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The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-AND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



VOL. XXX. NO. 16.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.'

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and 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

MIGHT. 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.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1530.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Mountain (Richmond) Democrat, March 29. THE BEREA DIFFICULTIES.

Word having been conveyed to the Vigilance Committee that the man Hanson, notwithstanding the three visits already made to Berea for his benefit, had again returned, with the avowed intention of remaining, a portion of the committee, to the number of eighteen or twenty, hastily collected together on Monday morning, and proceeded to Berca, for the purpose of removing Hanson from the limits of the county. The Circuit Court being in session, and a majority of the committee being retained a awyers, grand and petit jurors, and witnesses, and the general expectation that the visit would prove as fruitless in its efforts to find Hanson as the previous ones had been, will account for the small number that went. Those present, generally, wore side arms-three fowling pieces only being in the

While on the road to Berea, the committee met Green Haley, who, it had been currently reported to the committee, had used very blustering gaage as to what he and others intended doing if the ittee ever visited that way. Upon being questioned, Haley denied such language, stating that he might have spoken excitedly in relation to the matter, but that he did not wish to have anything farther to do with it. The committee were satisfied, and rode back.

Stopping at Berea, the committee were informed that Hanson was at a certain house, some three miles farther on. The committee proceeded to the house indicated, and as they rode up, a woman emerged from the rear, and struck across the fields. After a thorough search, the house was found to be tenanted solely by women. No one in the shape of s man was observed, and the general supposition is that Hanson escaped, as they rode up, in female

on the way home, when near Slate Lick Springs, sime two miles beyond where the mill of Hanson is located, the committee came across some thirty men. haded by Green Haley, and armed with rifles and shot guns. The leader of the committee, Colonel Reaben Munday, rode forward, and asked if the party were for peace or war. The answer was, that they understood that the committee had Hanson under arrest, and that they intended to rescue him The party drawn across the road immediately fired at the committee, who dismounted, hitched their hores, and returned the fire. After the first fire, the opposite party commenced a drawback movement, retreating to and taking refuge in a house, firming it into a temporary fort. The committee followed them closely, and returned their fire, until having housed them, and their ammunition giving out, they retired. Some three or four rounds were fired by each party, with intermediate discharges from the weapons of parties on either side.

Two of the opposite party are known to be wounded, perhaps more. We heard a report on Monday night that one man was known to have been killed, but could trace it to no responsible source. On the side of the committee, not a scratch

On the return of a portion of the committee with the news of the fight, the excitement in town raged an fever heat, and every one commenced preparing los a brush the next day. Rifles, shot guns, pisin all portions of the town was heard the

On Tuesday morning, the people commenced assmoling at the place of rendezvous, and by ten drinek letween one hundred and fitty and one hundred and sixty men had collected, who proceeded to the previous day's conflict, and made a thorough search of every house and possible place of concealment for miles around. No enemy was found, however, and the committee returned only event of interest occurring on Tuesday was the demantling of the mill belonging to the man Han-

To-day our town has settled down into its usual

We carnestly hope that the demonstrations made on Monday and Tuesday last will have the effect of showing the man Hanson and all others of that ilk, that their presence here is a source of irritaprobably causing the loss of valuable lives. The of the last few days, we think, will not be ort upon them, and Hanson has, before this time, no doubt, left this portion of the State, and will bereafter profit by our advice-never to show his face among us. If he does, we will not be answerable for the consequences.

THE GARRISON ULTRAS.

PARKER PILLSBURY is one of the bright and shining lights of the Garrisonians-the extreme ultra Abolitionists, who insist upon the instant abolition of slavery, and invoke dissolution, servile and civil war, and all the evils and horrors which such events would naturally bring in their train. Mr. Pillsmany has recently been upon a lecturing tour, dur-ing which he has twice favored this city with his presence, and lectured to small gatherings of people, a dozen of whom may have been sympathizers. erick Douglass's Paper of last week alludes to his last effort here as a display of Ishmaelitish qualities which it does not endorse. It remarks that 'when a man gets into the habit of striking out right and left, giving foul blows as well as fair ones, and hitting the friends of his cause more often and harder than its enemies, we think it time that the rules of the ring should be enforced.'

That paper then proceeds to show the absurdity of Pillsbury's position in advocating a Personal Liberty Bill, but at the same time advising his hearers to refuse to vote, and denouncing all who do vote as participating in a slaveholding Government,

and sustaining a slave Constitution.
Again Mr. Prinseury's inconsistency is thus ex-

'Another illustration of Mr. P's sublime contempt Another illustration of Mr. P's sublime contempt for the logical relation of things was manifest in his course with reference to Senator Seward. After having denounced the Democrats in general, and S. A. Douglas in particular, until even the Garrisonian dictionary was 'broke,' and could furnish no more vitrolized sublish he coully sold his hearers that he ritriolized epithets, he coolly told his hearers that he had much rather see Mr. Douglas President than to have Mr. Seward elected. He has taken up a special wo against Mr. Seward, and seems to have had evelation of that well-abused Senator's dark ard should come in for this terrible flood of vituperative Anglo-Saxon, just at this juncture. We do not like his sentiments, or rather his recent political mantime. Mr. Seward makes much too large concessions to slavery, in our judgment; but his last speech concedes no more than he has conceded in all his speeches for ten years. The rhetoric of this late speech is a little more subdued and polished than in some of his little more subdued and polished than in some of his older speeches, but the principles enuncisted are the same as those heretofore advocated by him. We do not see, therefore, why the Garrisonians should have

made this sudden enslaught upon him, and as he is the best man the Republicans are likely to nominate, we have no sympathy with this special attack upon him.

South, every word that he uttered was false in its

Mr. Seward is as unacceptable to Garrison, spirit. The gentlemen of whom he spoke are, as Pillsbury & Co., as to the Albany Atlas and the a class, refined, cultivated, generous, and far more Virginia and South Carolina organs of sham Democ- considerate and humane to their servants than many racy. Intensely as they concur in hating Senator of the employers of white laborers at the North.

THE ENTERING WEDGE.

The socialists and revolutionists, who dominate in the Republican party, made another advance move-ment in the Senate of the United States on Saturday. Mr. Trumbull, Republican Senator from Illinois presented, in behalf of the sectional party, a petition that the Senate would recommend the Legislatures of the States to request Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution of the United States. by the establishment of a line running across the Reblic, North of which slave labor should be prohibited, and South of which it should be permitted. The petition was referred to the Judiciary Committee. man can doubt the object of the petitioners, or the result which would attend a convention called in compliance with their prayer. The dissolution of the Union would inevitably follow. Trumbull sees it and knows it. But he dares not resist the socialists and fanatics of the Republican organization, who, though in a minority, yet control the party. The instant the Republican leaders refuse to obey the Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith gang, that instant they die. We think that a majority of the Republican party only intend to prevent the extension of slave labor into new Terriries, but these men, honest, simple-hearted as they are, have no more positive control in the Republican organization than a poodle dog would have in a cage of infuriated wild-cats. The fanatics who diect the Republican party mean to break up this and Trumball on Saturday put in an entering wedge. -Boston Post.

THE MORAL OF THE SANBORN RUMPUS.

The Republican party of Massachusetts is divisible into two classes, the deceivers and the deceived. The latter class is made up of honest men, who fear that the Democratic party is going too far in defence of Southern rights, and who act with the Republican organization, thinking it has no purpose in view other than prevention of extension of slavery into new territories of the United States. The former class is made up of fanatics and rogues; of men like Garrison, Phillips, Parker, Emerson, Howe and Higginson, who are the red Republicans, the Zouaves, the Turcos of the Republican organization. They are the deceivers. They are in a minority; but yet by more physical and intellectual orce, more baseness, they control the majority who are the deceived. They are not more than two hundred thousand in number throughout the entire tive bodies, and they are beginning to terrify the

oses of the Republican party under the dominaion of these political Zouaves.

The central figure in the affair, Sanborn, is, we brained, half-educated zealots, who abound in the every miner, and every ship-owner. the smallest of the one-sided men in Massachusetts, think that the end of all government.

but an incident of the main subject.

The great fact which the occurrence illustrates is this-that the Republican leaders are determined to treat the Federal Government as a foreign and hostile power.

It will not alter the case if Col. McNair, the excellent officer of the Senate, comes here, and arrests Sanborn in person. The same resistance will be made to him by these scoundrels who control the Republican party. There will be the same straining after legal quibbles, with which to annoy and thwart the Senate of the United States.

have Sanborn go before a Committee of that body, this issue—an issue that overtops and overshadows and tell what he knows about John Brown's inva- the canal question—the pro-rata question—the questo the kind and courteous treatment they have rewhich all good citizens have promptly recognized.
We repeat that the affair, in its present aspect, is
of no consequence, except as it illustrates how the
Republican party means to nullify the laws of Conman within the hearing of my voice would exchange an attitude of armed resistance to aggression. All of labor, for the most splendid slavery the ingenuity the glorification of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for its conduct in releasing Sanborn, is but While I desire liberty for myself, I desire it also

LOVEJOY AND PRYOR.

In an abusive article upon the late rousing anti-slavery speech of Mr. Lovejoy in the U. S. House of Refresentatives, the New York Herald says :-

are. Lovejoy belongs to a miserable class of low neighbor, and I am taught to love my neighbor politicians, representatives of which abound in all as myself; you shall not steal him and put the yoke sometimes get into Congress, very much to the gratification of their immediate neighbors. They are
generally briefless lawyers, or broken-down editors,
or persons who have failed in some honest pursuit,
and take to politics for a living with the same views
as they would have in going to rob on the highway.

Did I not commit myself to this bill, I should be
ashamed to return home to Delaware, and look my
constituents in the face. as they would have in going to rob on the highway. Lovejoy himself is a demagogue of the cast-iron order. He is a broken-down and nigger-worshipper. He steals his god before he they do not desire to hear the clanking worships him—a most economical arrangement. His among their hills, and by their river side

HORSES

T. OLMEL

M LETS T

The series of th older, not the poor white man at the South. It is to that class that Lovejoy's comrade, Pryor, belongs. They are, though nominally opposed, in fact brothers-in-arms. Pryor does not own slaves. He is, like Lovejoy, a broken-down editor, and is not considered in his own State or elsewhere as a gentleman. He represents in an eminent degree the poor white men of the South, and meanest of them—the noisy, ruffianly, needy politician. Lovejoy is the type of the nigger-worshipper; Pryor is beau ideal of the nigger-driver, distinct from the nigger-owner. Lovejoy is a republican border rufian; Pryor occupies a similar position on the other

side. Neither the member from Illinois nor he from Virginia represent, in any way, the constituencies which, unfortunately for the good name of the republic and the boasted civilization of the age, sent them to Washington. Their conduct in the affair of Thursday, in which they were the principal ac-tors, (the others were merely bottle-holders, having undoubtedly emptied the bottles before they came to the House,) was what might be expected of them. To gain notoriety, they would stop at nothing.

LOVEJOY.

The New York Tribune chuckles over the Abolition tirade made by Mr. Lovejoy in the U.S. House of Representatives, on Thursday. The Tribune's Washington correspondent calls it 'a tremendous phillippic! It was a paltry harangue, both useless and unprovoked. Slavery Mr. Lovejoy styled a Union, because, like Garrison, they believe it to be twin relic, with polygamy, of barbarism, and he a covenant with death and an agreement with hell; poured forth a strain of the worst calumny on the and Trumball on Saturday put in an entering wedge. South. The speaker was as coarse in his manners as in his language. He left his seat, and while talking shook his fist at the Democratic members. The consequence, of course, was a disgraceful scene. Southern men, stung to the quick with the offensive manner and matter of the Illinoisan, gave vent to a natural feeling of resentment, and at one time a collision between Democrats and Republicans seemed inevitable. Mr. Lovejoy, evidently alarmed at the tempest he had roused, moderated his tone, and was allowed to finish with only a few sharp interruptions. Mr. Lovejoy is a fair specimen of the Seward-Helperites, and his conduct in the House was truly 'republican.' His gross personalities and insulting fanaticism almost occasioned a mortal combat in the U. S. Congress-apparently what he and his fellow Republicans ardently desire .- Boston

POPULAR REACTION.

The people, assisted by an independent journal-North, and yet they compel the Republican organ: ism, have begun the reaction against fanaticism and ization to do their bidding. They control legisla- political roguery. Their eyes are beginning to be courts. They prevented any Republican in Con-philosophers as Lysander Spooner and Theodore gress from denouncing the Helper Book. They are the drunken mutineers who have taken possession of the North; and they are animated but by one and William Lloyd Garrison. It is clearly seen common inspiration, which is hatred of the South, and animosity to the Federal Government. They commerce between the North and the South, as look upon Washington as the seat of a foreign and they have succeeded in breaking the fraternal ties of religious communion and party fellowship ben inimical power. Of religious communion and party fellowship be-The recent Sanborn affair furnishes another fact tween them. It is clearly seen that the principles or series of facts—to make apparent the purto the Constitution, which is now the only safe guard of our Union, our liberties, our peace, our commerce, and our prosperity. The issue comes home to every merchant, every manufacturer, every think, of no possible consequence in any public re-lation of the transaction. He is one of the scatter-lation of the transaction. He is one of the scatter-lation of the transaction. Whoever has Republican party. Well enough, he may be, to a material stake in the present, and whoever has teach boys and girls chemistry and vulgar fractions, sons to whom the future must be preserved, has a but with no thoughts or ideas above that. We understand him to be of no more account than even people of New England, with whom the sentiment material evil is so quick, have perceived the danwho forever babble about the rights of negroes, and ger, and have begun the reaction against the mania of abolitionism, which is destined to fall before the In the view we are now taking, the decision of rising conservatism of the country, as have its prethe Supreme Court of Massachusetts, upon the very narrow question whether the Sergeant-at- Arms of the Senate could delegate his authority, is Herald.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. B. R. JOHNSON, ON THE

PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL,

IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY, MARCH 14, 1860.

MR. CHAIRMAN-In my judgment, the question Now, what has occasioned all this disturbance and violation of public law? Nothing but the desire and effort of the Senate of the United States to litically, individually and collectively interested in now before this House is the most interesting and important of any that can come before this or any sion of Virginia. Others have gone there cheer-fully for the same purpose, and have borne testimony improvements—indeed, it is the leading question of the day. Without Personal Liberty, of what value ceived from the Committee. But the Republican are the graces and accomplishments of education? leaders in Concord, in order to defy the Federal Learning only opens the eyes wider to behold the Government, have inspired the weak brain of San- miseries of inthrallment-wealth could not line the born to be their dupe, and disobey the authority yoke with silk soft enough to prevent the galling gress, to spit on the Constitution, and in the end the humblest poverty in freedom, with its crust of either to humiliate the South, or else put them in bread and cup of water, and bed of straw, and life

the expression of joy at victory over the Federal for my neighbors, as well as myself. I could not Government. A blow has been struck in Concord sit in silence, and witness the inthrallment of the at the Constitution, and for that they are glad.— humblest of my constituents, or of yours, whether Boston Post.

his skin was so thin and fair you could see his heart pulse with a love for liberty—or black as night, with soul shining through it, as the stars pierce

There is not a man here who would not say to the kidnapper, hands off; that is not a chattel; he is Let us see who and what the principal combatants a man; he is a constituent of mine; he is my presentatives of which abound in all as myself; you shall not steal him and rut the yoke bodies in the Northern States, and on his neck, and brand slave on his forehead. This

The citizens of that county whom I in part have editor, nigger-stealer, the honor to represent, appreciate freedom, and steals his god before he they do not desire to hear the clanking of chains

climate and complexion, irrespective of creed or archy for freedom!

But it is claimed that this law is unconstitupolitics, so long as they are law-abiding citizens— But it is claimed that this law is unconstitu-and they regard even colored men as citizens, not- tional; that it conflicts with the Fugitive Slave ng Judge Taney made an effort to repeal Law. the law of God, and blot out the rights of a race

n his infamous decision. I repeat it, sir, I would not dare to return to my our federal compact. constituents, if I did not make an effort to secure the passage of this bill. The streams, unwinding spools of rocks, would shout ' traitor ! and the hills would echo with the rebuke.

dangerous to our liberties to permit the South to make a hunting ground of the North.

But why am I jealous of slavery? Why is it that so many dread it more than they do the 'pertilence that wasteth at noon'? It is claimed by the Administration party to be a national institution, supported by the Constitution and sanctioned by the Scriptures. Have we not even heard of a and of a Northern lawyer who declared it a blessing-a benign-a just-a lawful and righteous institution? Yes, it is claimed that slavery is rightthat it is right to steal a man, and then rob him of his earnings-rob him of his liberty-rob him of

I know not how others come to such a conclusion for my own part, I entertain different views of right,

I hold, sir, that man has rights derived from na-ture; that they are the gift of God, and that com-munity cannot annul them. The person, while innoncent of crime, must not be sacrificed to society. in other respects received all human conflicts with it. organizations, and that society was formed to proteet them, and not to destroy them. That sense of moral obligation which exists in the breast of every

us. The intuitions which restrain one class of men local law. from injuring another class of men, command the Wa have delegated a part of our sovereign power latter to do no harm to the former. When conto the Federal Government, not for the subjugation science forbids the black to do harm to the white, of men, not to oppress them, but to protect their it also forbids the white to do harm to the black. Conscience is not a local attribute, to be used only once a week and in certain latitudes-it is a universal law of our being, and cannot be hemmed in by State lines, nor gagged by statutes, nor smothered by cotton. You may cane it—call it hard names—imprison it—hang it—burn it in effigy—baptize it with blood—bury it under thrones—it still lines and handles are handles and handles and handles and handles are handles are handles and handles are handles and handles are handles are handles and handles are handles are handles and handles are handles and handles are handles a lives, and breathes, and speaks, because it is the voice of God in the soul.

I need not catalogue the rights of man. It must be admitted that he has a right to advance his own tional, and violates the provisions of the organic happiness and the welfare of others. He has a law of this State. It pays no respect to due process right to make himself better and wiser. He has a of law—tramples upon trial by jury—drags a man right to improve his condition. He has a right to from the State merely upon the strength of ex parte be regarded as a member of the community in which evidence.
he lives a right to be sheltered under the ægis of This infamous slave law can have no binding the inhumanity—the coercive cruelty of slavery, so rights in this direction. We are an independent long as he does not trespass on the rights of others. and sovereign State, and have never consented to and the endearing relations of husband and father. Slavery assails all these rights-it will not permit the slave to advance his own welfare—it will not the legal, constitutional right, to protect all per-allow him to improve his mind, for learning among sons on our soil, irrespective of color, or creed, or the slaves is a crime at the South—it scouts the idea of his being a member of society. It allows him to marry, and then steals his wife—it permits him to occupy the relation of father, and then kidnaps his babes from the cradle—it deprives him of the right of self-defence. He must submit to the punishment of the exceriating lash from those whom he has not consented to serve-slavery tramples all the held, that the clause of the Constitution, referring the image of God, and write beast upon his fore-

Shall we say Amen to those who declare slavery a slave—the term slavery—cannot be found.

This is one of the strongest evidence divine institution? Do we desire it to come here, and snatch away a human being, that he may be converted into a chattel?

Our State is a free State, except the few volun-

internal improvements—in wealth and in popula-Constitution.

tion. And God forbid that she should become a I stand by this bill, sir, and urge its passage. administration collars on their necks, to pursue the scriptural.

The slave, who has been running the gauntlet of ers to rule with a rod of iron, not only the four numan blood-hounds and bullets, hiding himself in millions of slaves, and the free people of color, and avers and dens by day, and finding attention and slaves. caves and dens by day, and fording streams, wading the five millions of Southern whites, who would swamps, threading forests by night-feeding on bark and berries, or the crumbs of charity thinly millions of free people at the North also? bark and berries, or the crumbs of charity thinly millions of free people at the North also scattered along his perilous pathway, takes to his heels, or, as has been said, 'prays with his feet.'

