-directed, pursued this career of unconstitutional legislation ill-tempered set; and even our white clergymen, in the States where they have power, is it not con-who should be somewhat in advance of their flocks, clusive that they cannot be entrusted with the general government? It proves that all their present professions of pacific and patriotic purposes are at black faces, as Caleb falls into when he sees certain which they perceive impending over them in the approaching canvass for a President of the United States. United States. — we even now decrepit?' inquires the General. 'Are Gentlemen, what then is the duty of the Democrats of Connecticut? Is it not apparent that you should stand by the Constitution—resist its enemies, whether foreign or domestic—defend it against this is rather an important question, and we trust

all assaults by steel or sack—by 'foreign levy' or that our correspondents in all parts of the country 'domestic malice'? I say it is your duty, and I believe it will be your pride. And in so doing, and in obtaining a great and glorious victory here in Connecticut, you declare to the United States that there is one green spot in New England which is not the head Colonization and Colonizationists, and instance of the comprehensibly profound oration, after knocking on the head Colonization and Colonizationists, and instance of the comprehensibly profound oration, after knocking on the comprehensibly profound oration, after knocking or the country will report the country the country will report the country will

the spirit of patriotism, the love of the Constitution and the Union. This mid-summer madness of abolition rage and fury cannot endure. It must and will pass away, and then will return in its place the same emotions of devoted love to our country which burned in the hearts of our sanctified fathers of the Though Caleb should be up to his chin in rainrevolution. We plant ourselves, then, on the ramparts of the Constitution, ithere to resist all attacks, come from where they may, on the Constitution and the Union Esto perpetua.

Industry Cale in the Cale in the Constitution of the Constitution and the Union Esto perpetua. In Cale it cannot be:

Letter from Hon. Henry Wilson, touching Resistance to Slaveholders being the Right and Duty of the Slaveholders being the Right and Duty of the Slaves, and of the People and States of the North, by Henry C. Wright' :-

dom of speech, press and person cannot exist there. Six hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred and ninety-seven (612,597) are nominally, and partially, devoted to freedom. I say nominally and partially; for the free States (as they are called) have pledged themselves not to seek to free the slaves in the slave States, but to protect the enslavers against the enslaved, and to admit slavery to be represented in Congress; have pledged themselves to allow slavery special privileges in the govern-ment; and to let slaveholders have political power in proportion to the number of their slaves. Besides, slavery from the beginning has been allowed to rule the pulpit, the platform, the press, the schools and colleges of the non-slave States. Yet you and your fellow-republicans say, 'SLAVERY IS

LOCAL: FREEDOM NATIONAL'! Suppose there are six rooms in your house at Natick. Drunkenness has sole and exclusive pos-session of four of these rooms, and temperance nominally of two. For a consideration, the friends of temperance enter into a confederacy with the drunkards, and agree to protect and perpetuate drunkenness in the four rooms, till the drunkards see fit to abolish it. Not only so, but they also agree to allow the drunkards to drink, to swagger, to babble, and perpetuate their debaucheries rooms appropriated to temperance. So the drunk-ards, daily and hourly, fill the whole house with their riotings, with their filthy babblings and sottishness, and keep all in the house in a state of constant alarm. The temperance men are hooted, tarred and feathered, and in every way bullied and outraged by their drunken confederates, -as they deserve to be, for forming with them such 'a covenant with death, and such an agreement with hell. Drunkards may, at their pleasure, come into the domain (the room) nominally devoted to temperance, and, by precept and example, try to convert the whole house into an abode of beastly intoxica-tion; but should the friends of temperance enter the domain (the rooms) devoted to drunkenness, they are whipped, tarred and feathered, imprisoned, or hung. Yet you say, drunkenness in that house is local, temperance national-occupying the whole

This is exactly the amount of your favorite motto, 'Slavery local; freedom national.' Slavery virtually and absolutely controls nearly one third more of the territory of the United States than freedom. Those who embody slavery are allowed to roam freely over all the territory nominally devoted to freedom, and on the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil of freedom to advocate the results of the soil slave the people dwelling on this nominally free soil. But, if the friends of freedom enter the slave States to plead for liberty, to sustain the Declara-Knowing all this, why do you persist in saying,

manifested in the compromises of the Constitution; and it has been manifested from that hour to this in the administration of the government in its every department. It was apparent in the purchase of the constitution of the government in its every department. It was apparent in the purchase of the constitution of the government in its every department. It was apparent in the purchase of the constitution of the government in the purchase of the constitution; and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you among the constitution; and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you among the constitution; and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you among the constitution; and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you among the constitution; and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you can be constituted in the constitution; and it has been manifested from that hour to this in the administration of the government in its every department. It was apparent in the purchase of the constitution; the constitution of the government in its every department. the formation and abolition of the Missouri Comobtain Cuba, and in the Dred Scott decision; and, finally, in hanging John Brown for attempting to free the slaves of Virginia, and make it a free State. firming that 'SLAVERY IS LOCAL, FREEDOM NATIONAL'! LOCAL, FREEDOM NATIONAL !! You deceive your con- enslaves them, they do but act in defen

I am very certain you will, at no distant day,

ven by killing the aggressor, is the basis of every uously and persistently maintain that, within cer-covernmental organization in America. It is em-todied in the Declaration of Independence, in the Virginia has a right, daily and hourly, to wage an Constitution of the United States, and in the Con-inhuman, exterminating and aggressive war against stitution of every State in the Union. I have heard Humanity; and you have promised, not only not to ou proclaim this, on the political and anti-slavery interfere yourself, but, also, to do all in your power platforms, as the only true basis and object of every to prevent any individual or State, outside of those syvernment that has a rightful existence; that every boundaries, from interfering to protect our common government that has a rightful existence; that every human being has a natural right to defend himself, even to the killing of the aggressors, against all who shall attempt to enslave them or their children. You have often said, and do still say, that the man, or set of men, no matter by what name called, nor by what authority invested, who seek to murder, enslave, or rob us, forfeit by so doing all rights, even that of life, and that the outraged individual, alone or by the help of others, may kill him or them, if need be. You will not deny in Massachusetts nor in Washington, that this ever has been, and is now, your opinion, and the opinion of your party. The existence of every State in the Union, and of the Union itself, is based on the right of the enslaved to resist their enslavers by nizing cry comes to your cars. As a Man, your

THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND DUTIES OF of our fellow-beings; by kidnapping, enslaving and in that house, they have a right to commit rape,
THE NORTH IN REGARD TO SLAVERY. (selling them as chattels; and by aggressions on the rapine and murder, and to get their victims where they THE NORTH IN REGARD TO SLAVERY. | selling them as chattels; and by aggressions on the Extracts from a pamphlet, being 'An Answer to a personal property and family rights of hundreds of thousands. As individuals and as a State, they

bushand and wife, parent and child, brother and

Incre are one million, four hundred and sixtyfour thousand, and forty-five (1,464,045) square
miles in the United States. Eight hundred and
fifty-one thousand, four hundred and forty-eight
(851,448) are exclusively devoted to slavery. Senator Wilson, 'You KNOW' that freedom cannot senter. If all highway robbers, midnight assassins, or terminate them on their own territory, or wherever they may exist. Do you deny that human beings have a right to 'kill, slay and destroy' all who seek to enslave them, or to continue them in slavery? You do not; it is the cherished and fixed law of your life. As a Senator, as a Republican, as a man, husband, father, and brother, you cherish it as your own, and as the right of every human being, to exterminate from the face of the earth all who would kidnap and enslave them, their children, their friends, neighbors or fellow-beings, whether they act as individuals, or in combinations, called States or na-

The State of Virginia, as an organized community of kidnappers and slave-traders, as a band of American corsairs, covers a territory of sixty-one thousand square miles. This day it claims, holds and uses half a million of our fellow-beings as chatevery one of whom you acknowledge to have been born free as you were, and with the same God-given right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They were kidnapped and enslaved by that self-constituted and self-incorporated American corsair, styled Virginia. You admit it is the right and duty of those enslaved fellow-beings, so outraged in all their property, personal and family relations and rights, to resist their enslavers and ravishers, and, if need be, exterminate them, to effect their de-You admit, too, it is their right to call on their fellow-beings to assist them, and that it is the right and duty of all of human kind, so far as thy have the power and opportunity, to go to their rescue, and annihilate the piratical power that crushes them. Why do you pretend in Congress, or any where, that you do not cherish and that you never uttered these sentiments? It is 'mean and dastardly' to do so. You are recreant to your soul's most cherished convictions, and a traitor to Humanity and God, when you deny that these are your sentiments, and of the Republicans generally.

Were these five hundred thousand slaves of Virginia taken from Ohio, you acknowledge it would he the right and duty of the people and State of Ohio to invade-march into-the territory of the enslavers, and rescue their sons and daughters from the rape, rapine and outrages which that slaveholding State perpetrates upon them. And if Ohio were not sufficient to accomplish their rescue, and sweep from the earth that piratical State, and she should appeal to Massachusetts for help, would you browbeat and threaten the friends of freedom with brows to rescue her children from slavery, and should apbowie-knives and revolvers; and to kidnap and en-slave the people dwelling on this nominally free and the Old Bay State be found? Where Justice, Humanity, and God are-on the side of the in-

vaders. tion of Independence, and inculcate the duty of 'loving our neighbors as ourselves,' of 'doing to others as we would they should do to us,' of 'remembering those in bonds as bound with them,' and of 'delivering the spoiled out of the hands of 'delivering the spoiled out of the hands of 'spoiled out of the the oppressor '-they are whipped, imprisoned, or annihilating the kidnapper, and the band that sus-Witness John Brown and his associates, tained him, you are the invaders, are you? You know better; you are not a fool; your heart and SLAVERY IS LOCAL, FREEDOM NATIONAL'? head assure you that you are acting purely on the John Quiney Adams spoke the truth when he said, 'The preservation, propagation, and perpetua-tion of slavery constitutes the vital and animating and his companions entered the territory of Virspirit of the national government.' This fact was ginia, to rescue their fellow-beings from slavery, and to destroy the power that enslaves them, you

Louisiana and Florida; in the annexation of Texas to the universally received opinion of delensive war and in the Mexican war; in the Fagitive Slave law of 1850, and the efforts to execute it ever since; in sense,) when, by her official agents, she enters the farm or house of a murderer, and arrests him; or promise; in the effort of the national government of a thief and robber, and secures him, and recovto make a slave State of Kansas; in its efforts to ers the stolen property? You admit she acts purely in defence. So, when Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana Illinois and Iowa enter the adjacent slave States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, to You know all these facts. Yet you persist in affirming that 'SLAVERY IS LOCAL, FREEDOM NATIONAL! but act on the defensive—you and the entire nation being witnesses. So, when obedient to the call of Slavery has sole and exclusive possession of two-thirds of the national House; and controls the re-ligion, the politics, the education and commerce of the other third. Yet you affirm that 'SLAVERY IS beings from slavery, and destroy the power that stituents and betray their trust, when you tell them what is so manifestly false and absurd.

I am very certain you will, at no distant day,

I do you no wrong, but simply justice, when I

I am very certain you will, at no distant day, cease to remember that slavery, in the States, is local, and not national; and you will learn that slavery is national, and liberty hardly local; that slavery is national, and liberty hardly local; that slavery is every where, and liberty no where. If you know it not now, you will, soon know that it cannot be otherwise 'within the present Union, and under the present Constitution' of the United States. You will soon be made to know that a dissolution of this slaveholding Union is a mere question of time.

'You was ' it is the data of the people and to annihilate the power that enslaves them. You do but stultify yourself, and make your self contemptible in your own eyes, before your own constituents, and before the slaveholders themselves, when I save, you do approve of invasion—You do but stultify yourself, and make your self contemptible in your own eyes, before your own constituents, and before the slaveholders themselves, when you assert that you do not approve the slaveholders themselves, when You do but stultify yourself, and make your self contemptible in your own eyes, before your own you have you have you do not approve of invasion—You do approve of invasion—of mind invasio 'You know' it is the duty of the people and out against me, for thus asserting that you are and states of the North to invade slaveholding States will be true to yourself.

While, as a MAN, you know, and, by word and conslaves them.

While, as a MAN, you know, and, by word and deed, inculcate the above specified propositions as The right to defend life, liberty and property, true, as a REPUBLICAN, you deny them; and stren-

right of the enslaved to resist their enslavers by inizing cry comes to your ears. As a MAN, your arms and blood; and on the right of others to in- heart and soul respond, and prompt you to rush to cite and aid them to resist.

The people and State of Virginia exist by daily family that live in that house have a right to manand hourly aggressions on the persons and property age their own affairs; within any and every room

lease, and I have no right to interfere; and if I do, it will be the means of defeating the Republican party. Besides, I am bound not to interfere to protect those victims by my political obligations as a Republican Senator. I will, therefore, pass by on the other side, and leave those who have allen among ruffians and murderers to their fate.'

So, Virginia seizes men and women, wherever and whenever she pleases, in Ohio, Massachusetts, or Guinea, drags them into her own dominion, and there perpetrates every possible outrage upon them; and you, Henry Wilson, as a REPUBLICAN, consent to stand sentinel to prevent any individual or State beyond Virginia from entering in, to deliver those victims, and put a stop to those outrages. You denounce all as' invaders,' as guilty of 'robbery, plunder, treason, anarchy and murder,' who would go into Virginia to rescue those innocent and helpss victims of lust and murder.

Mark! you do not stipulate where Virginia shall

get her victims. You leave that to be settled by nerself. So, she may get them in Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, or Liberia; all the same to you, as a Republican. You have no more right to interfere to rescue the victims she gets from Natick and Massachusetts, than those she gets from Africa.

Thus you, as a REPUBLICAN, allow Virginia the right to invade Humanity, but you will not allow the people and States of the North to protect their beings against her bloody and murderous raid. You threaten to hang all who shall dare to go into Virginia,-even if it shall be to rescue their own children and friends from the lust and brutality of their ravishers and murderers. Thus the RE-PUBLICAN is above the MAN; the unprincipled, compromising politician is allowed to triumph over the godlike heir of immortality! What a perversion—what a fall—is there! The naturally generous humane, and noble wan sunk in the cowardly, scheming, sneaking, crawling, loathsome politi-cian! A child of God merged in the spawn of a slave-breeding, slave-hunting, slave-trading political

From an Edinburgh paper.

DR. GUTHRIE ON AMERICAN SLAVERY. EDINBURGH, Feb. 27, 1860.

To the Editor of the Presbyterian, Philadelphia, U.S. Sir,—In your paper of the 28th of January, you have an article headed ' Drs. Candlish and Guthrie.' Had that article appeared in any other than a re-ligious journal, professing the highest orthodoxy, I would not have thought of noticing it, or of asking, as an act of simple justice, that you insert this reply.' And, indeed, I am not so anxious to defend myself, as to seize the opportunity of lifting up my voice on behalf of the poor slaves, and of vindi-cating religion from the scandal to which it is ex-

posed by your silence, and that of others, on the shame and sin of your otherwise noble country.

You say, that ' for my sentiments, temper, and language,' at the meeting convened here to protest igainst American slavery, and to sympathize with Dr. Cheever, 'there can be no apology.' I will re-lieve you at once from any hesitation about accepting and inserting an apology by saying, that I do not write to offer one. Bad as, according to your not write to ouer one. Bad as, according to your account, my temper is, and capable as I am, in your opinion, of taking 'leave both of my senses and piety, it so happens that much as I have been engaged in keen public controversies during the last thirty years, I have never yet had to apologise to any one; and I thank God from the bottom of my heart that I have not now to go down upon my knee to any slave-breeder, slave-dealer, slaveh or to one I reckon more guilty than many slavenolders-one who, called to watch and give warning against crimes and sins, is, in regard to slavery, a dumb dog that cannot bark.'

I write, not to make an apology, but to ask one. There are small charges in your article, which are is untrue as they are contemptible—they are beneath my notice. So I pass on to statements equally false, but of a graver kind. You seem to have proceeded, in this attack on Dr. Candlish and me, upon ' private information from an American gentleman. presume your informer, the spy in our camp, is the person who was pointed out to me as a minister from the slave States. I beg his pardon, if I am mistaken: but if I have hit the nail on the head, let me tell him that it would have been more worthy of a gentleman, and of a minieter, had he, instead of speaking away to write a letter you have been too ready to believe, come forward to the platform like a man, and met us face to face. However that be, in your anxiety to damage, I do not say us, but any influence which our protest against lavery and its abettors might have, you have lent

him a too willing ear, as I now proceed to show.

