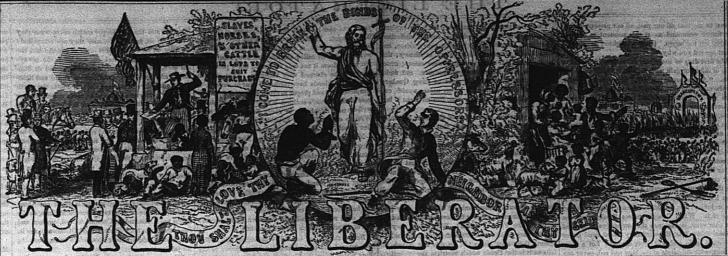
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. TERMS -Two dollars and fifty cents per annu

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ith death, and an agreement with hell.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 4.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1571

# Refuge of Oppression.

EPHRAIM AND JUDAH RECONCILED. Extracts from a Sermon Preached in the First Con-gregational Church in Lynn, on occasion of the National Fast, Jan. 4, 1861.

BY REV. PARSONS COOKE, D. D.

NORTHERN OFFENCES.

Let us endeavor, for the time, to keep passion and consument in abeyance, while we candidly considerant of the offences against the Union, which have see committed at the North.

of the offences against the Union, which have committed at the North. Sice to our Southern countrymen requires us y, in the first place, that they have suffered a st and provoking annogence from Ultraists of us, whose declared purpose has been a dission of the Union. For thirty years we have smoong us a class of people whose zeal, activity, asses have supplied the want of numbers—who carried on ceaseless war, first and chiefly ut the Gaspel of Christ and its institutions, and against social order and the authority of law. have sought to lay in rains the State, in order timy the Christianity shat is in it. To unsettle manent in all the States—the arch that sustained whole fabric. In order to this, no scheme ited more than appeals to the deep-seated lavery feeling of the North, and awakening nto an active war with the preposessions and ets of the South. Not that they had indeed a flaming benevolence towards the blacks, any than the French revolutionists were really ted by the zeal which they pretended for the toofman, and the relief of the oppressed, when gave them slaughter instead of oppression. So, other infidels before them have done, they unto more other infidels before them, have done, they unto the unto make in the unto make in the unto make them the unto the sum of the unto the unt an, and the reliet of the oppression. So, them slaughter instead of oppression. So, infidels before them have done, they put on siniter designs. They all other infidels before them nave doning. They will as a cloak for their sinister designs. They all have it that the revolution which they pro-

wary as a closer for their similar designs. They could have it that the revolution which they prolimed was to emancipate the human race from all sils, including. Christianity, law, and slavery; aving every one to do what is right in his own yes. The grand assumption of their theory has even, that slavery, being the sum of all villanies, be embodiment of all wrongs, must be the foremost each of the state of the sault, and Christianity, and law, and other almies, should be assailed in their subservience to almies, should be assailed in their subservience to almies, should be assailed in their subservience to almies, should be ruthlessly removed for the evil which it spheld, and civil government should give place ceause it interferes with man's freedom, and is berefore but another form of slavery.

On a platform so constructed, this body of processed reformers have gone forth against slavery, and against our National Union, for the time of one whole generation. The impression which they have hade is much greater at the South than at the North, the mischiefs which they have indirectly done are vasfly greater than the re-

North. And at the North, the mischiefs which they have indirectly done are vasily greater than the require which is consciously paid to their denunciations. The anti-slavery sentiment of the better and Ciristian portion of the people has unconsciously received an unhealthy tings from an infusion of their received an unhealthy tings from an infusion of their spirit. Many sound and Christian men, wholly and basedly repudiating their doctrine and purposes, have yet had their breathing affected by the pestitutal vepors generated from their laboratories of insidity. But the worst effect of these doctrines has been upon the Southern mind. There they have been caught up and set forth as true samples of Northern feeling; and so have called forth malignat retorts upon the North, as a whole. These retorts upon the North, as a whole. These retorts have begotten ill blood in the great body of our Northern people, that had no concern in the revocations given; and so have the more keenly sit the wrong.

This is an avil for us to dealors, but not for us to.

ilt he wrong.

This is an evil for us to deplore; but not for us to morn. For that is impossible. Tempests do not pied to reason; nor does fanaticism stay its fury sut of regard to mischiefs done. The greater the ria done upon our national fabric, the greater rould be the triumph and the joy.

ANTI-SLAVERY PREACHING. ANTI-SLAYERY PREAGING.

Now I proceed to say that the parent cause of the present trouble, so far as that cause proceeds from the North, has been our abolition preaching. What I have to except against it here is a mode of attack on slavery in contrast with that of the Christian apostles, and the use of the pulpit as a rostrum for political agistation, a grand electioneering theatre, turning the forces of the Gospel perverted, into the manufacture of a public opinion, hostile to institutions protected in our national covenant.

protected in our national covenant.

e freely grant that if the claims of the Gospe
e freely grant that if the claims of the Gospe
go to the winds. So we are to show, in the
place, that the Gospel does not require, but exty condemns, this mode of pulpit aguitation. Let
the understood, that the nations through respecting slavery, which then ruled the civilized world, sustained a slave system with vastly more ligor and license for abuses, than what attach to our rigor and license for abuses, than what attach to our Southern slavery. In whatever part of the heathen world the Gospel preacher opened his message, he found himself among slaves and daveholders, among whom existed greater abuses and abominations than any to be found here—and where, if they had interpreted their mission as our anti-slavery preachers do, their preaching and epistles must have bristled with porcupine quills against slaveholders. In reasoning with our modern anti-slavery preachers, we should be justified in assuming that Paul, and Peter, and John, when they went forth to preach the Gospel, were as thoroughly principled against slavery at themselves, and that they were constantly pained with the spectacle of suffering, under its monstrous vrongs.

Yet belodd a mondate in an analysis means to be better the superior of the suffering of the superior of the suffering of the superior of the suffering of the superior of

with the spectacle of suffering, under us more wrongs.
Yet behold a wonder; in never a speech or letter that has come down to us, do these model abolitionist atter themselves in the style of specific desunciation of the system so common at the present day. On what page of the apostolic writings, or in what speech of Christ himself, do we find a sample to warrant such preaching?
Yes, not only did they not preach in that style, but they expressly forbade it. Hear Paul, in his letter to Timothy:

tor they expressly forbade it. Hear Paul, in his letter to Timothy:

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the mane of God' and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not depts them, because they are faithful and beloved, packers of the benefit. These things feach and expeaters of the benefit when the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to god-lines, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doing about questions and strikes of words, whereof cometh enry, yills, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of according to corrupt minds and desintute of truth."

Now who does not see in this waves.

Now who does not see in this passage a fell and conted condemnation, both of the theory and prac-

tice of our modern abolition preaching? So full and clear is it, that thousands who have had more lice of our modern abolition preaching? So full and clear is it, that thousands who have had more passion for anti-slavery theories, than deference to the authority of inspiration, have hastily assumed that the Bible sanctions slavery, and therefore cannot have had God for its author. We agree with the abolition preachers, that this passage contains no warrant for slaveholding, though it implies that some slaveholders are Christians. But we challenge them not to blink what it does contain. Its prima face proof against abolition preaching is so striking, that infidel abolitionists, constituting the extreme right of the abolition body, have made this text the fulcrum to bear the lever with which they have expected to overthrow Christianity. And so successfully have they diffused the leaven of this spirit, that professedly Christian preachers now and then, as if half convinced of a conflict between the two, and vacillating between the Bible and abolition, blush not to say that they would reject the Bible, if they should see it to uphold slavery.