There is an 'irrepressible conflict,' not between heels, or, as has been said, 'prays with his feet.' the North and the South, but between slavery and Hotly pursued, he hurries on to Valley Forge, freedom. Maine has unfurled her banner to the where the blood of our fathers re-appears in the breeze, and declared in favor of personal liberty. If

and sunshine. He hurries past Ticonderoga, where the spirit of Ethan Allen whispers a word of encouragement, in the name of the 'Great God and the Continental Congress.' On, on, he speeds through Saratoga, and over other battle grounds made classic in history, and finally he reaches the capital of the State of New York. The representatives of the people are here assembled. He dashes through the door-way—leaps over the gate, and bounding down the aisle, he finally seeks shelter by the side, or under the desk of my friend Powell. It the side, or under the desk of my friend Powell. It is a mere accident, but he could not have done a

and yet he is unmolested. Perchance some member hurls at him the statute book, but a friend of the oppressed wards off the missile—another flings the bill.

Constitution of the United States at him—another This act will lift a shield between the tyrant and

They do not limit liberty to the white alone, but Victoria, for liberty—for personal liberty. Humil-extend it to the black—to men and women of every listing, indeed! Fleeing from a republic to a mon-raises humanity from the dust to the Deity—like

Sir, I believe that this bill is constitutional, and that the Fugitive Slave Law is a base violation of

This proposed law in no manner conflicts with the Constitution of New York. In this State men are not chattels, and must not be treated like

brutes. Here the right of trial by jury is recog-I support a personal liberty bill, because I am nized without inquiries respecting complexion. Here sealous of the encroachments of Slavery, and deem it he has a right to counsel, and when his life, or his liberty which is dearer still, is at stake, he has a right to challenge the jurors summaned to try him. Now, sir, shall the Fugitive Slave Code step in here and be admitted as an exception, refusing an innocent man the assistance it gives to the burglar and assassin?

Is the love of liberty a virtue in a white man by the Scriptures. Have we not even heard of a and a crime in a black man? Such a crime that he Northern elergyman taking a South-side view of it? shall not have a fair trial—no counsel—no jury not even a hearing in self-defence?

Through this bill we ask the Legislature to af-

firm that God created all men free and equal—that color is not a crime—that negro blood is not a disqualification for citizenship-that God has made of ne blood all the nations of the earth.

We say by this bill that when the slaveholder brings his slave to this State, he holds him no longer, but frees him by that act. We say we do desire our State officers to wear collars upon their necks, and become human hounds. It is a libel upon our State Constitution, defective

in other respects as it may be, to say that this bill I further claim that it does not conflict with the

Constitution of the United States.

It is not the spirit or letter of that instrument to human creature, be he European, Ashatic, of the character. Each State, in certain respect, can, brings with it a sense of duty, and repeats the character. Each State, in certain respect, absolute and independent government. Hence it is that we have incorporated in our Republican platthat we have a supper platthat we have a supper platthat we have a supper platthat to others, plainly teaches what others should do to slavery in the States where it is the creature of

> rights-their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
> Sir, before the framing and ratification of the

> Constitution, this State declared that no person

tablished law. This agis of protection is afforded to all, irrespective of color or birth. I hold that the Fugitive Slave Law is unconstitu-

-a right to be saved from the indignities - force here, because we have never surrendered our has a right to social and domestic happiness, sacrifice the person of any human being on the altar of arbitrary enactments. We have now, as we have always had, the right,

Some of our greatest statesmen and jurists have

rights of man in the dust-it disfranchises him-it to fugitives from service, was to be executed by th blots out his manhood—it degrades him to the level action and law of the State where the runaway of the brute—it impiously attempts to wipe out should be discovered; and that it did not confer any grant of power upon the general government.

Why, sir, in the Federal Constitution, the word

strongest evidences, that slavery was not endorsed by our patriot fathers. Let us pass this bill, and nail our flag to the mast of freedom. Let us speak with emphasis, and say tary white slaves, who seem to be anxious to show that our banner does not wave with stars for tyrant their loyalty to the peculiar institution, by return-ing fugitives to their masters.

Let us stand up for the honor of this noble State. Let us stand by the This is the Empire State-empire in territory-in rights of man-rights guarantied to us by the

hunting ground for masters, with creatures wearing because it is right and just, patriotic, humane and

panting fagitive flying for freedom!

Mr. Chairman, have we a right to peril the free
Picture to yourself some slave, whose love of lib
dom of forty-five thousand colored citizens of this erty has not been entirely blotted out, who believes State? Is it right to convert the three millions with Washington and Jefferson, that all men have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit for happiness, turning his face toward freedom, and give a cup of cold water, or a crust of bread, or a following the light of that lamp which God hangs refuge from the storm, to a poor slave? Are we to on the blue walls of heaven, till he finds himself be compelled by law to aid the master to catch his within the borders of the free States. But look slave, and help him with his human chattel, on to again, and see just behind him come the master and the land of chains, and stripes, and slavery—hopenited States marshals, and all the apparatus for less, cruel, unmitigated slavery?

wild flowers, and the purity of their patriotism is a fugitive slave shall be arrested there, the attorney emblemed in the aroma of the darlings of the rain of the State is to defend him, and the expenses of and sunshine. He hurries past Ticonderoga, where the trial to be taken from the State exchequer

sudden growth into manhood. New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Con

Now comes the tug of war. The Speaker has issued no ticket to this lobby member. The House has passed no resolution granting him its privileges, and yet he is unmolested. Perchance are the speaker has passed to resolution granting him its privileges, York be less humane and patriotic than her sister States? The testimony of these States favors the justice and righteousness of the principles of this

the Good Samaritan, it finds the slave robbed and bleeding on the highway of human life, and lifts him from the ditch-washes the crusted blood from the piteous and gaping wounds, and stands him on his leet, and stands by his side to shield him, and share the blow that may be raised upon him. It is scriptural, because it comports with the golden rule: Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.'

. Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress

A majority of the people of this State desire the passage of this measure, and if we do not pass it, they will send men here who will.

I suppose your democratic friends, many of whom I personally esteem, and many of whom are far better than their politics would indicate, will, of course, on this question, air their patriotic devotion to the Administration, by crossing over to Virginia, by the way of Harper's Ferry; they will shudder at the ghost of John Brown, and repeat the false accusation that he was a Republican, and that his zaid was a part of a scheme got up by Republicans, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves; but this has been a farce upon which the world has smiled. Indeed, the Democratic party, like the lion of Munchausen, swallowed the horse as soon as it found itself in the harness, dragging the chariot. It seems bent on committing suicide on the same scaffold on which Brown was executed, and will die, doubtless, with these words upon its lips: ' Dulci et decorum est pro potria mori.

Am I asked what I think of John Brown? I do not hesitate to pronounce him a great and good man, with a strong head and a brave heart; but stung to madness by the insults and injuries heaped upon him by the minions of slavery in Kansas.

Giving this answer, I do not implicate any party

or any person save myself. For it is well known, here and elsewhere, that the Republican party does not, and never did intend to, interfere with slavery where it exists under the sanction of State law. But it is the design of that party to exert its best efforts, by the use of laudable and constitutional means, to prevent the extension of slavery into States and territories that are now free, and these efforts have stirred up the 'irrepressible conflict' of opinion on this great question. This conflict will not cease until freedom obtains a triumphant victory. It cannot be kept down by bludgeons in the hands of Brooks and Edmondson: cannot be crushed by blows on the heads of Sumner and Hickman. Every such blow struck by ruffian representatives, strikes the people who are represented by those elo-quent and able defenders of freedom, who are assaulted at the capitol. The people will take care of this great question of human liberty.

Slavery is a leech upon the public purse and the vitals of the nation.

It threatens to sap the foundations of our government, and subvert our free institutions. It ventures into our free States, and demands us to catch sioners, by offering a double fee when they convict a man of having made an attempt to secure the right with which God has crowned him. It degrades and imbrutes man and woman, offering them for sale like cattle in the market. The hammer of the auctioneer strikes upon the breast, and knocks down humanity to the level of the beast. It destroys the sense of moral obligation, and chills the best emotions of our better nature. It makes the negro dishonest, theft being taught him by his master who steals him, and all his earnings. It destroys all patriotic and social ties. It builds a wall darkness around his soul, and shuts out the light of reason, and the Bible which he is not allowed to read, and he gropes through life a heathen under

the shadow of the church.

It compels his wife to yield to the wish of his master, and his child to be seized by the sheriff, and sold to pay his master's debts. I hesitate not to pronounce it an unmitigated

No wonder it has split the church asunder. No wonder it has drawn such a dark political line be-

tween the North and the South.

We do not want even the shadow of this accursed thing to fall upon our fair State, and therefore ask for the passage of this bill, for the protection of the whites, as well as the blacks.

Others may do as they please; for my part, I have determined the auction-block shall not be my platform-the slave pen shall not fence in my ere of freedom-the crack of the slave-driver's whip will not deter me in the path of duty—the cuckoo cry of dissolution shall not drive me into

humiliating concessions to slavery.

Let us unfurl the flag of personal liberty here at the Capitol, and fling its stars to the free winds, so that it shall wave in triumph from our walls.

THE ARREST OF F. B. SANBORN. The arrest of F. B. Sanborn at Concord has very

naturally excited the people of this Commonwealth, and by the manner in which it was attempted has made the whole State, without distinction of party, indignant. Nobody, or very few persons, will deny the right of Congress to compel the attendance of witnesses; and if the government should proceed properly to summon or enforce their summe people of Massachusetts would not be found hostile to just demands; but the Senate of the United States is as much bound to respect the laws as any John Browns or their abettors; and when they do not, the Supreme Court of this State will not be forgetful of duties, and the legislature should not be backward to protect the rights of any citizen. But beyond simple obedience to laws, the Senate is bound to proceed courteously and respectfully. There are proper times and ways for action that should govern the strong as well as the weak. Mr. Samborn had not fied the country; he was not a dangerous man to arrest at noon-day, and with no unusual force. For the great Senate of the United States, on a warrant signed by the Vice President of the nation, to seek a private individual by decoy letters, to seize him under the cover of darkness, and attempt to rush him from his home in irons, partially undressedhaving neither hat nor boots on-and allowing him no time to consult friends or legal advisers, is mean, cowardly, dastardly, despotic conduct, that will bring down the honest curses of every decent man in the nation; it is part of the same weakness and cow-ardly inhumanity that characterized Virginia in her trial and execution of John Brown and his accompli-

ces. The arrest of Sanborn, under the circumstan-ces, by bullies and brutal, men, is a parallel to the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, when the soldiers were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrrest the the Bible—another holds up the bugaboo of a dissolved Union; but still he is sale. The door-keepers hold back the hunter.

The poor slave is spirited away upon the underground railroad. He reaches Niagara, and beholds the white cloud beckoning him to be free. He hears the waterfall shouting freedom, and he passes under the waterfall shouting freedom, and he passes under the arch of rainbows to the dominions of Queen the sold between the tyrant and the oppressed. It is right, because it respects the attributes of-man, and defends him in the proper exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it respects the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, when the soldiers were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it respects the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, when the soldiers were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it were intoxicated, and sent at midnight to arrest the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it respects the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, when the attributes of-man, and defends him in the proper in the exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, be

The United States Senate, like any individual of body of men, is not only bound to keep within the law, and to have its officers or agents behave with common decency, but they ought, also, to obtain popular approval, to show no partiality. We would not justify Sanborn in refusing attendance before the committee, provided they guarantee his safe return to Massachusetts; nor Hyatt in refusing to answer questions, provided he could do it without criminating himself, and surely no man should be obliged to swear the halter upon his own neck; but if Sanborn must be seized in the night, and ironed, and dragged away from home, and Hyatt must be thrust into jail, people this way would very well like to know why Henry A. Wise has not given his testimony ?- and when he says- I know, but will not divulge '-why is he not in jail, too? The committee should show that their action is not per secution.

MODELLY AND TO THE OF

MEMORIAL OF F. B. SANBORN TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Honorable the Senate of the United States: Respectfully represents F. B. Sanborn, of Concord. Mass., that while he, as he believes, has rightly refused to obey the summons of the 'Select Commit-tee' of the Senate, and has desired in a legal and proper manner to contest his rights as a citizen, of which he has before this informed the Senate, by his memorial of Feb. 16, 1860, submitted to them on the 27th of Feb., 1860, other persons, caiming to act under the authority of the Senate, have unwarrantably usurped power and disgraced themselves by their acts and doings; that on the night of the 3d of April, instant, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, P. M., he was called to the door of his own house by a young man who handed him a fraud-ulent letter, and that while in the act of taking this he was seized by another man; that to his often re peated demands for the names and authority of these men, he could get no sufficient or definite answer and that in refusing to go with them unless he could see the precept under which they were acting, or know its nature or contents, he was held and hand-cuffed, and then without hat or shoes was dragged by these men, and three others who had been called by a whistle from them, from his house into the road and there violently pushed, litted and shoved to and upon a carriage which was standing in front of his house ; that by great efforts on his own part, assisted by those of his sister, he succeeded in preventing these men from placing him in the carriage, and the alarm being given to his friends and neighbors, he was soon surrounded by them, when on the repeat-ed demands of himself and others, the ruffians finally gave their names as SilasCarlton, — Freeman, — Tarlton, — Coolidge and — Foss, and for their authority read a precept purporting to be directed to Dunning R. McNair, Sergeant-at-Arms of the U. S. Senate, and to be signed by the Vice President of the U. the U.S., commanding the arrest and bringing before the Senate by the said McNair of the body of your memorialist; that no person named McNair appeared to arrest him, but that attached to the said precept was a clause by which the said McNair ed to depute his authority to Silas Carlton, and to no other; and that none of the men holding him were known to your memorialist, or to any of his neighbors then present, and had no badge of thority or indications of their being officers; that upon the arrival of your memorialist's counsel, who had been sent for, they refused to take him back into the house, there to remain until a writ of Habeas Corpus could be obtained to test their power and his rights, but continued to hold him in the condition in which he was, without hat or shoes, in the cold night air and upon the damp ground for an hour or thereabouts; and that when a writ of Habeas Corpus, issued by a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth, had been brought and duly served on them by a Deputy Sheriff of the County, they refused to obey the command, and compelled the officer to use force and the power of 'posse comitatus' to take your memorialist out of their hands to the great risk of his life and limb, and the serious injury of his arms and wrists, which were still manacled; that all this was done by the said Carlton and the others named upon a precept thich appears to have been in their hands for more than six weeks, during nearly all which time your memorialist has been openly engaged in his usual avocations, and about the town in which he resides, freely and without any disguise or concealment, and that there was no sort of reason or excuse for the secreey, fraud, violence and ruffianism used in making the arrest; and that since his discharge by the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, for want of authority in said Carlton to make such an arrest after a full hearing of the case, he finds that said Carlton and those employed by him are men having no property or responsibility, holding no official position, and possessing no such character as that they ought to be entrusted with the most delicate and dangerous power of arresting and forcibly car rying away free citizens; that their manner of exercising it was so improper, disgraceful and offensive, that it has lowered the dignity of your precept, and tended to impair the proper authority of your honorable body in the eyes of all good citizens, without distinction of party; sect or belief; and further, that your memorialist conceives his own rights to have been grievously outraged, and prays redress of your honorable body. And as in duty bound will ever Pray. F. B. SANBORN.
Concord, April 5th, 1860.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. County of Middlesex, ss.

CONCORD, April 6, 1860. Then personally appeared the above named F. B. Sanborn, and made outh that the facts contained in the above memorial are true, according to his best knowledge and belief.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal notarial, this sixth day of April, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty.

NATHAN BROOKS, Notary Public.

Translation from Der Pioneer.

DR. ROCK'S LECTURE.

Last Friday evening, we heard a lecture in the Hall of the House of Representatives, which was very interesting in every respect: 1. On account of the place and the assembly. 2. On account of the subject, Woman, the intellectual equal of man, as illustrated in the character and writings of Madame de Stael. 3. On account of its practicability.

4. On account of the person of the lecturer, who, think ye democratic editors, was a darkey, a woolly-beaded negro! And this negro is even a Doctor, viz., Dr. Rock, and this African Dr. Rock speaks and writes even German!

The choice of the theme shows the intelligence of the lecturer. Dr. Rock has undertaken to compare the most celebrated (and next to G. Sand, the greatest) authoress of the world,-with the most rewned and greatest of all the enemies of the emancipation of woman-Napoleon. She proved her-self to be not only his equal, but his intellectual superior. On this account he feared her more than he did a legion of men, which is but too clearly proved not only by his persecution of her person, but of her writings. The lecturer explained how Napoleon caused the suppression of her great work on Germany, and to prevent a single copy from escaping and being read, he caused the whole edition to be destroyed, had the printer's establishment to be destroyed-had 'the printer's establishment guarded by troops, and demanded from her every sheet of her manuscript. A single copy being saved, made it possible for her to get it published in Eng-

The mightiest ruler of the world trembling be fore the pen of a woman! Is this not the best illustration of the intellectual equality of woman? Dr.

Rock was right in saying that one such woman is a complete vindication of the whole sex! What we liked exceedingly in the speaker was his ability to appreciate the explanations of Stael in regard to the intellectual life of Germany. Her book, other work to unfold the spiritual life of Germany and to abolish the prejudices which have existed in foreign countries against the Germans. Her praise of Germany offended Napoleon, the Tyrant, and on this account it was thought that the publication of her book might peril the duration of the sacred En pire. In his criticism of this work, Dr. Rock proved himself as learned in the German as he is in French

literature.

Thus, a thinking, educated, German, and French speaking negro, converses and instructs a select American audience on female intelligence and literature of the past times, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of one of the first States in the Union! What is to become of such? Do you know of a preventive? Democratic Editors, where are your fists? For with your heads you cannot come, for the woolly head of Dr. Rock contains more science, intellect and intelligence, than all your pump-kins put together.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION. SPEECH

OF TLLINOIS, In the House of Representatives, April 5, 1860. The House being in Committee of the Whole, on

HON. OWEN LOVEJOY,

the State of the Union,

ber, stands pledged, since 1856, to the extermination,

Now, sir, as we anticipate a death-blow has been spects to the other. I want to see them both strangled and go down together, as they both richly de- you propose to civilize and christianize a people with-

this House and to the country, is, whether slavery shall be extended beyond its present limits; as that is the only question over which they have exclusive of progress in civilizing a race till you give them jurisdiction. And if slavery were contented to remain homes; till you protect the sanctity of the home, as restricted, and find its future where it now is, we we hold it should be protected in regard to these Mormight perhaps forbear this discussion. But when it mons on the plains of Utah. Christianizing them is proposed to extend what is termed an institution— sir! Christianizing them by a new process. but which is not an institution; which is simply a slave States have a right to an exclusive patent for it. practice—the question naturally arises, what is the Taking them out in the sight of the church, as one nature, what are the influences, and what are the was taken out not long ago in the State of Tennessee elements of this practice? and what will they prove

to be, if allowed expansion? I am aware it has been stated upon this floor that the morale of slavery is settled; that its ethics are no longer to be discussed; that they were settled ages ago by the Stagyrite of Greece, and have been reaffirmed and re-established by the chanticleer Solon upon the naked and quivering flesh of the tortured of Ohio, in rhetoric gorgeous as sunset's glow. We are told that where slavery will pay, slaveholding will go. Precisely upon the same principle we might (Laughter.) say that where robbery will pay, robbery will go; where piracy will pay, piracy will go; and where adipose human flesh is cheaper than that of beeves, gress, by being whipped and sent to the garret, and cannibalism will go, because it will pay. Sir, than robbery, than piracy, than polygamy, saveholding is nose and cars. worse-more criminal, more injurious to man, and consequently more offensive to God.

Slaveholding has been justly designated as the among men into a moral crucible, and dissolve and priest was invited in to utter prayers before God that combine them all, and the resultant amalgam is the last flagellation might have whipped in christianslaveholding. It has the violence of robbery.