You state that I 'spoke of the American eagle as polluted with blood.' Now, that may or may not be the case; but I never used these words; nor said,

You state, also, that I wished the next negro insurrection to succeed, 'though they might have to fight to the knees in the blood of the white man.' How can I deny that? for in your article are not the offensive words, 'fight to the knees in the blood of the white man,' set within inverted commas, the usual sign of a quotation and the pledge of accu-racy? Alas, for the credit of inverted commas and certain religious newspapers! There is not a word of truth in your statement. The wronged and down-trodden negro may, or may not, be justified in doing for his personal what your own fathers did for their national liberty; though a man, he is black, and notwithstanding that an old-fashioned book, called the Bible, says that God made out of one blood all the families of earth, he may no more have rights than the cow he is sold with; yet I have rights than the cow he is sold with; yet I never used the words, nor spoke of blood, either on black men's knees or on American engles. It left confident, on reading your paper, that I had not employed the expressions you put into my mauth. Still, having a deep abhorrence of slavery, and feeling profound grief that such a system is allowed to live in such a country as yours, and that churches of Christ, and ministers of the gospel, have in so many instances failed to testify against it as they should, and God's prophets would certainly have done, I thought it possible that my indignation might have exploded in some such terms. So I have appealed to the recollection of parties who were present, and I have carefully examined the report of the three principal Edinburgh newspapers; and I appealed to the recollection of parties who were present, and I have carefully examined the report of the three principal Edinburgh newspapers; and I have the extisfaction of informing you that neither the one nor the other gives the shadow of a foundation for your charge. So, I hope that henceforth you will be less ready to take up an evil report against your neighbor, and more slow in trusting to private information of such an American gentleman as attended our meeting.

You say that I 'was blood-thirsty.' A horrid charge to bring against any minister of the gospel! If you mean, by applying this abusive language to me, that I delight in the shedding of human blood, or would rather have recourse to arms than suffer any wrong. I deny your charge; and appeal for my veracity to those who know how I abhor the cruelties

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inseparable from war. Perhaps you mean something else. Perhaps you mean that I would regard the slaves, if they had a fair prospect of success, as justified in rising to recover their freedom, as the last resource, meeting arms with arms in the battle for liberty. If so, I plead guilty to the charge! guilty, I must add, as were our Wallace and your Washington. Washington and his compatriots thought not liberty only, but independence, even, worth fighting for. In the days of the struggle which you yearly commemorate, ministers preached up resistance; pulpits as well as drums sounded to arms. You laud men who did fight, and were ready 'to fight to the knees in the blood of the white man, merely for the right to tax themselves, and have you the assurance to hold up your hands in horror at the bare idea of poor Africans, ground to the dust, doing the same to save themselves, their wives, their children, from bleeding under the brutal lash, and being sold like cattle to the highest bidder? What were the wrongs your fathers suf-fered from Britain, compared with the untold wrongs your slaves suffer on the same soil? Let the great Jonathan Edwards answer that question. He says: 'We all dread political slavery, or subjection to the arbitrary power of a king, or of any man not deriving their authority from the people. Yet such a state is inconceivably preferable to the slavery of the negroes. Suppose that in the late war, we had been subdued by Great Britain, we should have been taxed without our consent. But these taxes would have amounted to but a small part of our property. Whereas the negroes are deprised of all their property; no part of their earnings is their own; the whole is their master's. In a conquered state we should have been at liberty to dispose of ourselves and of our property, in most cases, as we should choose. We should have been free to live in this or that town or place; in any part of the country, or to remove out of the country; to apply to this or that business; to labor or not; and, excepting a sufficiency for taxes, to dispose of the fruit of our labor to our own benefit. But the unhappy negroes in slavery can do none of these They must do what they are commanded, and as much as they are commanded, on pain of the lash. They must live wherever they are placed, and must confine themselves to that spot on pain of death. So that Great Britain, in her late attempt to enslave America, committed a very small crime indeed, in comparison with the crime of those who enslave the Africans.' Your great Jefferson also speaks out his mind as strongly and as truly. 'One hour,' said he, 'of American slavery outweighs whole ages of the oppression we rose against England to shake off! You cannot deny that; and though a violent termination to slavery is not one that any reflecting and right-thinking man would wish, the system, as one of cruelty, of immorality, of robbery, and of murder, is accursed both of God and man. It is the plague-spot of your State; the plague-spot of your churches; and should its end, which God forbid, be one of violence, on the heads of those who are not straining every nerve to bring it to a speedy and bloodless termination will lie the pany its dying struggles. When these come, and the slaves are fighting for their rights, your disasters may recall the fearful words of Jefferson, What attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us? guilt of all the fearful crimes which shall accom-You sneeringly represent many of us as being

much more concerned for the slaves in the United States, than for the degraded and wretched in their Those who know us, know that that is not true. Let me tell you that our concern extends to others besides the slaves in your country. Your informant concealed, or you have omitted in your article, all reference to the hearty admiration which I expressed for your countrymen and country-its greatness, its noble missions, its network of schools, its evangelical churches; but this ungenerous treatment shall not prevent me from expressing the deep interest we feel in the prosperity and character of our nation. Because of that, we are grieved to see the contrast between what is now passing in Russia, and passing in the United States. Looking across Europe, we see a mighty despot, the Head of a Church where the light of the Gospel shines dimly through many an error, bending his giant strength to break the chains of seridom; while in free, in Protestant American States, they are driving-shame to it-innocent and free men c color from their territories; a man is sentenced to the gallows for no other crime than aiding, in obedience to the dictates of religion and humanity, a poor enslaved brother in his flight; and many, calling themselves free men and Christians, are seeking to restore the accursed slave-trade, and to rivet the chains of bondage. The very report of these things makes our blood to boil. And when such things are done, many of you keep silence who ought to 'cry aloud and spare not,' while some wickedly and profanely attempt to justify them from the Word of God. No wonder, when Scripture is per-verted to such horrid purposes, that some Aboliionists have been sent by the recoil over into inf

delity.

Let me say, in conclusion, that no lasting peace till the evil thing nor true prosperity can be yours, till the evil thing is put away. I believe that God will not continue bless a nation which continues to maintain a sys tem that is opposed to the religion of Christ, and tramples in the dust its golden precept, 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' Without this spot, how bright you sun would What a noble ancestry you had, and, rid of clavery, what a noble people you would be! Little your soil expect the day when others for liber; would flee from it—in holds of ships, or by journeys in the dead of night, with the north star for their guide, and God for their protector, and bloodbounds on their track, glad to escape from a land that prayer and piety once consecrated to freedom. cherish the hope that, in the very confusion into which the question of slavery has now plunged your country, we see the beginning of the end.
We rejoice in the bold front, the onward movement. the increasing numbers, the growing power of the anti-slavery party. May God bless their banners, and speed on their cause, till, dark skin and white your whole nation, amid universal rejoicings, hold a fast, even the fast that God hath chosen, the best evidence of a true religious revival. 'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.' I am, yours truly, THOMAS GUTHRIE.

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

A Rousing Speech in the U. S. House of Repre sentatives on Slevery by Owen Lovejoy of Illinois -The Southern Men-Stealers greatly infuriated.

To-day, April 6, (says the Washington correspond ent of the Boston Atlas,) the slow turtle of slavery has had the coals of fire poured upon its back in the liveliest and most effectual manner. The animal writhed under the infliction as I have never known it before. No pen can fully describe the scene. Hon. Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, the brother of the murdered Lovejoy of Alton, had the floor for the delivery of a speech. He delivered it, and made such a speech ! The like of it has not been heard in this Hall for a long time-its equal will not be heard again very

Below we give the telegraphic sketch of the pro ceedings in the House here alluded to :-

Mr. LOVEJOY (Rep., Ill.) The House has been nied for several days in the discussion of polyg-The Republican party, of which I am a member, stands pledged, ever since 1854, so far as Congress has the power, to exterminate the twin relic of barbarism—Slavery and Polygamy—in the Territories of the United States. Now, sir, as we have administered a death-blow to one of these twins, propose to pay my respects to the other twin. I want to see both strangled and go down together, as they heartily deserve.

Mr. Conn (Dem., Ala.). It is not in order under

the rules, but I am willing to let him go on, and

talk about the other twin. Mr. Lovesov. I shall go on without the gentle

man's leave, or anybody else's leave, individually.

Mr. Stanton (Rep., O.) Does the Chair hold that the twin relies are in order? I think, under the new rules, the debate must be confined to the Tariff bill. I only raise the question because I am afraid, if the general debate goes on, the real subject before us will be neglected.

Mr. Sherman (Rep., O.), said the discussion was

open as broad as upon the President's Message, but the majority of the House might at any time limit the discussion to the subject-matter.

The Chairman, Mr. Washburne (Rep., Me.), de

cided that general debate was in order. Mr. Lovesor. I was about to say, when inter-

rupted, that the question presented is, whether land and incite the laboring classes there to assassi-Slavery shall be extended beyond its present limits, as that is the only question over which we have exclusive jurisdiction; but, sir, when it is proposed to extend what is termed an institution, but what is stars and stripes. I claim it. I demand it. clusive jurisdiction; but, sir, when it is proposed to extend what is termed an institution, but what is not an institution, but simply a practice, like polygamy, the question naturally arises, what is the nature, what the influences, and what the elements of this practice, and what will they prove to be when extended, if allowed to extend? I am aware that it has been stated on this floor, that the morality of Slavery has been settled; that its ethics are no longer to be discussed; that they were settled by the stagyrite of Greece, and have been reaffirmed and re-established by the stagyrite of Ohio, who portrayed it in gorgeous colors, like the hues which gather around the clouds of a summer sunset. We were told that where slaveholding will go. Precisely upon the same principle, where robbery or piracy will pay, they will go, and where human flesh is cheaper than beeves, cannibalism will go, because it will pay. Sir, than robberies, than piracy, than polygamy, slaveholding has been justly designated as the sum affall seize. Very more criminal, more injurious to man, and consequently more offensive to God. Slaveholding has been justly designated as the sum arrangement among pirates to distribute the spoils. ous to man, and consequently more offensive to God.

Slaveholding has been justly designated as the sum of all crime. You put every crime that is perpetrated upon men into a moral crucible, and dissolve and combine them all, and the result of the amalgam is slaveholding. I am speaking in earnest, before God, and it is God's truth. It has the violence is a slave, and were it necessary to achieve his freedom, and to fight himself away. Were he (Lovejoy) a slave, and were it necessary to achieve his freedom, and to fight himself away. of robbery, the blood of piracy, the bridge it size in the would not hesitate to fin up the chasm, and polygamy, all combined and concentrated in itself, bridge it over with the carcasses of the slain. He with aggravations that neither one of those crimes loved the South.

A Voice—We don't love you.

Mr. Lovejoy—So it was with the Savior; they the justification of Slavery is placed mainly on three grounds,—the inferiority of the enslaved race, the didn't love him. [Laughter.] Gentlemen who talk inferiority of the race, but does it follow that it is herself in sackcloth and ashes on account of slavery, right to enslave a man simply because he is inferior and ought to drink the waters of bitterness.

Mr. Martin (Dem., Va.)—If you will come into horrent doctrine. It would place the weak at the mercy of the strong. The theory is, that if a man brown. It would place the weak at the w deceive him. Why, sir, this doctrine of the Democrats-and it is the doctrine of devils as wellwould lead the strong to enslave the weak everywhere. It would justify the angels in enslaving man, and, in turn, it would justify the arch-angels in enslaving the angels. If carried out in the uni-verse, it would ultimately transform Jehovah him-

Mr. Lovejoy, who had commenced his remarks on the extreme left of the Republican side, had gradu-ally advanced into the space in front of the Speak-er's chair, and as he warmed in his subject he began to gesticulate with some vehemence. In the midst of the remark last reported, he was interrupted by Mr. Phyon. (Dem., Va.,) who excitedly called him to order, at the same time advancing toward him, with fierce gesticulations. He was understood to say, prefacing the remark with some offensive adjectives, 'Keep your own side, sir; you shall not day at 10 o'clock, A. M. come over here, shaking your fists in the face of

gentlemen! Great confusion ensued. Members began to rush toward the scene from all sides, shouting order, and

Mr. BARKSDALE (Miss., Dem.), who had been in his seat with a heavy cane in his hand, came forward with the crowd, shouting and flourishing the cane. The only words understood from him above the din of the Chairman's gavel were, ' Keep his

own side—the rascal! Mr. ADRAIN (A. L. D. N. J.), and other gentlemen, moved that the Committee rise, and some called the Sergeant-at-Arms. The CHAIRMAN would receive no motion till gen-

tlemen resumed their scats. The crowd still increased, and a collision seemed inevitable

Mr. Cox (Dem., O.) shouted-I rise to a point of order. The gentleman from Illinois is out of his seat. He has no right to leave his seat and come upon the Democratic side.

Mr. Lovejoy, standing firm, was understood to reply, 'I will stand where I please.'
He stood at this time on the Republican side, near the dividing aisle.

Mr. PRyor vociferated—Let him stand over there

and talk. He shall not come upon this side. Mr. Barksdale continued to flourish his cane, sev- faithful to our rallying-cry, 'No Union with Slaveeral gentlemen around him and Mr. Singleton re- HOLDERS!

straining their violence.

Mr. Adrain. To avoid all difficulty, 1 suggest the gentleman just speak from his side; no one supposes he can be intimidated.

Mr. Pryor. Nobody wants to intimidate him. Mr. Lovejov. Nobody can intimidate me, sir. at down, gentlemen; I am sale enough Mr. Singleton (Dem., Miss.) approached, shak-

Mr. BARR (Dem., N. Y.), and others restrained

him.

Mr. BURNETT forced his way into the midst of the circle around Lovejoy, and shouted, There is a rule while speaking. He can speak only from his own seat. He cannot, and he shall not, cross this hall in a menacing manner towards us, as he has done. He must speak from his seat, and he shall do it.

The Chairman appealed to gentlemen to enforce order, and said he would call the Sergeant-at-Arms. The young man acting as deputy of the Sergeantat-Arms approached with his silver mace.

Mr. BURNETT. You may call your Sergeant-at Arms, but he shall not do it. Mr. PHELPS (Dem., Mo.), turned back the mace

bearer, with some remarks.

Mr. Kellogg (Rep., Ill.), vociferated that his olleague should not commit a breach of the rules, but should have all his rights.

The Speaker was called in to resume his seat. when the Chairman reported that the Committee rose, owing to the disorder.

Finally, comparative quiet was restored.

Mr. Sherman (Rep., O.) said, We are in good

This was succeeded by a burst of laughter. The House then again went into Committee Mr. Lovejov took the stand at the Clerk's desk

and resumed his remarks. He spoke about Northern Christian women, who went to the South to prevent the people there from returning to bar-barism. Mr. SINGLETON (Dem., Miss.) said that he would

not allow such insinuations upon Southern womer to pass. If the member persisted in that course, he (Singleton) would hold him personally accountable. Mr. Loveroy said that, in four million of slaves, there was not one legal husband or wife, father o

child; and spoke about a Presbyterian Elder down South, having the gospel whipped into him with the broad side of a handsaw, and of a young girl in Washington being whipped until the blood came out of her nostrils, and then sent to the garret to die. He had sworn to support the Constitution be-cause he loved it; but he did not interpret it in the way Southerners did. Mr. Bonnam (Dem., S. C.) You violate it.

Mr. ASHMORE (Dem., S. C.) And perjure your

Mr. Stagteron. And are a negro thief into the Mr. BARKSDALE. I hold no parley with a per-

ured negro. Mr. Lovejoy said, when Daniel Webster spoke of the imposition of Austria on Hungary, he remarked the earthquake and the tornado have power, and the thunder has power, but greater than these was the power of public opinion, and before this he pro-posed to arraign Austria. He (Lovejoy) proposed o hold up to the retribution of publi slaveholding in all its atrocity and hideousness, just as gentlemen had here polygamy. Public sentiment will burn and scour out slavery, and the proper way is by the action of the Slave States themselves. He had indorsed the Helper book because he wanted to do it. He did so without asking the gentleman from Miseouri (Clark) or anybody else. You shed the blood of my brother twenty years ago, and I am here to speak my mind. The Republican party would spring up in Kentucky, and gentlemen now here would find themselves displaced by more moderate, and if it were not offensive, he would add, more

Mr. Lovejor—I can go to England, and there discuss the question of Church and State, or any other British institution. But if I go into the Slave States and talk against slavery, where is my protection? amiable and gifted author of it. It Mr. Mr.Es, (Dem., S. C.)—Can you go to Eng-distribution as a tract in a few days.

of robbery, the blood of piracy, the brutal lusts of he would not hesitate to fill up the chasm, and

fact of enslaving men imparts Christianity and ed of dissolving the Union could no more do it than civilization to them, and the guarantees of the they could stop the shining of the sun. Virginia, Constitution. We concede, as a matter of fact, the instead of clothing in sheep's-gray, should clothe

Virginia, we will hang you higher than we did John Mr. Loveyoy-No doubt about it.