But this text tells us furthermore, what would be

But this text tells us furthermore, that would be the result of teaching the contrary of what is here enjoined—to wit, "envy, strife, railings, evil sur-misings perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds." Now let the fault lie where it will, none minds." Now let the fault lie where it will, none can deny the fact, that in close connection with abolition preaching, there has gone forth a world of just the moral chaos described by these terms. And all but those warmly engaged in the movement have ascribed these fierce and profitless contentions to the unscriptural urgency of abolition dectrines. If Paul, under the spirit of inspiration, had distinctly foreseen how our abolition pulpits would be employed for the last twenty years, together with the bitter results, he could not have described the whole in more fitting terms. So we see, that the apostless not only refrained from that kind of anti-lavery preaching, but they clearly and pointedly condemned it.

heathen world to its centre; because backed by the Holy Ghost in its omnipotence. If she then was weak, when has she been strong? Surely she was not weak enough to be restrained by fear, from uttering all that was in her heart. Her weakness did not compel her to sanction principles that she afterwards would see cause to abandon. And it seems that she had an eye to forsee that, even in these days, anti-slavery preaching would produce the same results as in those days, in the blasphemy of God and his Gospel, in gendering strifes and railing and perverse disputings, and filling the world with firecontentions without advantage. How many do our Chiristian congregations have been distracted and

solver to bring in alarming corruptions of doctrine. While it has been undermining the pillars of our State, and preparing the way for their present tottering; it has sent a blight upon interests more socred than State Constitutions. This is not the time to give the details of this. But it is a fact not to be disquised, that serious defections have of late been developed, and vastly more exist, that are not yet as publicly known; and that the individuals prominent in the doctrinal defections are generally as prominent in anti-slavery preaching. And few of these defections have yet been found in those opposed to such preaching. The co-operative coinection between the two could be easily shown. We could easily show you the same young America working with one hand to corrupt the fivorel of Christ, and with the other to unsettle the institutions of our country, by abolition preaching. And then, to show that that abolition heresy has a sympathy with hereys affecting general Christian doctrine, we have the fact that the pulpits of those secks, fathest removed from the evangelical basis, have generally reached the highest heats in abolition preaching, leaving the culminating point to be occupied by the aroused infidel. From the Garrison school down, there has been a descending graduation of heats of this doctrine—they being less and less, according to the nearness to the simple truth of the Gospel. This is a fact to be pondered.

What more befitting comment upon a lying and profligate discourse like the foregoing, than the following scathing lines of WHITTER?

thing lines of WHITTER?

"Pliate and Herod, friends!
Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine!
Just tied and hely! is that shared which lends
Strength to the speller, Thine?

How long, O Lord! how leng
Shall such a priesthood barter trath away,
And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong
At Thy own altars pray!

Their closer and their width

Their glory and their might Shall perish; and their very names shall be VILE REPORT ALL THE PROPIE, in the light Of a World's liberty!"

THE CLERGY ON THE CRISIS. CIRCULAR LETTER.

NEW YORK, Jan. 1, 1860. To the Church and Laity of Christian Churches the Southern States of the Union:

the Southern States of the Union:

We would salute you, brethren, in the spirit of the apostolic formula: "Grace, mercy, and peace." As fellow-heirs of a kingdom that "endureth forever," we have common interests and relations superior to all political bonds, furnishing the basis of fraternal intercourse, even in seasons of greatestivil commotion. Faith in God would seem to be the only alternative in a crisis which reveals the impotence and short-sightedness of heare. It is with the only alternative in a criss which reveals the impotence and short-sightedness of mans. It is will a profound conviction of the imminence of nationa perils, and with a deep sense of the solemnity and delicacy of this humble attempt to avert them, that we venture a few suggestions to our dear brethren suggestions to the immediate caus

we venture a few suggestions to our dear brethren, touching some of the immediate causes of our danger, and the probable consequences to great moral and religious interests of the threatened disruption of our civil ties.

A dispassionate view of public affairs constrains the belief that a system of gross and persistent misrepresentation has had much to do with leading the Nation to the verge of revolution. The South has grossly misrepresented at the South. The extreme sentiments or unworthy acts of individuals, and the South that the sentiments or unworthy acts of individuals, and the passionate ulterances of inconsiderable bodies, poabolition preaching, there has gone forth a world of just the moral chaos described by these terms. And all but those warmly engaged in the movement have ascribed these fierce and profitles contentions to the unscriptural urgency of abolition doctrines. If Paul, under the spire of inspiration, had dismetly force seen how our abolition pulpits would be employed for the last twenty years, together with the bitter results, he could not have described the whole in more fitting terms. So we see, that the apostles not, only refrained from that kind of anti-slavery preaching, but they clearly and pointedly condemned it. So it can no way be assumed, as it often is, that even if our country is perilled by the preaching, we are bound to preach thus, in order to Christian fidelity. But here I anticapate an objection, which I will just in this form—"You say, that in Christian trust slaveholding has no valid warrant, and that the master holds his slave by neurantion. And yet you say, it is the duty of ministers to declare all the counsel of God. So, is there not an inconsistency here?" In answer, let us first book at a parallel case. The despotism of the Roman empire was a monstrous wrong and usurpation, recolling to the morals of the day of the Apostolin the equacies of the composition of the results of the Apostolin to the morals of the same there way of life, and also rightly to divide the wind of truth, and select those truths to be applied in publicate their embassy in a conflict with all the send of truth, and select those truths to be applied for a direct exposure of all political () wrongs, and implicate their embassy in a conflict with all the send of truth, and select those truths to be applied for an adverte their embassy in a conflict with all the send of truth, and select those truths to be applied for a large of the save years were no more to their propose, than definitions of the save of this discourse would allow, we could show that they suppose, than definitions of the save of this discourse would allow, we

seas—all the terrible concomitants of civil various the post of the season of the control of the

# Selections.

REPORT OF HON. C. F. ADAMS.

The Select Committee of Thirty-Three, to whom was referred so much of the President's message as re-lates to the present perilous condition of the country, made a degrading and villanous (majority) report to the report of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, submit-

ting the following reasons for his disagreement with the action of the Committee:—

The subscriber has labored earnestly in the committee to make himself master of the causes of the present discontent. So far as they were dirulged there, they may be comprised under three heads: ist, The Personal Liberty Laws in some of the free States; 2d, Exclusion from the Territories; 3d, The apprehension of some future danger to the rights of the slave States from the adoption of constitutional amendments interfering with them. Without oining in the belief that there are very serious grounds for this uneasiness, the subscriber is too well convinced of its existence not to be disposed to apply any reasonable remedy to quiet it. He was, therefore, for this reason, induced to give his concurrence, at first, in several of the measures reported by the committee. He did so under a conviction that they contained the only reasonable as well as practicable adjustment of the differences unhappily existing in the country, without the sacrifice of principle on either side, that has thus far come within his observation. And although not entirely approving of them in the abstract, he was ready to give his

George Potts, University-place Presb. church, New York.

J. McErroy, Fourteenth-street Presb. church, New York.

John M. Krens, Ratgers-street Presb. church, New York.

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John M. Krens, Ratgers-street Presb. church, New York.

G. T. Bedding Bishop of the Prot Epis, church in Ohio, Cincinnati.

G. T. Bedding Bishop of Gambier, Ohio, Francis L. Hawkes, Rector of Calvary Prot.

Epis, church, New York.

Thomas House Taylor, Rector of Grace Prot.

Epis, church, New York.

William F. Mongan, Rector of Calvary Prot.

Epis, church, New York.

William F. Mongan, Rector of Church of the Accession, New York.

John Cotton Smith, Rector of Church of the Accession, New York.

H. Dyer, Secretary Erangelical Knowledge Society, New York.

J. E. Duenn, Methodist Epis, church, New York.

J. E. Duenn, Methodist Epis, church, New York.

Joseph Holding Epis, church, New York.

Arel. Stryens, Methodist Epis, church, New York.

Edward Latingor, Pastor of Baptist Taberna-

H. Dyer, Secretary Evangelical Knowledge Society, New York.

J. P. Durrin, Methodist Epis. church, New York.

J. P. Durrin, Methodist Epis. church, New York.

JOSEPH H. JOLDICH, Secretary American Bible Society, New York.