A Member-You are joking. Mr. Lovejoy-No, sir; I am speaking in dead earnest, before God, God's own truth. It has the violence of robbery, the blood and cruelty of piracy; containing, I presume, the murderess; and my attenit has the offensive and brutal lusts of polygmy, all combined and concentrated in itself, with aggrava- is a slave funeral! Is that treating them like brutes tions that neither one of these crimes ever knew or dreamed of.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the justification of slavery is the inferiority of the enslaved race; the fact that enslaving men imparts Christianity and civilization to them; and, thirdly, the guarantees of the Constitution. These are the three main arguments presented dom as you and I. Sir, the testimony of all religious to justify slavery, and consequently to justify its ex- societies in the slave States is that the slaves are still pansion. And, by the way, I hold that the extreme heathen, and it is an utter impossibility to christian men, as they are called, on this question, are the only ize them and civilize them by this process. men who have the logic of it. I am right, or the fireeaters are right. If slavery is right in Virginia, it is right in Kansas. If it is wrong in Kansas, it is wrong tied by the Constitution of the United States. Now everywhere.

matter of fact that it is inferior : but does it follow, no word, in no syllable, can there be any recognition therefore, that it is right to enslave a man simply be- or sanction of human slavery found in the Constitucause he is inferior? This, to me, is a most abhorrent tion of the United States. It is not there. It always doctrine. It would place the weak everywhere at the recognizes human beings as persons, and never as mercy of the strong; it would place the poor at the property. It does not use the word 'slave' or 'slamercy of the rich; it would place those who are deficient in intellect at the mercy of those that are gift- support the Constitution, a whispered buzz, half in ed in mental endowment.

they are inferior is this: If a man is a cripple, trip can he take the oath?' I could take the oath to suphim up; if he is old and weak, and bowed with the port the Constitution, because I believe in the Conweight of years, strike him, for he cannot strike back; stitution, because I hold to it, because my if idiotic, take advantage of him; and if a child, de- loyal to it. Every part, and parcel, and portion of it, ceive him. This, sir, is the doctrine of Democrats, I believe in; but I do not believe in the construction and the doctrine of devils as well, and there is no put upon it by those who claim its recognition and place in the universe outside the five points of hell sanction of the practice of slaveholding. and the Democratic party where the practice and prevalence of such doctrines would not be a disgrace. (Laughter.) If the strong of the earth are to enslave the weak here, it would justify angels in enslaving them, because they are superior; and archangels this floor. (Renewed calls to order.) in turn would be justified in subjugating those who are inferior in intellect and position, and ultimately it would transform Jehovah into an infinite Juggernaut, rolling the huge wheels of his omnipotence-

[Mr. Lovejoy here advanced into the area, and occupied the space fronting the Democratic benches, him, exclaiming, 'The gentleman from Illinois shall ending of it. But the advocates of slavery have afnot approach this side of the House, shaking his fists, and talking in the way he has talked '-&c. Great excitement followed, with frequent interruptions of the speaker, as narrated last week, Finally]-

Mr. Lovejoy (taking his place in the Clerk's desk) resumed. Mr. Chairman, I was about stating, when interrupted, that the principle upon which slaveholding was sought to be justified in this country would, if carried out in the affairs of the universe, transform Jehovah, the Supreme, into an infinite Juggernaut, rolling the huge wheels of his omnipotence, ankle-deep, amid the crushed, and mangled, and bleeding bodies of human beings, (laughter on the Democratic side,) on the ground that he was infinitely superior, and that they were an inferior race. Mr. Gartrell, (in his seat.) The man is crazy.

Mr. Lovejoy-The second ground upon which it is attempted to justify slavery, or slavholding, is, that it the slaves. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know how know nothing, personally, about it; but I had underis a mode of imparting Christianity and civilization to slaveholding communities can impart that of which stood that the gentleman once uttered this language: they are not in the possession? The truth is, that the Constitution was a piece of rotten parchthe practice of slaveholding has a powerful tendency to drag communities back to barbarism. It is actually having that effect upon the slave States of this Union ; and were it not for the Christian women that have gone from the free States, and intermarried in the Constitution, because it was for liberty. It was or slave States; and were it not for those noble women dained by the people of the United States, not by a of the States, that preserve womanly purity and superannuated old mummy of a judge-and a Jesuit Christianity, in spite of the unhappy influences of at that-but by the people of the United States, to slaveholding, the slave States to-day would be as far establish justice, secure the blessings of liberty for back in barbarism as the State of Mexico. It is sim- themselves and their posterity, and to secure the ply from that infiltration-

Mr. Singleton-I wish to know if the gentleman clusive jurisdiction. Therefore I love it. intends to cast any insinuation or slur on the women These men can perceive nothing in the Constituof the South? I want to know that distinctly and tion but slavery. A young man leads a blushing emphatically; because if he does, I will hold him bride to the altar, and takes the marital vow before personally accountable for it.

the women of the South; he compliments them.

countable for it.

Hagars and Ishmaels to the wilderness-maintained sist that if the clauses that are deemed to refer to the

their purity and Christian character, and their testimony against the system, that they were prevented from that retrocession toward barbarism

Several Members-That is what he said before. Mr. Lovejoy-Sir, if you step into the Smithsonia Institute, or into the Patent Office, you, will find implements of husbandry imported from Japan and China, showing just about the same development in civilization as the implements that you find on the plantations. Now, Sir, the truth is, that the practice of slaveholding drags slaveholding communities Mr. Chairman—The House has been occupied for further below the plane of the Christian civilization several days in the discussion of the subject of polyg- of the age, than the civilization which the slave reamy. The Republican party, of which I am a mem- ceives elevates him above the plane of heathenism. by being held in these Christian communities. Sir, so far as the Pederal Government has the power, of how do they impart civilization and Christianity? It the twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy. is a strange mode of christianizing a race, to turn They have this power in the Territories of the United them over into brutism without any legal marriage. Among the four million slaves in this country, there is not a single husband or wife. There is not, legiven to one of these twins, I propose to pay my re- gally, a single father or child. There is not a single home or hearthstone among these four millions. And out giving them homes, without allowing them the I am aware that the practical question presented to conjugal and parental relations, and without having those relations sanctioned and protected by law.

Mr. Chairman, no community can make one ster by a Presbyterian elder, and laid down on his face or the ground, his hands and feet extended to their utmost tension, and tied to pickets, and the gospe whipped into him with the broad side of a handsaw discolored whelks of sanctification being raised be tween the teeth every time this gospel agency fell convert. (Laughter.)

A Democratic member-Did he get the gospel in

Mr. Lovejoy-Christianized as a young girl wa christianized in this city since the session of Confound dead in the morning, with blood oozing from

A Democratic member-Where does that authority ome from?

Mr. Lovejoy-I do not know whether religious sum of all villany. Put every crime perpetrated rites were had or not. I suppose some pro-slavery ity enough to save her precious and never-dying soul. (Laughter.) And now, alarmed, a good black walnut coffin is made and decorated with white ribbons, and placed in the hearse, followed by a hack tion is called to the cortege: 'See, Mr. Lovejoy, there Look into the coffin! Look into the carriage!! You say this is horrid. I know it is horrid. I know it is horrid to hold men in slavery. I know it i placed, so far as I know, mainly upon these grounds: horrid to doom four million human beings to the conquadrupedibus, taken for no persons, for dead persons for four-footed beasts-men as much entitled to free

The third point that is relied on to justify slave holding is, that it is constitutional—that it is guaran-Mr. Chairman, I have heard it declared, over and Now, sir, in regard to the first point—the inferiori- over again, that the Constitution guaranties slavery. ty of the enslaved race. We may concede it as a I deny it. In no article, in no section, in no line, in very.' Why, sir, when I came up to take the oath to

earnest and half jocular, passed around: 'How can . The principle of enslaving human beings because Lovejoy swear to support the Constitution? How

Mr. Barksdale-No, sir; you stand there to-day an infamous, perjured villain. (Calls to order.)

Mr. Ashmore--Yes, he is a perjured villain; and he perjures himself every hour he occupies a seat on + Mr. Singleton-And a negro thief into the bargain.

Mr. Lovejoy-I swore to support the Constitution because I believe in it. I do not believe in their construction of it. It is as well known as any historical fact can be known, that the framers of the Constitution so worded it that it never should recognize the idea of slave property, from the beginning to the firmed a strange doctrine in regard to the Constitution. They think that because I swore to support the Constitution, I swore to support the practice of slaveholding. Sir, slaveholding in Virginia is no more under the control or guarantee of the Constitution than slavery in Cuba, or Brazil, or any other part of the world, is under the control or guarantee of the Constitution-not one particle.

Mr. McClernand-I wish to ask the gentleman whether he has always held that the Constitution deserved to be sustained and accepted-whether, at any time in his life, he held that the Constitution ought to be trodden under foot?

Mr. Lovejoy-Never, sir; never. I always defended it, and always will, whether it be against the Democrats who pervert it, or the disunionists who

Mr. McClernand-If the gentleman says he never said so, I am not prepared to contradict him, for I ment that ought to be trodden under foot.'

Mr. Lovejoy-Yes; that was thrown in my face once before here, and I denied it. It never had the least foundation in truth. I always defended the natural rights of every human being within its ex-

God and attendant witnesses to love, cherish, and pro-Several Members-Oh, no; he gives all praise to tect her. There she stands-the divinest thing that God has fashioned and placed upon earth—radiant in Mr. Singleton-I repeat that, if he intended to as- the beauty of youth; her cheek glowing with the perse Southern women, or to compliment the women color of the rose, which expands and fades away into of the North at their expense, I will hold him ac- that of the lily; her eyes sparkling like the stars from the depths of blue, and her tresses falling around The Chairman—The gentleman from Mississippi is her neck like the locks of the morning. Is the mole not in order. The gentleman from Illinois will pro- on that fair round neck, or the wart on that plump soft hand, THE WOMAN whom the bridegroom swore t Mr. Lovejoy-It is simply by this contact with love and cherish? Say, sir, is it? So there is the free communities-it is, as I said, from the fact that Constitution-instinct with freedom, radiant with the Christian women went from free States, and that the principles of universal liberty, seizing the inspire Christian women of slave States-who have not the utterances of our Magna Charta, and reducing then poor privilege that Sarah of old had, of sending the to practical and organic realization. Now, sir, I in

stast claims them to mean, they bear no other relation banks of the Mississippi, twenty years ago-and what or proportion to the Constitution which I swear to then? I am here to-day, thank God, to vindicate the support, than the excrescence on the hand or neck principles baptized in his blood. You may shed his does to the woman whom the bridegroom vowed to blood—and what then? A Republican party will love and cherish. He loves her not for these things, spring up in Kentucky, and in all the slave States ere but in spite of them. .

these things, which are alleged to be in it, but in moderate, and-if I may say so without being offenspite of them. But you will say, the woman had a sive-more sensible men. right to sport an excrescence on her hand, if she I believe in that doctrine. I do not endorse every chose. I concede it; and as a Federal law-maker, I expression in the Helper book, for I have not studied concede that the States have a right to sport this every expression; but the philosophy of the book, fungus of slavery, because it is beyond my reach. the idea of organizing a party in the slave States as But time rolls away. This youthful pair have years against slavery, I am in favor of, and I expect to see of middle age upon them. Olive plants have sprung it accomplished. What is the objection to the book up around the parent stem. The woman has gone The objection is that a citizen of the United States, mad. She gloats over the excrescence which has an American citizen, addressed himself to his fellow and I want to engraft it on the hands of all our daughters. I had it when I was married; you vowed all the children. If you do not, I will go to Indiana, and get a divorce. I will dissolve the union between

us.' The husband, calm and firm, replies, 'My dear, I have indulged you in this whim about your hand, because I took you for better or for worse, and I thought it was one of your individual rights, which I here in Charleston. was not at liberty to disturb. But if you propose to transfer this deformity to the daughters, I say distinetly and decidedly, it cannot be done. This is my

I say, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that there is no justification for this practice of slaveholding, from into a slave State, and open my lips in regard to the the fact that the enslaved race are an inferior race. No justification from the pretended fact that it imparts Christianity and civilization to them; and none in the guarantees of the Constitution. Now, there are some Christian men on the other side of the utter my sentiments to free citizens like myself. House; I want to put it to them, in all candor-for while I intend to speak of slaveholding with as severe laboring classes to murder the aristocracy, or to assasterms of reprobation as I possibly can, I do not intend | sinate the Queen ? to offend any person individually-I want to know Christianize men when you do not give them homes.

A Member-Give them what? Mr. Lovejoy-Homes: a legal sanction to the conlike the buffaloes that roam upon the western prairies? speech, I claim it and demand it. You cannot do it.

It may be asked, sir, when I confess that I have no control over this matter, why discuss it? why talk Mr. Lovejoy-Yes, sir. The gentleman come

gives homes-Mr. Lovejoy-I must decline to yield to the gen-

tleman. question by asking him another. I want to know if Yet they say, 'If you come here and utter the senhe gives homes to the negroes he carries from the timents which you sincerely believe, we will hang South to Canada and other places?

A Member-The negro he steals? not in order.

Mr. Barksdale-I hope my colleague will hold no parley with that perjured negro-thief.

tion? Why talk about it, when it is confessed that hand of a slave, deep in his quivering flesh; then tar we have no constitutional power to legislate upon it? and feather him; and then put him on the cars, still I will tell you, Mr. Chairman. It will be recollected naked, to be sent a long distance, and threaten with that Mr. Webster once said, when speaking of the violence the man who has the compassion to give him threatened interposition of Russia to snatch Kossuth a cup of coffee. And, finally, after being jeered at from the protection of Turkey, for the purpose of every station along the route, the victim of your crusacrificing him on the altar of despotism: 'Gentle- elty, a free citizen, crawls into a stable and begs, men, there is something on earth greater than arbi- stealthily begs, the cast-off clothes of an hostler to trary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, hide his nakedness. You drive away young ladies and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake that go to teach school; imprison or exile preachers has its power; but there is something among men of the Gospel; and pay your debts by raising the more capable of shaking despotic thrones than light- mad-dog cry of abolition against the agents of your ning, whirlwind or earthquake; and that is the ex- creditors. cited and aroused indignation of the whole civilized

'The Avon to the Severn runs; The Severn to the sea; And Wickliffe's dust shall spread abroad

To continue the quotation with a different applicagentlemen, if the blood of innocent men is taken by once.' an absolute, unqualified, unjustifiable violation of natural law, what will it appease, what will it pacify? of going any where and every where within the lim-It will mingle with the earth; it will mix with the its of this American Republic, as a free citizen, unwaters of the ocean; the whole civilized world will molested, and of uttering, in an orderly and legal snuff it in the air; and it will return with awful ret- way, any sentiment that I choose to utter; and yet, law and universal justice. I cannot say when, or in United States, to be subjected to violence, outrage, place, then slavery must look out for the conse-

and civilized world, I propose to hold up to universal sion, then I say, in God's name, before free discussion reprobation this practice of slaveholding. I propose and all the rights of free citizens are to be sacrificed to hold it up in all its atrocity, in all its hideousness, to that Moloch of Slavery, that Moloch must be imjust as gentlemen have been holding up the practice molated at the shrine of Liberty, free speech, free of polygamy, and reprobating it; and, sir, that pub-discussion, and all those rights that cluster around an lic sentiment of the civilized world will burn upon American citizen. this practice of slavery, and ultimately secure its reslave States themselves. This is why I discuss it.

a man who would endorse the Helper book. He book. up, that he might look upon the traitor. Mr. Chair- have it!") This affair of John Brown brings us to circulation of the Helper book. I signed it intelli- slavery, and makes us ask, Is slaveholding right? gently. I was neither engrossed nor abstracted. I and if so, what rights has it? When the curtain rose did it because I wanted to do it; and now, if the and startled the nation with this tragedy, John Brown just as I please.

can party in North Carolina and in all the other slave Governor 'Fussation.' (General laughter.) States. I hope to see that done; and I expect to see it done before very long. You may kill Cassius M. unquestionably violate the statute against aiding Clay, as you threaten to do; but 'the blood of the slaves to escape; but no blood was shed, except by martyrs is the seed of the church.' You may shed the panis-stricken multitude, till Stevens was fired

subject of slavery mean all that the wildest enthu- his blood, as you shed the blood of my brother on the long; and these disunionists and gentlemen whom So I love the Constitution, not in consequence of you see so violent now, will be displaced by more

spread and covers her entire hand. She exclaims, citizens, in a peaceful way, through the press; and Husband, this is a dear, sweet darling of a wart, for this you find fault with him, and say that he must be hanged, and that any man who signed a recommendation for the circulation of his book is a . bitto protect me, and I claim the right to transfer it to ing, blasting, burning, withering curse, and must not occupy that chair.

I want to know if it has come to this? Has not an American citizen a right to speak to an American citizen? I want the right of uttering what I say here in Richmond. I claim the right to say what I say

Mr. Bonham-You had better try it.

Mr. Lovejoy -Yes, sir, I am going to invoke the aid of the General Government to protect me, as an prerogative, and I must exercise it.' So I say to the American citizen, in my rights as an American citizen. slavery propagandists who desire to transplant sla- I can go to England to-day, and in London, or any very to the Territories, and thus fasten it upon the where else, discuss the question of Church and State; I daughters of the Republic, 'My dears, it cannot be can discuss the question of a monarchical government as compared with a Republican form of government. I can do this any where in England, but I cannot go question of slavery-

Mr. Martin, of Virginia-No; we would hang yo higher than Haman.

Mr. Lovejoy-I cannot go to a slave State, and

Mr. Miles-Can you go to England, and incite the

Mr. Lovejoy-I have no desire to, nor have I any of you, Christian gentlemen, how you are going to desire to incite such things any where else; but I do claim the right of discussing this question of slavery any where, on any square foot of American soil over which the stars and stripes float, and to which the jugal and parental relations. How are you going to privileges and immunities of the Constitution extend. Christianize men whom you turn out to herd together Under that Constitution, which guaranties to me free

Mr. Bonham-I ask the gentleman why he does not attempt to assert this right?

from a slave State, in which they are in the habit of Mr. Singleton-I want to know if the gentleman speaking of the laboring classes in the Northern States as 'greasy mechanics,' 'filthy operatives,' small-fisted farmers,' and they jeer at us worse than the slaves. This insulting language can be, and is, Mr. Singleton-I want to answer the gentleman's used in the free States without molestation or injury.

If a mechanic from a free State goes there, and ut-The Chairman-The gentleman from Mississippi is ters the sentiment that he thinks, if they had more white laborers and fewer black ones, that labor in the South would be more respectable, what do you do with him? Denude him, scourge him, and, to inten-Mr. Lovejoy-It is asked, why discuss this ques- sify the indignity, you drive the knotted thong, by the

> Mr. Barksdale-The meanest slave in the South is your superior. (Cries of 'Order!' from the Republi-

Mr. Martin, of Virginia. I hope gentlemen from the South will let him talk as he pleases, but go away and not listen to him.

A member on the Republican side-Well, go! tion and a slight variation of the language, I say, Stand not on the order of your going, but go at

Mr. Lovejoy-Mr. Chairman, I claim the privilege ribution on the heads of those violators of natural are we allowed to do it? Are we for that, in these what form; but depend upon it, if such acts take tar and feathers, burning, imprisonment, and the gallows? Answer that question. I know gentlemen say that self-preservation is the first law of nature; Sir, before the public sentiment of the Christian but if you cannot keep flavery and allow free discus-

Why, Mr. Chairman, a citizen of Rome, when the moval in the only proper way-by the action of the scourge was already upraised and about to fall upon him, if he uttered the cry, 'I am a Roman citizen,' Mr. Chairman, my time is passing away, and I must it arrested the scourge. Well, sir, is not there more hasten on. I want to come to a few things that have of a charm, is it not a prouder position to be an been under discussion during the inchoate condition American than to be a Roman citizen? And are we, of the House, whilst this Hall was echoing with ul- in the nineteenth century, living under this Constituulations that would have drowned the lupine chorus tion, with our free institutions-are our persons and of the Alps, of Helper, and John Brown, and incen- our rights to be less sacred than they were under the diarism, the torch of the incendiary, and the knife of old Roman administration, eighteen centuries ago, the assassin. One gentleman from Virginia stood up and more? That is my response to the question in his place, and wanted to know where there was why I recommended the circulation of the Helper

wanted such a man, if there was one here, to stand Now, what about John Brown? (Cries of 'Let's man. I, for one, signed the paper recommending the the reality of things. This raid confronts us with gentleman wants to look upon that kind of a traitor, lay there like a wounded lion with his head upon his me, me, adsum, qui feci, in me convertite tetum ; I did paws, a sabre cut on his brow, bayonet gashes in his it. I will sign a recommendation for the circulation side, the blood oozing out, and life itself apparently of any book that I choose, without asking permission ebbing fast. Around were certain little specimens of of the gentleman from Missouri, (Mr. Clark,) or of the canine species, snuffing and smelling, and finally any other gentleman in the House or out of the one of them yelped out- Mr. Lion, was the old war-House. I will sign a paper recommending the cir- horse that pastured on the Western Reserve with you culation of the Bible or the Koran, Young's Night on this expedition?' The lion slowly raised his Thoughts or Tom Moore's Anacreon, Jonathan Ed- head, cast a disdainful side glance upon the inquirer, wards on the Decrees, or Tom Paine's Age of Reason, growled out a contemptuous negative, and reposed his head as before.