The Committee arose, and the House adjourned.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, APRIL 13, 1860.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twesty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Amen-ICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city of New York, at the Cooper Institute, on Tuesday and WEDNESDAY, May 8th and 9th, commencing each

Independent of all religious and political organizations, and dealing impartially with them all, this Society continues to pursue its grand distinctive object, THE IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL ABOLITION OF AMERICAN others denouncing Lovejoy.

Mr. Pryon. I call him to order, sir. He shall

SLAVERY, without regard to geographical boundaries, not shake his fists in our faces, sir. It is bad by moral instrumentalities alone—animated by a enough to let him stand over there, and talk his spirit which seeks the safety, happiness and prosperity of every section of our widely-extended country, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South, as such. Its 'treason' is embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and its 'fanaticism' in the Golden Rule. Declaring that man cannot be the property of man, it measures men, parties and institutions by this simple and unerring test, and will not yield to any compromise, or consent to any postponement of the claims of justice and humanity.

We trust it is needless to remind the members and

friends of the Society, that never were greater vigilance and activity demanded on their part than at the present time. The nation is just entering into another Presidential election, which will probably be unparalleled on the score of popular excitement, and which will present a powerful temptation to many to swerve from the strict line of rectitude, by lowering the Anti-Slavery standard for the sake of party success. 'Let the dead bury their dead.' Let us eschew all compromise and compromisers, and be

There will be no lack of able and experienced speakers at the Anniversary. [Further particulars hereafter. ]

> In behalf of the Executive Committee, WM. LLOYD GARRISON. President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } Secretaries. C. C. BURLEIGH.

DEATH OF CYRUS PEIRCE. Another good man has been removed from the earth-one of the best and purest who have ever lived which requires every gentleman to keep his seat to elevate their race, and to advance the interests of humanity in every direction. We allude to the death of that venerable teacher, Rev. CYRCS PEIRCE, (more familiarly known amongst his numerous scholars as Father Peirce,') which took place at West Newton, on Thursday, 5th inst. The sad intelligence is communicated to us by a friend, as follows :-

> WEST NEWTON, April 5, 1860. DEAR SIR, -Father PEIRCE is no more! He died this afternoon, gently, after a protracted illness and great suffering. An uncompromising advocate of justice and truth, he has been, from the time your voice was heard in the columns of the Liberator, an uncompromising friend to the slave. You will remember how he was derided, when Principal of the Normal School, for accepting an office in the Anti-Slavery Society; and that he was bearer of the ' Latimer Petition' for the 'old men eloquent' to present to Congress. He was Principal of the first Normal School in North America, and of the first Normal School for young ladies in the world.

> For the past six years, he has been connected with Mr. N. T. Allen's school, in this town. I send you copy of his Memoir, written by Rev. Samuel J. May for Barnard's Journal of Education, the managers of which cut out, and would not print, the part elating to Mr. P.'s connection with and sympathy for the anti-slavery movement!

Mr. Peirce was a man of rare tact in his profession and successfully labored in connection with the late Hon. Horace Mann, and others, to raise the standard of education in Massachusetts. Peace to his memory

CONGREGATIONAL FRATERNIZATION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The papers inform us that four Northern clergy men preached at Charleston, S. C., on Sunday week, to wit : Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, the author of the South-side View of Slavery; Rev. Dr. Blagden, of the Old South Church, Boston Rev. Dr. Todd, author of the Student's Manual, and Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, of New York. These gentlemen, being known as fast friends and allies of the Slave Power, can safely travel, visit or reside, as they list, in any part of the South; while the obscure young men who go as delegates from the Troy Young Men's Christian Association to the Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations shortly to be held in New Orleans, for want of such distinction must carry 'free papers,' signed by the Mayor of Troy, warranting them to be free from all Northern notions about liberty and equality-free from remembrance of those in bonds as bound with them-and free from all suspicion of sympathy with the Good Samaritan .- c. K. W.

PUT UP THY SWORD.' It gives us great pleasure to e able to lay before our readers, on our last page, the very admirable Discourse delivered before Theodore sensible men. He wanted to say in Charleston what he could say here.

Mr. Bonhan—You had better try it!

Merch 11th, by Dr. Funness, of Philadelphia, in defence of the principles of Non-Resistance. ever dissent any of our readers may make from its reasoning, they will all admire its spirit, and the amiable and gifted author of it. It will be ready for

PRIESTLY CALUMNY. The Koran, in a very large proportion (say ninetenths) of its contents, consists of moral precepts and during the Year ending 1st March, 1860. We have ideas unquestionably sound and just, and bearing a marked resemblance, both in form and substance, to being especially gratified to observe the abiding faith the precepts and ideas of the Hebrew Scriptures. These two also bear a striking resemblance to each other in some of the errors and vices which they permit and enjoin; for both absolutely require circumcision; both contain injunctions directing aggressive defrauded and oppressed, the world over, a true symwar and wholesale slaughter against communities that pathy for that slave lives in their hearts. After renever had injured the people to whom they were ad- ferring to the state of the Coolie trade, the condition dressed; and both permit, and in some cases enjoin, the practice of polygamy. The Mussulmans, however, Report turns its attention to the Cause in America, regard the Koran as the Hebrews do the Old Testa- and treats of the Oberlin case, of William S. Bailey's ment, as absolutely and infallibly inspired of God; sufferings in Kentucky, of the attempt in Maryland assuming that the things there asserted are to be re- to seize Thomas Garrett of Delaware, and of the ceived as true, because asserted there, quite irrespective of conflicting evidence from other sources; and the shameful treatment to which Miss Remond was that the observances enjoined are to be considered subjected at the hands of the American Minister in as duties absolutely binding, because enjoined there, London and of his Secretary. It dwells at more quite irrespective of the useless or pernicious charac- length on Dr. Cheever's position, and on the discourter which progressive knowledge may reveal in them. aging condition of the churches and great religious Let us suppose that a Mussulman, after careful ex- organizations of the United States,' with one or two amination of the customs of other nations, a compari- exceptions, which are noted. The Pierce Butler

son of them with the Mohammedan customs, and pa- Slave Sale at Savannah, and the Daniel Webster Futient reflection upon the reasons of each, and the gitive Case in Philadelphia, are briefly depicted; and Creator made man just as he wished, and therefore Differing, as we do, from him and his associates, exactly right, he could not possibly have enjoined, as the Report says, 'as to the mode and wisdom of their a religious duty, the cutting off and destroying a part enterprise, and regretting its bloody termination, we and just as well as wise and powerful, made all men, edness which characterized them all throughout." one nation just as much as another, he could not pos- After sketching the old man's life, and the circumsibly interfere to stir up strifes between them, and set stances of the attack at Harper's Ferry, the subseone family of his children to robbing and killing quent trial, the imprisonment, and the execution far from rendering them obligatory or even justifia- with evident satisfaction. at all, or a reason against their abrogation.

mind and soul of man. But if such examination should and donations for the year. reveal that the Koran itself made no assumption of this sort-that it was solely an invention of the him a malignant opposer of the good things, as well ed in the Report. as the evil, in the Koran; and would stigmatize him as an infidel of a most degraded class!

Just such calumnies as these have for years been uttered, and circulated to the utmost extent of their power, by the Reverend editors of the Independent, against William Lloyd Garrison. Long since, they called him 'an infidel of a most degraded class,' and they have never retracted this calumny. And now, in the last issue of their paper, (5th inst.) the accustomed stigma is repeated in the following terms :-

MR. GARRISON'S INPIDELITY. We have been charged with slandering W. L. Garrison and his school when we have spoken of their attitude toward the Bible as sheer infidelity. But what is an infidel, which they contain. Now, what says Mr. Garrison upon these points? In noticing Dr. Cheever's recent Biblical argument against slavery, the Liberator says :

'Dr. Cheever has here met the pro-slavery argument drawn from the Bible with consummate logical acumen, scholarly ability and irresistible power. commend this work to all who profess to revere the criptures; at the same time protesting against ma king the rights of man to depend upon any parchment

Mr. Garrison does not even profess ' to revere the Scriptures. He treats them as he would any 'parch-ment,' ancient or modern. He concedes to them no authority over his opinions or conscience. Is he not

It is to be noted that Dr. Cheever had said, in the book referred to, ( 'The Scriptures on the Guilt of Slavery')-speaking of the doctrine of the Bible concerning slaveholding- 'If it be not condemned there, it is in vain that we struggle for its overthrow.' As if there were no light upon morality and immorality, virtue and vice, but that which comes from the Bible! As if the human mind recognized no distinction between right and wrong, and no obligation to do the one and avoid the other, before those sixty-six books were written and brought together in their present form! As if no rights of man, no rights of individual human beings against the tyranny of oppressors, had had any existence until the publication of the Bible! As tisers of any exclusively modern sin (if there be such) could reasonably point to the Bible and say to the ed-

Mr. Garrison, in commending the general scope earnestly and heartily, felt bound to protest against meeting :the false and mischievous doctrine above stated; a Whereas, Gov. Banks in his 'proclamation for This protest was made in the calm, brief and mode- therefore, which the Scriptures contain!

One marked difference between Mr. Garrison and pensed' in the State. his clerical calumniators is this. He believes, ac- Resolved, That Congress has no constitutional rors. The people who call him 'an infidel' assume direct contradiction between any different parts of and resisted as equally illegal and intolerable. them, irrespective of opposing reason and justice, and irrespective of conflicting testimony, however strong and abundant, from any or all other sources. But the Reverend gentlemen of the Independent refuse to lay this distinction before their readers! Their reformer 'an Infidel,' and then to clench this nail by the deliberate lie that he disbelieves the divine ori-

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EDINBURGH LADIES' EMAN- and unconstitutional proscription of a portion of the CIPATION SOCIETY, and Sketch of Anti-Slavery Events read this neat little pamphlet with great interest, and zeal of these Christian women of Scotland. The Report shows that they keep a vigilant eye upon Slavery and all its schemes and movements everywhere; and that wherever there is a slave, cast down. of the West Indies, and of Jamaica in particular, the condition of the fugitives in Canada. It speaks of tendencies and results of each, coming to these con- then the Report proceeds to give a quite particular clusions: that since the all-wise and all-powerful account of John Brown and the Harper's Ferry affair. of every man's body; that since this Creator, good cannot but acknowledge the devotion and disinterestanother; and that, since the practice of polygamy they say, - Such was the man whom the United was shown to be pernicious by experience, keeping States selected as the first traiter of the Commonone half of the nation in an undeveloped and de- wealth; for it is remarkable that his was the first exgraded condition, interfering most injuriously with ecution for treason the Republic had witnessed. Of the right education and best welfare of the other half, the nature of his crime, that of seeking to confer and almost annihilating that purity and intensity of liberty on the most oppressed of human beings,) of genuine love which are realized only in the well-as- his sentence and its justice, the civilized world forms sorted union of one man with one woman for life- its judgment now, and posterity will form a yet the all-wise Creator could not possibly have sanction- sterner judgment hereafter.' The Life of Brown by ed this practice; and, moreover, that the permission Redpath is favorably mentioned, and ' the ample or injunction of these three practices in the Koran, memoir from the pen of Mrs. Child' is anticipated

ble, after reason and fact had shown them to be per- The Report also notices the condition of the Slave nicious, was not a good reason for their continuance Trade, the outrages perpetrated on Northern men in the Southern States, the expulsion of the free colored Let us suppose this reformer further to say, in reply people from several of the Southern States, &c. It to the assumption of the priests that everything in refers to the labors of the Abolitionists to obtain Perthe Koran was infallibly inspired of God, that he was sonal Liberty Bills in the so-called Free States, and ready to examine any proof that should be presented notices the unwearied labors of the American Antiupon this point, however improbable it seemed, a Slavery Society. Other topics are treated, and the priori, that any written revelation of God should con- Report closes with the letters of several American tradict that which God had revealed in the body, correspondents, and with full lists of subscriptions

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILApriests-that their attempt to defend this hypothesis DELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. 1860. manifestly included deceptive accounts of the con- -We heartly welcome this pamphlet also, affording tents of the Koran, mingled with sophistical reason. as it does the amplest proof that the spirit of the ing and direct falsehood-and, finally, that the im- Anti-Slavery Reform does not slacken on this side position of this hypothesis upon the people as true the Atlantic, and that the women of Pennsylvania was one chief means by which the priests gained their are true as steel to the demands of this just and subsistence and retained their power-if our Mussul- righteous cause. It shows a clear, discerning eye, man examiner should maintain and promulgate these and a thorough understanding of the cause, its prinideas, then this additional thing would be very likely cipal obstacles, and the best methods of its promoto happen; the priests would denounce this reformer tion. The history of our cause in the city of Philaas a wicked and dangerous person; would represent delphia, during the past year, was unusually interhim as the enemy of true religion; would declare esting, and is well, though of necessity briefly, treat-

> LIFE OF JESUS. A Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. Carl Hase, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated from the German of the third and fourth improved editions, by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street. 1860.

The distinguishing features of this work are critical ability, a spirit of independent investigation, philosophical calmness and dignity, absence of all partisan feeling, and careful research. It has been long known and appreciated in Germany, where it has passed through several editions. The translator says- The book avoids extremes, without trying to his name? His mediocre character is apparent in the in the common meaning of that word? One who de-nies that the Bible is the revealed Word of God: avoid them. It treats its subject with fearless ear- whole transaction; in having anything to do with it and the divine origin and authority of the truths clusion of Strauss nor that of Hengstenberg. While the scientific object is always supreme, there is no have peddled his eulogium on Washington all enr cold indifference, but a warm heart of love throbbing beneath. Reverence for the character of Jesus is combined with a cool sifting of all the Gospel statements concerning him.' Such a book may be pleasurably and profitably read.

New Music, Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington street, Boston, have just published the following pieces of music :-

On the mountain's airy summit. Song. Music by The Shooting Stars. Les Etoiles Filantes. For

the piano, by Alfred Quidant. Tears. 'All the pleasures, all the treasures.' Ballad. By Stephen Glover.

Petruchio Waltz, Morceau de Salon, Composed

for the piano, by W. K. Batchelder. The Lost Ship. A Ballad, on the loss of the ship of war L'Epervier. Music by S. D. S.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual Fast Day-Thursday, April 5th-was gractically improved by the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society to the furtherance of the cause of the enslaved in our land, by holding three public meetings if gamblers, counterfeiters of bank-notes, or the prac- on that day in the Universalist meeting-house at Duxbury, which were attended by a very intelligent, and apparently deeply interested audience, delegations itors of the Independent-If our craft be not con- from other towns being present. Bourne Spooner, demned there, it is in vain that you struggle for its Esq., of Plymouth, President of the Society, occupied the chair. Suitable portions of Scripture were read by Mr. Garrison, of Boston, who presented the and purport of Dr. Cheever's book, which he did following resolutions for the consideration of the

doctrine, be it observed, which finds no foundation in day of public fasting, humiliation and prayer, inthe Scripture itself, but is an invention, made out of vites the people of the Commonwealth 'to make whole cloth, of certain men who get their living by humble confession to Almighty God of transgresthe assumption that they are the authorized expound- sions against His law, and to offer supplications for a ers of Scripture, and that it is the duty of the com- continuance of His mercies, -that the blessings of munity to hear their expositions, and pay for them! justice and liberty may everywhere be dispensed';

rate terms above quoted. Yet the Independent seizes . Resolved, That Gov. Banks has set a bad example the opportunity of its utterance, not only again to of official hypocrisy, which makes the advice constigmatize Mr. Garrison as 'an Infidel' -- an expres- tained in his proclamation contemptible, by twice sion which its editors have sought to make equivalent, vetoing the action of the Legislature, abolishing unin its practical influence, to the cry of 'Mad dog! '- just and degrading distinctions among the citizens of hat to insinuate the atrocious falsehood that he dis- the Commonwealth as pertaining to the militia laws; of justice and liberty from being everywhere disbelieves the divine origin and authority of the truths and thus exerting his power to prevent the blessings

knowledges, inculcates, and reduces to practice the power to make any odious and proscriptive distinctruths which the Scriptures contain, holding himself tions between the government-creating citizens of the undisturbed and unbound by any accompanying er- several States; that, while that body is authorized to organize and discipline the militia of the country, it that the entire contents, not the truths only, of the does not belong to Congress to decide who shall be Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, must be received enrolled in the militia, to the unjust exclusion of any as infallibly inspired of God, and that irrespective of such citizens; and such usurpation must be denounced Resolved, That the thanks of the friends of fr

dom universally are due to the Hon. NATHANIEL H. WHITING, Senator elect from Plymouth district, for his manly and faithful advocacy of the cause of impartial liberty by his presentation and eloquent supsystematic course of policy is, first to call this earnest port of a true Personal Liberty Bill, whereby freedom was secured to every fugitive slave touching the consecrated soil of Massachusetts; and by his untirgin and authority of the truths ' of the Bible !-- c. x. w. ing efforts to secure the abolition of an odious, unjust

Tree citizens of the North on account of their cap. free citizens of the showing himself to be as true to he Anti-Slavery principles in the Senate as he has the been out of that body.