Arel Stylens, Methodist Epis. church, New York.

EDWARD LATHROF, Pastor of Baptist Tabernacle, New York.

EDWARD LATHROF, Pastor of Baptist Tabernacle, New York.

THOMAS DE WITT, Senior Pastor of Collegiate Ref. Dutch church, New York.

THOMAS DE WITT, Senior Pastor of Collegiate Ref. Dutch church, New York.

George W. Bethune, Pastor of Twenty-first street Ref. Dutch church, New York.

ISAAC FERRIS, Chaneellor of New York University.

THOMAS H. SKINNER, Union Theol. Seminary, New York.

MURRAY, Pastor of Second Presb. church, New York.

MURRAY, Pastor of First Presb. church, New York.

MURRAY, Pastor of First Presb. church, Elizabeth, New Jersey.

DAVID MAGIE, Pastor of Second Presb. church, Elizabeth, New Jersey.

CHARLES HODGE, Theol. Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey.

CHARLES WAOSWORTH, Philadelphia.

HODGE THEOLOGY.

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HODGE THEOLOGY.

CHARLES HOUGH THE STANGER THE

the United States a recognition of the obligation protect and extend slavery. On this condition, a on this alone, will they consent to withdraw th on use a one, will they consent to withdraw their opposition to the recognition of a constitutional election of the Chief Magistrate. Viewing the matter in this light, it seems unadvisable to attempt to proceed a step further in the way of offering unacceptable propositions. He can never give his consent to the consent of the consent

For this reason it is, that, after having be onvinced of this truth, he changed his course

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

### THE MARYLAND REVOLUTIONISTS TO BLOCK LINCOLN'S WAY.

The Railroad Tracks to be torn up—the Senate to be

RALTIMORE Jan. 11, 1861.

the Legislature propose to meet without his call, while others are for the self-constituted Revolutionary Convention dong everything, in conjunction with that of Virginia. Nothing can sullify the acts of such a Convention but the prompt assembling

of a self-called Union one, as I have already intermated.

The grand Union meeting last night was a triumphant success, and Reverdy Johnson's great forensic speech against the constitutional right of secession, and the heresy of this Union being a mero compact of sovereign States, may serve to arrest the tide of rebellion in Maryland. If the Federal Government would only not as promptly as the rebels do, a counter current would speedily sweep the traitors into oblivion; but while South Carolina is permitted to defy the Federal Power, it is difficult to prevent the spreading of the infection. Let Major Anderson strike but a blow in vindication of the Federal sovereignty, and instantly you will see the border Slave States rally to the side of the Colossus. Let Gen. Scott be but made Commander-in-Chief of border Slave States rally to the side of the Colossus. Let Gen. Scott be but made Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and a similar result will follow. We all feel and know, here, that had Major Anderson made good his threat to Gov. Fickens, without referring the question to his Government, all would now be well. People would have seen that we have, indeed, a Government worthy the name of one. The attempts at disturbing the Union meeting last night were crushed out instanter.

In certain quarters there is a statement afloat that five Alabanians intend to impose themselves upon Mr. Lincoln's suite as Republicans, and de-

in this or not, a word to the mise will be ex Knowing the prejudices against the President among the innorant, engendered, and fainse fury by the Toombses and men of their ilk, comes the friends of the President elect to b dent, at least. As for the President limited the honored choice of thirty millions of peopl he rests secure in their protection, even the portion of them may be alienated from him b representation, but his history shows he is a 1 go just where his duty calls him, regardless esquences. The Nation will find him a Jackson within an hour after he gets into the House.—N. Y. Tribune.

### THE SPIRIT OF THE NORTHWEST.

Some idea of the feeling of the Northwest on the subject of "Secession and Mississippi Navigation" may be inferred from the following, which we take from the Cincinnati Gazette of Monday:
"A mob has taken possession of the government defences near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

referred to has created much excitement and in-dignation among those more immediately interested, and, in fact, among all classes of our people. No idle threats or bravado are uttered, but no dis-position prevailate submit to any interference with the free navigation of the Mississippi. No rash or ill-advised steps will be taken, but on the first insults or hindrance to any boat's pursuing its customary and lawful business, measures will be taken to put a

and lawful business, measures will be taken to put a permanent stop to this insolence.

What we have before said, we now say again: The Northwest will be a unit in maintaining its right to a free and unobstructed use of the Mississippi River throughout its entire course. Of this, all intermeddlers and traitors to the Union may take note, and govern themselves accordingly.

No forts of the United States Government, anywhere most that stream, or in its vicinitie, will like

#### THE LESSON OF THE HOUR.

DISCOURSE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, At the Music Hall, Sunday, Jan. 20, 1861.

The office of the pulpit is to teach men their duty. Wherever men's thoughts have any influence on their laws, it is the duty of the pulpit to preach politics. If were possible to conceive of a community whose opinions had no influence on their government, there opinions had no inharmed on the formal political the pulpit would have no occasion to talk of government. I never heard or knew of such a community. Though sheltered by Roman despetism, Herod and the chief priests abstained from this and that because they "feared the people." The Sultan dared to murder his Janissaries only when the streets came to hate them as much as he did. The Czar, at the head of a vernment whose constitution knows no check but tson and the dagger, yet feels the pressure of public inion. Certainly, where pews are full of voters, no testion but the sermon should be full of politics.

"The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice." "The "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice." "The Covenant with Death" is annulled—"the Agreement with Hell" is broken to pieces. The chain which has held the slave system since 1787 is parted. Thirty years ago Southern leaders, sixteen years ago Northern Abolitionists, announced their purpose to seek the dissolution of the American Union. Who dreamed that success would own an account South Carolina. ess would come so soon? South Carolina, alone, with a hundred thousand more slaves cankrupt, atone, with a hundred thousand more slaves than whites, four blacks to three whites within her border, flings her gannlet at the feet of twenty-five millions of people in defence of an idea. I would New England could count one State as fearless among her six. Call it not the malacase. Call it not the madness of an engine self in front of his cannon at the mo arge;-call it rather the forlorn hope of the mariner, seizing plank or spar in the fury of the storm. The mistake of South Carolina is, she fancier more chance of saving slavery outside of the example. Probably the rest of the slave States, or many of them, will find themselves unable to resis and then the whole merciless conspiracy of 1787 is ended, and timid men will dare to hate slavery without trembling for bread or life.

Let us look at the country—the North, the South, and the government. The South divided into three lst. Those who hold slaves exactly as they r land-and of course love the Union wealth shrinking from change, but so timid as to stand dumb. 2d, Those who have ruled the nation sixty olizing Presidents' chairs and embassies defeated now, these plan, in carnest sincerity, for another nation with Presidencies and embassics all to themselves. 3d. A class made up from these two, to the Union in their hearts, but threater loudly, well knowing the loudest threats get the best

The object of the South is a separate confederacy The conject of the South is a separate the North to ask for annexation on their terms.

Then comes the government, so-called—in reality a

y against justice and honest men-some of its members pilferers and some traitors—the rest pilferers and traitors, too. Like all outgoing administrations, they have no wish to lessen the troubles of their sucsors by curing the nation's hurt—rather aggravate.

They have done all the mischief in their power, and long now only to hear the clock strike twelve of the 4th day of March.

Then look at the North, divided into three section Is the defeated minority, glad of anything that troubles their conquerors. 2d, The class of Republicans led by Seward, offering to surrender anything to save the Union. (Applause.) Their gospel is the Constitution, (applause,) and the slave clause is their mount. (Laughter and applause.) They think that at the judgment-day, the blacker the sins they have committed to save the Union, the clearer will be their title to heaven. 3d, The rest of the Republicans led by the Talance. plicans, led by the Tribune-all honor to the Tribune, faithful and true!-who consider their honor pledged to fulfil in office the promises made in the can-vass. Their motto is: "The Chicago platform, every inch of it—not a hair's breadth of the Territorics shall be surrendered to slavery." (Applause.) But they, too, claim the cannon's mouth to protect forts, defend the flag, and save the Union. At the head of this sect a hair's breadth of the Territories shall have every reason to believe, stands Mr ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ABLAHMA LINCOLS.