I claim the privilege, as an American citizen, of In regard to John Brown, you want me to curse writing my name and recommending the circulation him. I will not curse John Brown. You want me of any and every book, without being held amenable to pour out execrations upon the head of old Osawato gentlemen upon this floor, or any where else. That tomic. Though all the slaveholding Balaks in the is my answer in regard to it. I have more than that country fill their houses with silver and proffer it, I to say. I say nothing about some points in the will not curse John Brown. I do honestly condemn book. I have no doubt that there is considerable what he did, from my stand-point, and with my conbombast and fustian and violence of language in it, victions, I disapprove of his action, that is true; but because the author was educated in a slave State, I believe that his purpose was a good one; that so and the rhetoric which comes from that quarter is far as his own motives before God were concerned, apt to have these characteristics. (Laughter.) But they were honest and truthful; and no one can deny the philosopy—the gist of the book—is what? It is that he stands head and shoulders above any other the address of a citizen of a slave State to his fellow- character that appeared on the stage in that tragedy citizens in regard to the subject of slavery, recom- from beginning to end; from the time he entered the mending in substance the organization of a Republi- armory there to the time when he was strangled by

He was not guilty of murder or treason.

upon while waving a flag of truce. The enly mur. der was that of Thompson, who was snatched from der was that of a meman, and riddled with the heroic processor bridge. Despotism has selden sacrificed three nobler victims than Brown, Sterns and Hazlitt.

As I remarked, Mr. Chairman, this brings to h confront slavery, and ask what right this Calibra ha upon earth? I say no right. My honest conviction. and I do not know why gentlemen need take offense they need not unless they choose-my honest onviction is, that all these siaveholding laws have the same moral power and force that rules among pirates have for the distribution of their booty; that regalations among robbers have for the division of the spoils; and, although I do not think gentlemen have spouls; and, attended to me, I am going to add notwithstanding, that I do not mean to say that I a tlemen who are slaveholders would be guilty of these particular things—that is not the point-1 and talking about this matter in the court of tonseless. in the court of right and wrong; and I have hig any laws for enalaving men have just the same non force as the arrangement among robbers and june for distributing their spoils.

I want to know by what right you can come ad make me a slave? I want to know by what fight you can say that my child shall be your slare! want to know by what right you say that the mother shall not have her child, given her from God through the martyrdom of maternity? Hear that soft, exquisite warble of a mother's love :

· Ere last year's sun had left the sky, A birdling sought my Indian sest, And folded, ah! so lovingly, Its tiny wings upon my breast."

Now, where is the wretch who would dare to go up and take that fluttering and panting birding from the bosom of its mother, and say, it is mine; I will sell it like a calf; I will sell it like a pig'! What right had that mother to her babe? Was it because she was 'Fanny Forrester,' the gifted authores? was it because she was the wife of a venerable and venerated missionary? No, it was because ahe was its MOTHER; and every slave mother has just as god a title to her babe as 'Fanny Porrester' had to hen. No laws can make it right to rob her. 1ssy, in God's name, my child is mine; and yet I have no right to mine that a slave father has not to his child. Not a particle. The same argument that proves my right to my personal liberty, proves the right of every haman being to his. The argument that prove ne right to my children, gives the same title, the same sacred claim, to every father. They, as I, get him their God, and no human enactment can sannl the elaim. No, sir, never! Therefore, every shreha a right to his freedom, in spite of your shre her, Every slave has a right to run away, in spite of you slave laws.

I tell you, Mr. Chairman, and I tell you all the if I were a slave, and had I the power, and were it necessary to achieve my freedom, I would not her. tate to fill up and bridge over the chaem that yours between the hell of slavery and the heaven of freelin with the carcasses of the slain. Give me my fredom ! Hands off! Unthrottle that man! Girelin his liberty. He is entitled to it from his God. With these views, I do not think, of course, it is any hern to help away a slave. I told you that a yest ago; I need not rereat it.

A Member- You steal them.'

Mr. Lovejoy-Who steals when a man comes ad takes a child from my hearthstone? Who sten when he comes and takes the babe, flesh of my fish and bone of my bone? Who steals? I tell you that I have no more hesitation in helping a fugitive slave than I have in snatching a lamb from the jaws of a a wolf, or disengaging an infant from the talons of a eagle. Not a bit. Long enough has the nation crouched and cowered in the presence of this stapsdous wrong. Here and now I break the spell, at disenchant the Republic from the incantation of the accursed sorceress. It is simply a question whether it will pay to go down into the den where the will is. (Laughter.) If you would only go into your let, and crunch the bones and tear the flesh of your retims, we might let you alone; but you will not. You claim the right to go with this flesh in your teeth at over our Territories. We deny it.

My time is passing; I must go on. I wanted to say considerable more about John Brown.

Mr. Adrian-I propose that we give the gentlemen more time. Mr. Lovejoy-I will answer all the questions, if the

House will give me more time. (Cries of 'No! no! Give him time!' &c.) Mr. Singleton -No, sir; any gentlemen shall have

time, but not such a mean, despicable wretch as that Mr. Lovejoy-When the Jews could not do so thing else, they spit upon Christ, and said he wa possessed of a devil. (Laughter.) One of the entire settlements of Virginia was made by a fugitive slave John Smith was captured in war, and sold to a high toned, chivalrous Turk, and put at the task of thresh ing. The master rode up to the barn-door one or and said, 'Jack, you rascal, why den't you then faster ?" Jack-horresco referens - flew at his master killed him with his flail, (Oh, for a Harper's Fer committee!) sprang into the vacant saddle and n caped, and came and settled Jamestown. Ok, in South-side preacher to admonish John to stay to serve his master, whose money he was, like a feet

'Christian dog!' A moment, sir. Let us look at the question and from its moral aspect. And I want to know what right slavery, or a slaveholder, has to go with slave into the common Territories of the United States You talk about the equality of the States, and grant it. The citizens of a slave State have all the rights in the Territories that a citizen of a fer State has. You have the right, I concede, to go in the common Territories and live there with any in of property we can take, but you have not the night to take slaves. This is the distinction I make.

At a liberal estimate, there are not more than t millions of people in the United States interested slave labor. There are only four hundred thous slaveholders. There are thirty millions of people this country. There are twenty-eight millions in ested in the system of free labor, and two miles in that of slave labor. The free system accommods some eight millions in the slave States better than the slave system. Here is the point. If slaver fish into the Territories, free labor cannot go them. The presence of slavery without any lead law

the purpose is the expulsion of free labor. If you take slavery there, I cannot go there with the Me York Tribune, the Evening Post, the Independent any similar paper, religious or secular. I cantot with the minister I desire to hear preach the good Free schools cannot go there. You say, indeed, can go. Yes; so all may go to a public house. I common to all who choose to make it a tempora place of abode. All are invited to the said fall The landlord opens the doors of the distingting hall and says, . Walk in, gentlemen'; but if and sitting there is leprous, dripping with a centage disease, no one will go in. It is really as much exclusion as if the doors were closed and her against his entrance. So if slavery gots, free cannot go. I favor the equality of the Stales favor the right of every citizen of a slave State into the Territories ; but I deny that he has a right practise slaveholding there, for it is not an intion-it was never instituted; never established law-but a practice like polygamy. I say that the have no right to go there and practise this has crime, so injurious to man and so offensive to And this is the question : whether these twenty demillion people shall be accommodated, or two assets people shall be accommodated; for, I repripresence of slavery is the utter exclusion of free just of slaveholding. Now, gentlemen, I know you are in a mood to take a little advice. (Laughter.) I tell you I love you all.

(Renewed laughter.) Mr. McQuin-I utterly repudiate your love. Mr. Lovejoy-Sinners did that of Christ; but 1

loved them still. (Laughter.)

Mr. McQuin-I do not think he loves you much. Mr. Lovejoy-I am afraid that I am not much like him. He went, however, and preached to the spirits in prison; and I think I never approximated so nearin prison, and this regard, while making proclamation of the holy evangel of God to sinners in this House. I tell you of the slave States that you must emancipate your slaves. It belongs to you, and not to us. You must transform them from slaves into serfs, and give them homes, and protect and guard the sanctity of the family. We shall not push you. If you say you want a quarter of a century, you can have it; if you want half a century, you can have it. But I insist that this system must ultimately be extingoished. There is no question about it, You who advocate the perpetuity of slavery are like a set of madcaps, who should place themselves on the top of an iceberg which had disengaged itself from the freet regions of the north, and begun to flow downward, through the warm climates. The sun shines and melts it; the soft winds blow on and melt it; the rains descend and melt it; the water ripples round and melts it; and then these wild visionaries, who fanfiel they could sail an iceberg through the tropics, start up and blaspheme sunshine and rain and zephyr; and, mounting the heavens, tell Jehovah that, unless he stops the shining of the sun, and the blowing of the winds, and the falling of the rain, they will crumble his universe 'from turret to foundation stone. (Great laughter.) Do you think God would feel had and would not the archangels tremble at the chivalry? (Renewed laughter.) You may call this extravagant; but you can no more perpetuate slavery, and will no more dissolve the Union, in order to perpetuate it, than you can stop the shining of the sun, or the ripple of the sea, the descent of rain, or the blowing of the wind; ay, no more than you can subdue the ocean, when it lashes itself into fury, and dashes its crested mountain billows against the rocks. It is as preposterous to think of taking slavery down through the civilization of the ages as it is of floating an iceberg through the tropics. It is the order of things. I am willing to concede that you can do anything that any equal number of men can achieve. I did mean to taunt you about Harper's Ferry, but I believe I will not. I am willing to concede that you are as brave as other men, though I do not think you

I say, you can do anything that other men can do. You can preserve and perpetuate this system, if any equal number of men could do it; but the stars in their courses are fighting against you; God, in his providence, is fighting against you. The universe is established upon the great principle of justice and truth; it may be jostled out of its place for a little while, but it will, sooner or later, fall back to its grooves. You must sacrifice slavery for the good of your country. Do this, and you will have the sympathy, the prayers, and the co-operation of the entire nation. Refuse or neglect this-refuse to proclaim liberty through all the lands to all the inhabitants thereof, and the exodus of the slave will be through the Red Sea. It is a well known physiological as well as psychological fact, that ancestral characteristics reappear after a long series of years, and even of generations, as streams disappear, and gush out at a distant point. It is also well known that the Saxon blood is being infiltrated into the veins of the enslaved. By and by, some Marion will be found calling his guerrilla troops from the swamps and everglades of South Carolina; and Patrick Henry will reappear in the Old Dominion, shouting, as of old, 'Give us liberty, or give us death! Then will transpire those scenes which troubled the prophetic vision of Jefferson, and made him tremble for his country, when he remembesed that God was just, and that his justice would between the North and the South. not sleep forever, and that every divine attribute would be arrayed on the side of the struggling bondmen. And he justified the uprising by saying, the little anger of American slavery was thicker than the leins of British despession.

show it by this abusive language; because brave men

are always calm and self-possessed. God feels no

anger, for he knows no féar.

Sir, Virginia cannot afford, the country cannot afford, to continue a practice fraught with so much of peril. It is better to remove the magazine, than to be kept evermore in dread of a lighted match.

The future glory and usefulness of this nation cannot be sacrificed to this system of crime. The nations of the earth are to be taught by our example. The American Republic must repose queen among the nations of the earth. Slavery must die. Carthago est

The philosophy, therefore, and the lesson which the slave States ought to have learned from John Brown and from all these events, are not these expressions of rage and vengeance. Instead of being stimulated to revenge, Virginia ought to have learned the lesson of penitence. Instead of arraying herself in sheep'sgray, she ought to have put on sackcloth and ashes, Instead of imbibing the distillation of corn, mixed with the products of the poultry-yard, she ought to have drunk the waters of bitterness, in view of her sin of slaveholding. Mr. Martin of Virginia-And if you come among

us, we will do with you as we did with John Brownhang you up as high as Haman. I say that as a Vir-

Mr. Lovejoy-I have no doubt of it.

[Here the hammer fell.]

A WORTHY RETRACTION. Finding himself misin formed, as to the refusal of the new Plymouth church for Wendell Phillips's disunion lecture, Rev. H. W. Beecher took occasion yesterday to recall, in a most emphatic manner, his language of the previous Sabbath, condemning the Trustees thereof. It appears that the application for the church was not made to the Board, but to a few individual Trustees, and they, by a by-law of several years' standing, had no au-thority to act, ner was there time, it being then late in the evening, to convene the Board for the purpose.
Adhering to his claim for free speech, Mr. B. exonerated the Trustees in the fullest and noblest manner possible. As the resignations sent in by a few of them have not been acted upon, it is probable they will be recalled .- N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, 16th.

Supplex Death of Father and Sox. At a town meeting in Medway, Monday, Mr. Isaac S. Foster, apparently in a fainting fit, fell upon the floor of the town-house, and soon died. The deceased was about \$5 years old, and probably died from some affection of the heart. In view of the solemn event, the meet-

ing was immediately adjourned.

In the afternoon, Mr. Warren Foster, of Hopkinton, son of the above-named person, having heard of the death of his father, was preparing to go to Medway, when he was suddents seized with apparently a fainting fit, and although medical assistance was at hand, he was not restored to consciousness, but expired in a very few minutes.—Journal.

IF Hon Wm. Cost Johnson died at his hotel in Washington, Sunday, after an illness of several weeks' duration. Mr. Johnson was 54 years of age at the time of his death. He was somewhat conspicuous in his zeal in behalf of Henry Clay:

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 20, 1860.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. ICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city and after that so far converted to anti-slavery truth of New York, at the Cooper Institute, on Tuesday

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN

day at 10 o'clock, A. M. Independent of all religious and political organizariety continues to pursue its grand distinctive object, (a scheme which failed through the backing out of THE IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL ABOLITION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY, without regard to geographical boundaries, by moral instrumentalities alone—animated by a 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 man, it measures men, parties and institutions by this new the subscription to their creed every five years simple and unerring test, and will not yield to any But one subscription, with the collateral influences compromise, or consent to any postponement of the that enforce it, is sufficient to keep imprisoned for claims of justice and humanity.

friends of the Society, that never were greater vigiing the Anti-Slavery standard for the sake of party faithful to our rallying-cry, No Union with Slave-

speakers at the Anniversary. [Further particulars] hereafter.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Secretaries. C. C. BURLEIGH,

SPEECH OF OWEN LOVEJOY.

Lovely was continually interrupted :-

wretch as that!

Mr. Bargsdale-Order-that,black-hearted scoundrel and nigger-stealing thief to take his seat, and his side of the House will do it.
Mr. McQueen—We will allow nobody to come over

from that side of the House, and bully us on this side. Mr. BARKSDALE-The meanest slave in the South is your superior. [Cries of 'Order' from the Republi-

and not listen to him.

A MEMBER, on the Republican side-Well, go.

perjures himself every hour he occupies a seat on this urated with falsehood. But there is this great secuoor. [Renewed calls to order.]
Mr. Singleton—And a negro-thief into the bar-

Such is the spirit engendered by slavery! Such are the manners it creates in those who claim to be furthermore that, to come at the full proof of the model gentlemen-the very pinks of chivalry-but falsehoods, it would be necessary to trace back their whose passions are 'set on fire of hell' whenever any previous transactions through six times that number nan ventures to admonish them of their guilt, and call them to repentance. It is disgraceful and humiliating for decent and upright men to sit in the

LET THERE BE LIGHT.

Type-Serring Machine. It used to be the brag of the old printers that, however invention might succeed in superseding human labor in other branches of business, it never could make a machine to set types. Several inventions, however, have been made, and subscriptions of all the Northern States are the hough with indifferent success, and it has, we believe, been all along admitted that the old printers were right, so far as the production of a real practical working machine was concerned. Lately, howver, we have had attention called to a machine, the invention of Mr. Charles W. Felt of Salem, that, as fully, and you will see, -c. K. W. as may be judged from a very imperfect model, bids fair to answer the purpose, to set and distribute type with facility and correctness. A description of the first thought of any machine, with the crudeness of novelty about it, must do it injustice. We can, therefore, only speak of it in a general way-as readily taking the types from a stationary case, with steel ingers, and dropping them in rows into a receptacle below, from which they are removed and arranged into lines. The machine is worked by a key-board, like a piano, and if it can be made practical—which we have little reason to doubt-the setting of type may be made a thing of mathematical exactness Then trembling proprietors may no longer dread the power of stubborn unions; but, sitting down at their own type-machine, as ladies might sit at their pianos, light their eigars, and play with all ease and comfort. We remember a printers' strike once where a proprietor took off his coat and went to work, but soon gave it up. With a machine like this, he could have defied the combinatios. Mr. Felt is getting up a company for manufacturing the machines .- Boston Saturday Evening Gazette.

Ever since the wonderful improvement has taken place in multiplying copies of any newspaper from two hundred and forty impressions an hour to twenty-two thousand, we have been looking with confident expectation for some invention whereby the labor and expense of type-setting would be greatly abridged, and the facilities of composition proportionately enlarged. Having carefully examined the model of the machine designed by Mr. Felt, of Salem, for this purpose, (referred to above,) we are sanguine that it will realize the highest expectations of its ingenious inventor, and work a revolution in printing, co-extensive with civilization, and of the most beneficent character-disseminating light and knowledge at a rate hitherto not dreamed of. Mr. Republican party so far as voting is concerned, I Felt is a young man of meritorious character,-mod- deeply deplore its timid and compromising policy. est, intelligent, persevering, and deserving of all pos- How much better to be defeated with our principles sible encouragement on the part of those who have than to ensure our discomfiture by explaining away the means to give him a start. He has given the last their morality, and diluting them to the level of the six or seven years to the perfection of his world-en- ambitious schemes of our leaders! The same influlightening machine, with genuine ardor and unfal- ences that defeated Sherman will defeat Seward. tering faith, and may now consider the goal as fairly I sometimes read the Liberator to the fire-eaters t

In the U. S. Senate, on Wednesday last, Mr. Sumner presented numerous petitions from Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and several territories. Laid on the table-25 to 19a strict party vote.

The speech delivered by Hon. B. R. Johnson, on the Personal Liberty Bill, in the New York As- arrival. They may be assured that he has been true sembly, which we have placed on our first page, is a and unflinching, on this side of the Atlantic, to all pleasure by our readers.

TRACTARIAN GLADIATORSHIP. When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war!

The enormous extent and the pernicious character of the influence exercised by the church in this country, is nowhere more fearfully manifested than in its power to keep its members and ministers from acknowledgement and advocacy of the truth, even after they have seen and understood the truth. Who could have supposed that the Rev. Justin Perkins, so long a missionary of the American Board at Oroomiah, as to have written and published a sermon upon slaand Wednesday, May 8th and 9th, commencing each very, entitled 'Our Country's Sih,' and also to have written a remonstrance against slavery, designed to be signed by the missionaries of the Board, and then tions, and dealing impartially with them all, this So- sent home for circulation among American Christians, his associates,)-who could have supposed, I say, that this man would now be travelling about this country with the Secretaries of the Board, trying to smooth over the half-discovered guilt of their proslavery position, and to induce enlarged contributions for the payment of their debts and the continuance of their much-abused power! Yet such is the fact! The Theological Professors at Andover are hedge about by this special precaution, that they must re-

life the great majority of those who have trusted We trust it is needless to remind the members and themselves within the magic circle of the church. So large a portion of the ideas there inculcated are lance and activity demanded on their part than at the contrary to the reason which God gave for our guidpresent time. The nation is just entering into ance, and suppression of truth, misrepresentation, another Presidential election, which will probably be tergiversation, calumny against opponents, and, in unparalleled on the score of popular excitement, and the last extreme, direct falsehood, are so freely used which will present a powerful temptation to many to keep up these ideas and to put down their oppoto swerve from the strict line of rectitude, by lowerministers and deacons, attain an amazing hardihood success. 'Let the dead bury their dead.' Let us in the use of false pretences, and an amazing readieschew all compromises and compromisers, and be ness in the resort to them. The number of direct lies that are told, and the still greater number of false ideas insinuated in language not literally false, in the There will be no lack of able and experienced opposing bulletins that from time to time are darted, like shuttle-cocks, between the New York and Boston Tract Societies, are perfectly astounding. These have been flying back and forth ever since the Boston Branch, in May, 1859, separated from the National Tract Society, and those of each side are equally saturated with falsehood; suited to mislead the public in regard to the side defended as well as to the side assailed; and each tending, in nearly equal measure, To the exclusion of much other matter, and at to withdraw their respective partisans from that acsome inconvenience, we devote a large portion of our tive opposition to slavery which is now the most inside form to the speech recently delivered by Hon. urgent duty of every American. Their measures for Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, in the U. S. House of this purpose are as different as would be there two Representatives—the boldest and most thoroughly sorts of advice to a man with a disease requiring amanti-slavery speech yet delivered in Congress, and putation. One friend tells him to let it entirely alone; worthy of the brother of the martyred Elijah P. another tells him to be sure and take a grain of gum Lovejoy at Alton. Its delivery threw some of the arabic three times a day for the cure of it. The two slaveholding members into a paroxysm of fury, so counsels are very different; the two methods advised that they could scarcely be restrained from commit- are different in everything except their result. Both ting bloody violence on the spot. Here is a specimen effectually prevent the cure. And just so the Boston of the indecent and dastardly manner in which Mr. Tract Society, parading its readinesss to discuss some of the erils of slavery, while at the same time it dis-Mr. Singleton, of Miss.—No, Sir; any gentleman countenances the immediate abolition of slavery, (preshall have time, but not such a mean, despicable tending all the time to be faithfully inculcating the duties of morality and religion,) acts precisely like a medical adviser who should apply assiduous doses of an inert substance, and warrant the sufficiency of this treatment, in a case where speedy amputation was the only remedy.