Resolved, That this Society entirely accords with the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer in the sestiment the the Richmond (va.) Layering forms of society as not, among civilized men, co-exist and enduce; its one must give way, and crere to exist—the other's come universal: if free society be unnatural amoral and unchristian, it must fall, and give vay to slave society."

Resolved, That this Society fully enderses the ier timent of William II. Seward, that the antagens. tic systems of liberty and slavery are roatinally eoming in closer contact, and collision result; tad coming in cross; the collision is accidental, warm, sary, the work of interested or fanatical agitten, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogethe, it is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and m. during forces, and it means that the United State must and will, sooner or later, become entiry slaveholding nation, or entirely a free labor nation Therefore.

Resolved, That they who are for suppressing the anti-slavery agitation, are really laboring for the complete supremacy and enduring sway of the Says Power; that they who are deplering the excitent of the times, arising from this question, are really of the times, arrang room manhood or meral and ment left in the land, and arraigning the Almighty for inspiring the human mind with a detestation of robbery, injustice and oppression. Resolved, That to compromise with the dealers in

human flesh-to accede to any of their demandsto enter into an alliance with them from which they to enter into an arrent they shall derive strength and security-to schooledge in any manner the rectitude or necessity of their ourse—is to participate in their guilt, to suffer demoralization, to lose the power of a virtuous example, and to betray the cause of freedom universally, Therefore.

Resolved, That the dissolution of the Union, based as that Union is upon slaveholding concession and compromises, is demanded by every principle of morality, every claim of suffering humanity, every aspiration of impartial freedom, every pulsation of true manhood, and every precept of Christianity. Animated and stirring speeches, treating upon a

variety of topics in a lucid and convincing marrer, were made by Mr. C. L. Remond and Mr. Garrison; but of these we are unable to present even an atstract. When the resolution, approxing the man'r and consistent course of Hon. NATHANIEL H. WEIT. ing in the Senate, was separately put to vote, it was emphatically adopted without a dissenting voice. The weather proved highly auspicious throughout, the day being the finest of the season. The occasion was delightful and strengthening to all who were present As a gratifying evidence of their interest in the cause of the slave, the Wesleyan Methodist church and one. gregation in Duxbury omitted their usual religious service, in order to attend the meetings of the Society, BOURNE SPOONER, Pros.

EDWARD EVERETT AND THE NEW YORK LEDGER

A year ago, a friend of ours published an article in the Syracuse (N. Y.) Journal, expressing his surprise at the weak character of Mr. Everett's contributions for the Ledger. He sent us a copy of the paper, and, in reply, we wrote what follows:-

FRIEND P .- You are no longer a myth, but an absolute reality, having thought of old companions, and retaining energy enough to protest against the nambypambies of our timid, gentle, accomplished, learned, and mediocre Edward Everett. Now I have not sen one of the articles with which he professes to great the columns of the Ledger. I have never yet read a column in that stupendous exhibition of American froth. Did you really suppose that he would write above the level of the contributors by whom he was surounded, and above the appetite which he could clealy see characterized the readers of that paper? De you suppose that he meant to lend it much more than at all. More than that, if his chara any proportion to his reputed ability, he never would the country, to induce a subscription purchase of Mount Vernon, but have struck at once at the boiler and only manly measure of its purchase by Congress. Mr. Everett's sense and perception of the beautiful artistically speaking, are very great; but how delcient he is in all the loftier attributes of a great cettor and writer! He has none of that lefty elevation and nervous force that characterized the ancient erstors, and that, more than in any other modern mit, was seen in Lord Chatham; none of that splends combination of ratiocination and imagery, of brest humanity and of as broad philosophy, that distinguished Burke; none of the fire of Patrick Henry; none of the massiveness of Webster; none of the immaculate purity of Sumner. If he had any of these qualities, he would be the man for some emergency some where; but he never was, and never will be What is he? I think he is a fine scholar. His mist ranges through prose, peetry, painting and sculpture, law, medicine, and natural history; it delights it accumulating from all subjects, and feating on their

beauties, and can reproduce these at pleasure. I am glad to see your castigation, and hope he may, meet it from other quarters. He deserves it. He should contribute something to the moral force of the world, ere his splendid acquirements and undoubted abilities descend to the grave. This asthets culture is sometimes as ruinous as positive immonaty. Full of sentimentalism of a high order, with quick sensibilities, his mind does not see fundamental principles. He seems to love nature, and certainly is an active observer of many of her mest beautiful phenomena. But who ever loved nature truly, with out loving man more? Who ever really understood one of her innumerable illustrations of usefulness and beauty, without feeling his heart beat quicker, and his breast throb more strongly for the character, the pacities and destinies of the whole human next I speak of him mainly as a public man; his prints

life exhibits some virtues, it may be. But he has done much to block the scheck of progress, and has never worked energetically in any cause worthy of a noble mind. On the page of history, is will stand as a refined scholar, a polished gentleman, a cultured, amiable man. But that page will tell the that the great principles of liberty worked out thet results without his aid, and in spite of his indifer. ence. Bryant, Hallock, Whittier, Laughtlow, East. son and Lowell are leaving burning words, to the miand advancing in solid column; music which sim even the heart of Garrison, of Sumner, of Chase, and of Seward, and lends a higher strain to their legs and their eloquence; while Mr. Everett contents himself in this, the golden age of his life without tions at horse-shows, at dedications, at public fast rals, with lecturing on a character whose opinions does not sympathize with or dare not express, and with writing for the New York Ledger! words, his is a selfish life. He lives in a selfish esjoyment of intellect, of taste and refinement, and as truly a miser as he who has millions, and yet denis the poor a shilling; for what has he given to the great heart of humanity?

We shall publish, next week, a review, John Cushing, of the two-faced, double-and-twisted discourse on slavery, delivered at South Hinghas Jan. 29, 1860, by Rev. J. J. Brayton, Unitarian.

The quiet town of Concord, Mass., was a scene of intense excitement Tuesday night, 3d inst., which was occasioned by an attempt of United States officers to forciby arrest Mr. F. B. Sanborn, and take him to Washington to answer for contempt, in refusing to obey the summons to appear before the Harper's Yerry Investigating Committee. He was seized and handcuffed, in the most dastardly manner, and without my show of authority, but the ruffians were prevented from taking him out of town, by the application of the writ of habeas corpus,

We give below the following statement of Mr. San-CONCORD, Mass., April 3, 1860. )

114 o'clock at night. To the Citizens of Massachusetts :

I have to inform you that a cowardly assault was committed on me this evening, at about 91 o'clock, in my own house, by four or five persons claiming to have authority to arrest me. The facts are these:

I came in from a call about 9 o'clock, and was sit-I came in from a can about 9 o clock, and was sit-tian, in my sippers, at my desk, when a knocking called me to the door. I went down stairs, and opened the door, when a small man entered and said, . Does Mr. Sanborn live here? 'That is my name, sit, said I, putting out my hand to welcome him · Here is a paper for you, said he, handing me a folded one, which I took.

d one, which I took.
At that moment, a grey-haired, tall and stout man entered the opened door, and said, 'I arrest you, Mr San orn. By what authority? said I, and what is your name? He gave no name, but said, 'I am from the U. S. Marshal's office,' or something of that from the control of that soft. "What is your authority—your warrant?" repeated I. "We have a warrant," said some one, for by this time two more men appeared. Show it-read it, said I. A small man, calling himself Freeman, (afterwards.) began to read a paper, but had got only through a few lines, when the grey-haired rufflan took a pair of handcuffs from his pocket, and ruman took a part them on my wrists, I standing in my proceeded to put them on my wrists, I standing in my own house, without a hat or boots, only in slippers

f cloth.  $\Lambda$  whistle was given; some men rushed in, none of them known to me, and carried me by force to the street, where stood a carriage with two horses. They hited me from the ground, and tried to put me in the I resisted with my feet, for my hands were fast in the manacles. They tried two or three times, without success, breaking the carriage, but the horses started, and they could not get me in. In the meantime, my cries and those of my sister had called my neighbors from their homes, who surrounded the ruf-fans, and prevented them from carrying me off.

I stood in the street in my slippers half an hour, wearing the handcuffs, until Deputy Sheriff. Moore took me by force from the ruffians' hands, under a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Judge Hoar. Their names, given after a long time and reluctantly, were, Silas Carlton, — Coolidge, — Tarleton, and — Freeman. There were two or three others, whose

names I have not learned.

Fifteen minutes after I was handcuffed, standing n the street, Freeman read me a warrant, signed by Vice President Breckinridge, for my arrest, with an endersement from McNair, Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. Senate, authorizing Silas Carlton to seize me. How he did it, I have said. People of Massachusetts, act as it seems to you best in this case! F. B. SANBORN.

Mr. Sanborn also gives the following additional particulars of his arrest :-

Earlier in the evening, one of these men had visited my house, and finding the door unlocked, had gone in, and being met by the servant, told her that he had an important paper for me, and, as she understood him, it was something about a situation. I was out at the time, and was told of it when I returned.

How long the ruffians had been looking about town I do not know, but am informed they had been here some hours, perhaps watching my footsteps, in which bonorable employment they were aided, as I am told and believe, by Joseph Holbrook, sometimes called Col. Holbrook, an officer in the Boston Custom House, residing here, and Charles B. Davis, Post-master of this town. These neighbors of mine, with one of whom I formerly boarded, have, as I believe, assisted in committing this outrage. Some weeks ago, the perhimself Carlton was here as a spy, and

made his head-quarters at the post-office.

I at first offered no resistance, but when the handcuffs were put on, I refused to go, not having heard any warrant, or seen any signatures, or been soft the names of the officers, or the nature of my offence, so far as I can recollect. When they dragged me the open air, without allowing me to put on my boots, overcoat, or hat, I called 'Murder!' and resisted with my feet as well as I could, with four stout men holding me. They dragged me to the carriage, which had been brought up by a fifth or sixth confederate, and attempted te put me in. I broke the side of the

the ruffians, they dropped me on my feet again.

Again they tried to put me in, but my sister whipped the horses, who started, and foiled them again. were struggling with me and her-five men against a man and a woman-when the neighbors caree running to my aid. The ruffians still attempted to kidnap me, but they soon found they were over Then, and not till then, did they read eer warrant, in the street, by the light of a le while I stood hundcuffed and half-clothed in their bands. This must have been fifteen minutesafter my first soizure. Further particulars I will give

The following is the writ of habeas corpus :--COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To the Sheriffs of our several counties and their respective Deputies or other person by law empow ered to serve this writ; Greeting:

We command you that the body of Frank B. Sanborn, of Concord, in the county of Middlesex, by Silas Cariton imprisoned and restrained of his liber-ty, as it is said, you take, and have before a Justice of our Supreme Judicial Court, at Boston, in the county of Suffolk, immediately after the receipt of this writ o do and receive what our said Justice shall then and there consider concerning him in this behalf; and to summon the said Silas Carlton then and there to anpear before our said Justice, to show the cause of the ng and detaining of the said Frank B. Sanborn. And have there you this writ with your doings

Witness my hand and seal at Concord, the third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR,

Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court.

Deputy Sheriff John D. Moore makes the following return upon the back of the writ :-

MIDDLESEX, ss. April 3d, 1860. By virtue this writ, and in obedience thereto, I this day took the body of the within named Frank B. Sanborn from the custody of Silas Carleton, at Concord, in said county, and now have him under saie and secure conduct before the Supreme Judicial Court, now sitting at Boston, in the county of Suffolk, as within directed. And I have also summoned the within named Silas Carleton to appear before the said Court, and there show cause of the taking and detaining of the said Frank B. Sanborn, by reading to him the within writ, and have also given him in hand an attested copy thereof.

Supreme Junicial Court-Wednesday-Presen Shaw, C. J., Metcalf, Bigelow, Merrick, and Hoar, JJ. In the matter of Frank B. Sanborn, petition for discharge on a writ of habeas corpus.

Messrs. Samuel E. Sewell, John A. Andrew, and John S. Keyes appeared for the petitioner, and C. Levi Woodbury and Milton Andros for the respon-

Mr. John S. Keyes then read the writ of habeas corpus. The return is in the usual form, and is made by John B. Moore, Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex.

Mr. Woodbury said that he was only called into the case an hour ago, and had not had time to pre-

pare a return. He asked time for that purpose. The Revised Statutes set forth several ingredients which the answer should contain, and it would be impossible o construct a document correctly in the hurry of the The Court thought the matter very simple, and

that there was no necessity for an adjournment.

Mr. Woodbury read, for information, the warrant upon which the arrest was made. The warrant recites the fact that Sanbern was summoned January 16, 1860, and refused to obey the same; and the ore for his arrest for contempt, adopted February 15th, and then commands the execution of the order. power of the warrant was assigned by the Sergeant-at-Arms to a Deputy Marshal of this District.

THE ANSWER. Mr. Andros then prepared an answer, the substance whereof is as follows :--

'And now comes the said Silas Carlton, the deputy of Dunning R. McNair, Sergeant-at-Arms of the United States of America, and for answer saith, that

session, on the 16th day of February. A. D. 1860, a copy of which is hereto annexed, and makes part of this answer; that he did arrest, on the 3d day of April instant, the body of the said F. B. Sanborn, at Concord, in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth aforesaid: and that afterwards, on the same day and at the place aforesaid, he, the said F. B. Sanborn, was taken from his custody by one John B. Moore, then and there acting as one of the deputies of the Sheriff of said County of Middlesex; and that service the said F. B. Sanborn was so taken from his custody. the said F. B. Sanborn was so taken from his custody by the said John B. Moore, by virtue of a proceeding or writ issued under the hand and seal of the Hon-Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, Associate Justice of this honorable Court, on the 3d day of April instant. Signed and sworn to by the respondent Carlton.

The return was then read by Mr. Andros.

Mr. Keyes raised a preliminary question upon the face of the papers, which he thought would be final. The objection was-1. That the Sergeant-at-Arms had no power out of the District of Columbia, where no power out of the District of Columbia, where Congress had jurisdiction. 2d. That the precept being directed to him by name, he alone could serve it. 3d. That the Sergeant-at Arms cannot, by law. deputize his powers to any other person. The authorities upon the first point were, of course, negative; upon the second, he referred to 11 Mass. 27, Wood v.

Hoss; 9 Mass., Percy v. Bradbury, 93.
Snaw, C. J., thought it desirable to consider the preliminary question first, as it did not enter into the merits of the case.

Mr. Woodbury desired to have the whole case put in, but the Court declined to pursue this course.

Mr. Woodbury wanted to know in what act of Congress counsel found the powers of the Sergeant-

at-Arms defined. Mr. Andrew replied that the office was not estab-He cited the act of April 12, 1792, and March 3, 1815, providing for the compensation of that officer. The act of April 10, 1806, is to the same effect. He contended, as no power was given by the statutes to serve warrants out of the District of Co-

lumbia, none existed.

Mr. Woodbury said he agreed that the office of Sergeant-at-Arms was not established by statute. He apprehended that he was an officer having such power as the Senate saw fit to confer upon him. It had been very well settled that each co-ordinate Government had the power to act in its own sphere, in accordance with its own judgment. One branch could not revise the action of another, except where power of revision was given by the Constitution. He read the section of the Constitution relating to the powers and duties of Congress. The Senate was the sole judge of the question whether its powers had been exceeded by its deputies. It had a right to regulate the process of its officers. The cases cited from Massachusetts Reports were of an entirely different character. No similitudes could be drawn from one to another. The only real question was, whether the Senate and its officers had any power outside of the District of Columbia. If they had not, it was clear that no power for contempt could reach any man in Massachusetts. Mr. Andrew said he did not now question the power

of the Senate, only of its officer.