All these are the actors on the stage. But the foundation on which all stand divides only into two parts—those who like slavery and mean it shall last, those who hate it and mean it shall die. In the boiling gulf goes on the perpetual conflict of acid and alkali—all these classes are but bubbles on the surface. The upper millstone is right, and the lower scrong. Between ents and parchments, parties and com es, are being slowly ground to p

promises, are being slowly ground to powder.

Broadly stated, the South plans a Southern confederacy to uphold stavery—the North clings to the Union to uphold trade and secure growth. Without the Union, Mr. Seward tells us we can neither be safe, rich, strong nor happy. We used to think justice was before thrift, and nobleness better than happiness. I no great reliance on that prudent patriotism he child of interest. The Tribu nusually frank, pre-eminently honorable and lofty as has been its tone of late, still says, "Be it the business of the people everywhere to forget the negro, and remember only the country," (Applause.)

the hurricane, our ship of State is going to the lee shore of slavery. -Every one con the poison of our body politic is slavery. European os, in view of it, have pronounced the existence of Union hitherto a "fortunate accident." Orators floated into fame on one inspired phrase—"irrepressi-ble conflict." Jefferson died foreseeing that this was the rock on which we should split. Even Mr. Web ster, speaking with bated breath, in the cold chill of 1850, still dared to be a statesman, and offered to meet ed to be a statesman, and offered to mee the South on this question, suggesting a broad plan for the cure of our dread disease. But now, with the Union dropping asunder, with every brain and tongue active, we have yet to hear the first statesman word, the first proposal to consider the rountain and the first proposal to consider the rountain and our ills. We look in vain through Mr. Seward's speech for one hint or suggestion as to any method of dealing with our terrible hurt. Indeed, one of his terdisunion is, that it will give room for "an Euro-n uncompromising hostility to slavery." Such tility, the irrepressible conflict of right and am H. Seward, in 1861, pronounces "fear ful"! To describe the great conflict of the age, the first of American statesmen, in the year of Garibaldi and Italy, can find no epithet but "fearful."

The servile silence of the 7th of March, 1850, is out-done, and Massachusetts yields to New York the post of inflamy which her great Senator has hitherto filled. Yes, of all the flasters boothone, and Massachusetts yields to New York the post of infamy which her great Senator has hitherto filled. Yes, of all the doctors bending over the patient, not one dares to name his disease, except the Tribuse, which advises him to forget it! Throughout half of the great cities of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North, every one who had a market by the senate of the North by the Senate o him to forget it! Throughout half of a of the North, every one who touches d into silence! This is, indeed, the sadture of our times.

n, who, unlike Mr. Seward, are not afraid ne says we should "forget the negro."

seems to me that all our past, all our present, and all our future command us at this moment to think of nothing but the negro. (Slight laughter, derisively.)

Let me tell you why.

The first duty of society is JUNTICE. If any other basis of safety or gain were honest, it would be impossible. "A prosperous iniquity," says Jeremy Taylor, "is the most unprofitable condition in the world." We

ation learned it thoroughly; the second inherited as a prejudice; we, the third, have our bones and bloo made of it. When thought passes through purpos into character, it becomes the unchangeable basis national life. That Revolutionary lesson need neve be learned spain, and will never die out. Let a Brit ish fleet, with Admirals of the blue and red, cover ou Atlantic coast, and in ten days Massachusetts and Caro lina will stand shoulder to shoulder, the only rivalry shall die nearest the foe. (Loud appla

That principle is all our revolution directly taugh us. Massachusetts was hide-bound in the aristocracy of classes for years after. The bar and the orthodor pulpit were our House of Lords. A Baptist clergy an was little better than a negro. The five points of either would answer—[laughter]—pay your debts, am frighten your child to sleep by saying "Thomas Je ferson." Our theological aristocracy went down be fore the stalwart blows of the Baptist and Unitarian before Channing and Abner Kneeland. Virginia an emancipated the working classes of New England. Bitter was the cup to honest Federalism and the Essex junto. To-day, Massachusetts only holds to the lips of Carolina a beaker of the same beverage. I know no man who has analyzed this passage in our history so well as Richard Hildreth. The last thirty years have been the flowering out of this lesson. The Democratic ing down from pulpits and judges' seats, through shop ing down from pulse any jugges sears, arrough stop-boards and shoc-benches, to Irish hodemen, and reached the negro at last. The long toil of a century cries out "Eureka"—I have found it—the diamond of an im-mortal soul and an equal manhood under a black skin as sure as under a white one. For this Leggett labo as sure as under a white one. For this Leggett labored and Lovejoy died. For this the bravest soul of the century went up to God from a Virginia scaffold (Hisses and applause.) For this, young men gave up their May of youth, and old men the honors and case of the contract of the contra of age. It went through the land writing history afresh, setting up and pulling down parties, 'riving sects, mowing down colossal reputations, making us veil our faces in shame at the baseness of our youth's idols, sending bankrupt statesmen to di

We stand to-day just as Hancock and Adams and Jefferson stood, when stamp act and tea tax, Patrick Henry's eloquence, and the massacre of March 5th, Otis's blood, and Bunker Hill, had borne them to July, 1776. Suppose at that moment John Adams had cried out, "Now let the people everywhere forget Indepen-dence, and remember only 'God save the King!'" dence, and remember only 'God save the King!'"
(Laughter.) The toil of a whole generation, thirty years, has been spent in examining this question of the rights and place of the negro—the whole earnest thought of the nation given to it—old parties have been wrecked against it, new ones grown out of it-it questions-the great interests of the y suffer because men refuse to think —it struggles up through all comproof anything else nises, asserting its right to be heard-no green withe of eloquence and cunning, trade, pulpit, Congress or of cloquence and cunning, trace, purple, congress college, succeed in binding this Sampson—the busin of the seaboard begs it may be settled, no matter h -the whole South is determined to have it met, prolaiming that it does not secode because of Per iberty Laws or a Republican President, but because of the state of Northern feeling of which these are sign It is not Northern laws or officers they fear, but North ern conscience. Why, then, should not the North ac-cept the issue, and try to settle the question forever? You may run the Missouri line to the Pacific, but Garrison still lives-and while he does, South Carolina hates and fears Massachusetts. (Applause.) No re-solves can still our brains or stifle our hearts—till you do, the slaveholder feels that New England is his natural foe. There can therefore be no real peace till we settle the slave question. If thirty years of debate have not fitted us to meet it, when shall we be able? But the most honest Republicans say a State has no right to secode—we will show first that we have a gov-

remment, and then, not before, settle disputed ques-tions. Suppose a State has no right to secode, of what consequence is that? A Union is made up of willing States, not of conquered provinces. There are some rights, quite perfect, yet wholly incapable of being en orced. A husband or wife who can only keep the other partner within the bond by locking the doors and armed before them, had better submit to be separation. (Applause.) A firm where one partner refuses to act, has a full right to his services but how compel them? South Carolina may be pun-ished for her fault in going out of the Union, but that does not keep her in it. Why not recognize soberly the nature and necessity of our position? Why not, like statesmen, remember that h like statesmen, remember that homogeneous nations like France, tend to centralization—confederacies, like the slow, still deposit of ages on central granite; only the globe's convulsion can rive it! We are the rich mud of the Mississippi—every flood shifts it from one side to the other of the channel. Nations like Austria victim States, held under the lock and key of despot their food together,—must expect that any quarrel may lead to disunion. Beside, Inter arma, silent leges— Armies care nothing for constables. This is not a case

law, but Revolution Let us not, however, too anxiously grieve over the Union of 1787. Real Unions are not made—they grow. This was made, like an artificial waterful or ecticut nutmeg. It was not an oak which to-empest shatters. It was a wall hastily built, in hard times, of round boulders,—the cement has crum-bled, and the smooth stones, obeying the law of gravity nmble here and there. Why should we seek to stop hem, merely to show that we have a right and can That were only a waste of means and temper. Let as build like the Pyramids, a fabric which every nataral law guarantees; or, better still, plast a Union whose life survives the ages, and quietly gives birth