The last of the Tract bulletins above referred to, it put forth by the National Society in New York, and Mr. Marrix of Va.-I hope gentlemen from the is in the form of a conversation between a Deacon South will let him talk as he pleases; but go away, and his Pastor. It occupies four-and-a-half newspaper columns, and is signed-A Life Director of the A MEMBER, on the Republican side—Well, go.

'Stand not on the order of your going, but go at once.'
Mr. Barksdale—I hope my colleague will hold no parley with that perjured negro-thief.
Mr. Barksdale—No, sir; you stand here to-day an infamous, perjured villain. [Calls to order.]
Mr. Mr. Parksdale—Yes, he is a perjured villain; and he perjures himself every hour he occupies a section this proved with falsehood. But there is this great and with falsehood. But there is this great and with falsehood. rity against the recognition of the falsehood by persons commencing the investigation, that it is equally saturated with pious language, which is adapted (and designed) to throw the scrutinizer off his guard; and

The Managers of the Boston Society, however, are men of zeal, activity and pluck. They have been halls of legislation with such bullies and blackguards trained under the discipline of the National Society, -but this is one of the terrible penalties arising from and are familiar with the use of both its instrumenthe insane attempt to perpetuate the unholy alliance talities, piety in the form, deceit in the substance. Their teachers thus far excel them in the 'suaviter in modo,' a polished courtesy of manner in speaking to and of their opponents before the public; an application of evangelical soft-soap to those whom they are hoping to outwit; but there is little difference between the two in the 'fortiter in re,' when the votes prize in question; and the mendacity of the document forthcoming from the Boston Secretaries may be expected fully to match that of the dialogue manufactured by their New York ' brethren.' Read care-

> The Atlantic Monthly for May is a fine number. containing thirteen articles. E. P. Whipple contributes a paper on Nathaniel Hauthorne; and Miss Maria Mitchell one on Mary Somerville. The author of Sir Rohan's Ghost ' has a story entitled Circumstances, and Mrs. R. H. Stoddard one called My Own Story. Mr. Higginson's article, The Maroons of Surinam, is excellent. Mr. Sheldon deserves special thanks for his paper, General Miranda's Expedition, which takes the reader back to the early buccaniering days of the country. Mr. Story's Roba di Roma is continued. The other articles are Instinct, by Leonard A. Jones, of Boston; The Playmate, by Whittier; Urania, by John D. Stockton, of Philadelphia; Threnodia, by T. W. Parsons; The Professor's Story; and Reviews and Literary Notices. Ticknor & Fields, publishers.

There was a literary and musical entertainment in the Twelfth Baptist Church last Monday evening, complimentary to Dr. John S. Rock. After the entertainment, there was a social gathering in the vestry. Notwithstanding the weather was very unfavorable, there was a large attendance. The company enjoyed themselves until a late hour, when they retired. It is probable the Committee will make a report and a presentation at an early day.

EF Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New

SAMUEL MAY, JR .- Although connected with the

our hotel. I reckon, by the way they wince, it is about the kind of medicine adapted to their case.

SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE PORGOT ! '-Among those who have secured their passages for Liverpool in the steamer Europa, which sails from this port on the 16th of May, is Prof. WILLIAM SY-MINGTON BROWN, formerly of Glasgow, who will be cordially received by a large circle of friends on his espoused in his native land.

LETTER TO STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

dissent as touching your avowed preference for political action, as reported in the Liberator of March 30th. You will yet know that the mistake which you impute to the Garrisonian movement is simply the mistake of Mr. Foster. We must first get the slave free, before we can 'throw around him the shield of government.' We must first free him from the shield of government already thrown around him.

Suppose we concede, for the sake of the argument, that the Constitution contains no guaranty of non-intervention by the Federative Power, and every

intervention by the Federative Power, and every thing by implication is in favor of the abolition of slavery by that Power, still the fact that the Constitution was formed and adopted with the existence of slavery, will, whether fallaciously or not, continue to be regarded as the guaranty of non-intervention by the Federal Power. It is the anchorage of the popular non-intervention sentiment.

By the advocacy of the Union-that it is necessary for the protection of the slave-you would forever defeat the accomplishment of your own purpose-that of bringing Congress to decree the abolition of sla-

If the government (the Union) is to be perpetuated as a shield for the slave, Congress could never be brought to commit the suicidal act of decreeing the abolition of slavery, since nothing can be more nalabolition of slavery, since nothing can be more pal-nable than that such decree would destroy the Union. rage comes before the Senate, he should speak of pable than that such decree would destroy the Union. the perpetuation of this monster evil, than this mania for political action as a means for throwing around the slave the shield of government. Is it rational to suppose, for a moment, that the Slave Power would brook the abolition of slavery by Congress? And while

You say that John Brown's work is done. Now, I will venture to predict that it is but just begun. John Brown has simply inaugurated a work. You need have no fears of an 'unorganized force.' It will work more and more into a systematic organization. A. HOGEBOOM.

Sheds Corners, (N. Y.,) April 10, 1860.

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY. A quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was held in Groveland on Sunday, April 1st, commencing at the usual hour.

Henry C. Wright offered the following resolutions : 1. Resolved, That individual slaveholders, as such, have no rights, but are to be regarded and treated as the most inexcusable enemies of mankind. 2. Resolved, That slaveholding States have no

rights, but are to be treated by the people and States of the North as self-incorporated bands of American corsairs, whose power it is the right and duty of all the friends of justice and freeedom to seek to annihi-3. Resolved, That slaves, as such, owe no obedi-

ence, service or duties to their enslavers; and a religion or government that enjoins on them such duties or obligations, deserves only the scorn and contempt of mankind. 4. Resolved, 'That in Helper's 'Impending Crisis, so generally endorsed by Republicans, we find the true and only scheme for the abolition of slavery-

i. e .- ' No co-operation with slaveholders in politics-No fellowship with them in religion—No affiliation with them in religion—No affiliation with them in society—No patronage of slaveholding merchants—No guestship in slave-waiting hotels—No fees to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to some fees to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to some fees to slaveholding lawyers—no employment to slaveholdi slaveholding physicians-No audience to slaveholding parsons-No recognition of slaveholding men, except as ruffians, outlaws and criminals."

before a large and respectable audience ; and, at the close of the afternoon meeting, they were adopted by

ably and eloquently addressed by Mr. Remond, Mr. Foss, and Mr. Wright. Amesbury, West Newbury, Newburyport, Danversport and Georgetown, were represented, and over eleven dollars were collected for the cause.

CHARLES L. REMOND, President. Moses WRIGHT, Sec'y.

NEW SERIES OF ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. | meetings in the neighboring towns, as the way open His Post-office address will be Cummington. We announce with much pleasure the issue of three new and valuable Anti-Slavery Tracts. They consist of the freshest and most interesting matter, and we invite to them the attention of all our readers. As they are to be sold at the simple cost, (or less,) we hope that orders for them will be numerous. The series is to be continued, from time to time. The three already published are as follows :-

No. 1. Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Vir-

No. 2. Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c.

No. 8. An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections during the last two Centuries. By Joshua Coffin. 36 pp.

Price of the first two of the above, five cents single; 50 cts. the dozen: \$3 50 the hundred. Of No. 3, siz cts. single; 60 cents the dozen; \$4 the hundred. To be had at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Beek-

man street, New York; 107 North Fifth street, Phil- bridgeport. adelphia; and 21 Cornhill, Boston.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has brain, Mrs. Anna E., wife of Mr. Steffen Strates, also just published, in a neat pamphlet form, the able It is seldom indeed that a spirit so pure, so carnestly Beekman street, New York. Price, three cents single;

A PAMPHLET FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD THROUGHOUT THE FREE STATES. The American Anti-Slavery Society has just published an edition of ten thousand copies of a most important pamphlet, entitled 'THE copies of a most important pamphlet, entitled 'THE govern his actions by honest conviction, his memory NEW REIGN OF TERROR IN THE SLAVE- will be dearly cherished by his friends and relatives 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 blood of age.' Read it, men of the North! and ask tinue Ten weeks. Applications for admission should be made at as early a date as practicable. For parunder the ribs of death, and to stir a fever in the yourselves of what value is the Union to you !

This pamphlet makes 144 pages, and will be put at very creditable effort, and will be perused with great the reformatory principles and objects he so ardently about cost price. Single copy, only 10 cents; by the hundred, \$8. For sale at 21 Cornhill.

LETTER TO STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

Dear Sin:

For many years, I labored under the conviction that slavery must be reached by political action.

True, I sometimes had my misgivings as to the best means for reaching the desired result. At length I became more doubtful as to my being in the right; and so I commenced in good earnest the study of righting myself if I were not right. I worked at it till the mists and fogs of doubt were swept entirely from my mind.

Without any desire to disparage your anti-slavery efforts, as such, permit me to express my unqualified dissent as touching your avowed preference for political action, as reported in the Liberator of March

effect the arrest of witnesses.

Mr. Sumner moved to refer the memorial of Mr.

Sanborn to the same Committee.

Mr. Mason moved that it be rejected.

Mr. Sumner felt it to be his duty to protest against such a suggestion. It was related of one of the Judges of Hell, that he punished first, and heard afterwards. The Senator from Virginia had taken that as a prece-

dent.

Mr. Mason said the Senator had used language in making opposition to a motion, which, so far as his intercourse with gentlemen went, he had never heard used outside the Senate. He could not take it as

No, there is not a more potent agency at work for the perpetuation of this monster evil, than this mania place should apply, he should not he situate to use it. Mr. Mason briefly replied, but his remarks were inaudible. inaudible.

Without disposing of the matter, the special order came up, being Mr. Brown's territorial resolutions.

Mr. Latham of California argued at length to show that there was no irrepressible conflict between labor

there exists this moral certainty that it would not, how are you to bring Congress to abolish slavery, and yet legislate for the preservation of the Union as important for the welfare of the slave? Just here lies the radical defect of your policy.

Of course, if it were possible, in the nature of things, to elect a thoroughly Abolition Congress—one that would abolish slavery and enforce its decree over the slaveholding sovereignties—it would be, with me, the desideratum. But the thing is not possible. Besides, your programme involves too many antagonistic elements.

a right to take their property into the Territories which were purched by the common blood and treas sure of all. The resolutions were postponed-year 27, nays 25.

in Nov., 1858 :-	on the offer t	and the state of	1.50
Reading.	84 90	Worcester,	\$2 81
Manchester,	6 00	Harwich,	15 19
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Sandwich,	1 00	Gloucester,	2 40
Cummington,	15 50	Florence,	6 38
North Beverly,	1 03	Essex,	2 4
Neponset	3 00	Milford,	6 0
Fall River,	10 00	Plymouth	5 0
New Bedford,	7 17	Fairhaven,	3 0
	Total		\$97 1

EDMUND JACKSON, Treas. Mass. A. S. Soc. TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CON-VENTION.

The TENTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVEN-TION will be held in Coorer 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, Ernestine L. Rose, J. Elizabeth Jones, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell and others will address the Con

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

The subscribers propose to throw open their rooms over Boylston Market, Boylston street, on May Day Breakfast will be served from 7 to 2 in the morning CHARLES SPEAR.

MRS. CHARLES SPEAR.

WORCESTER COUNTY (SOUTH) SOCI-The above resolutions were ably supported by Mr. Wright and Andrew T. Foss, and formed the principal ty South Division Anti-Slavery Society will be held in subject of discussion, both forenoon and afternoon, WORCESTER, in Washburn Hall, on Sunday next, April 22d, commencing at the usual hour of morning service, and continuing afternoon and evening.

T. W. Higginson, Parker Pillsbury, Charles LENOX REMOND, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and other speak-

The evening meeting was well attended, and was ers, are expected to attend.

A full attendance of members and friends is requested. All are invited. WILLIAM A. WILSON, Sec'y.

> ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, expects to speak in the Free Church, in CUMMINGTON, Mass., on Sunday, April 29. He will probably remain in that vicinity several weeks, and will attend Anti-Slavery

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-

Tuesday, April 17. Marlboro', N. H,. Friday, Dublin, "Peterboro', " Sunday, Tuesday, 14 . 22. Wilton, ANDREW T. FOSS and HENRY C. WRIGHT

will attend an Anti-Slavery meeting in WEARE, N. H. on Sunday next, April 22. CHARLES SPEAR and MRS. SPEAR will speak in the Universalist Church, Medford, next Sunday afternoon and evening, on their Labors for the Criminal. On Monday evening, they will give

an Exhibition of their Paintings for Sunday Schools, in the vestry of the same Church. MARRIED - In this city, April 11, at the Twelfth Baptist Church, by Rev. L. A. Grimes, Mr. Thomas R. Watson to Miss Jane Howe, both of Boston.

April 12th, by the same, assisted by Rev. David Stevens, Mr. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN to Miss ANNIE ELIZABETH, daughter of Mr. William Gray of Cam-DIED-In Chelsea, April 14, of congestion of the

also just published, in a neat pamphlet form, the able and eloquent speech of Theodore Thron, Esq., of New York, in reply to Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on the American Board of Foreign Missions. Orders for has been translated to a higher and nobler sphere of these should be sent to the Secretary's Office, No. 5 existence, Especially was she most deeply interested in the Anti-Slavery cause, and gave to it her warmest support-refusing to be connected with a church which was not alive to the claims of the millions in a

In Fitzwilliam, March 12, Mr. CHARLES BATCH ELLER, aged 34. Although a constant sufferer from childhood, but few enjoyed life better. With keen perceptions of the right, and a conscientious desire to

HOPEDALE HOME SCHOOL.

THE next (Summer) Term of this Institution will WM. S. HAYWOOD,
ABBIE B. HAYWOOD,
Principals.

Hopedale, (Milford, Mass.) April 3, 1860.

TIN PRESS, A

AND

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· By the rude bridge that arched the flood, Their flag to April's breeze unfurled; Here once the embattled farmers stood,

And fired the shot heard round the world.'
R. W. Exerson.

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Terms-\$2 per year. To be had of all news agents. A. J. DAVIS & CO., Publishers,

274 Canal street, New York.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. AMERICA'S MISTARE. O, young America! with thy fresh life There was a germ of weakness given thee; Slavery and Liberty can ne'er agree; One yields in the inevitable strife. Thou couldst not blend the evil and the good : When free to choose, hadst thou but firmly stood, Like a wise son, experience taught by all The errors, sins, that caused his parents' fall, What nobler future could a nation ask, Than thine, unfettered by old, unjust laws; The progress of a world thy glorious task, The championship of Liberty thy cause? Thy fatal error the sad lesson brings, Mobs may be tyrants, crueller than kings. Tenterden, (England.)

LITTLE WILLIE WAKING UP. Some have thought that in the dawning, In our being's freshest glow, God is nearer little children Than their parents ever know: And that, if you listen sharply, Better things than you can teach, And a sort of mystic wisdom, Trickles through their careless speech. How it is I cannot answer, But I knew a little child. Who, among the thyme and clover, And the bees, was running wild : And he came one summer evening,

With his ringlets o'er his eyes, And his hat was torn in pieces, Chasing bees and butterflies. Now I'll go to bed, dear mother, For I'm very tired of play !' And he said his 'Now I lay me,' In a kind of careless way. And he drank the cooling water From his little silver cup. And said, gaily, . When it's morning,

Will the Angels take me up?' Down he sank with roguish laughter In his little trundle-bed, And the kindly god of slumber Showered the poppies o'er his head. What could mean his speaking strangely? Asked his musing mother then-· O. 'twas nothing but his prattle; What can he of angels ken?'

There he lies, how sweet and placid! And his breathing comes and goes Like a zephyr moving softly, And his cheek is like a rose: But she leaned her ear to listen If his breathing could be heard: · Oh, she murmured, 'if the angels Took my darling at his word!

Night within its folding mantle Hath the sleepers both beguiled, And within its soft embracings Rest the mother and the child; Up she starteth from her dreaming, For a sound hath struck her ear-And it comes from little Willie, Lying on his trundle near.

Up she springeth, for it strikes upon Her troubled ear again, And his breath, in louder fetches, Travels from his lungs in pain; And his eyes are fixing upward On some face beyond the room; And the blackness of the spoiler From his cheek hath chased the bloom.

Never more his 'Now I lay me' Will be said from mother's knee. Never more among the clover Will he chase the humble-bee: Through the night she watched her darling, Now despairing, now in hope;

And about the break of merning Did the angels take him up. E. H. SEARS.

THE BABY IS DEAD. Gather pale flowers, A spirit has fled : Twine cypress garlands; The baby is dead! Fold the white fingers, Close the soft eyes, Angels have carried The gem to the skies

Bedly and mourzfully Walk to and fro, Cover the spetue face-Whiter than snow ! Place the wee coffin 'Neath the damp sod. Leave the dear lamb With its Shejiherd and God.

No light is there !-Meekly the broken band Bend low in prayer; Ah! the dark void, The mournful tears shed, The meal passed in silence-The baby is dead !

Oh! the lone hearth-stone-

Lock up the 'coaties,' Put by the crib, Fold the wee stockings, The blanket and bib-Little 'odd tea-spoon,' Dainty tin cup. Rattle-box, earthen dog-Put them all up! Go and plant flowers,

Dewy tears shed On the small earth mound-LILLIE A. BROSS. The baby is dead! From the Boston Atlas. THADDEUS HYATT. Another will not soon repeat thy error

Of placing in the Senate too much trust, Who of some insult to their pride in terror, Deemed it a condescension to be just. And we will forgive thee for conceiving

They might be earnest for the truth like thee, And for at last reluctantly believing They prized it less than their own dignity.

And for this alone our thanks we render, That thou didst there a winnowing test apply, In bold relief placed Liberty's defenders, And showed the land on whom it can rely.

And though for thee the contest sadly ended, Thou well may'st tread thy prison floor with pride Remembering for what cause thou hast contended, Remembering who at last were on thy side.

He who endured with fortitude unflinching Far more than death, and more than speech can tell For serving truth with tongue too all-convincing, For loving Land and Liberty too well.

And he who with his granite hills in keeping Knows well their strength and firmness to display, His words like their resistless torrents sweeping All intervening obstacles away.

And more, the insulted people are thy pleaders, The common heart with indignation thrills, And finally will teach the so-called leaders That they must follow when the people wills.

THE LIBERATOR.