Mr. Woodbury mentioned several instances where processes from the Senate had extended to various parts of the country. It would appear strange if, during the eighty years this had been going on, there was no rightful power; that such powers had, until now, been exercised illegally. Something more than mere statement would be required to overturn all this precedent of practice. But this was not the first time that the power of the Sergeant-at-Arms had been questioned. He cited the case of Anderson, who attempted to bribe Lewis Williams, a member of Anderson sued the Sergeant-at-Arms for Congress. trespass. The case was reported in 6 Wheaton, 204-Anderson v. Dunn. The Supreme Court says that a process for contempt may be served any where in the

United States. The statute of January 24, 1857, was then cited. It declares that any person who may be summoned before either House of Congress, refusing to appear, or to answer questions, shall be subject to certain additional pains and penalties upon conviction before any United States Court having jurisdiction of such

Mr. Woodbury then proceeded to discuss the question of the power of Carlton under his authority from McNair. When a person was found exercising the power of an official, his right to exercise that duty was presumed until some substantial evidence to the

contrary was produced.

Hoar, J., thought that the case was different where there was no such office as that the powers of which were supposed to be exercised. It was a question whether there was any such office as that of Deputy of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. Woodbury replied that the respondent exhib-

ited the signature of the President of the Senate, and the seal thereof, and the signature of the Sergeantat-Arms: and he did not apprehend that the question could go further, without evidence. Shaw, C. J., called the Attorney's attention to the

fact that the Senate had authorized its officer to make an arrest, not granting to him power to deputize any body else to do it. .

Mr. Woodbury replied that the practice had been Mr. Woodbury replied that the practice has seen as in the present case. Usually, when warrants were as in the present case. Usually, when warrants were authority for the extension.

On the special ground that this respondent had no one man alone could serve them, they could scarcely legal authority to denote it that the said Sanborn be

Mr. Andrew said he should not follow the Attorney through his whole argument. He submitted that Mr. Carlton derived no power to serve the warrant from the endorsement of Dunning R. McNair. For the purpose of this preliminary inquiry, he was willing to assume the legality of the power of the Senate. The statutes only speak of the Sergeant-at-Arms as an officer existing under the Rules of Congress, and whatever power that officer might have centions, and he would examine them. Mr. Andrew said he should not follow the Attorgress, and whatever power that officer might have ceptions, and he would examine them.

within the District of Columbia, there was no grant

As soon as Mr. Sanborn was set at liberty, he was of power to execute warrants out of that bailiwick. He can show no statute; he can plead no cus-Sanborn wherever he may be found, not limited even to the United States.

It must be construed according to right reason. He rited 14 Howell, 157, to show that neither branch of had since been affirmed. The Court here could not take judicial knowledge of an officer not acting under a statute. Passing then to the question of the power of Carlton, he said it would be found that he made his return simply as Silas Carlton, without any official title. If such powers could be granted to persons giving no bonds and taking no oaths, it might lead

to an extraordinary state of things.

Mr. Woodbury again called attention to the case of Anderson, which he had before cited. It appeared that the arrest in that case was made within the District of Columbia.

deciding this preliminary question, it would adjourn Sanborn was introduced with his manacles, and re to 34 o'clock, P. M.

The Court came in at half-past three o'clock, and Chief Justice Shaw delivered the following opinion:

DECISION OF CHIEF JUSTICE SHAW. This arrest was made by Silas Carlton, a citizen and inhabitant of Massachusetts, and on the answer of this officer, under oath, he shows a warrant to D, R. McNair, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate of United States, and says that the Sergeant-at-Arms entered an order upon it, delegating the power to Carlton to make the arrest.

There is, therefore, no conflict in this case between the authority of an executive officer of the United States and an officer of this Commonwealth.

It appears by the answer of the officer, which stands as part of the return to the writ of habeas corpus, that Carlton claims to have arrested Sanborn, under a warrant purporting to have been issued under the hand and seal of the Vice-President of the 1775, is glorious, and only equalled by the chivalrous United States and President of the Senate. It re- rescue of one of our most honored citizens from a cites the appointment of a committee of the Senate to inquire into the circumstances of the attack made to inquire into the circumstances of the attack made by a body of men upon the arsenal of the United home and friends, on the third of April, 1860.

States at Harper's Ferry, the citation of Sanborn to receive a witness before such committee; that he answer as a witness before such committee; that he namer as a winter a coording to such summons; that refused to attend according to such summons; that rine, and that we proclaim our unswerving determination to resist all attempts to abridge the rights of D. R. McNair, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, to any citizen to all privileges and guaranties of constiarrest the said Sanborn, wherever he could find him, tutional liberty. and bring him before the Senate to answer for such contempt. This warrant seems to have been issued ficers, by false pretences, and under cover of dark-on the 16th of February last. There is an endorse-ness, to tob a man of his freedom, is base, mean and ment of the same date, by the Sergeant-at-Arms, authorizing and empowering the said Carlton, the respondent, to make such arrest; and the respondent justifying the arrest made on the 3d April instant under that process, the question is whether this arrest

is justified by this return.

This question is a very broad and a very important one, and opens many interesting questions as to the functions and power of the United States Senate. as a constituent party, both of the legislative de-partment of the United States government, and the

modes in which they are to be exercised, and the limits by which they are qualified.

It is admitted in the arguments that there is no express provision in the Constitution of the United States giving this authority in terms; but it is maintained that it is necessarily incidental to various au-thorities vested in the Senate of the United States, in its legislative, executive and judicial functions, and must therefore be held to be conferred by necessary

by virtue of a certain warrant duly issued by the implication. authority of the Senate of the United States, now in ... These ques These questions, manifestly requiring great deliber-

session, on the 16th day of February, A. D. 1860, a ation and research, in order to come to a satisfactory

case. These points have been argued.

For obvious reasons, we lay out of this inquiry the case of the Senate, when, acting in a judicial capacity, on the trial of an impeachment laid before it by the House of Representatives; and we suppose the same considerations would apply to the case of the House of the House of the same considerations. of Representatives in summoning witnesses to testify before them, as the grand inquest of the U.S., with

a view to an impeachment.

Then the objections taken to this warrant, on the face of it, as rendering it insufficient to justify the arrest of the petitioner, are these:1. That the Sergeant-a:-Arms, in his capacity as

an officer of the Senate, had no authority to execute process out of the limits of the District of Columbia, over which the U. S. Senate have, by the Constitution, exclusive general jurisdiction.

2. That a Sergeant-at-Arms is not an officer known

to the Constitution or laws of the United States, as general executive, of known powers, like a Sheriff or Marshal; that he is appointed and recognized by the rules of the Senate as an officer exercising powers regulated by the rules and orders of the Senate, and can only exercise such powers as are conferred on him by such general rules and orders, made with view to the regular proceedings of the Senate; or uch as may be conferred by the Senate by special re solves and acts, as a single department of the government, without the concurrence of other members

of the government. 3. That by the warrant returned, the power to an rest the respondent was in terms limited to McNair, the Sergeant-at-Arms, and could not be executed by a deputy.

In regard to the first, it seems to us that the objection opens a broader ground than it is necessary to occupy in deciding this preliminary question. We are not prepared to say that in no case can the Senate direct process to be served beyond the limits of the District, by an authority expressly given for that The case of Anderson v. Dunn, 6 Wheaton, purpose. The case of Anderson v. Dunn, o Praction, 204, cited in the argument, has little application to this question. It is manifest that that was a writ of error from the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, and it appears that the alleged contempt of Anderson, in offering a bribe to a member of the House of Representatives, was committed in the District of Columbia, the act complained of as a trespass was done therein, and the process in question was served by the Sergeant-at-Arms in person, under an express authority given by the House of Representatives, by their resolve for that purpose, in pursuance of which the Speaker's warrant was issued.

The second question appears to us far more material. The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate is an officer of that house, like its door-keeper, appointed by them, and required by their rules and orders to exercise certain powers, mainly with a view to order and due course of proceedings. He is not a general officer, known to the law, as a sheriff, having power to appoint general deputies, or to act by general deputation, in particular cases; nor, like a marshal, who holds analogous powers, and possesses similar funcof sheriffs and deputies under the State laws.
But even when it appears, by the terms or the rea-

sonable construction of a statute, conferring an authority on a sheriff, that it was intended he should execute it personally, he cannot exercise it by general deputy, and of course he cannot do it by special dep-

utation. Wood v. Ross, 11 Mass. Reports. p. 271.

But, upon the third point, the Court are of the opinion that the warrant offers no justification. Suppose the Senate had authority, by the resolves passed by them, to cause the petitioner to be arrested and rought before them, it appears by the warrant issued for that purpose that the power was given alone to McNair, Sergeant at Arms, and there is nothing to indicate any intention on their part to have such arrest made by any other person. ity, in fact, given by this warrant, to delegate the authority to any other person.

It is a general rule of the common law, not founded on any judicial decision, or statute provision, but so universally received as to have grown into a maxim. that a delegated authority to any one does not author ize him to delegate it to another. . Deligota potestas non potest deligari.' Broome's Law Maxims, 2d edition, 665. This grows out of the nature of the sub tion, 665. This grows dut the nature of a trust.

It implies confidence in the solidity, skill or discretion of the entrusted party. The author of such a party may extend it if he will, as is done in ordinary powers of attorney, giving power to one, or his sub-stitute or substitutes, to do the acts authorized. But when it is not so extended, it is limited to the person named.

The counsel for the respondent asked what authority there is for limiting such warrant to the person It rather belongs to those who wish to tify under such delegated power to show judicial

the order of the Court is that the said Sanborn be

of power to execute warrants out of that bailiwick. conducted to a carriage by Mr. Louis A. Surrette, of Suppose that McNair has come here to make this ar- Concord, and with Mr. George L. Stearns and Mr. The warrant authorizes the arrest of F. B. amid the enthusiastic cheers of the spectators.

CONCORD, April 5. A complaint was made las evening by Louis A. Surrette against F. B. Sanborn for an assault upon officers Carlton, Tarlton, Freeman and Coolidge, on the 3d inst., and this morning Parliament alone had now power to restrain any person of his liberty. This case, though once overruled, brought before Justice N. Rall, where he waited any amination, and was bound over, with sureties, to the June Superior Court in Concord. His sureties are R. Waldo Emerson, Addison G. Fay, George L. cott, Daniel Shattuck, Nathan Brooks, E. W. Bull all of Concord.

During the evening, a meeting was held at the Town Hall to talk over the affair. Dr. Josiah Bart. lett was Chairman, and remarks were made by Mr Sanborn and others.

Of this meeting the Courier says :-

ict of Columbia.

This meeting was called to order by Mr. Bowers and Dr. Josiah Bartlett was chosen to preside. Mr. ceived immense applause. He said that he had learned from this event increasing hatred to Slavery under whatever guise it appeared, or whoever supported it. The Rev. Mr. Revnolds, Mr. Thoreau, A G. Fay, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Warren, E. W. Bull, and the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higgin son, addressed the meeting at considerable length The first named speaker suggested the necessity of some organization to guard against future outrages of this sort. The suggestion was adopted by the meeting, and a Committee of seven was appointed to make arrangements for an organization after the style of the old Vigilance Committee of San Francisco. born stated at the conclusion of the meeting that he was prepared to resist the Government to the last.

The following resolutions were presented and adopted unanimously by the meeting:

Resolved, That the fame of old Concord for its spirit of noble daring on the nineteenth of April, band of kidnappers, who had forcibly seized and man-

resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, is our doc-Resolved, That the attempt of United States of-

cowardly. EXAMINATION OF UNITED STATES OFFICERS AT CONCORD CONCORD, April 6 .- United States officers Watson

Freeman, Jr., George J. Coolidge, Silas Carlton, and William B. Tarlton, appeared before Trial Justice Nehemiah Ball, at the Town Hall in Concord, to-day noon, to answer to a complaint for an assault and bat-tery upon F. B. Sanborn, on the 3d day of April inst., with intent to kidnap. A large number of the people of Concord were

present. John S. Keyes, of Concord, and Asa Rip-ley, of Cambridge, appeared for the complainant, and Milton Andros, Assistant United States District Attorney, for the respondents. When the first complaint, for assault, upon which the respondents were arrested, came up, Mr. Keyes asked leave to enter a nol. pros., which was allowed

by the Justice.

Mr. Andros waived the reading of the second complaint, and also waived an examination upon it.

Some debate took place between counsel as to the place, in which three of the mobites were wounded.

take evidence in the determination of that matter.

Mr. Keyes asked that the bail be fixed at \$5000 for Mr. Andros argued that this would be

at \$2000 for each respondent.

Watson Freeman, Joseph Holbrook, Stedman Buttrick and Samuel H. Rhodes were accepted as sureties, to appear at the next term of the Superior Court

PATAL RESULT OF THE EXCITEMENT.

Mr. Rufus Hosmer, a gentleman predisposed to apoplexy, was among the witnesses of the exciting affair, which produced such an effect upon his system that he was seized with a fit on reaching home, and died soon after. THE WOMEN OF CONCORD.

The women, like the mothers of yore, were fore-lost in the affray, and by every possible means wormost in the affray, and by every possible means wor-ried the officers. Miss Sanborn seized an officer by

the officers and her brother, and that she could do no fend ourselves to the last! more service there, seized the whip from the carriage If we had fifty or one and began belaboring the horses in good earnest, but one of the men took the whip from her. jumped into the carriage to prevent her brother being put into it, but she was taken out with more force than politeness, having her clothes torn in the strug-

PRESENTATION TO MISS SANBORN. The friends of Mr. Frank B. Sanborn are about to present to his sis-ter—as a token of their respect for her bravery—one of the latest styles of Colt's revolvers. It will bear an engraved representation of the old Pine Tree flag, and the inscription, 'Sic itur ad astra!'

WASHINGTON, April 10. Senate. Mr. Sumner presented the memorial of Mr. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., in regard to the gross attempt to kidnap him by persons claiming to act under the authority of the United States Senate. Mr. Summer narrated the circumstances attending the capture of Mr. Sanborn and his subsequent re-lease, and said the act was conspicuous both as regarded the man against whom the attack was directed, and the place where it occurred. Mr. Sanborn was a quiet gentleman, of excellent fame as a scholar of pure life. This was the man who was seized.

The attempt was made at Concord, where a seizure was once before attempted, which ended in the revolution of these States. The Senate owed something to its own character, and should wash its hands of this transaction. He moved the reference of the me-morial to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Mason said that this man Sanborn was shown

to be in correspondence with the man who was hung at Harper's Ferry as a traitor, or with his friends. He had therefore been summoned before the Committee of the Senate to testify. He (Sanborn) replied, refusing to come on the ground, that he feared personal violence. A warrant was then issued against him, and the Sergeant-at-Arms sent deputies to arrest him, who did so, but he was rescued by a mob, and afterwards discharged by Justice Shaw upon a writ of habeas corpus.

Mr. Sanborn's memorial was then read. He claim

that he has rightfully resisted the summons of the Senate, and complains of the unwarrantable arrest, brutality attending it, and asks redress at the hands of the Senate.

Mr. Sumner wished to correct one statement which fell from the Senator from Virginia. Mr. Sanborn was taken from the custody of the pretended officers not by a mob, but by a writ of habeas corpus, enforced

by posse comitatus.

Mr. Mason said that his authority was a letter from the U. S. Marshal. He moved to lay the memo-rial on the table until the process should be returned. Mr. Sumner reluctantly consented, with the un-derstanding that it should be called up when the pro-

The memorial was laid on the table.

THE CONCORD AFFAIR. David A. Wasson, in a discourse at the Music Hall on Sunday last, on 'Help from Hindrance,' thus alluded to the case of Mr. Sanborn: 'We see that without the aid of debased, dastardly officials, we should not have known that Sanborn of Concord is no less a hero than a pure and high-minded gentleman; one of the gentlest, sun-niest, sweetest souls; full of conscience, of geniality, of unassuming verity; with the distinctness and sim-plicity of a child; with the delicate considerateness of a woman; a man whom all children instinctively trust and follow, deriving no support for his sterner purposes from any harsh qualities. It was only evil times and evil men which could have unveiled to us blood of age. Read it, men of the North! and ask will as invincible, as incorruptible, a bosom in which womanly charity and granite tenacity and sturdiness concentrated together. Nay, we should not only be unaware of the fact, but the fact itself would in a less degree exist. Heroes are not only demonstrated, but they are likewise developed by occasions for heroism; while, again, heroism once shown, is three times more contagious than small pox; one instance makes a hundred more; and that which was at first a sublime force in one, the rectitude of a single soul, becomes the spirit of an entire

community, and it may be of an entire age.