Mr. Seward's last speech, which he confesses do not express his real convictions, denies every princi-ple, but one, that he proclaimed in his campaign ad-dresses; that one—which, at Lansing, he expressly said "he was ashamed to confess"—that one h this, everything is to be sacrificed to save the Uni am not aware that, on any public occasion, varied and wide as have been his discussions and topics, he has ever named the truth or the virtue which he would not sacrifice to save the Union. For thirty years there has been stormy and searching discussion of profound moral questions; one, whom his friends call our only mona questions, one, whom is ricritic and our any statesman, has spoken often on all; yet he has never named the sin which he does not think its saving of the Union would not change into a virtue. Remembering this element of his statesmanship, let

t of every human society is salely of which, if need be, they will and they me and. rity—for which, if need be, it sacrifice every other." low, El ka lumb

se, the Pilgrims were madmen, and under the Puritans did right to hang Quakers. nt it. Suppose the Union means wealth, cul-opiness and safety,—man has no right to buy

because the continuance of slavery depen-preservation of this Union, and a compliance he guarantees of the Constitution. In Se-tet, Mr. Seward himself said. 8 Wes. by the Federal Union? Why would they go for they could not maintain and defend themselve not their own slaves?" In this last speech, b tells us it is the is slavery within narrow limits, and preve eing, like that of Europe, a "direct and ising" demand for abolition.

Now, if the Union created for us a fresh Gold every month, if it made every citizen wise as Solomon, blameless as St. John, and safe as an angel in the courts of Heaven, to cling to it would still be a dampable crime, bateful to God, while its cement was the blood of the negro—while it, and it alone, made the crime of slaveholding possible in fifteen States.

Mr. Seward is a power in the State. It is worth while to understand his course. It cannot be caprice His position decides that of millions. The instinct that leads him to take it shows his guess (and he rarely that leads him to take it shows his guess (and he rarely errs) what the majority intend. I reconcile thus the ut

perhaps magnanimity, to act over again sullen part when Taylor stole his rights. Still Mr. Seward, though philosophic, tho to analyze and unfold the theory of our polit unning in plans. . He is only the hand and tongue his brain lives in private life on the Hudson river-side Acting under that guidance, he thought Mr. Lincoln not likely to go beyond, even if he were able to keep the whole Chicago Platform. Accordingly he said, will give free rein to my natural feelings and real cor victions, till these Abolitionists of the Republica ranks shall cry—"Oh, what a mistake! We ought to have nominated Seward; another time we will not be alked." Hence the hot eloquence and fearless to not those prairie speeches. He returns to Washington finds Mr. Lincoln sturdily insisting that his bond pledged to keep, in office, every promise made in the platform. Then Mr. Seward shifts his course, saying "Since my abolitionism cannot take the wind from m rival's sails. I'll get credit as a conservative. Accep ing the premiership, I will forestall public opinion, and do all possible to bind the coming administration to a policy which I originate." He offers to postpone the whole Chicago Platform, in order to save the hough last October, at Chicago, he told us p ment never settles anything—whether it is a lawsu or national question, better be beat and try again, tha

tion of war against the avowed policy of the incoming President. If Lincoln were an Andrew Jackson es his friends aver he would dismiss Mr. Seward from his Cabinet. The incoming administration, if hones and firm, has two enemics to fight, Mr. Seward and the South.

His power is large. Already he has swent on Adams into the vortex—making him offer to excrifice the whole Republican platform—though, as events have turned, he has sacrificed only his own personal honor Fifteen years ago, John Quincy Adoms por the Union would not last twenty year

his son's honor in its gulf.

At such hours, New England Senators and Rep. sentatives have, from the idea of their very ultraism little or no direct weight in Congress. But while New England is the brain of the Union, and ther torestations with the process of the place of the place wheat five years hence, it is of momentous consequence that the people here should make their real feelings known—that the pulpit and press should sound the bugle-note of utter defiance to slavery itself—Union or no Union, Constitution or no Constitution, dam up Niagara with bulrusheass bind our ant purpose with Congressional compromise. The South knows it. While she holds out her hand for Seward's offer, she keeps her eye fixed on us, to see what we think. Let her see that we laugh it to scorn. Sacrifice anything to keep the slaveholding States in the Union? God forbid! we will rather build a bridge of gold, and pay their toll over it—accompany them out with glad noise of trumpets, and "speed the parting guest." Let them not "stand on the order of their going, but go at once"! Take the forts, empty our als and sub-treasuries, and we will le beside jewels of gold and jewels of silver, and Egyp be glad when they are departed. (Laughter and a

dause.)

But let the world distinctly understand why they go—to save slavery; and why we rejoice in their de-parture—because we know their declaration of inde-pendence is the jubilee of the slave. The eyes of the orld are fixed on us as the great example of self overnment. When this Union goes to pic ces, it is s shock to the hopes of the struggling millions All lies bear bitter fruit. To-day is the fruit of our fathers' faithless compromise in 1787. For the sake of the future, in freedom's name, let think-ing Europe understand clearly why we sever. They saw Mr. Seward paint, at Chicago, our utter demorali-zation, Church and State, government and people, all Slave Power, he said, to think slave do anything to save it. So utter did he consider this demoralization, that he despaired of Native Americans, and trusted to the hunted patriots and the refus which the emigrant trains bore by the salvation of the valley of the Mississ house, for the salvation of the valley of the Mississippi To-day they see that very man kneeling to that Slav Power, and begging her to take all, but only consent to grant him such a Union—Union with such a Power! How, then, shall Kossuth answer, when Austria laughs into scorn? Shall Europe see the slaveholder kick the reluctant and kneeling North out of such a Union? How, then, shall Garibadd dare look in the face of Nanoleon? If therefore, it were only to home self. Napoleon! If, therefore, it were only to honor self-government, to prove that it educates men, not pediars and cowards, let us proclaim our faith that hones bor can stand alone; its own right hand amply able bor can stand alone; its own right hand amply able to earn its bread and defend its rights (applause); and, if it were not so, our readiness, at any cost, to wel-come disunion, when it comes bringing freedom to our million of hapless slaves ! (Applanse.) What four million of hapless slaves! (Applanse.) What a sad comment on free institutions, that they have pro-duced a South of tyrants, and a North of cowards; a South, ready to face any peril to save slavery, and a North unwilling to risk a dollar to serve freedom! Why do I set so little value on the Union? Be-cause I consider it a failure; certainly, so far as sla-very is concerned, it is a failure. If you doubt me, look at the picture of its effects which Mr. Seward vainted at Chicago.

ainted at Chicago: Under it, 700,000 slaves have increased to 4,000,000.

Under it, 700,000 slaves have increased to 4,000,000. We have paid \$800,000,000 directly to the support of slavery. This secession will cost the Union and business \$50,000,000 more. The loss which this disturbing force has brought to our trade and industry, within sixty years, it would be safe to call \$500,000,000. Is the Union a pecuniary success? Under it, slavery has been strong epoche to rule the nation for sixty. the Union a pecuniary success? Under it, slavery has been strong enough to rule the nation for sixty

were proud to be called abolitionists, now, nine fen would deem it not only an insult, but a pe-injury, to be charged with being so. Ever existed, its friends have confessed that to say

Before the Union existed, Washington and Jeffer-son uttered the boldest anti-slavery opinions; to-day they would be lynched in their own homes; and their sentiments have been mobbled this year, year in agensentiments have been mobbed this very year in every great city of the North. The Fuglitve Slave Bill could never have been passed nor executed in the days of Jay. Now, no man who hopes for office dares to insist that it is unconstitutional. Slavery has turned our churches of Christ to churches of commerce.