REVIEW OF A DISCOURSE Delivered at South Hingham, January 29, 1860, by J. J. Brayton, Pastor of the Second Parish. FRIEND GARRISON:

This discourse has already been appropriately noticed in the columns of the Liberator; it is now proposed to give it some further attention, by exposing logic. The discourse, considered in all its bearings, estly, that he does not well understand the politics gays in the Legislature of that State : of the country, and then proceeds to discuss the spect.' And yet he tells us, on the next page, that there are arguments, not without apparent plausibility, that slavery is right." He 'regrets,' he says, that he has not read the "South-side View" of Dr. Adams, that he might present them [the arguments in favor of slavery] more fully, and in their best possible light.' The intent of the discourse does not seem to be to defend slavery as right in itself, for on page 7th he tells us that no maxim of liberality or tolerance can be made sufficiently wide, by rules of truth and justice, to admit the avoidance that slavery is evil, and therefore our duty, by all rightful means, to discountenance, resist and overcome it.' The saddest mistake, perhaps, which the or together, as desired. The woman is a good seam-author has made through the whole discourse, is the stress. She will be sold low for cash, or exchanged attempt to show that, in general, slavery, viewed in its practical working, is not so bad as is represented here at the North. We are told here that there is a Northern prejudice ' which loves to make the most of the worst features of slavery,' and also, that ' the evils of slavery are an off-told tale,' &c.; thus attempting to show that the wrongs and cruelties of slavery which are prated so much about among us here at the North are founded in that ' prejudice which loves to make the most of the worst features of slavery '!

How consoling, then, it must be to that class of the system, others wholly indifferent to its claims, to which seldom occurs in the slave States? be assured that there is, after all this fuss about slavery, a pleasing feature in the system, wholly unknown to the minds of the free colored people at the

'It is claimed that, in general, the physical condition of the slaves of the South is preferable to that supplied with thumb-screws and gags, and ornament-of the free negroes of the North; that they are better ed with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody. of the free negroes of the North; that they are better fed and better clothed, enjoy more bodily comforts, &c. . . It is claimed that they are seldom sold except as punishment for refractoriness, or from the master's atern necessity, and that it is the custom to avoid, if possible, the separation of families, and the slave is allowed to find, if he can, his own purchaser.'

All these claims are admitted, we are told, on the undisproved professions of Southern men, and of antislavery men who have visited the South, and become acquainted with the institution and its workings.

Now, if all these claims which are put forth so confidently be true, it must be ages before slavery will be Those having negroes for sale may find it the exterminated from our midst, if, indeed, it be not terest to call on him, at the Washington Hotel, Lynchperpetual. The most casual observer cannot fail to know that the highest conception of life among the great masses is, a sufficiency of all the necessary comforts of life. When this is fully attained, the moral and intellectual needs are not likely to be very much inquired into. Satisfy the world that slavery furnishes more bodily comforts than freedom, and I hesitate not to say that much of the interest now felt in the cause of freedom would die out and be forgotten. Hence it is that all such talk is felt to be, and is, to a ers, &c., which we can sell as low or lower than any

certain extent, a defence of slavery. But do all these claims rest upon the 'undiswere true, it would fail to convince a reasonable mind get the first ohoice.' of the truth of them; for whoever knew a culprit to admit the charges preferred against him? Fortunately, we have testimony from Southern sources which has not obtained a glimpse of the slave trade by these lifts the veil to the gaze of all who have eyes to see, extracts, it is only necessary to consult Southern and ears to hear.

The following is an extract from the will of the celebrated John Randolph, of Virginia :-

were favorite slaves of his, and the memory of their once asked if he had any children; to which he relong uncompensated toil seems to have touched the plied. I have had eight, but they are all sold away, old man's heart. Remember, these were 'faithful and I don't know where they now are.' If Genera servants, and it would be natural to suppose that the Washington could sell away a whole family of eight special mention of them in his will was for them to children from their parents, what must be expected fare better than usually falls to the lot of the slaves. of the general class of slaveholders and slave-dealers Now, we leave the reader to judge what must be the at the present time? usual allowance of clothing to common slaves in the hands of common masters, when Essex and Hetty, the 'old' and 'faithful' servants of John Randolph, were provided, in his last will and testament, with but one suit of clothes annually, with but one blanket each for bedding, with no stockings, nor socks, nor handkerchiefs, nor towels, and with no change either of under or outside garments! If the colored people at the North are reduced in their means generally to this sad plight, surely freedom presents a melancholy view to the mind of the philanthropist.

Mr. Asa Stone, of Natchez, Miss., says :-

On almost every plantation, the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some seasons of the year. There is always a good deal of suffering from hunger. On many plantations, and particularly in Louisiana, the slaves are in a condition of almost utter famishment, during a portion of the year.'

Thomas Clay, of Georgia, a slaveholder, says :-'From various causes, the slave's allowance of food s often not adequate to the support of a laboring man. Were it necessary, the testimony of Southern men might be multiplied ad infinitum.

Dr. Channing, of Boston, who once visited Virginia, relates the following in his work on Slavery 'I cannot forget my feelings on visiting a hospital belonging to the plantation of a gentleman highly esteemed for his virtues, and whose manners and conversation expressed much benevolence and conscientiousness. When I entered with him the nospital, the first object on which my eye fell was a young the first object on which my eye fell was a young woman, very ill, probably approaching death. She was stretched on the floor. Her head rested on proper. something like a pillow, but her body and limbs were extended on the hard boards. The owner, I doubt not had at least as much kindness as myself; but he was instance did not enter his mind."

the institution,' and he affirms, upon his word, that until he becomes convinced of the wrong, and is wilnotwithstanding this gentleman was highly esteemed ling to abandon it. If there are persons in Massafor his virtues, he was so used to see the slaves living chusetts who are depraved enough to hold slaves, why, without common comforts, that he looked upon this let them do it; no law should interfere, for that is case with insensibility and indifference. Living force applied to it, which is 'an additional weight without common comforts,' and yet better fed and dropped into the balance of sin.' How stupid the

timony answer this question. Hon. G. B. Turnbull, might be arrested, and often overthrown by compul. of South Carolina, apeaking of the harvesting of cot- sory measures! . If slavery be abolished by war, ton, says :- 'All the women in delicate circumstances, war may establish it again.' Not indeed if the war and sickly negroes, incapable of other work, are then be founded upon the moral and religious convictions in requisition.' A. A. Stone, from Mississippi, says; of the people. Are the people of Massachusetts It is a general rule on all regular plantations, that ready to endorse the opinion that their struggle with the slaves be in the field as soon as it is light enough Great Britain to obtain their rights was, after all, but for them to see to work, and remain there until it is a 'poor and uncertain release' from the tyranny of so dark they cannot see.' Mr. C. Gildersleeve, the mother country? I think not. The idea is too rifrom Georgia, says :- It is customary for the over- diculous to be entertained for a moment. Talk seers to call out the gang long before day, say three of West India emancipation being the effect of a great o'clock, while dressing out the crops."

labor as this is overtasking the slave or not. I sub- for its overthrow; but slavery, I fear, would have mit that it is such tasking as few, if any of us would still lived and flourished there, had not the moral be willing to undergo.

possible, to avoid the separation of families, and the slave is allowed to select, if he can, his own master whom he will serve.'

No fact in the whole slave system stands out mor prominently to the eyes of the whole world than this breeding and raising slaves in the States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, for the more Southern market. These Northern slave States do not find it some of its false statements, false reasoning, and false profitable to continue slavery, except by raising slaves for other markets. But do they encourage the raisis one of the most peculiar pieces of composition we ling of slaves, it may be asked, for the purpose of gain have ever met with. The author tells us, very mod- merely? Listen to what Mr. Gholson, of Virginia,

of the country, and then proceeds to discuss the moral bearing of slavery, and makes the remarkable ered by steady and old-fashioned people, that the admission, that in making a man a slave, it is 'leavourer of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits; the owner of orchards to their annual fruits; the owner of brood marea to their product; and the spect. And yet he tells us, on the next page, that owner of female slaves to their increase.

Hon. T. J. Randolph, of Virginia, says, 'it is an increasing practice in parts of Virginia to rear slaves for the market.' The same writer says that ' the yearly exportation of slaves for the last twenty years amount ed to about eight thousand five hundred.'

But 'it is the custom, if possible, to avoid the separation of families.' Here again we must put in some more of this 'undisproved' testimony.

From the New Orleans Bulletin. NEGROES FOR SALE .- A negro woman, twenty-four years old, and her two children, one eight and the other three. Said negroes will be sold SEPARATELY for groceries. For terms, apply to MAYHEW, BLISS & CO., 1 Front Levee.

STOP THE RUNAWAY .- \$25 REWARD .- Ran away from the subscriber, a negro fellow named Nat. He is no doubt attempting to follow his wife, who was lately sold to a speculator named Redmond. The above reward will be paid by Mrs. Lucy McDownmand, of Suffolk county, Virginia.

But families are 'seldom separated,' we are told Here again is a woman sold who has two children: they may be sold together or separately, just as the Northern minds, some of which are natural allies of speculator desires. And is this a solitary case, or one

> The following is from Niles's Weekly Register, published at Baltimore, Md. :-

Dealing in slaves has become a large business establishments are made in several places in Mary-land and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws and gags, and ornament-

These places of deposit, it will be seen, are important to the carrying on of the trade in slaves successfully. When traders are making up a gang of assorted' slaves, as they term it, -cooks, carpenters, house servants, &c., - some place of deposit is necessary until the gang get ready to start for the South-

NEGROES WANTED .- The subscriber, having located in Lynchburg, is giving the highest cash prices for negroes between the ages of ten and thirty years. burg, or address him by letter.

All communications will receive prompt attention

J. B. McLENDON.

Likely young negroes are what is wanted ;-families, of course, are 'seldom separated'!

In the more southerly slave States, we find advertisements running somewhat as follows :-· FRESH ARRIVALS WEEKLT. - A well selected

stock of negroes, consisting of field hands, house serother house in New Orleans.'

'I have just received from the East, seventy-five asproced professions of Southern men'? Even if this sorted A No. 1 negroes. Call soon, if you want to

Families are not supposed to be separated! We must here respectfully say, that if the reader newspapers to undeceive him in this infamous business of buying and seiling human beings-breaking and sundering the tenderest family ties. He will find, . To my old and faithful servants, Essex and his too, that slave-dealing is a business operation, carried wife Hetty, I give and bequeath a pair of shoes, a on with all the cold indifference of a person dealing suit of clothes and a blanket each, to be paid them in brood-mares, or any other live stock. There are, no annually; also, an annual hat to Essex.' doubt, honorable exceptions to this general rule of roverbial that John Randolph was a kind slave-trading; but exceptions they are, and not the master and a good provider for his slaves. These general rule. An old negro of Gen. Washington was

> Now the reader will please to notice in this discourse, that we are charged with insulting this class of humane masters, who are guilty of nothing so bad, perhaps, as selling a mother to one person, and her offspring to another. To call this robbery or theft sounds harsh in polite ears, I know; but if your henroost should be robbed, you might then charge somebody with robbing, and be safe from suspicion even of insult. Strange reasoning and strange logic is this! Insulting the South !! Really, this looks very much like treating the subject impartially! Who kicked Judge Hoar out of onesof the Southern States when sent to transact business for the State of Massachusetts Who imprison our colored seamen for no crime but their color, and then often doom them to a life of perpetual slavery? Who rifle the mail-bags, and presume to burn and destroy, contrary to law, all books and papers which contain sentiments in favor of liberty and equality? Who are the persons who will rifle your trunk and rudely scatter your effects, should they suspect you of taking notes of their manners and customs, or of having in your possession papers favoring the equal rights of all? Who are the persons who fully endorsed the savage and barbarous treatment which our gifted and talented Senator received in the Senate chamber of the U. S. Senate I answer once for all; it is this class of persons, in whose behalf we are counselled to speak soft and tender words. This is neither right, proper, nor just. Appropriateness of language is always right and

We are further admonished never to abolish slavery by any other means than 'moral force.' Every so used to seeing the slaves living without common kind of compulsion is an evil, and 'is an additional comforts, that the idea of unkindness in the present weight dropped into the balance of sin.' We are kind of compulsion is an evil, and 'is an additional disposed to view this counsel as neither wise, just, nor Now, here is a close observer of 'the workings of proper. Let every person, then, do just as he pleases clothed than the free colored people at the North! world has been for ages, firmly believing if the But are the slaves overtasked? Let Southern tes- heart is not always made better, that giant evils moral warfare! A large share of the credit is to Now let the candid reader here judge whether such be given to the moral influence which was exerted sentiment been embodied in a law, and backed up

cept as punishment for refractoriness, or from the sentiment into any law would be a waste of time, ing a little taste of 'Alien and Sedition law,' the master's stern necessity, and that it is the custom, if were it not backed up by a compulsory force ade- Fathers anticipated and estopped such petty tyrants by quate in its necessity. It must certainly provoke a an amendment, or rather extension of the guarantees smile in every intelligent person to be told that the of freedom. Art. 1, sec. 1, of amendments. But by great despotic 'Russia affords us a still more fresh insurrection-for I substitute this word for mob vioexample of the efficacy of moral sentiment to the lence, which I think may be done in this case, and do same great end.' A Power that deces the thing, no violence to the meaning of terms-I say, by insurand it is done, and no questions are to be asked! If rectionary movements of armed men, thirteen printing such victories as these are 'moral triumphs,' accord- presses have been destroyed during the 'irrepressible ing to the author's definition, then indeed is the Har- conflict,' ten of them on professedly free territory, per's Ferry tragedy a moral effort, though unsuccess- commencing with Elijah P. Lovejoy's, at St. Louis ful in its results. There is one great moral triumph Mo., who lost his life in defence of a free press, the of freedom which the author should have noticed, third one, at Alton, Ill., and ending with that of the though not so 'fresh' as the example of Russis. It Free South, at Newport, Ky., on the 28th of October is when the British Lion demanded from the Dey of last, conducted by Wm. S. Bailey. The Federal Algiers that all the Christian slaves should be given Government is bound by the Constitution to suppress up, and never more be guilty of piratically capturing all insurrections, yet no notice is taken of these; but and enslaving white Christians. This demand was re- in case of an insurrection in behalf of freedom, the fused, and the account says that . Lord Exmouth an- Government would promptly furnish hangmen and chored before the formidable fortifications of Algiers hemp for the offenders. with five line-of-battle ships, and, before night, they The present Governor of Kentucky informed Mr. fired one hundred and eighteen tons of powder, and Fee and his forty associates, victims of this insurrec-

weak and defenceless, by those who forever counsel to promote the cause of temperance.

our friend will 'contribute to a genuine moral sentithe time when every fetter shall be broken, and 'all the woods? oppression cease beneath the sun.' J. CUSHING.

South Hingham.

LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD. HOLLEY, N. Y., March 16, 1850. HON. WM. H. SEWARD:

DEAR SIR-Being one of your immediate constit- the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and uents, I will not waste time in apologizing for ad- preserved in all criminal cases.' Are these provisions dressing you on a topic of vital interest, not to the 'glittering generalities' or realities? What is a govblack man of this country only, but involving the ernment worth that does not protect its citizens common constitutional liberties of the white man as Like begets like. We have had insurrections against

I belong to the laboring masses. We farmers, mechanics and laborers have but little interest in poli- an attempt made in that direction, though the govtics and government, only to vote intelligently, and ernment is bound to suppress these, and protect the see that the government is so administered as to se- people from their violence. How long think you this cure our liberties-to protect our persons, houses, state of things shall last, ere an opposing insurrection papers and effects from unreasonable searches and breaks forth, for the security of rights which the govseizures-our life, liberty and property, the freedom ernment fails to protect, which might grow to revoluof speech, of the press, and of the ballot-to do and en- tion and be difficult to overcome, and sweep the disjoy all the acts and rights which freemen have, and turbing element from the land? Slavery propaganof right ought to have, under the Constitution of the dists better not tempt that day! Scarcely a speech i United States; for I believe we have no just reason delivered by Southern members, in either House of to complain of the administration of the State gov- Congress, without a sprinkling of vehement clamor Federal Government in this direction; and we think mingled with fierce threats of disunion unless they we have a right to demand of our Federal statesmen are allowed such rights. better security of constitutional rights. This is all we

old enough, in 1812, to be a pioneer in Western New States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the York, to beat the bush and half beat the British in States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the second war of independence. Our descendants the people.' Article X. of Amendments. Slaare numerous; three of them now in the despotic very, or the right to hold slaves, was never 'dele-South, and allowed to remain there, and prosecute gated to the United States,' nor ' prohibited by it.' their business, only under peculiar force of circum- The Fathers left it where they found it, in the States, stances, which I need not mention here. And here and said to those States, When your laborers run we are, closed from each other's familiar greetings away, you may catch them, if you can, and no sister and interchange, through the medium of letters and State shall let or hinder. And they gave further libperiodicals, unless blackened with the smut of slave- erty that they might be represented in Congress, not ry and varnished with Southern dirt; their parents as chattels, but as 'persons'-men. Here is all there and numerous friends at the North estopped from cor- is of slavery in the Constitution of the United States, respondence, or allowed it only on condition of a de- and that is none at all; it is an institution outside of grading and unconstitutional espionage on their part, that, belonging to the States, and if the Constitution and at the risk of compromising the safety and busi- were enforced, would push slavery to the wall, and

ness of the other parties. and enterprise. Cannot these be protected in their ute books, for there would be no slaves to run away, legal and constitutional rights as though they were and none to represent." sojourning in foreign parts? In the latter case, not a hair of their heads dare be touched. The least right the Constitution. Give us protection and free play of an American citizen abroad compromised, and the to speech, press and ballot, and we would batter it whole army and navy are employed for his protec- down while you were firing the first platoon of blank tion. Is it so with our own citizens at home? To cartridges in the territories. Nay, more- The Unithe shame and disgrace of our pretended free govern- ted States shall guarantee to every State in this ment, No! No Northerner is safe in a Southern State. If from the North, that is enough; he must play to this untried battering-ram, and slavery would leave; and if he gets off without a coat of tar and feathers, or other indignities and violence, he does the things that were, for a slave government is a deswell. Nor is a Southern citizen safer, if he breathes potism, not a republican form of government. a whisper, or even thinks a thought against this gi- You say the Republican party will 'take up the gantic system of human chattelhood.

guarantees for the future? There is one count omitted which strikes deeper at failure?

But we are told that the slaves are seldom sold ex- by British cannon. The embodiment of the moral gogue, 'don't care, dare-devil Douglas.' After hav- proclamation, backed by suitable force, as a protection

fifty thousand shot, besides shells and rockets. The tionary violence, on their petitioning him for proteccitadel and massive batteries of Algiers were in ruins, tion, in substance, that the government of Kentucky and the great slave-dealer was humbled.' We are was too weak to protect them and their rights against told there was a universal rejoicing at the announce- the violence of the mobocrats. Is the Federal Govment of this welcome intelligence, both in this coun-ernment too weak also? No! if it does not protect, try and Great Britain, for it forever put an end to the not only these, but every American, as well at home barbarous practice of enslaving our own free, white as abroad, it is for want of will. If the States fail to do it, why should not the United States extend its In the belief in such measures as these, at times, protecting shield? But if this, too, cannot, or fails as God-appointed for the overthrow of a great evil, to protect or secure the liberty of its citizens, the we are not aware of subjecting ourselves to the charge Union is a sham, and the Constitution is not worth of infidelity. Indeed, if this is to be an infidel, we the paper on which it is written-fit only to be trodstand by a large company of this type; and our only den under foot of men! Are there not members hope is, that these means will be used always for the who will propose measures before Congress, and pass promotion of freedom instead of slavery. Slavery is them, for the better security of the people under the worse than war; it is the strong oppressing the weak, | constitutional guarantees? Doubtless every member by law and by force. We are curious to hear some is familiar with the provisions of the organic law. If argument against the practice of this war upon the there be any that are not, they are unfit to be there.

After assuring the perfect freedom which would be peace for one side. We have known moderate drink- extended to Southern men in case they saw fit to ers to be eloquent in their appeal for moral means prosecute a political campaign in the free States for the election of any candidates for office, of any party, The allusion to the dissolution of the Union, as on any platform they might choose to adopt, you proheld by a portion of the abolitionists, is not generous ceed to say, 'Extend to us the same privileges, and I or fair. It is neither fairly stated nor fairly reasoned will engage that you will very soon have in the South upon, if, indeed, there is anything which may be call- as many Republicans as we have Democrats at the ed reasoning upon it. And why raise a false issue, North; and, I add, anti-slavery, instead of pro-slaor set up a target for one's own amusement merely? very Republicans. It would be preposterous to sup-We trust the 'tares will grow together until the pose anti-slavery men residing in the slave States adharvest, but are informed by the founder of Chris- vocating the continuance of slavery in their midst, tianity that ' the fields are already white for the har- keeping it where it is, as Northern Republicans do.