And those brave women of Concord,—think you not that their holy hardihood, as it now affects and inspires contemporaries, will find its way by spiritual descent into wide posterities, and build itself into the

brains of children a hundred years hence? I do not attempt to consider here what benefit the cause of freedom will receive from these events, for we are looking now to see how virtue and manhood are made; though in the meantime we may assure ourselves that the cause of freedom lives in free hearts, who are aiding the success of that cause, which can bide its time."

LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY. My DEAR B .- I write now to give you a history

of the war going on here, between the Democrats and the Republicans. Let us begin at the beginning. After the overthrow of William S. Bailey's press, and TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONthe general terror in the slave States, the Democracy thought it a good time to make a clean sweep of all the liberal element here, including me and others in this county. The first vote at the public meeting in cluded the 'Republicans' by name. Upon a reconsideration, Republicans were struck out, but in the manifesto we were denounced as 'guilty of crime,' which ought to be, but is not, punishable by law! The Turners, my old personal enemies, were present, and made most inflammatory speeches, and were opposed to 'old' and moderate men going on the committee, but for 'young men,' naming some of my most desperate en-emies. The Bereans were driven out, supposing that would defend the 'radicals.' They were disappointed when they heard that I had escaped; in the first place refusing to hear the proposition to expel the radicals by law, the Legislature then being in session; because, what was the use, they said, in driving out Fee and committee, whilst I, the arch traitor, was left to agitate the country?
Threats still continuing, I thought it wise to make

my defence at Frankfort, in the seat of government, and in the face of the whole Democratic party. My success there overbore them for awhile, till my northern tour again gave them, by garbled reports, new which was increased by the circulation of my Frankfort speech on my return home, and the distribution of the Helper book, which still more moved them. Hanson gave them a nucleus of ac tion. He entered Beres, through Richmond, on the 3d day of March.

Not long afterward the committee met at the Glade, about a mile from Berea, and denounced him, and ordered him to leave; but, although he was in Berea, they never went there, but dispersed. Hanson retired to the mountains for a few days, and the committee reported him gone, which was not to be so. Encouraged, Hanson wrote a protest, dated March 13, and sent it to the editor of the Messenger at Richmond. On the 24th I went to Berea, and advised my friends to stand aloof from Hanson in all respects; and I also begged Hanson to leave the State, telling him the consequences; but he declined. So soon as the committee heard I was at Berea, on Saturday and Sunday, they raised rible clamor, accused me of dictating the letter of Hanson to bring on a war, mustered their forces, and made a night expedition of the most desperate men-all the moderates being left behind—expecting to take me by surprise, and put me to death. This was told me by a friend in the Revolutionary Committee. They, however, did not reach Berea before daylight. armed with shot-guns and pistols. They searched all the houses, insulted the women and our friends, and at last were so violent—as the papers will tell you—to West and his daughter (a Republican) that our party would stand it no longer; went in defence

necessity of hearing testimony preliminary to fixing the amount of bail.

The Justice decided that it was not necessary to take evidence in the determination of that matter.

(an old Mexican companion-in-arms confessing to me in private, a shot in the thigh.) and at last defeated. They returned in great consternation, wrote to the Governor for aid, sent to Lexington for cannon and "men to shoot it"! In the meantime, it was supposed that I was there backing my forces. I had gone to Washington and thence to my sister Smith's, stating On consultation, however, with U. S. Marshal Freeman, he remarked to the Justice that the amount of bail was a matter of indifference to the respondents.

After some further debate the Court fixed the bail at \$2000 for each respondent. notice to leave the State by Tuesday following, at the same time making violent threats against me.

same time making violent threats against me.

In the meantime, on Tuesday, in Richmond, I took the stump and disabused the public mind of the calumnies against me, and left for home. But the excitement continued, and I was more and more denounced. Yesterday a meeting was held to consider me. I had my appeal to the citizens of Madison out in handbills, and early in the day had them circulated (See the circulated Control of the circ lated. (See the handbill in the Louisville Journa and the Gazette.) They were read and discussedsome for, some against me. When the meeting took place, the Court House could not hold all the people, nor could my informants hear much; but speeches nor could my informants hear much; but speeche were made—some for, some against me; but no reso lution was passed against me. My handbill was read, his beard, and compelled him to relinquish his hold of Mr. Sanborn. Miss Ann Whiting, daughter of Col. Whiting, approached officer Tarlton, raised his hat, and looking him steadily in the face, said, 'Let me see what kind of a looking man you are. You may come here again some day, and I shall want to know you!'

Mr. Sanborn. Miss Ann Whiting, daughter of that they will go to Berea to-day, and finding no one, (for I have told my boys to retreat, leaving their wives and children at home,) they will dissolve. If such be the case, and no one is killed, I think we will have gained a complete victory over them. If some are killed, God only knows the end! We will at once take to the woods and the wountains and de-Mr. Sanborn's sister, seeing the crowd surrounding at once take to the woods and the mountains, and de-

If we had fifty or one hundred Sharpe's rifles, it would give us immense power in the mountain recesses, where cannon could not reach us. It is said the Governor will be again cailed upon to really keep the peace! God knows we don't want the scenes of Kansas again reenacted-first disarming us, and setting our foes upon us!

. In haste, your friend,

P. S. I learn to-day that they are coming out in a handbill, attempting to refute the letter of Haley and Bland. Who cares for the word or testimony of a mob?

TRIBUTE TO WENDELL PHILLIPS BY HENRY WARD BEECHER. Mr. Beecher, speaking in his sermon or Sunday night of moral courage among business men said:

When I was away from home, recently, I turned ruby red with shame to find in a newspaper what I supposed was an ignominious slander, but which proved to be an ignominious truth—namely, that this church-had been refused to Wendell Phillips, for the delivery of his address on 'The Dissolution of the If the church had not been accustomed to be let freely for concerts, lectures, and the like, pending the construction of a new church, the case would have been different, and it might have been prudent not to let it on the occasion in question; but when it was in the market to be let to all respectable causes and persons, for one hundred dollars a night-which is the fee-to deny it to him because he was advocating an unpopular doctrine, and because it was feared that his using it would have an injurious effect on the raising of money for the new church, was shameful in the extreme. When I read it, I colored till I felt my blushes in my boots! I was ashamed through and through! I said to myself, "Thirteen years of ministration among a people, resulting, in the thirteenth year, only in a cowardice that makes them afraid to let a man stand in my place, and speak what they do not believe, what they fear will have an unfavorable effect on the church or what will have an unfavorable effect on me!

'There is not a more moral and upright man, or a nore perfect gentleman and scholar, in the Union Though I do not accept his philosophy, or the appli-cation of it, I am proud to own that Wendell Phillips is my personal friend. I have the greatest admiration of the man. He has that which is brighter than any gem ever worn in kingly crown, namely : moral courage to proclaim, and perseverance to advocate, what he thinks to be true, no matter what op-position he may encounter. And I will tell you one hing: if you expect by any such prudent course as that to get money to build a church, I do not want it; I do not want a church that is built at a price to make men hold their tongues.'

A PAMPHLET FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD THEOUGHOUS THE FREE STATES. The American Anti-Slavery So ciety has just published an edition of ten thousand copies of a most important pamphlet, entitled 'THE NEW REIGN OF TERROR IN THE SLAVE HOLDING STATES, for 1859-60. It is a record of the multitudinous outrages and atrocities which have been visited upon unoffending Northern citizens by the lawless minions of slavery, while travelling or sojourning at the South, within the last four or five months. A perusal of it is enough to 'create a soul under the ribs of death,' and to 'stir a fever in the vourselves of what value is the Union to you!

This pamphlet makes 144 pages, and will be put at about cost price. Single copy, only 10 cents; by the hundred, \$8. For sale at 21 Cornhill.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Miss Susan B. Anthony, at Western New York Conventions.

Port Byron,	-		213	93
Weedsport,			1	57
Jordan.	-		1	73
Rochester,			49	35
Brockport,			. 8	07
Medina,	-Verification	1-1	4	94
Albion,		He ross	15	97
Williamson,	ne ocame		5	42
Marion,	30 11		- 1	58
Palmyra,			11	92
Macedon Locks,			5	27
Macedon Centre,		er a stebisk	2	68
Farmington,		ST IS IN	2	88
Marius R. Robinson,	WATER SE		5	50
Aaron M. Powell,			2	96
	tion.)		10	00
nelius Wellington, B	oston,	(donation,	) 5	00
	Weedsport, Jordan, Rochester, Brockport, Medina, Albion, Williamson, Marion, Palmyra, Macedon Locks, Macedon Centre, Farmington, Marius R. Robinson, Aaron M. Powgll, Weed, Albany, (dons	Weedsport, Jordan, Rochester, Brockport, Medina, Albion, Williamson, Marion, Palmyra, Macedon Locks, Macedon Centre, Farmington, Marius R. Robinson, Aaron M. Powgll, Weed, Albany, (donation,)	Weedsport, Jordan, Rochester, Brockport, Medina, Albion, Williamson, Marion, Palmyra, Macedon Locks, Macedon Centre, Farmington, Marius R. Robinson, Aaron M. Powgll, Weed, Albany, (donation,)	Weedsport,       -       1         Jordan,       -       1         Rochester,       -       49         Brockport,       -       8         Medina,       -       4         Albion,       -       15         Williamson,       -       5         Marion,       -       1         Palmyra,       -       11         Macedon Locks,       -       5         Macedon Centre,       -       2         Farmington,       -       2         Marius R. Robinson,       5       5         Aaron M. Powall,       -       2         Weed, Albany, (donation,)       10

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

VENTION. The TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVEN

TION will be held in Coopen Union, New York, on Thursday and Friday, May 10th and 11th. Sessions at half-past 10, A. M., and half-past 7, evening Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ernes

On behalf of the Central Committee, E. CADY STANTON, President SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec'y.

MAY DAY.

The subscribers propose to throw open their rooms, over Boylston Market, Boylston street, on May Day. Breakfast will be served from 7 to 9 in the morning In the afternoon, an Exhibition of Paintings will be given for Sabbath Schools. In the evening, there will be a Social Gathering of the friends of the cause A fine opportunity will thus be given to aid the Mission for the Poor and Criminal masses, CHARLES SPEAR,

MRS. CHARLES SPEAR

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings is Ware, Mass., on Sunday, April 15; in Manchester, N. H., Friday evening, April 20; in Weare, N. H., Sunday, April 22. In the two latter places, A. T.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massa chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol Fitzwilliam, N. H., Friday, April 13.

. . . Dublin. Thursday, REV. CHARLES SPEAR and Wife will hold meetings in their Chapel over Boylston Market, Boylston street, next Sabbath afternoon and evening-

DIED-In Dover, N. H., on the 6th instant, Miss MARIA J. PAGE, aged 31.

#### HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL. THE next (Summer) Term of this Institution will

commence on Wednesday, May 2, 1860, and continue Ten weeks. Applications for admission should be made at as early a date as practicable. For particulars, address

WM. S. HAYWOOD, ABBIE B. HAYWOOD, Principals. Hopedale, (Milford, Mass.) April 3, 1860.

Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

#### WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

To THE ED'S OF EVANGELIST: - My age is sixty. One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's 'Restorer, No. 1, according to the directions, and have con-tinued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in tinued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hue appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.'

Rev. M. THACHER,

Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855.

President J. J., EATON, LL. D., Union University. Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

MADAM-I would state, that some time last spring I found MY HAIR FALLING OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer, &c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visible, THE FALLING OFF OF RAIR CEASED, and my locks, which before were quite GRAY, WERE CHANGED TO BLACK. I do not consider that I have given it a fair trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, vir., FRE-VENT THE HAIR PROM FALLING OFF, and to RESTORE GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.'

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK, Editor ' Ladies' Repository,' Cincinnati, Ohio.

'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired.

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editos Christian Advocate. Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best

I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its natural color,' &c. Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American

and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-

mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them te such as have occasion to use such preparations."

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor 'Christian Era,' Boston

'Having used numerous specifies to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has regained the softness of my earlier years.

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Boston Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from act-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects. Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church,

I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to direc-

tions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair. Rev. DANIEL T. W JOD, Middletown, Orange Co., 'My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The COME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT-LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD

BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR

HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money."

ness,' Cincinnati, Ohio.

Attleboro', Mass.

GREAT BRITAIN. Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire,

England. 'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After was restored to its natural color,-not the appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in

answering the queries of any you may refer to n The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.]

HAVTI. Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness." Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. ' Presbyterian Wit-

'It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till we know it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A, Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be

pleased to insert adversisement, &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Education R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y. Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its

original glossy and beautiful black." Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church

Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y. 'I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have produced all the effects described in her advertisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania. · It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it as your directions require." Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H.

We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity, a large quantity might be disposed of.

Rev. Mrs. E. S.ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y. In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I have

any thing that so materially and permanently benefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen. We think that if these fail to convince, nothing less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell articles on which they make more profit than on these; always INSIST on having these.

tried many other remedies for my hair, but never

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 50 a bottle. Balsam, 874 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs: Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs.:
S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depas, No. 355
Broome Street, New York.' The Genusse has 'Mrs.
S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a erim'ing offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOOD DEBALER. Oct 14. lycop

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### POETRY.

For the Liberator. FREEDOM. Dedicated to the Martyr Brown. BY REV. J. T. POWERS.

Arise! strike off his chains! Hark to the awful sound! Our brother dies beneath the lash; His blood cries from the ground

Behold the oppressor's rod! Hear the loud cries ascend! Shall Afric's son in vain still plead For brother and for friend?

O, no; the day shall dawn! Night shall be overpast! Those cries, those groans, those bitter tears Shall cease, thank God, at last!

The bondman's Savior dies! His blood a holy sea: His words of power come forth,-. The slave-man shall go free !

John Brown stands glorified! In vestments pure and white He passes on to God and heaven; 'He conquers in the fight!

His name shall be revered, Inscribed from age to age; In characters of flame and light "Tis writ on Freedom's page.

He dared to live and die For Afric's sable race: A glory as of God surrounds And falls upon his face!

Amid the martyr's fires That flash about his form, With faith in God and love to Man, He safe outrides the storm.

He speaks : 'Arise! awake! My brothers, sleep no more, Till freedom lives, and leaps, and glows, And spreads from shore to shore !

· Till Ethiop's scar-crowned race,-The children of our God,-Shall feel their galling chains no more, No more the oppressor's rod!"

Hark! hear the battle-shout! Awake! arise! come forth! Let word of cheer and prayer ascend-Thank God! there is a North! Carlisle, Mass.

For the Liberator. JOHN BROWN. Enshriped in hearts will live thy name. Walted to every clime thy fame; Far nobler than the richest crown Is thy reward, heroic Brown!

Thy noble deeds in future Age Illuminate historic page; Children unborn shall sing of thee. Oh ! gallant captain of the free ! Thy martyrdom-a beacon light

Shines forth, and urges on the fight; Thy death hath sealed Oppression's doom, And daylight glimmers through the gloom.

Rest thou in peace! the labor done, Thy battles fought and victories won, Thy memory crowned with laurel wreath, Thy grandest conquest over Death.

No sculptured marble marks the grave, Where sleeps the hero truly brave, No pompous eulogy is found Intruding on that sacred mound.

His epitaph is written,-where, Untouched by Time, unfading, clear, It cannot change, -in heart of man, . The last and noblest Puritan."

JOSEPH A. HORNER. Wakefield, (Eng.) March 7, 1860.

For the Liberator. TO R. W. E .. On reading his exquisite lines ' To the Muse,' in the

Atlantic Monthly for March. The Muse thou seekest, whom thou canst not find, Her footsteps lead thee fleeter than the wind. Thyself a ' Beckoner' and ' Escape ' most rare, Through the deep mazes of thy fertile mind, These take us all thy rosy gifts to share. But still theself we reach not anywhere: For higher yet, and farther off thou art, As we draw near unrothe chosen spot, To find that thou hast to'en a fresher start, And where thou beckened at, there to gain thee no Thou 'mutablest Perversity,' forsooth ! In writing thus about the errant muse, Whom thou of subtlest wanderings dost accuse Thou hast portrayed thyself in very truth! Still lead thou on, though we may ne'er attain The promised land of fair content, and true; Enough if we may break the encumbering chain, And haply catch, at times, a Pisgah view.