John Quincy Adams, the child of our earlier civili-tation, said the Union was worthless, weighed against that liberty it was meant to secure. Mr. Seward, child of the Union, says there are few men, and there ought to be few, who would not prefer saving the Union to securing freedom; and standing to-day at the head of nineteen million of free men, he confe he does not deem w prudent to express his cherished convictions" on this subject, while every honest man fears, and three-fourths of Mr. Seward' followers hope, that the North, in this conflict of right and wrong, will, spite of Horace Greeley's warning, "love Liberty less than Profit, dethrone Conscience, and set up Commerce in its stead." You know it. A ose despotism is so cruel and searching tha one-half our lawyers and one-half our merchants conscience for bread—in the name of Martin I and John Milton, of Algernon Sydney and Henry Vane, of John Jay and Samuel Adams, I declare such a Union a failure.

It is for the chance of saving such a Union the the promises of the canvass, and countenance mea-sures which stifle the conscience and confuse the moral sense of the North. Say not that my criticism of them is harsh. I know their philosophy. It is, conciliate, compromise, postpone, practise finesse, make promises, or break them, do anything to gain bly failed is proved by a Capitol filled with knave and traitors, yet able to awe and ruin honest men. It was tried in 1821, and failed. It was tried in 1850, and trial! The Republicans say—"Conciliate—use soft language—organize, behind the door, bands of volundare speak out. conspirators. But if we are a governm ent, if we are a nation, we should say—"Tell the truth! If coer-cion is policy, tell the truth. Call for volunteers in every State, and vindicate the honor of the nation in every State, and vindicate states the light of the sun!" (Applause.)

come from disunion, and what good?

The seceding States will form a Southern Confede-

racy. We may judge of its future from the history of Mexico. The Gulf States intend to re-open the slave trade. If Kentucky and Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina secede, the opening of that trade will ruin them, and they will gravitate to us, ares. Louisana cannot secode, except on pa-per; the ominipotent West needs her territory as the mouth of its river. She must stay with us as a State or a conquered Province—and may have her choice. (Laughter.) Beside, she stands on Sugar, and free rupts her. Consider the rest of the slave one power—how can it harm us? Let us see the ground of Mr. Seward's fears. Will it in r expenses or lessen our receipts? No, every States costs the Union more than it co without commerce or manufactures, and with an army of four millions of natural enemies encamped among leave us so small and weak by going that we canno stand alone? Let us see. There is no reason to sur pose that the free States, except California, will cling together. Idem velle, idem solle—to like and dis-like the same things, says the Latin proverb, is friendship. When a great number of persons agree in a great number of things, that ensures a union—that is not the case with the North and South, therefore we separate; that is the case with the whole North, there we shall remain united. How strong shall we be Our territory will be twice as large as Austria, three times as large as France, four times as large as Spain, six times as large as Italy, seven times as large as Great Britain. Those nations have proved, for a con-siderable period, that they had sufficient land to stand six times as large as Italy, seven times as large as
Great Britain. Those nations have proved, for a considerable period, that they had sufficient land to stand
on. Our population will be about nineteen millions—
more than the Union had in 1840. I do not think we
were much afraid of anybody in 1840. Our blood is
were much afraid of anybody in 1840. Our blood is
largely Yankee, a race that saved Carolina from her
own Tories, in the Revolution. (Laughter.) Without
that hindrance, we could fight certainly as well as we
like the any and them with three willings see only any
like the any and them with three willings see only any
like the any and them with three willings see only any
like the any and the main of this corrupt political, social and literary state. that hindrance, we could fight certainly as well as we did then; and then, with three millions men only, we measured swords with the ablest nation of Europe, and conquered. I think, therefore, we have no re very nervously anxious now. Indeed, Mr. sand dollars per man, and a standing navy—for what! to protect Michigan or Massachusetts, New York or Ohio! No, there is not a nation on the face of the earth which would dure to atthick these free States, or any of them, if they were seen disunited. We are doing it in order that slaves may not escape from slave States into the free, and to secupe those States from domestic insurrection; and because, if we provoke a foreign foe, slavery cries out that it is in danger." Surely, the speaker of those words has no right to deny that our expenses and danger will be less, and our power to meet both greater, when the slave States are gone.

Indeed, everybody knows this. And this trembling dread of losing the Union, which so frightens the people that, in view of it, Mr. Seward, as a practical man, dares not now tell, as he says, what he really thinks and wishes, is the child of his and Webster's insincere sand dollars per man, and a standing navy-for what ! and O'Co

dares not now tell, as he says, what he really thinks and wishes, is the child of his and Webster's insincere

s, and now breaks it to pieces because it can rule virginis and the Mississippi enrich us because they s longer. Under it, public morals have been so will to do so, and not because they are compelled? As long as New England is made of granite and the proud to be called abolitionists, now, nine out of nerves of her sons of steel, she will be, as she always and not because they are compelled to Eugland is made of granite and the one of steel, she will be, as she always also in North America, united or disucessing the always at the stempons.

Abolition! That is all the value Disament. No foreign I care nothing for forms of government. No foreign State dare touch us, united or disunited. It matters not to me whether Massachusetts is worth one thousand millions, as now, or two thousand millions, as she might be, if she had no Carolina to feed, protect, and the mails for. The music of Disunion to me is, that at its touch, the slave breaks into voi

his jubilee.

What supports slavery! Northern bayonets, calming the masters' fears. Mr. Seward's words, which I have just quoted, tell you what he thinks the sold ise of our army and navy. Disunion leaves God's natural laws to work their good results. God gives nimal means of self-protection. Under God's surrection is the tyrant's check. Let us stand every animal means of self-pro out of the path, and allow the divine law to have free

Next, Northern opinion is the opiate of Southern conscience. Disunion changes that. Public opinion forms governments, and again governments react to mould opinion. Here is a government just as much permeated by slavery as China or Japan is with idolates.

try.

The Republican party take possession of this gov ernment? How are they to undermine the Slave Power! That power is composed, 1st, of the inevi-table influence of wealth—2,000,000,000 of dollars the worth of the slaves in the Union—so much capital drawing to it the sympathy of all other capital 2d, of the artificial aristo fifths slave basis of the Constitution; 3d, by the po ent and baleful prejudice of color.

The aristocracy of the Constitution! Where have

you seen an aristocracy with half its power? You may take a small town here in New England, with a busy, active population of 2500, and three or four such men as Gov. Aiken, of South Carolina, riding leisurely to the polls, and throwing their visiting ca will blot out the entire influence of that Nev England town in the federal government. That is your Republicanism! Then, when you add to that the element of prejudice, which is concentrate epithet which spells negro with two "gg's," you make the three-stand cable of the Slave Power—the ney, and the prejudice of race, the omnip nost irresistible power of aristocracy. That is the