But this is not my point. 'Extend to us the same To conclude this long, but, I trust, friendly criti- privileges.' What privileges? Are not the citizens, cism, I wish to say, there are sentiments in the dis- both North and South, entitled by right to these course which we can cheerfully adopt as promotive of privileges, under the Constitution bestowed by the good to the cause of universal liberty. But the vision Fathers, without begging them from politicians of the of our friend is yet much obscured, probably by North, or a handful of oligarchs of the South. Must battling so long among the old theological fog- we depend on the nod of these? Or is the operation banks. May we not hope that the time will soon of these rights to be narrowed down and limited come when, 'in all places,' by word and by deed, north of Mason and Dixon's line? or to territories where are no or next to no inhabitants, and slavery exment and moral power'? Then we will hopefully abide tinguished and freedom established by ambuscade in 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all

privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' Does this mean nothing? 'The freedom of speech or of the press shall not be abridged, or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and petition the government for a redress of grievances.' 'Where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, freedom without number, but none of the mobocrate or insurrectionists have been brought to justice, or ments of the free States, but very much of the relative to Southern rights under the Constitution,

Why should not the Constitution be analyzed in ask. I speak in general terms for the whole Ameri- their presence, and see how the account stands? Slacan family, for if one member suffers, the whole body very has no part nor lot in that instrument; it is not suffers; hence I speak particularly for myself and polluted by it. The Fathers found slavery in all the States but one, and under the rule they themselves I am old, have been younger,-young enough and adopted, that 'The powers not delegated to the United these two provisions would die of their own accord, Thousands are going South, and will go, to seek a outside the camp, like the leprous person under the more genial climate, and a larger field for industry Levitical code, without an expunging from the stat-

> You say abolition cannot follow from the action of Union a republican form of government.' Give fair be rooted from the American soil, and numbered with

word Union, coupled with Liberty, come what may, I am very familiarly acquainted with two young in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now men, born in this State, graduates of the same noted and forever.' This sounds very well indeed on paper. seat of learning from which Wm. H. Seward took But scords, it is said, are 'empty things.' What is his degrees, who have gone South, one of them not the fact of Union and Liberty? There is none, untwo years ago, to Alabama, where he procured a less discord and tyranny are union and liberty. Slapaying situation as teacher, from which comfortable very is the constant, ever-present, disturbing element; position he has been recently ejected, for the only rea- the numerous historical facts in the speech under reson that he was a Northerner; though to my certain view show this. It breeds, and will breed, discord knowledge he defended the 'peculiar institution' and tyranny. There are more union, liberty and frabravely. The other has more recently made the trial, ternity between the British possessions under moand writes back to his friends, that 'Northerners tell narchical government, stretching along our north me they are kept under a pretty strict surveillance ern borders and the north, than between the Northern and Southern States of this pretended Union. Your speech of Feb. 29, 1860, on the admission of Notwithstanding the immense sacrifice of blood and Kansas, was a good one; the Tribune and other treasure to wrench ourselves from England, after friends say that. But I must be allowed to say that, eighty years' trial, there is more safety and liberty to in my opinion, it lacks both completeness and direct- day, under the British Government, than under our ness. The issue is well taken, and the trial of the own Federal Administration, and all right-minded mer culprit, Slavery, well prosecuted-the facts of the and women would choose the former to the latter. aggressions of slavery on Freedom well stated. But Will American statesmen continue this state of things what is the remedy? That is the question. This till the General Government becomes a hissing and history is familiar to the humblest, but what are the by-word among the nations, contemptible in the eyes of the American people, and our experiment proves

the root of liberty than any one enumerated. The The President is being put on trial for the alleged abridgment of liberty of speech and of the press can- corrupt misapplication of public money. The money not be effected by law. Such a law would be void of the people is of small value, compared to their lib under the Constitution of the United States, as would erties. In my humble opinion, the Executive should the Sedition Law proposed by that ranting dema- extend the protecting arm of the Government by

and passport to every citizen of the Republic, in his person, house, papers and effects, in his life, liberty person, noure, papers and property, to travel and to speak, to write, print, and circulate any printed matter; liable for the about of these privileges, not to lynch law, but only to the or these privileges, no of the land; and all branches laws and Constitution of the government should unite and suppress every unauthorized combination of armed men, under whe ever pretext.

Most respectfully yours, C. ROBINSON

MR. PILLSBURY'S LECTURES. EARLVILLE, (Illinois,) March 22, 186a

To the Editor of the Liberator :- Having just read a letter, published in your paper, signed by M. Hulty and others, respecting PARKER PILLSBURY'S lecture in Earlville, we could not, in justice to ourselves or to Mr. P. let it pass unnoticed. It is not our wish to to Mr. F. let it pass annualing or denouncing the pub. lie or private course of citizens here, but simply to state the cause of this difference in opinion, or this strange version of Mr. P.'s effort here. We are quite sure there is not an independent thinker here, who will not give his testimony with us.

In the first place, A. J. Grover is a very radical man, with large combativeness and a susceptible tem-perament; one who is ever ready to do battle for the right, as he sees it. In politics, a real Garrisonia Abolitionist, so called here. In religion, an around opposer to everything sectarian. Consequently, he has many personal enemies, especially amongst our church-loving people.

Secondly, our citizens (very many of them) deem radicalism in religion as infidel or atheistical; in politics as traitorous. With this difference in the political and religious constitution of individuals, would they receive the same impressions of a discourse upon human freedom (all being honest)? If not, whose would be the most likely to be correct? Remembering Parker Pillsbury in the East and the West to be the self-same man, could you recognize him in the vulgar, self-important, political partizan as described by our citizens? Could you see in their picture the long well-known, unassuming, firm, honest, elequent and fearless advocate of human rights? His first lecture, although not anti-slavery direct, certainly was in effect—being a most eloquent appeal to the higher faculties of every individual to be himself, to act upon his own responsibility; not to give an abo. lition vote because he did, but under all circumstances each to be true to his own highest convictions of right. Would every one build upon this superstructure, how soon the wail of the African slave, and the cries of the oppressed in every land, might be turned into songs of joy! Would some of our citizens throw aside their sectarian glasses and personal animosities, we think they would not understand Mr. P. as denouncing all who do not believe with him as hypocrites and renegades, or as desiring to demolish the church universally, because he gave a rather severe reprimand to the American or proslavery church,-making a strong distinction (as we understood him) between this and the true Christian church, which says practically, 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.'

Of his last discourse, (not being able to attend.) our family said- We have listened to one of the noblest, most powerful efforts in behalf of human freedom ever uttered."

Yours, in the love of right, S. HOXIE RICHARDSON.

LETTER FROM A FRIEND.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON-The following extracts from the letter of a whole-souled anti-slavery woman, -written soon after the John Brown demonstration at Harper's Ferry,-I feel deserve an insertion in the Liberator. If you think so, I will take the responsibility of publishing what was penned only for my own reading.

We read everything connected with the present exciting crisis, and I rejoice that it is my privilege to sympathize with the oppressed. Our anti-slavery leaders have acted nobly in this matter, and even more fully than I expected have they endorsed John Brown. I was afraid they would feel such repurnance to his means of attacking the evil, that it might lead them to censure him somewhat.

I have faith in the awakening of public sentiment, if all anti-slavery persons would be as faithful as a few are, and believe that in time the South would yield to the power of reason and truth.

I am fully committed to the side of moral influence, and yet I cannot blame the slaves for taking freedom at any hazard; indeed, I should blame them for not doing it, if I did not believe they were too ignorant. as a mass, to be successful. I could not advocate the shedding of blood, if I believed it right, as I have not the physical courage to aid in it; and I would not urge others into danger I was myself afraid to face. Still, I think John Brown acted nobly, and so did his family; and I feel, when reviewing the scenes of the past month or two, as though I was not worthy even the name of an abolitionist, so little have I ever done for the cause of freedom.

I do not expect that slavery will ever be abelished peaceably, for all minds do not operate in accordance, even for the promotion of the same end; therefore I endorse Garrison's view of the subject, and say, welcome to every effort truly on the side of freedom!

How much those people miss who do not read antislavery papers ! This reminds me to tell you, that an exceedingly interesting and cultivated young friend of mine las

become an enthusiastic abolitionist, under the teaching of the Liberator, which I have lent him; and he in turn lends it to others, who enjoy it highly. The amusing thing is, that he is most warmly engaged in the advocacy of fighting for freedom. So

you see that Garrison has a hand in making all sorts

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17 The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:-FRANCIS JACKSON, Ep-MUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL

ricties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to beperpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1531.

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 27, 1860.

VOL. XXX. NO. 17.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

A CONSERVATIVE STAND. The New York Conference of the Methodist Episcoral Church have safely emerged from the distracting slavery discussion which has occupied most of its time for several days. The exciting debate went over the whole ground of the slavery question, in its religious, moral, social and political bearings, from the earliest Biblical mention of domestic servitude, down to the present time. Everybody who could talk had an ample opportunity to present his particular views, and everybody who ald not, or who wisely concluded that there was nothing new to offer on such a threadbare topic, had plenty of time for reflection. The action of the Conference was therefore deliberate, and was the result of a very liberal and thorough interchange of

views. And it was as follows: The resolutions from the Eric Conference, asking the New York Conference to recommend the several Conferences to change the slavery rule so as to exclude all slaveholders without distinction from the Church, was lost by the overwhelming vote of 123 to 43. A substitute, designed to catch the votes of compromisers, limited the excommunication to those who hold slaves ' for mercenary or selfish purposes'; but even this was defeated by a vote of 91 to 89. Had the substitute been offered as an original resolution, and not as a compromise, it uld probably have received a much smaller vote. But, small as the majority was against this insidious resolution, it was enough to defeat it, and to secure the vote of New York in the next General Conference (to be held in Buffalo on the 1st of May)

for the Conservative side.
On Tuesday, a number of delegates who were absent the day previous, when the vote was taken on the Erie resolutions, or preferred not to vote at that time, recorded their votes as follows: Nays 21, yeas 2; making the entire expression of sentiment against abolitionizing the Church more than three to one .- N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

A BOGUS SET OF MARTYRS.

The Black Republicans just now have several incipient martyrs who are anxious, in a small way, for somebody to hurt them. They are too arrant cowards to walk up to martyrdom as old John Brown did, so that their necks will be endangered, but they are nevertheless endeavoring to make peocause of freedom.

The first of these is Hyatt, who is now luxuriating in the Washington jail, because the Senate of the United States will not back down and acknowledge that he is right. The Senate, including nearly all the Black Republicans, think it easier for the contamacious Hyatt to come to them, than for them to go to him, and so he is left to vegetate within

the four stone walls of the prison.

The next is Sanborn, of Massachusetts, who furnished old Brown with money and means with which to invade a State of the Union, and commit marder and treason. The Senate wished him to tell about the affair, and accordingly despatched as officer to serve the summons. was frightened out of his five senses, and shoutad the and murder until a mob was collected, who rescued him from the hands of the officials. liges that he fears for his personal safety; and well he may, if his full connection with old Brown should come to the light, and the law be allowed

The third is Cassius M. Clay, who is lately out with a statement, that, his neighbors contemplated assumating him becouse he was a Black Republican. The Committee who were to do this fearful of publish a statement, be which they state that Mr. Clay has been most eraelly hoaxed. So far from any such design, his name has never been mentioned in a meeting of that Committee, except incidentally.' So he cannot be accommodated to

martyrdom just now.

The last is Booth of Wisconsin, who, like Hyatt, is luxuriating in jail, serving out a term for viola-tion of law. This martyr has just settled another little matter which has given him some trouble, and was likely to give him a good deal more. These are the set of men who are endeavoring to

foist themselves upon the public as sufferers and martyrs for Freedom's sake.—Detroit Free Press. MR. SUMNER --- MUCH THE SAME.

The colloquy between our Senator and Mr. Mason shows the former in no creditable light. In order to understand the matter fully, it is necessary to recar to the character of the memorial of Mr. Sanborn, presented to the Senate by Mr. Sumner, on the 10th inst. This memorial complained of what Mr. Sanborn called-as the telegraph reported it- a gross attempt to kidnap him, by persons claiming to act under the authority of the United States Senate.' The claim of these persons was a just one, and the attempt was to arrest Mr. Sanborn for refusing to obey the summons of the Senate,-he having notoriously evaded the officers and kent school by proxy. for some time, in order to escape their efforts. proceeds to allege that he rightfully resisted the summons of the Senate, complains of what he terms his unwarranted arrest, and modestly asks redress at

the hands of the Senate.

This memorial was laid upon the table. Upon the recent reference of the warrant, with its return, and other documents in the same case, to the judi-ciary Committee, Mr. Sumner moved that this memorial be also so referred, and Mr. Mason moved that it be rejected. Thereupon Mr. Sumner used the offensive and insulting language already reported, and unfit to be employed by any person worthy of such a place. We need not argue that Mr. Sanborn's memorial was impertment, considering his condition as a recusant witness, and that its prepara-tion and presentation both show an obliquity of mind common only to the general abolition set. They always make a stir about their own so-called rights, which they consider infringed, whenever they contempt with which Mr. Mason was disposed to treat the document, was justly due to its insolence, or ignorance of the common principles of propriety, and the same comment is equally applicable to the conduct of Mr. Sumner in presenting such a paper. His language upon the question of reference needs no comment whatever, except that those who chose him have good reason to blush for his want of man-

Mr. Mason, however, is mistaken in his remark that no arrest can be made in this case, owing to the judicial proceedings of the State of Massachusetts. The real question has not been tried. Sanborn was discharged by the Court, upon a point, in which it substantially adjudged that the warrant of the Sonate, or the action of its officer, was defective. We should regret very much to believe that Massachusetts had become, like White Friars of old, in London, an asylum and place of refuge for all such as defied the law, or had reason to evade it,—nor do we believe that any serious difficulty could ensue, upon a proper effort to make any arrest in the State.

—Beston Courier.

THE MASK THROWN OFF.

WITH THE BROWN DISORGANIZERS.

have all along had the most vehement disavowals of sympathy with the leaders of the Harper's Ferry expedition, coupled with expressions of virtuous in-dignation that the Republican party should be even suspected of complicity with the revolutionary schemes of John Brown, or of extending to the ' poor Worth for circulating ' Helper's Crisis,' from which lunatic' any sort of aid or encouragement. But, we extract the following passage :at the same time these innocent and artful dodgers massacre perpetrated in the midst of a peaceful community, they zealously opposed the punishment of scenes. While firmly insisting that old Osawatomic Brown had no abettors in his treason, except such as took the field and actively co-operated with him, obstacles in the way at every step of its progress. Indeed, their solicitude in avoiding a full expose of the plot in all its ramifications was totally incon-

of the world, affords an unerring test of Republican which 'twelve sad mm' from the vicinage will sincerity in this matter, and shows, beyond the pos-mete to him.—Boston Courier. sibility of a doubt, where that party stands, and what are its real sympathies in regard to the Virginia outrage. A leading member of its organiza-tion, who is known to have held a secret correspon-dence with John Brown at the time he was preparing for his descent upon Harper's Ferry, is summoned ing for his descent upon Harper's Ferry, is summoned to appear before the Investigating Committee, and refuses, compliance. The United States Senate, and belongs in the 14th rather than the 19th centual and only judicial alternative in such cases, sends its officers, with a requisition under the hand and seal of its President, to compel the latter of the conservatism is of the 'hard shell' order, and belongs in the 14th rather than the 19th century. For example, look at our 'Union meeting,' made up of ancient fossils, animated petrifications, dry-rotted fogies, and a right smart sprinkling of Custom

ness that their skirts are pure and their hands unutterly to stifle investigation, and are not at all ral affinity; and, so far as the matter before the Senithers are unwrung.'-Boston Post.

MR. LOVEJOY'S TIRADE.

We have read with great disgust the speech deivered by Mr. Lovejoy of Illinois, in the House of epresentatives, April 5th, on the wearisome and interminable Slavery Question. Disgust itself, how-ever, is an emotion that has distinctions and de-There is an active disgust and a passive disgust; a quick disgust and a dead disgust; a disgust that stirs and a disgust that paralyzes. The disgust that Mr. Lovejoy inspires is of the latter pugilistic authority, that 'the true British pugilist is the soul of manliness and honor.' A kind; for his speech is as stupid as it is brutal. Mr. Lovejoy is first a blockhead and then a ruffian. Mr. Lovejoy is first a blockhead and then a ruffian. Reading his speech is like sitting through a play Congress, we hear so much. It is difficult to decide which is so bitter bad that the desire to yawn and in which case the claim has most warrant. the desire to hiss keep up an 'irrepressible conflict' think there is a better chance of fair play among the in the muscles of one's face. The staple consists of pugilists; and they appear to have the advantage in the dreary, jaw-dislocating trash-the inane com- other respects. -the obvious moral truisms-the sentimental half-truths—which form the basis of pretty much every anti-slavery speech it was ever our bad fortune to read; embellished with fustian declamation of the dueling bully in Congress. He is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. But the dueling bully in Congress. He is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always there, and always anxious to show his quality. It is always anxious to show his quality. statesman; no recognition of the essential difficul-

Southern members, to arouse their evil passions, to provoke ill blood, to sow strife between the North and the South. And in this Christian, humane very well how to behave with civility in the presence in a grog-shop or a brothel.

THE MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICANS MAKE COMMON CAUSE bility. All their prosperity lies in the storm of recontempt, and they will go out like a tallow dip in From the Republican press of Massachusetts, we an exhausted receiver.—Boston Courier.

> TRIAL OF REV. DANIEL WORTH. A correspondent of the Raleigh (N. C.) Standard gives an account of the trial of Rev. Daniel

at the same time these innecent and artful dodgers . The court-room was densely crowded, and as have affected the utmost horror of the treason and Mr. Scott proceeded to read the bill of indictment in a clear and solemn tone of voice, indignation bethe traitors, as well as every means taken to detect and expose their confederates, who instigated the bloody drame, and asset their confederates, who instigated the and expose their confederates, who instigated the bloody drama, and neted their part in it behind the scenes. While firmly insisting that old Osawatomic convict, and thus encourage these abolition emissaries, it would not be long until our fair land would be deluged in blood. The darkness of midnight would be lighted up with our burning buildings to they have manifested the greatest reluctance to any would be lighted up with our burning buildings to investigation of the affair which might tend to throw see the missizered bodies of our wives and childlight upon its origin and history; and, though pre-light upon its origin and history; and, though pre-tending to ridicule the inquiry instituted by the U.S. Senate, as a bootless and frivolous undertaking. This eloquent touch electrified the court-room, and they have been industriously engaged in throwing brought down upon the prisoner such a torrent of

sistent with the theory of their innocence, and plain-sistent with the theory of their innocence, and plain-graph remarked, 'Enat trying a man accused of ly indicated that they were either active participants in or endorsers of it. Besides, at an early stage of that inquiry, the fact was established, from the terrier dog'; and he thinks that the chances of that inquiry, the fact was established, from the terrier dog'; and he thinks that the chances of mouth of their own partisans, that Brown's band of disorganizers had long been pensioners and hireling emissaries of the Republican party, and its willing instruments in chacting scenes equally bloody and diable allait-il faire dans cette galere? If a man and the dog,' But the hardship is one emissaries of the Republican party, and its willing which the 'circulator' brings upon himself. Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galere? If a man and the field will all allait-il faire dans cette galere? If a man revolutionary upon another field.

At last a crisis arrives which, in the face and eyes he must not expect any better measure than that will go among strangers and transgress their laws,

SELECTIONS.