ON ELIZA LEE FOLLEN-DECEASED. To the African Race.

New Bedford, March 18, 1860.

BY LADY BYRON. The following lines, (says the New York Independent,) which have come to us by the last Liverpool steamer, are in memory of a well-known friend of the slave. The autograph initials will be recognized as those of Lady Anna Isabella Noel Byron, the still surviving widow of the great poet.

Conscious of soul, she lives that life Which knows no earthly bourne. Believing, e'en midst bitterest strife, Man was not made to mourn.

Beyond the cloud she saw a light. Beyond the waves a shore : And still with hope divinely bright Gilt every cross she bore To her, the heaviest cross of all

Was that there lived a slave; That free-born man should man enthrall From childhood to the grave! Ye for whose rights her powers were spent,

Whose wrongs she held as sin, Be your deep love her monument, Her virtues shrined within !

INFLUENCE. Drop follows drop, and swells With rain the sweeping river; Word follows word, and tells A truth that lives forever.

Flake follows flake, like sprites, Whose wings the winds dissever Thought follows thought, and lights The realms of mind forever. Beam follows beam, to cheer

The cloud the bolt would shiver; Throb follows throb, and fear Gives place to joy forever.

The drop, the flake, the beam, Teach us a lesson ever;
The world, the thought, the dream Impress the soul forever.

### THE LIBERATOR.

· PUT UP THY SWORD. A Discourse delivered before Theodore Parker's Society at the Music Hall, Boston, Sunday, March 11, 1860, gational Unitarian Church in Philadelphia.

JOHN XVIII. 11- Put up thy sword into the sheath." My friends, I do not believe there has ever been an person of the slave is an act which our whole social occasion, since the world began, when the sword power, political, commercial and religious, is delibemight have been used with greater honor and advan- rately organized to commit; that organization, in the tage than that upon which it was thus commanded to origin, maintenance and working of which, we, and be sheathed. If there ever were a person, whose life it all that we hold dear, are implicated; that organizawas worth attempting to preserve, even at the cost of tion, to which the whole world of mankind, special any number of common lives, it was he, who, when ly invited by the public and formal declaration of this a band of ruffians, with a traitor at their head, had people, have been looking for the fulfilment of the come to seize him, thus bade the friend who drew great hope of human liberty, and from whom they a sword in his defence, to put it back again into are now turning away with fear, indignation and its sheath. So great was his wisdom, so life- shame, now that they are slowly learning to know giving his presence among men, that it would seem what an imposture it is. that no means should have been suffered to go unused, As this most unhappy and unrighteous condition of saving mankind from so heavy a loss. He was, of the American slave is thus caused, and stands thus too, but in the blossom of his greatness. When, but related to all interests, sacred and secular, he stands a youth as he was, he had uttered so many inspired out this hour, before all mankind, the most public sayings, and, in his personal bearing, given assurance person in the whole world; for in his fate, in the treatof such a man as all history cannot parallel, -what ment he is thus receiving at the hands of this sworr communications of truth, what a powerful influence nation of freemen, the destinies of nations are involvfor good, might not have been looked for from him, ed, and the liberties of Europe stagger and halt, behad his life only been prolonged, had that extraordi- wildered and made weak, as that music of hope which nary nature only reached its full maturity! A life so went to them over the ocean, waking them to life, is precious to the world, not one sword, but a thousand drowned in the clanking of chains and the cries of swords, should have flashed from their scabbards to the oppressed.

And the prospect of success in defending that valuable life was by no means so desperate at the mo- only trying to give an adequate statement to a truth ment as would appear. The popularity of Jesus was which it is of unspeakable moment that we should great. His enemies did not dare to approach him every soul of us appreciate. And I repeat, our opwith hostile intent in public and in the day-time, so pressed brother, weak, degraded and maltreated as he high was he in favor with the masses who crowded is, and because he is all these, and we do all conspire around him, and were very attentive to hear him, to keep him so, upholding our whole social order upon whenever he showed himself among them.

life was, and successful as armed resistance to his cap- He represents the dearest human interests. And in ture might have proved, he forbade a finger to be like manner, precisely as the fate of Jesus of Nazareth raised in his defence; he commanded back into the once changed the condition of mankind, so the whole sheath the sword that was drawn for him. And course of human history now waits upon the fortunes now, we may be well assured, that if the sword was not of the slave. to be drawn then, it is never to be drawn. It may Dear friends, as every one who has eyes to see may stay in its sheath, and rust wholly away, or be beat- now see, it was not only to a benevolent instinct, blind, en, without any ado, into a pruning-hook. It is not yet divine, but to the clearest-sighted wisdom, that an instrument that belits the hand of man, or serves Jesus gave utterance, when, in the most solemn manany human purpose.

sword that was drawn on that most critical occasion est with the homage due to the highest. Yes, just was put by with no stain upon it of mortal strife; as Jesus, by virtue of his matchless truth, stood to that, even for his own dear life, would Jesus give no the country and to the whole world, baptizing men countenance to any act of violence! Happy is it, I with the Holy Ghost and with fire, with his fan in say, for the whole human race, for the completeness his hand, separating the chaff from the wheat, and of the grandest ideal that has ever dawned upon our thoroughly sweeping his floor, so now his wretched twilight, for the animation of every high hope, that brother, the slave, stands to this country and to the not a drop of blood was shed in his behalf by his per- age, by virtue of the mighty wrongs which we all mission; for now stands there imperishably the Divine conspire to inflict upon him, and which, for the very Fact, that the most exalted person, and the most reason that he has no power to utter them, clothe him abundantly inspired, that ever walked the earth, only the more fully with the same divine authority he whose presence here had made for every true soul that invested the words of Christ, to search and try a new heaven and a new earth, chose rather to die in the souls of men. Is not the Fan which was once the bloom of his years, before he had made himself held in the strong grasp of the Lord Jeus waving understood by a single human being, to all human mightily now in the manacled hand of the slave over seeming, under the most disastrous circumstances, the whole land, winnowing the nation as with a fiery than to save his great life by hurting a hair of any blast; coming straight out of heaven, bearing down man's head; a Fact, which, setting to every word all human efforts to lull the divine storm? What that he uttered the seal of a sovereign sincerity, and precious grain it is separating to sow the world with, directly addressing itself to whatever of sensibility or to gather into the garners of heaven! And the air there is in human nature, to what is magnanimous, is thick with the chaff, political and reclesiastical, is an inexhausible fountain of inspiration; a Fact, which it is whirling away, and which a little while which, being a Fact, is a word spoken to man in the ago lay so quietly in huge heaps, undistinguishable great language of God, and containing therefore a from the finest of the wheat. wealth of wisdom, with which all the truth that might | Since the slave occupies this critical position, since be articulated by a human voice in a thousand years such vast interests are involved in his rights and could not approach to a comparison. So that in that wrongs, and since every event that occurs tends to fix one event, the death of Jesus, there is a power, our attention upon him, to the exclusion of every thing which his life, however prolonged, never could have else, the question is forced upon us, What are we to

It is not at all strange that such monstrous theological theories of the death of Christ have been proposed, who are quick and confident to reply, We are to let representing it as an offering of Love, mighty enough him alone; we are to do nothing.' But, unhappily, to quench the flames of an Infinite wrath, and atone or happily, that is impossible, absolutely impossible. for the sins of the whole world! Barbarous as is this I am free to confess, that, for myself, there is not any representation of it, in its logical form, its very ex- thing that I would be so glad to do in regard to this travagance bears witness to the profound impression trying subject as just that: Nothing. But that is the which the Fact was forcible enough to make. It thing which, of all things, I repeat, cannot possibly be shows, in the wild and unregulated activity to which done. What! cannot a man fold his arms, and hold the imagination has been impelled by it, the power of his tongue, and shut his eyes, and turn his back, and the Fact. Whatever makes us feel deeply always stand perfectly still? Hardly, if he have a spark of stirs the imagination, and generates the most extrav- humanity in him. It is about as easy as to hold one's agant fancies. So it is, that the facts and events breath for any length of time, or to stop one's pulse. which touch us most nearly have given occasion And yet, I believe there have been men who were to the bewildering fictions of Theology. Such able to do this last; men who had the power of voldogmas as the death of Christ has been interpreted untarily suspending all perceptible signs of anima to justify and involve, never could have obtained ac- tion for an extraordinary length of time, -some ceptance, had not that fact been profoundly felt. months! I think I have read of such cases. So also, They have been rendered credible only to an imagin- there are those, not a few, men, too, that labor appaation so enormously excited that it could not be sat- rently under no organic defect in regard to a heart issied to accept the fact in its unexaggerated simplici- who seem to possess a like power of suspending all ty as the natural expression of a human heart, pene- signs of moral life, of suppressing every pulse of hutrated as heart never was before, with faith in the man sympathy, and remaining wholly unmoved in competency of Truth and the omnipotence of Love. the presence of the most flagrant oppression. How Nevertheless, it is on this very account, because it they do it, I do not know. But they do it, and bewas natural as it was unprecedented, because it was in come as dead men to the claims of humanity. I as perfect accord with simple human feelings as the think there must be some black Art practised, some flower with the root; because, in all its greatness, it was charm employed, more potent than ether or chloro wholly within the sphere of human action and suffer- form, made out of cotton or of gold. Gold has occult ing, and not for any mysterious significance, such as powers of mighty energy. We have the high autheologians find in it, that it has fixed itself as a great thority of Faraday for the homemonathic faith, that a

tations, seen as a natural human act, prompted by color; and man is made of water chiefly, they say a soul of unequalled generosity, it has, like all So there is no knowing what organic changes gold facts, which are the words of God, infinitely related, may not accomplish in man and account for. and therefore infinitely significant, a world of power But, be this as it may, let it be that at this time, in it, yet to be explored. Far are we yet from hav- when oppression numbers its victims by millions ing risen to the height of its sublimity, or penetrated steadily increasing, and is demanding to be recognizto the vigorous vitality of its meaning.

One of the most obvious lessons which it teaches is this, that death, the death of the greatest, of a worlddeliverer, suddenly and violently occurring on the the whole thing. But this, friends, is not doing very threshold of the most beneficent activity, in the nothing. On the contrary, this standing still and grey dawning hour of his career, so far from being the keeping silent, - why, it is equivalent to doing every utter defeat which it appears, may prove a success far more decisive than a life prolonged to the uttermost could have achieved. And why? For this plain reason: because, in giving it to be seen that he, who suffers death thus prematurely, as it seems, chooses to endure any suffering rather than inflict the least. it makes grandly manifest the fact, that he is complete in the highest power that we know, which is love, and which wins for him the confidence and veneration of mankind for ever-a conquest which neither any mere spoken or written truth, nor a world bristling all over with swords and bayonets, has any cessity of its nature, it had to commit new and more

the crucifixion of Jesus, it exists as a fact; a fact, of something more than the negative countenance of siwhich all the high sentiments of human nature, with lence is demanded; and the menace is, that, if we which it is in harmony, are so many heavenly wit- dare to open our lips, except to admit the constitunesses. What truth is there which can be more interesting to us now than this? What lesson is there which we at this hour more urgently need? It is the most important meaning which the death of Jesus

We are here, my friends, having part and place in the course of human affairs, at a juncture most mo- it. It has all come from that, from letting the evil mentous in the history of the world. Such is our lot. Ithing alone, -alone to grow, of course, unchecked. A great hour is coming, and now is, when that tran- It is the standing still, and keeping silent, which this scendent interest, the central soul of all human things, the cause of human liberty and progress, which was once impersonated in Jesus of Nazareth, identified with his personal being, is again incarnated.

searching voice is again articulated, that was heard branches, and strike deep its roots, and diffuse the like nothing but what it was, pure, untempered brute so fascinates us all, men and women, weak and strong, and so would be sure to arouse a force in them speaking as man never spoke, centuries ago in Judea. It is not the bare fact of his personal wrongs and sufferings, though multiplied to millions of instances, and well demanding, on the mere score of humanity, our instant sympathy, that invests the case of the by WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Minister of the Congre- slave with its indescribable importance, with its irresistible authority. But what gives it its commanding claim upon us is the consideration, that the gross violation of the great gravitating law of justice on the

I am not indulging in mere figures of speech. I beseech you, do not for a moment imagine it. I am his wrongs as its chief corner-stone, -he is the special whenever he showed himself among them. his wrongs as its chief corner-stone,—he is the special And yet, beyond all computation valuable as his representative person of the nation and the world.

ner possible, he represented the least of men as stand-What a blessed thing it is for the world, that the ing in his stead, and identified sympathy for the low-

do about him-we, especially, of the North? To this vital inquiry there are still not a few primary Fact on the heart and history of the world. minute quantity of this metal will give to five hun-Taken up and cleared from these fantastic interpre- dred thousand times its weight of water a bright ruby

ed as a God-ordained institution, and every whisper against it to be hushed, -let it be, that it is perfectly easy to stand still, and hold one's peace, and ignore thing, every thing, to favor the great iniquity. I do not know what more effectual thing any man can do to strengthen and extend the power and misery of wrong, than just this: to keep his eyes, ears and mouth shut. It is the very thing; it is all that the upholders of wrong ask for. It is all, at least, that they presumed to ask of us a little while ago, that we would just keep quiet; which modest request there were a great many people only too willing to comply with, if only the Slave Power would itself have kept quiet. But as that could not be, as, by the very neflagrant outrages, silence and quiet have grown more Here, I say, is a truth incontestible, because, in and more difficult. So that now, naturally enough, tional right and Christian duty of man to hold his fellow-man as property, we do it at the risk of being mobbed and outlawed. For this monstrous and Heaven-defying despotism, and for the outrageous lengths to which it is now pushing its demands, we are indebted to the do-nothing method of dealing with

nation practised so thoroughly for half a century that we actually forgot that there was a human being on our soil that was not free, when there were actually millions in that miserable plight,-it was this closing

hardly distinguish bitter from sweet. do nothing. God help us! we cannot be neutral. race, whose blood all over the South would, I believe, What passes for neutrality is but another name for have run like water, and whose chains would indownright interference and meddling with human stantly have been trebled in weight; while at the rights, with the rights of property, and especially with North, all who sympathize with them would have that right of property which every man has to own been the objects of a far fiercer persecution than they himself, and which is the foundation of all rights of have yet dreamed of. I know that the slave has

what are we to do? This question, which has been steadily coming home in the way of the great and holy cause of Abolition to us now for some years with increasing weight, in It is not worth while that the difficulties with which one shape or another, has recently been pressed upon it has to contend should be aggravated by the emus with sudden and great urgency, by events which, ployment of methods of serving it, which, to say the should detail more particularly than to say, that they wrong. compose the incidents of an attempt to answer the That such consequences as I have mentioned would great question in a certain way, namely, by resorting have resulted from the success of John Brown's atto a certain degree of physical force, in order to the tempt, we may see plainly enough from what has acdeliverance of the oppressed; an attempt, the aim of tually followed upon its failure. In some of the who knew him rely,) was, with the utmost humanity either to drive out of them all free persons of African possible, with a careful avoidance of all personal in- blood, or reduce them to the abject condition of jury to the master, save in self-defence, to provide a slaves. In Kentucky, a company of white people, way of escape for the slave, and to arm him against resembling the primitive Christians in their blamerecapture on his way to the mountains, or to a free less and devout lives, have been driven into exile, soil beyond the borders of our slave soil; an attempt, for no reason but because they had pity on the enundertaken not without the hope that in Virginia, slaved, and held oppression to be sinful before God. snapping of a gun.' Such was the object of John tion and position better things were to be expected dignity of character that the light of his high per- the most precious principle of our American institusonal qualities broke at once through the blinding tions, Free Speech; counsel which only the com-

prise was not an express and formal attempt to solve gurated, under which the bloody law of the Suspect, our great problem by asserting the right of insurrec- without needing to be enacted, is going into full option. It was not designed to stir up the slaves to a eration. murderous assault upon the persons and families of These things are the inevitable consequences of the sist the slaves to escape from the house of bondage, instantly driven back into the sheath. and to provide them with arms to defend themselves | The recent attempt, therefore, which is stirring

tute of common sense and humanity as to think of in- edly what we are not to do for our enslaved brother. citing the slaves to acts of vengeance and murder. Most solemnly does it repeat the command of Jesus No friend of the black race can regard such a thought to his rash and ardent friend: 'PUT UT THY SWOND with any feeling but of horror. Why, the first inti- INTO THE SHEATH. charge, I do not suppose that any believed it, but understanding against the Truth. Every body knows them against the charge.