How is Mr. Lincoln to undermine it while in the Union! Certainly, by turning every atom of patronage and pecuniary profit in the keeping of the federal government to the support of freedom. You know that the policy has been always acted upon ever since the control of the control Fillmore, that no man was to receive any office who Fillmore, that no man was to receive any onner who was not sound on the slavery question. You remember the debate in the Senate, when that was distinctly avowed to be the policy of Mr. Fillmore. You remember Mr. Clay letting it drop out accidentally, in debate, that the slaveholders had always closely watched the Cabinet, and kept a majority there, is preserve the ascendancy of slavery. This is the poli-cy which, in the course of fifty years, has built up the Slave Power, Now, how is the Republican party ever to beat that Power down! By reversing that policy, in favor of freedom. Cassius Clay said to me, five years ago: "If you will allow me to have the patronage of this government five years, and exercise it remoraclessly, down to New Orleans—never permit any one but an avowed Abolitionist to hold office under the federal government—I will revolutionize the slave States themselves in two administrations." That is a scheme of efficient politics. But the Republican

a scheme of emeent pointers. But he repushes party has never yet professed any such policy. Mr. Greeley, on the contrary, avowed in the Tribme, that he had often voted for a slaveholder willingly, and he never expected the time would come when he should lay down the principle of refusing to vote for a slaveholder to office;—and that sentiment has not should lay down the principle of remaing to vote or slaveholder to office;—and that sentiment has not only been reiterated by others of the Republican party, but has never been disavowed by any one. But suppose you could develop politics up to this idea, that the whole patronage of the government should be turned in favor of Abolition—it would take two or three generations to overthrow what the Slave Power has done in sixty years, with the power of aristocracy and the strength of prejudice on its side. With the patronage of the government in its control, the Rewhen, with them in its favor, the Slave Power has been the patronage of the government, it would take you

of the Northern mind from all connection with it, all vassalage to it, immediately, would be a better, healthier, and more wholesome cure, than to let the Republican party exert this gradual influence through the son to be very nervousy anxious now. Indeed, Mr.
Seward's picture of the desolation and military weakness of the divided States, if intended for the North,
is the emptiest lie in his speech. I said lie—I meant
it. I will tell you why. Because one William H.
Seward said, last fall, at Lansing—"We are maintaining a standing army at the heavy cost of one thoulike Sinbad, with Cushing, and Hillard, and Hallett, or, and Douglas, and men like them, on

ple that, in view of it, Mr. Seward, as a practical man, dares not now tell, as he says, what he really thinks and wishes, is the child of his and Webster's insincere idolatry of the Union. To serve party and personal ambition, they made a God of the Union; and to-day their invention returns to plague the inventors. They made the people slaves to a falsehood; and that same deluded people have turned their fetters into gags for Mr. Seward's lips. Thank God for the retribution!

But the Union created commerce; disumion will kill it. The Union the mother of commerce i I doubt it. I question whether the genius and energy of the Yankee race are not the parent of commerce and the folintain of wealth, much more than the Union. That race, in Holland, first created a country, and thea, standing on piles, called modern commerce into being. That race, in England, with territory just wide enough to keep its eastern and western harbors apart, monopolized, for centuries, the trade of the world, and annexed continents only as coffers wherein to garner its wealth. Who shall say that the same blood, with only New England for its anchorage, could not drag the wealth of the West into lise harbors? Who shall say that the fertile lands of

cess, nor our Websters invent. "laws of God" to please Mr. Senator Douglas. We shall have as con-connection, as much commerce; we shall still have a common language, a common faith and common nee, the same common social life; we shall internarry just the same common social life; we shall intermary just the same; we shall have steamers running just as often and just as rapidly as now. But what cares he as often and just as rapidly as now. But what cares he for the opinion of liverpool? Noting! What cares he for the opinion of Washington? Every thing! Break the link, and New York spring is What cares he will be seen that the link, and New York spring up like the fountain relieved from a mountain lost set assumes her place among decent cities. We not a special praise of the English courts, pulpit or pres by these comparisons; our only wish is to show that her. these comparisons; our only wish is to show the ever close the commercial relations might conever close the commercial relations might continue to be between North and South, and in spite of the co-mon faith and common tongue and common haster, which would continue to hold these thirty State bewhich would continue to not mease thirty States to gether, still, as in the case of this country and Ex-land, wedded still by the same ties, the mere rander-ing of a political union would leave each half free, as that of 1776 did, from a very large share of the con-

rupt influence of the other.

That is what I mean by Disunion. I mean to big. That is what I mean by Distance. I mean to the Massachusetts, and leave her exactly as she is non-mercially. She shall manufacture for the South just as Lancashire does. I know what an induce the same of the south just as Lancashire does. I know what an induce the South has on the manufacturers and dergy of Eg-and;—that is inevitable, in the nature of things. We have only human nature to work with and have only numan nature to work with, and we cannot raise it up to the level of angels. We shall never get beyond the sphere of human selfishness, but we can lift this human nature up to a higher level, if we can but remove the weight of this political school. but remove the weight of this political sal now rests upon it. What I would do with Massacha-setts is this—I would make her, in relation to South na, just what England is. I would that I could er off, and anchor her in mid ocean? Sovered from us, South Carolina must have a government. You see now a reign of terror-dreau to raise means. That can only last a day, Some spaces

tem must give support to a government. It is as ex-pensive luxury. You must lay taxes to support it. Where will you levy your taxes! They must reston productions. Productions are the result of stilled labor. You must educate your laborer, if you would labor. You must educate your moore, it you would have the means for carrying on a government. Depoissms are cheap; free governments are a der lungy—the machinery is complicated and expensive. If the South wants a theoretical Republic, the mest py for it—she must have a basis for taxati for it—she must nave a coast of teaching. In we want she pay for it! Why, Massachusetts, with a milion workmen—men, women and children—the link set that can just toddle bringing chips from the woodpile. that can just toome ternging error near the voorpus,

—Massachusetts only pays her own board and ledging,
and lays by about four-per cent. a year. And Sent Carolina, with one half idlers, and the other hif slaves, only doing half the work of a free may slaves, only doing haff the work of a free mas-only one quarter of the population actually at work-how much do you suppose she lays up! Lays up a loss! By all the laws of political economy, she lays up bankruptcy—of course aho does! Pat her out, and let her see how sheltered she has been from the laws of trade by the Union! The free labor of the North pays a free man-only illy at work-how her plantation patrol; we pay for her government we pay for her postage, and for every thing else. Launch her out, and let her see if she can make the year's ends meet! And when she tries, she must educate her labor in order to get the basis for taxation. Ed. neate slaves! Make a locomotive with its furnaces open wire work, fill them with anthracite coal, and when you have raised it to white heat, mount and drive it through a powder magazine, and you are me, compared with a slaveholding community educating its slaves. But South Carolina must do it, in order to get the basis for taxation to support an independent government. The moment she does it, she removes the safeguard of slavery. What is the contest in Vir-ginia now ? Between the men who want to make their slaves mechanics, for the enhanced wages it will secure, and the men who oppose, for fear of the infigerty and white throats. Just that dispute will go on, if ever the Union is dissolved. Slavery comes to an end by the laws of trade. Hang up your Shar's rifle, my valorous friend! The slave does not ask the help of your musket. He only says, like old Diogenes to Alexander, "Stand out of my light!" Just take your awkward proportions, you Yankee Demo-crat and Republican, out of the light and heatef God's laws of political economy, and they will melt the

slave's chains away!

Take your distorted Union, your nightmare mos-ster, out of the light and range of those laws of trade and competition; then, without any sacrific part, slavery will go to pieces! God made it a law of his universe, that villany should always be loss; and if you will only not attempt, with your puny efforts, to stand betwixt the inevitable laws of God's kingdom, as you are doing to-day, and have done for sirly years, by the vigor that the industry of sixteen States has been able to infuse into the sluggish veins of the South, slavery will drop to pieces by the very infe-ence of the competition of the nineteenth century.

That is what we mean by Disunion! That is my coercion! Northern pulpits cannonsling he Southern conscience; Northern competition emp tying its pockets; educated slaves avaking is fear; Civilization and Christianity beckoning the South into their sisterhood. Soon every breeze that sweeps over Carolina will bring to our ears the music of speciance, and even she will carve on her Palmetta, "We hold this truth to be self-evident—that all men are or-

ated equal."

All hail, then, Disunion! "Beautiful on the more tains are the feet of him that bringeth good tings, that publisheth peace, that saith unto Zien, Try God reigneth." The sods of Runker Hill shell be green, now that their great purpose is accomplished. Seep in peace, martyr of Harper's Perry! - your like vis t given in vain. Rejoice, spirits of Fayette and Kosciusko!—the only stain upon your swords is pai-ing away. Soon, throughout all America, there shall ing away. Soon, throughout all America be neither power nor wish to hold a slave.