BOSTON CONSERVATISM.

attendance of the contumacious witness, and they House Democrats, with some few poor forgotten are violently resisted in the discharge of their duty. Whigs, who had staid out in the cold so long that The Constitutional authority of the Federal Government is set at nought in Massachusetts, and the higher law of nullification reigns supreme. And while the champions of this higher law are exulting up politicians. What came of this vaunted Union's office of the masting of the reacheasted North in their triumph over the Constitution, and making affair? It was pitied by the free-hearted North, the welkin ring with their shouts of defiance to the viewed with utter contempt by the slave-drivers of authority of Congress, who but the Republican the South, and finally became the laughing stock party press and members of the Legislature, spon- and by-word of the whole country. It has had no taneously eatch up and re-echo the jubilant strain? more influence on public affairs than a mimic thun-Let the patriotic Union men of the country note der storm in some flish theatre. It afforded Caleb well the fact, that it is the so-called moderate Republicans of Massichusetts who heartily endorse the of big words, and his art in constructing long, todiaction of the Concord mob in resisting the execution our sentances. He showed all his rare agility in of a legal process to obtain information in regard to turning political summersetts, and the governing the Virginia massacre; that they enthusiastically principles of his life 'stuck out' in every para-applaud the determination of these abolition rioters, graph. What a career he has led, from the famous as expressed in their printed resolutions, to resist the shirt-tail letter until his last splurge in Connecticut! exercise of federal authority in compelling the at- How he has doubled on his own track, changed tendance of Mr. Sanborn, in every form and shape, front, boxed the compass, sworn that what was and to the last extremity; and that they are evident white one day was black the next, and dodged and by quite as much pleased at the perpetration of this whiffled incessantly, as his political interests dicta-cutrage, and the discomfiture of the Investigating ted! Caleb, with all his scholastic attainments, his Committee, as the most radical of their Garrisonian general knowledge of public men and affairs, his splendid gilts of oratory and powers of eloquence, Thus the real connection of the Republican party and his commanding physique, fails to impress the with the revolutionary movement at Harper's Ferry minds or touch the hearts or rouse the enthusiasm stands self-exposed in all the blackness of its hypoc-risy. While professing to deplore and condemn this that it is the cold. selfish, calculating head, and not nent, and calling on heaven and earth to wit- the warm, full heart, which is speaking; consequently, his rounded periods and his glowing imagery sullied from the blood of its victims, when challenged | fall lifeless. Whenever he speaks, the people, knowto the proof, they will have no witness; but seek ing his former slimy and serpentine course, are analyzing all he says, and estimating what forces of amscrupulous as to the means. They no longer stand bition, or spite, or sordid desire are prompting his aloof, or affect disinterestedness in the struggle, be- utterances. So apparent are his hollowness and hearttween Union conservatism and disunion fanaticism ; lessness, that all his speeches lack that magnetism, their active sympathies are rapidly developing them- that subtle influence, which enables great orators to selves on the side of the latter, which is their natu- sway the masses. Hence his brilliant efforts slide off from men like water from the roof of a house. ate Investigating Committee is concerned, they will Caleb is now on an electioneering tour in Connectinever again, in the face of recent events in Concord, cut; and though he draws crowded houses, yet he be able to say, 'Let the galled jade wince; our kindles no patriotic earnestness or noble feeling in the masses. His speeches abound in dazzling rhetoricand metaphor, yet they are levelled at the pocket, they breathe the close, stifling air of the counting-room, they smell of trade and barter, they are fuzzy with cotton all through, and they are fairly musty with grovelling self-interest .- Boston corr. of the Adams Transcript

MANNERS AT WASHINGTON.

In London, the other day, it was announced on

We are all likely to get a very accurate notion of tion and tawdry rhetoric, such as it would be an courtesy, forbearance, and fair play. But the duel insult to any sophomore to call sophomoric. There is in the whole speech no one token or sign of the gentleman is a coarse blackguard, who can sit in his seat and wantonly insult gentlemen by calling them ties of the question; no intimation of any prac- 'liars,' 'scoundrels,' and other vile names, and ties of the question, in the tremendous problems involved who studies to provoke quarrels, with men whose in the subject of slavery; there is no knowledge, culture and character do not allow them to imitate in the subject of slavery; there is no knowledge, no grasp, no moral thoughtfulness; it is, in short, from beginning to end, an eructation of bad manners, bad taste, and bad temper.

And Mr. Lovejoy's purpose and aim in making the speech were as bad as the speech itself. He had no other intent than to exasperate and inflame the Southern members, to arouse their evil passions, to the control of the most brutal pugilism has ever tolerated such unmanly and cowardly meanness as this.

The bully of the duello is usually very shy of any covered which really looks decreases. He knows

and patriotic object he appears, naturally enough, of such a danger. He strikes only at those who, in to have succeeded. In the course of his speech he his judgment, will not strike back. His cowardly was constantly interrupted; and the interruptions and ruffianly meanness comes out distinctly in his were expressed in language as intemperate and offensive as his own; and by the time he had got men who cannot adopt it without involving themthrough, the hall of the House of Representatives selves in social and political ruin. He could not do was the scene of passions not higher in dignity and decorum than those awakened by a drunken brawl he were not a bully, a blackguard, and a political. in a grog-shop or a brothel.

Are not such things humiliating? Are they not degrading? Shall we never live to see the end of them? Will the North never cease to send to kill somebody. And the art of the duellist usually Washington such shallow, vulgar brawlers as Mr. consists in contriving to do all this, without getting Lovejoy? Will the South never learn the true way hurt. Northern men in Congress cannot adopt the of dealing with them, in case they should be sent? same line of conduct with any hope of a re-election.

These men would be nothing, if the South would Their constituents would not sanction it. Hence

but lay aside their unwise sensitiveness and irasci- the duelling bullies deem it perfectly safe to insult. If it were known at home how much suffering of rights, wish to know how I regard my rights, they have a reputation for this kind could be relieved by placing a small sum need but come here, and lay their hands on me to en-

erate them in doing so, they would give their chal- at their own expense. lengers not mock duels, but hostile encounters of the bloodiest kind. But those who feel in this way have hot blood and swift anger. There is nothing to be gained by sinking to the level of insolent blackguardism. A little reflection will convince any reasonable man that it is not worth while for him to become a savage and barbarian, because some bully's 'code of honor' requires it. These attacks have soldom been met so nobly and success fully as by Senator Wilson, who has raised himself so far above the men who make them, that they cannot now touch him. He has set an example

those which are disgraceful to civilized men, and therefore unfit for national use. But, if they will not do so, if they will insist on making their own customs and manners the rule for all other men. their arrogant pretensions should be treated as they their arrogant pretensions should be treated as they deserve,—as self-respecting manhood will know how to treat them,—and when this is done faithfully, we shall hear much less of bad manners in Congress, and much more of that dignity and courtesy as common. I write you these lines to let you gress, and much more of that dignity and courtesy throw the situation we are in —partly in conseof behavior which ought to prevail there .- Worcester Spy.

A GENEROUS AND TIMELY DEED. Washington, April 10th, 1860. Editors of the Boston Traveller:

We have just had a case brought to our knowledge which shows how nearly we are affected by the pecuto New Bulford in charge of his brother (who hap-pened here very opportunely) whom he had just res-mand twelve acres of land; and I want you to send The following are the details:

a New Belford friend, enclosing a letter from an Annapolis (M1.) lawyer, in which it was stated that and you may rest assured that the time is not far a negro name! Alexander Scarborough was imprisdistant when things will be changed with you. a negro named Alexander Scarborough was imprisoned in the jail of that place, on suspicion of being a runaway slave, and that unless the contrary was proved, he would before long be sold to pay his jail fees and fines. The letter was directed to a brother of the prisoner, a negro of some property who has long resided in New Bedford, and by him was put in train to come to the official notice of his representative in Congress. On the receipt of this letter, Mr. Eliot took the first opportunity to visit Annapolis, and at the jail he found him, in the most forlorn, ragged, and wratched condition, imprisoned in a more at present. A word to the wise is sufficient. small cell, destitute of clothes, and reduced to a most You know where the liar has his part. You pitiable plight in body and mind also. He seemed know that we reared you as we reared our own chilon by the horid prospect before him. In fact, he before you ran away, when your master asked you seemed to have the St. Vitus's dance. Mr. Eliot saw if you, would like to be sold, you said you would not the magistrate on whose order Scarborough had leave him to go with any body.

SARAH LOGUE. after posting himself thoroughly on the facts and the law, returned to his post here. The result of the matter was, that he found that the law wa against the poor fellow, and that all that could be done must be done by conciliation and by money. So he sent a gentleman to Annapolis, who, by proper representation, procured the remission of the fines, and at last procured the prisoner's release on the payment of \$60 in hard cash, which included a fee as you say, 'as well as common.' What that of one-third of the amount to the lawyer who had means, I don't know. I wish you had said more written the letter above referred to, and who had done other things of moment. The man was then clothed and brought up to this city, where he remained until Tuesday morning, when, as I said be- telling him you sold his only remaining brother and

Mr. Eliot's brother. Scarborough got into the jail in a singular way. Searchorough got into the jair in a singular way. In the is a seafaring man, and took leave of his vessel and twelve acres of land, you say, because I ran at Biltimore, and determined to walk from thence away. Now you have the unutterable meanness to to Washington, a distance of some forty miles, ask me to return and be your miserable chattel, or, being a runaway slave, and on examination impris- deem the land, but not to redeem my poor brother oned, to stay in jail until claimed by his owner or and sister! It I were to send you mo some powerful friends, or till the time should elapse be to get my brother and sister, and not that you after which he could be legally sold to pay his jail should get land. You say you are a cripple, and fees. Of course, he made every effort to obtain his liberty. He procured counsel, and had his brother and sister, both of whom are living comfortably in from the bottom of my heart. Nevertheless, I am New Bedford, written to, begging their assistance. New Bedford, written to, begging their assistance. The result of the letter was a demand from a British that you should be so sunken and cruel as to tear Consul for Scarborough's release, on the ground that the hearts I love so much all in pieces; that you his father was a British subject, and that the prison- should be willing to impale and crucify us all, out er was also. This was evidently a ruse on the part of compassion for your poor foot or leg. Wretched of the prisoner's friends, they preferring to trust their brother to the paws of the British Lion than to the talons of the American Eagle. And the ruse sisters, more than your whole body; more, indeed, was nearly successful; for the sheriff had determined to release his prisoner, and told him so, when Scar- the slaveholders and tyrants under heaven. borough declared he was an American citizen, and that he was born and brought up in New Bedford; so, of course, that plan for his enlargement failed.

How many poor fellows are dragged into slavery powerful influences were at work to release the boy, on you!

But, by the way, where is your husband? You

if the payment by Mr. Hyatt of \$45—less than a little state my poor taken in the special state of the special stat bear the whole cost, he will be apt in future, like mutual and reciprocal, and if you take my liberty many others, to say when such cases are brought and life, you forfeit your own liberty and life? Beto their knowledge—I am deeply pained by such fore God and high heaven, is there a law for one man things,—but I can't help them, so I am sorry to which is not a law for every other man?

them on all occasions, and seek a reputation for this kind could be relieved by placing a small sum bravery by challenging them to fight duels. South-ern chivalry indeed! Faugh! take it away! at the disposal of our M, C's, or if there was any fund they could draw upon, or any society to which How to meet properly this annoying insolence has been a serious question among Northern men.

Some long to chastise it with its own warrant. Some long to chastise it with its own weapons; and, ing citizens to enable our Congressmen, in whom if the sentiments of their constituents would tol-

From the Syracuse (N. Y.) Standard. LETTER TO REV. J. W. LOGUEN, FROM HIS OLD MISTRESS.

The following letter was received a day or two since by Rev. Mr. Loguen, of this city, from his old mistress 'way down in Tennessee.' The old lady is evidently 'hard up,' financially, and attempts to frighten her former servant into the payment of \$1,000 as 'hush money.' We imagine she sent to the wrong man, as Mr. Loguen needs no 'bill of which others might follow with advantage. And, sale ' to secure himself from capture in this section during the present session, it has given us pleasure of the State. Besides his own stalwart arm, he has to see Mr. Hickman silence such assailants by a hosts of friends who would make this region too hot brave and dignified declaration of scorn and con- to hold the man-hunters who would venture on such tempt for their 'code.' That effective declaration an errand as the old lady hints at in her somewhat took him out of their reach, and made their bully- singular epistle. Her lamentations about the old ing utterly powerless.

Southern men should see the propriety of keeping all their peculiar institutions at home, especially directly to the escape of 'Jarm.' But here is her letter :

MAURY COUNTY, State of Tennessee, Feb. 20, 1860.

To JARM :- I now take my pen to write you a know the situation we are in,—partly in conse-quence of your running away and stealing Old Rock, our fine mare. Though we got the mare back, she never was worth much after you took her ;-and, as I now stand in need of some funds, I have determined to sell you, and I have had an offer for you, but did not see fit to take it. If you will send me one thousand dollars, and pay for the old mare, I will give up all claim I have to you. Write to me liar institution, in which slavery is brought home as soon as you get these lines, and let me know if to us. This morning Hon, T. D. Eliot sent a negro you will accept my proposition. In consequence of caed from jail, and almost certain slavery for life.

The following are the details: A short time ag), Mr. Eliot received a letter from send you your bill of sale. If you do not comply

suffering under a nervous affection, doubtless brought dren; that you was never abused, and that shortly

Syracuse, (N. Y.) March 28, 1860. MRS. SARAH LOGUE: Yours of the 20th of February is duly received, and I thank you for it. It is a long time since I heard from my poor old mother, and I am glad to know that she is yet alive, and,

MR. LOGUEN'S REPLY.

fore, he was sent home to New Bedford in charge of sister, because he put himself beyond your power

to convert him into money.
You sold my brother and sister, Abe and Ann, When near Annapolis, he was arrested on charge of in lieu thereof, send you \$1000 to enable you to reindigiant beyond the power of words to express, dom, to say nothing of my mother, brothers and than my own life; more than all the lives of all

You say you have offers to buy me, and that you shall sell me if I do not send you \$1000, and in the same breath and almost in the same sentence, you The next plan, the application to Mr. Eliot, was successful.

How many poor fellows are dragged into slavery for the market? Did you raise them for the whip-How many poor fellows are dragged into slavery through such means, it is impossible to tell. No doubt the number is large. Now in this case, the fines, &c., were remitted on the application of an M. C. Had no such powerful friend appeared, the fees and fines would have amounted to at least \$200, kicked and cuffed, and whipped, and to groan and disc, and where no kin can hear their groans or atand would have increased in geometrical progression die; and where no kin can hear their groans, or attill he would have been sold to have paid them. So it was with the negro whom poor Hyatt released, their funeral? Wretched woman! Do you say you it was with the negro whom poor Hyatt released. their funeral? Wretched woman? Do you say you When the case was first inquired into, it was evident did not do it? Then I reply, your husband did, and that to satisfy all the demands would require between \$200 and \$300; but when it was found what me shows that your heart approves it all. Shame

his fees, then the magistrate remitted the fines, and don't speak of him. I infer, therefore, that he is given his fees, till finally the boy was released dead; that he has gone to his great account, with the payment by Mr. Hyatt of \$45—less than a all his sins against my poor family upon his head.

reimbursed. This I hope will be the case. It is not mare along with me. Have you got to learn that right to place men in a position where they must I had a better right to the old mare, as you call right to place men in a position where they must I and a better right to the old mare, as you can either suffer in pocket or sise in conscience—must her, than Mannasseth Logue had to me? Is it a greater sin for me to steal his horse, than it was for them at the expense of taking so much from their him to rob my mother's cradle, and steal me? If family comforts. In the present case, Mr. Eliot followed the dictates of his own kind heart, without shall not I infer that I forfeit all my rights to you, lowed the cost. But should be be suffered to me? Have you got to learn that human rights are

If you or any other speculator on my body and | civilized nation, having so many cruel and dis

slave me. Did you think to terrify me by presenting the alternative to give my money to you, or give my body to slavery? Then let me say to you, that I meet the proposition with unutterable scorn and contempt. The proposition is an outrage and an insult. I will not budge one hair's breadth. I will not breathe a shorter breath, even to save me from your persecutions. I stand among a free people, who, I thank God, sympathize with my rights, and the rights of mankind; and if your emissaries and venders come here to re-enslave me, and escape the un-shrinking vigor of my own right arm, I trust my strong and brave friends, in this city and State, will be my rescaersand avengers.

Yours, &c.,

THE INHERENT INIQUITY OF SLAVERY. Extract from a very able and cogent speech delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, March 26, by the Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, of New York. Slavery stands wholly upon the law of violence

and superior force. It finds no support in equity, in justice, in right, in Christianity. It begins by inciting to cruel war by the basest means; pro-ceeds, through bloodshed and rapine, to the sale of captives to brutal traders and pirates; through the prrors of the slave ship and the middle passage, to sales to Christian masters. Every step is marked with ferocity and blood. Slavery is at war with every sentiment of justice and humanity, and with every principle of that higher law whose scat is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world.'

I speak deliberately, Mr. Chairman, when I say, for myself, that no forms of constitution or law, however solemnly agreed upon, or whatever high claims they may have to authority, intended to recognize, or authorize, or guarantee, any such system of outrage and violence upon human rights, has any the least efficacy to bind the conscience or control the action of any citizen of any Government under heaven. It is clear usurpation and tyranny, and not law. It stands, I say, wholly upon the law of force. Its most eloquent and able dvocate upon this floor admitted in debate, the other day, that there was not even the form of law in any of the slave States upon which it could re-It is wholly without support, except upon the tyrannous doctrine of superior force. by, some Annus or Spartacus will rise up in their midst, and contest with the masters this question of superior force.

Now, sir, this controversy arose between the colnizationists and the emancipationists. So long as emancipation was sought by colonization, discussion was lawful and proper—the church doors flew open, and the public peace was not endangered; but when it was sought to be proved that colonization meant further guaranties for eternal bondage, and was the deadliest foe to emancipation-the end pretended to be sought-and that immediate freedom was the right of the slave, discussion became all at once criminal; the church stood aghast, and feared it as the devil does holy water. Commerce, sir, was shocked, and went down upon its knees to this throned monarch, cotton. The attempt everywhere, North and South, was to suppress discussion of the question by violence and unlawful measures. In the North, freedom of speech and of the press was put down by mobs. Garrison was assailed, and dragged about the streets of Boston with a halter about his neck. In Utica, New York, a convention was driven out of the city by a mob, headed by judges, and lawyers, and merchants, and the first citizens. In Alton, Lovejoy's press was destroyed, and he was cruelly murdered. Violent denunciatory meetings were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and in all our commercial cities. The Governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Everett, recommended proceedings by indictment against Abolitionists at common law, as disturbers of the public peace. Governor Marcy, of my own State, recommended a special statute to meet the case. Wm. Sullivan, a noted lawyer of Boston, published a tract in Massachusetts, recommending the same enactment there. Dr. Beecher-a name which may have been heard by my friends upon the other side -and his associates, in Lane Seminary, Ohio, peremptorily forbade discussion there, and eighty young en were driven from that institution, to spread free sentiments in the North. In the South, the same violence was exhibited

The Georgia Legislature offered a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest and delivery of Garrison for trial in that State. In New Orleans, \$20,000 was offered for Tappan. Birney was expelled by violence from Kentucky, and his presses were destroyed in Cincin nati. The mails were violated by the seizure and destruction of incendiary documents. We have seen recently the extraordinary spectacle of a Post naster-General officially advising his deputies in reference to the construction of a State law for rob-bing the mails—that they should not do it by wholeale, but they should call a jury of the neighbors, if they could read, and try, or rather should themselves pass upon, each individual paper by itself. In a word, the same system of violence and terror was then established, North and South, which is now attempted to be revived at the South. have the same effect upon the North, which they mean to terrify by threats, and upon the non-slave-holding whites of the South, whom they mean to keep down by ignorance. Southern presses and statesmen talk of non-intercourse and Southern direct trade. They forget that several elements are necessary for prosperous commercial cities: among which are, healthy locations, established courses of trade, following which are accumulations of capital with banks and insurance offices, and expensive structures in docks and warehouses; that safety is indispensable, of life, liberty, and property, and freedom of opinion; and that merchants are mot apt to congregate where without trial an irresponsible mob may confiscate their property, drive them without notice from their homes and business, and even take their lives for non-conformity to the established faith on the subject of slavery. They forget that trade cannot prosper where the mercantile traveller cannot exhibit his samples, unless he goes under a passport, and his soundness in the faith is endorsed by members of Congress.

The despotism which utterly excludes any free-

dom of opinion or speech; the dishonesty which violates, without compunction, contracts with teachers in schools, with public lecturers, because of their

birthplace, or a chance literary connection with a proscribed newspaper, is not friendly to commercial prosperity and independence.

Great ingenuity was exerted to make the fugitive slave bill as bad and as villainous as possible. Men who would cheerfully acquiesce in it might be relied to the prosperity of the prospective of the prosperity of the pros upon to buy and sell-nay, they would sell the issue of their own loins, or send their mothers into

Very few disputed the right of reclaiming slaves under the Constitution, or would have resisted any decently humane law for their rendition, although no law could ever be of any practical value. But no law can be found upon the statute books of any