or our revenge, but because, the right to use violence heart. ry for the self-protection of somebody?

loose from the abodes of darkness.

honor John Brown for his generous purpose and for cognizes the sword as the lawful instrument of Jus- himself, of the first order. prise which he undertook in behalf of the slave as to club of a New Zealander. keep it strictly within the bounds of humanity and As I see the immeasurable superiority of intellectual self-defence which he resolved to observe, he was not, and moral power over all the revolvers and rifles and able, even on the threshold of his attempt, to prevent artillery that ever have been or ever will be devised a shedding of blood, a sacrifice of life, which his pure as I hold this superiority of the power of the mine pose and his method did not contemplate, and which over the force of the body to be as true as the shining aroused against him and his little company a ferocity of the sun there in the heavens, I believe that unless so savage that it wreaked its fury even upon the dead men lose their senses, and are bereft of the commones bodies of these of his friends who fell at Harper's faculties of discernment, they must, sooner or later, Ferry. Wise and self-possessed as he was, and with recognise this truth; recognise it, too, so clearly, that all his experience of the barbarity of the Slave Power, they will be at a loss to conceive how men, laying and because, as I believe, he was full of the blessed claim to any civilization, could ever have been so ab idea of restoring to the oppressed the sacred rights of surd as to undertake to fight against evil with physiwhich they are robbed, he appears to have lost all cal force, when the invincible Sword of the Spirit is foresight of the cruelty and bloodshed which would always within reach. If men are for ever incapable inevitably flow from the frenzy of fear and wrath that of apprehending this truth, how will it help the matthe first flash of his drawn sword would certainly ter to hack them in pieces with the sword, or blow kindle in those against whom it was drawn. He did them into atoms with gunpowder? not take into account the undeviating law, that vio- But another reason why I confidently believe that

death-distilling influence which has paralyzed the force, and so would be sure to arouse a force in them conscience and the Religion of the land, and so dead- which would regard no restraints. Had he been sucened our ordinary human sensibility that we can cessful in his first enterptise, had every thing gone ardly distinguish bitter from sweet.

as he intended, and a refuge been obtained in the No, my friends, it is not possible in this matter to mountains, it would have told fearfully upon the black property. It is the neutrality, which has been prefriends here, whose fidelity no persecution, however
tended, that has fed oppression with victims by the
violent, can shake, but only confirm. I believe, too,
hecatomb, and has generated and deepened the black clouds that threaten to hide forever the beacon light promising adherence to the Right may involve. Only of Hope which has been kindled on this continent. the more earnestly to be desired is it, that no unne-As we cannot be neutral, as we must do something, cessary occasion should be given to the spirit of persecution, that no needless obstacles should be thrown fresh as they are in all minds, and still profoundly least, are questionable, and which many of its most agitating the nation at large, there is no need that I faithful friends consider positively and upon principle

which, as its leader declared, (and upon his word all slave States, it is seriously proposed, as you know, as in Missouri, it might be carried out ' without the In the city where I dwell, persons, from whose educa-Brown, a man of such impressive truthfulness and have publicly counselled the violent suppression of mists of rage and terror that gathered round him mendable firmness of our civil authorities prevented upon the very threshold of his enterprise, and com- from being carried into effect with blood and fire. manded the respect and admiration of those who And all over the South, every Northern stranger is overpowered him, and dragged him to the scaffold. | narrowly watched, and many have been brutally Considered, therefore, in its intention, this enter-treated and driven away, and a reign of terror inau-

their masters. So it may be affirmed that no man in intrusion of the drawn sword into the great conflict, the North, no anti-slavery man, certainly, not even and they show what far more bloody results would John Brown himself, ever contemplated instigating have come, not to the free white people of the South, the oppressed to rise upon their oppressors, and put not to the slaveholders, but to the slaves and their them to the sword. All that he sought was to as- well-wishers, had not the sword that was drawn been

the heart of the country, 'educating the nation,' as I do not imagine there is a man among us so desti- Wendell Phillips loves to say, teaches us very point-

mation of the existence of such a purpose would be The sword can only wound and kill the body, and a signal for the instant outbreak of a war of extermi- upon the mind it can have no effect, but to madden nation upon that unhappy people. It has been it with rage or drive it wild with terror; thus, so far thought that it would help certain party and political from convincing the understanding, or strengthening purposes to charge certain persons at the North with the sense of justice, or breathing into men the spirit this bloody design. But of those who made this of repentance and humanity, closing both heart and those who were bereft of their senses by rage and this. Every body knows that a blow is not an arguterror. It is not in the people of the North to en- ment, that stabbing and shooting prove nothing, that tertain any such murderous idea. Indeed, so utterly physical force displaces the greater force of Truth.

incapable do I hold them to be of any such savage | The force of Truth, on the other hand, living in intent, that I can hardly bear to seem to be defending man, sounding in his voice, beaming from his countenance, expressed in his whole person,-that it is But it is needful to say what I am saying : we must that goes to the heart, straight to the heart. No expect this charge to be made, we must reconcile our- cannon ball goes swifter. The shield which the adselves to the humiliation of uttering our protest vocates of wrong hide behind to escape if, the fortifiagainst being accused of these bloody designs, so cations which they throw up to keep it out, and all long as we avow, as the great mass of the people all the extreme measures to which they have recourse to over the North, all over the South, yes, and all over defend themselves against it, the depths of absurdity the world, do avow, the lawfulness, under any cir- into which they plunge to get out of its range,-do cumstances, of resorting to brute force, of drawing they not all betray the fact that the truth is felt and the death-dealing sword for God and for man. So feared? When, some thirty years ago, in the city of that breathes-this is the highest service to the God long as we maintain the right to shoot and stab to Boston, a solitary voice was uplifted, publishing the right any wrong, we are fairly open to the suspicion truth, that to hold a man as a slave is a sin before God, of being ready and willing to shoot and stab to any and, as such, must be forsaken without a moment's extent: not only because we are extremely liable to delay, and the State of Georgia at the other end of confound our passions with our principles, and to the country set a price of five thousand dollars on the persuade ourselves that we are striking for God and head of him who dared to publish this truth, the for the Right, when we are only gratifying our anger proof was decisive that the great wrong was hit in the

n any case being maintained, as a principle, we do The force of Truth is indeed so great, that when virtually stand upon the ground of its lawfulness in men will not, through its arguments and persuasions, all cases. It is a principle upon which no restriction forsake their falsehoods, it compels them to act out can be put, for it asserts aggression to be the dictate the evil that is in them, and which refuses to yield to of self-defence, and uses not merely a shield, but a any gentler treatment, and so they get a taste of its sword, and a sword not merely to ward off, but to quality in the ridicule and shame which they incur, strike. The distinction is made, I know, between and the shattering collision with facts into which they the offensive and the defensive. The line that divides rush. This way which Truth takes with the refractory these two seems to be very easily and broadly drawn, is a violent, and oftentimes a bloody process; for the but it is very sensitive, and sways to and fro with the devils, which she thus arouses and dislodges, rend and slightest breath of human emotion, and may at any tear their victims, and make them mischievous to noment be obliterated by the surges of passion. others as well as to themselves. Nevertheless, the What act of war is there so bloody and inhuman that world is greatly obliged to the Truth, whenever she t has not been justified at the moment, and after- renders it this valuable service. But because her wards, upon the ground that it was rendered necessa- faithful words are often followed by riot and bloodshed, as quickly as if they were so many pistol shots So long, therefore, as we assert the right to use the there are not a few who see no difference between the sword upon any occasion, we lay ourselves open to sword of steel and the sword of Truth, and hold it the charge of being ready to use it needlessly, be- just as disorderly to employ the one as the other; and ause we are, in fact, liable to use it so; because, for their part, they protest they would as lief be struck when we are aggressive in defence, it is impossible to by the hand as by the tongue. Perhaps they would. distinguish aggression from defence. Why, the bare so far as the mere pain is concerned. But there is all physical exertion required to render a blow effective the difference in the world between the wounds inreates a heat in the blood, and the hot blood goes to flicted on the body by muskets and sabres, and the inthe brain, and when the mind is heated, the ordinary flammation of the mind caused by the word-winged effect of heat follows. The thoughts and images shafts of Truth. The wounds of the body are posithat rise in the mind are dilated; trifles are magnified tive injuries, disfiguring, and disabling perhaps to the into grave offences; the wild suggestions of an in- extent of destroying life, and who shall tell the worth flamed fancy are taken for self-evident facts, and then of that? The wounds made by the Sword of the all the curbs of Reason and Humanity are consumed Spirit, when that sword is wielded in love, without in the heat, and the passions rush all abroad to the heat or malice, however much they may irritate, and work of blood and rapine, like so many demons let notwithstanding the violent spasms they may occasion, tend to heal and make sound the whole man So plainly true is all this, that while I heartily The fits of profane wrath into which men are thrown by the Truth, are often signs of quite an advanced his heroic courage, while I freely allow that wherein state of grace. Paul set out from Jerusalem, breathhe was wrong he had this excuse, that he was justi- ing threatenings and slaughter against the Christians, fied by the public sentiment of the world, which re- but before he reached Damascus, he was a Christian tice and Liberty, I nevertheless see, that in resorting Therefore, because the Truth is so great, let the

to force, in drawing the sword for the slave, he was sword be put back into the sheath. We need somewrong, and that the means which he employed tend- thing stronger than that, and Truth is as much more ed to hurt the cause which it was in his great heart effectual than any brute force, as the last most deadly to serve. With all his care so to organize the enter- invention of modern military science is than the war-

lence produces violence, and that the force, which he men will come by and by to see this very valuable intended to employ very guardedly, and under the truth as clearly as they see the light of day is, that slave, in the wail of whose agony the same heart- tence, that has enabled oppression to extend wide its | in the eyes of those against whom if was directed, in its highest degree, than which there is nothing that steady restraint of a watchful humanity, would look, to wield the Sword of the Spirit requires that quality,

wise and simple : Personal Courage. It is this one quality, and only this, that reconciles mankind, \$50 quality, and only this, that reconciles mankind, age, after age, to the brutal absurdity of war. Because the use of the sword indicates personal course, we acquiesce in this irrational method of serving the cause of Liberty and Right; nay, we magnify the work of violence and blood, as the most glorious of all human achievements, and warriors are the world's heroes and saints. But there is a far higher courage, there is far more daring spirit than his who knows how to far more daring spirit than he. It is the man who knows how to die; who, never thinking to insult the Truth by employing in her behalf any weapons but her own, speaks her message in love, and without fear, prepared to suffer violence, but never to commit it; who, in a word, is so brave that he holds it count ly to draw the sword. Is not such a spirit possible? The profession of non-resistance to force by force, 1 am aware, looks suspicious,—the pretext, it may be, of the timid, of those who dare not confront a draw sword, or a loaded revolver. If it be only this, it desword, or a road to serves and must inspire only contempt. But, rare a it is,—the exalted valor of which I speak,—it is not impossible. Men and women, under the inspiration of conscious right, have manifested it, over and tree again. The late Isaac T. Hopper gave us some reliab of its quality, who, when a kidnapper levelled a putol at his heart, threatening to shoot him if he advanced a step, quietly replied to the threat: 'I am ashamed of thee, - thee's too old, - thee ought to know better, and moved on. Captivated, as we all are, by exhibitions of personal daring, this highest form of courage, the valor that flings away the sword, must take the heart of the world, and triumphing over the imagination, enlisting all the fine arts in its service, Painting, Poetry and Music, will level every sironghold of iniquity, though it bristle all around with artillery loaded to the mouth.

It is because of this grander courage, because there is a surer method for the abolition of wrong than the method of the sword, I reply to the question,-What are we to do for the slave ?-we are not to draw the sword, or when it has been rashly and unwisely drawn, as it was by Peter in the Garden, as it has been by John Brown at Harper's Ferry, it must be put back into the sheath, to remain there for ever, unstrined by a single drop of human blood.

It is true, as your minister, faithful and well-beloved, has said, all the great charters of Humanite have been written in blood; and therefore he justifies the shedding of blood. It is because they were written in blood, blood shed by their champions, that they have so often proved to be a dead letter; because they have sanctioned the bloody arbitrament of the sword the dear cause of man's deliverance has to be fought for over and over again. Revolutions effected by force always end, sooner or later, in reestablishing the trranny they undertake to overthrow. And our boasted American Revolution is no exception to this trath, but an impressive instance of it. It is high time that the savage attempt to convert

men by killing them, by wholesale murder, should come to a full end. The time and the country in which we live, with all the uproar with which ther are ringing, furnish a grand opportunity to contend for the Truth with the Truth, in the accorded right of Free Speech, of which, struck down, as it now is, at the South, and threatened at the North, I still have faith that the people of the Free States will not consent to be deprived. Of this right we cannot indeed be divested, without our consent, although we may be forced to pay a price for the exercise of it. But there is no price, not even life itself, that is not cheap in comparison with this more than royal prerogative. Only the grander will be the opportunity of serving Truth and Freedom by suffering for them, by showing how highly they are to be prized, allowing no blood to be shed, no lives to be sacrificed for them, but our own. They are worth that sacrifice, a thousand times over. What! is it held sweet and honorable to a proverb to die for one's native land, and shall it not be far sweeter and more honorable to die fer that which is the renown of all lands, the desire of all nations? To be willing to cease from life, rather than take the life of the meanest human being of Truth and Love which any man can render. This is God-like. This is being made perfect in love. Greater love hath no man than to lay down one's

Thus serving God and man by a self-surrender which knows no reserve or stipulation, we shall not, by any means, relinquish, we shall assert, and most faithfully exercise, the first sacred Right of Nature, THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE; only we do not consider the faint breath of our nostrils, the frail life of the body, subject to many pains, lasting only a few uncertain years,-we do not mistake this shadow for our very self, to defend which we are to cut and thrust and shoot in all directions, and cause human blood to flow in torrents. But the life that we are to guard from every wound and every stain is the life of the sacred, Heaven-descended mind. That is our dear self. To defend that, to preserve it free and pure, free from the bondage of fear, pure from every injurious thought, we must be ready, at any moment, to let the life of the body go, with perfect composure, having, in the consciousness of a deeper life than that, an intuitive conviction that thus to lose one's life is to find it forever. It was when the sword of steel was taken out of the hand of John Brown, as he himself said, and he was left with only the Sword of the Spirit, that he had a new experience of a higher power than the force of arms. When he was a prisoner, and doomed to death, when he went to the scaffold, with the serenity of the fine country around him in his heart as well as in his eye, then it was that he was robed and crowned with victory. Then shone forth the heroic quality of the man, brighter than any diadem. Then friend and fee were slike touched with his nobleness, and a right loyal thrill of admiring sympathy went through the world.

One word, and I will detain you no longer. I have endeavored, my friends, to give some expression 10 my deep conviction of a vital principle of the Gospel of Peace and Truth, a principle which, so long as it continues an abstraction, the despotic wrongs under which the world writhes may be subverted, but only to reappear in forms just as terrible. I believe in the truth and indescribable worth of this principle. I have not had the slightest hesitation,-I have been glad to utter my faith freely here. For how else, but by a difference, could I better testify the honor and the love in which I hold the devoted minister of God and brother of Christ, who still ministers here, though absent, whose heart is a live coal upon the alter of Humanity, a shining and a burning light, and for whose health and welfare unuttered pravers are con stantly ascending far and wide? May Heaven bless him and you, and in times like the present, and in such times as may come, we know not un what hour, may we, one and all, be faithful to our light!

JUVENILE MEETING AT WEST CRESTER, PA. Out beloved friend, Joseph A. Duodale, writes as follows:

'My meeting for the little ones is over. They came by hundreds. It is the first time I have spoken in an Orthodox church in West Chester. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, &c., were present, filling the house. I had a thrilling story of a little blind slave child, which brought tears from the eyes of the dest children who, perhaps, had never heard anything of the wrongs of the bleeding and oppressed in our land. I had others on unselfishness, justice, integrity, Parity, &c., and the little slave story went of grandly with the rest. The superintendent and minister gare me their blessing. But the sweetest and best of it all was, the hundreds of little ones passed at the foot of the pulpit stairs, and each little man and maiden gave "Uncle Joseph" a grip of the hand, and some