We copy the above report of Mr. Phillips she ress from the Atlas and Bee of Monday. It was band by a large audience, which crowded the Music Hall acvery part. In consequence of the threats which have so frequently been made of late, that Mr. Phillips should not be allowed to so frequently been made of late, ton and should not be allowed to speak, some apprehension of a disturbance were felt. Application was made to Mayor Wightman for the protection of the police, of which a record is given in another column, which is a sentence. the hall, having a reserved force of seventy for en at the City Hall. On the part of the Andrews, Cols. Sargent and E. government, Gov. Andrews, Cols. Sargentard Ritter of the staff, Adj. Gen. Schouler and Sherif Cart were located in the immediate vicinity of Music Ball, prepared for any emergency. Happily, their series were not required.

Before commencing his discourse, Mr. Phillips IV quested the friends of the Society to preserve can allence during its delivery; a request which the main, complied with, though the tempts answer, by applause, the tokens of di which were occasionally manifested, prov casionally manifested, proved t

which were occasionally mannesses, in for some arong the audience.

When Mr. Phillips left the hall, accompanied by large number of friends, they found Winter seri-lined by crowds of genteel ruffians, of the Bell-Event persuasion, evidently, who vented their spite in bein-persuasion, evidently, who vented their spite in beinpersuasion, evidently, who vented their splie in be and groans. A large number of policemen were the street, who kept the crowd back, and accoupant Mr. Phillips to his residence. On the way thing the corner of Washington and Bedford street, and account of the street of the street in the street i crush was so severe, that one of the large lift the apothecary store of Mr. Joseph T. Brown and 4 550) was broken. No other danage was and Mr. Phillips and his friends passed on, the rabb following, until the residence of Mr. Phillips wa reached, when he was safely escorted inside, and enthusiastic cheers by his friends, and some his and hooting by the other party.

# The Biberafor. No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, YRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1861.

# SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Delinquent subscribers for the past year,—that is, loss January 1, 1869, to January 1, 1861,—are reform January 1, 1880, to January 1, 1891,—are reform January 1, 1891, enter the property of the made in advance, we are that payment is to be made in advance, we as hat payment is to be made a sead of rigidly exacting it, we allow (as we as of thirteen months to delinquents, they can have if complaint when their papers are stopped mitting to make settlement.

### THE ANNUAL MEETING.

Our paper goes to press too early to allow us to give an information as to the result of the attempt to hold the trenty-ninth anniversary of the Massachusetts and Slavery Society in this city this week; but we are prepared to witness another of those brutal and i see motocratic demonstrations against it, in order to put down the sacred cause of liberty, and to further g purposes of as selfish and desperate a conclave a plotted against the sovereignty of God and the sof man. All manner of threats to break up the rights of man. All manner of threats to break up the neetings by violence have been belehed forth, in adsince, by ruftians in broadcloth and riffians in rags; and since Mayor Wightman has unblushingly, and sith unparalleled insolence and lawlessness, prowith unparassess, pro-cisized that he will make no attempt to preserve the pakie peace,—thus virtually placing himself at the heal of the mob, and stimulating them to do their rst,—there is no doubt that an outbreak will follow such as the city has not witnessed since 1835.

To kindle the flame of mobocratic fury yet m sercely, the Courier of Wednesday morning valing editorial articles, written with diabolical intent besing editorial articles, written with diabolical intens, denouncing the friends of the oppressed as too vile to be olerated, slandering them in the worst manner, and edogring the lawless course of Major Wightman I fler is one of them:—

A Centeus Proposition. The Anti-Slavery S

sace him in it.

The reply of Mayor Wightman to such a request was
highly proper, and will secure him the approbation of all good
cutrens, who look upon a seditious mob with disapprobation
and decad, however organized, or incorporated, or under whatere name it pursues its evil designs.

With such incentives to create a riot, there can b little doubt of its occurrence. We serenely leave the result with Him who "causes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder He will restrain Abolitionism is the eternal truth of God, and all the

### THE CESSATION OF COMPROMISE.

We seem to be approaching the end of one of the We seem to be approaching the end of one of the great evils which has stuck, like pitch, (though with a more dailing contact,) to every form of our politics and religion. The present signs of the times seem to indicate that we shall soon cease to be cursed with a mutual agreement between North and South for the indefinite continuance and protection of slavery. But this blessing comes in a guise less satisfactory, because less exclusively to the continuance and protection of slavery. cause less creditable to our Northern States, than w had fondly hoped and expected.

It seemed as if that freedom of speech and of th press which has (until now) for many years been enjoy ed in the Northern States, combined with the accumu thing evidence of the aggressive character of slavery would, at last, open the eyes of the Northern people to see that their rights are no more respected by the South than the rights of the slaves themselves. It seemed as if people calling themselves Republicans (not to speak here of the yet more guilty class false) calling themselves Christian ministers,) must see, a last, that their struggle against the extension of slavery lost all its moral force, and half its practical energy o every sort, while they consented to the existence of slavery. It seemed as if they must realize, after the rapid intrease of encroachment upon their rights, and indignity committed against their citizens, for ten years past, that their own welfare, credit, and honor were at stake, and that an effective stand must be made against aggressions worse than those which brought on the first revolution. But, in spite of all these things, they continue to offer precisely the same ssions and even to incur the shame of inventing

Our prospect of a cessation of compromise come from the fact that the profuse and unjustifiable concessions offered by our Northern merchants, politician and clergy are no lenger accepted by the South They are not only not accepted, they are scoffed a Those who humbly present to the Slave Power the cridence that they have eaten a peck of dirt in its service, are told with contempt that this is not enough; that nothing less than bushels will suffice. Even the unspeakable baseness of the petition just forwarded to Washington by the Boston Board of Trade, asking favor in their eyes; what they want is, that the dirty work shall be done in advance of negotiation, volunta-Til invented, and energetically accompanied, to the stent of making slavery openly supreme all over the country. Just 80, the baseness of Rev. Dr. Spring, and of the New York and Philadelphia clergmen who, with him, have just sent a letter of fractinal sympathy to the slaveholding clergy of the South, will fall short of soothing the ire of th dignant brethren. The offering is deficient, both in tity and quality. There are only a dozen or two of Northern ministers who openly and strongly preach in favor of slavery. The majority of the occupants of Northern pulpits avoid this directness, and their influence as the bulwark of slavery, however real and practically efficient, is given only by inference, by such moderate means as always turning the cold shoulder to abolitionism, and, when the subject is snouler to abolitionism, and, when the subject is pressed upon them, maintaining that slaveholding, however much an evil, is not a sin, and ought not to interfere with church-membership. This position has sufficed, had been perfectly satisfactory to the South, in former times, and until the John Brown movement. Now, more is demanded; and those who will give this customary tribute, but no more, abase themselves in rate.

Thus, our prospect brightens. Despised as the Fracting of anti-slavery truth has been and few as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have been the instances of full acceptance of the great Christian principles have been working like leaven in the mass of Northern society, and have produced an obvious effect. Not only does an increasing agustion pervade this mass, but the element of sham democracy thas been to a great extent neutralized, and a portion of the Republican party has become fixed in the determination to yield no more—to make no further concession. And these changes, concurring most fortunately with the imperative demand of the South for more concession, and also with yet more vehemently aggressive cession, and also with yet more vehemently aggressive movements, on her part, suited to prevent concession, movements, on her part, suited to prevent concession, movements, on her part, suited to prevent concession, and also with yet more vehemently aggressive movements, on her part, suited to prevent concession, movements, on her part, suited to prevent concession, and make the properties as the properties of all the States, to recognize any human being as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man being as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man being as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man have as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any man hav

open to us the joyful prospect, first of a secession of A. S. CONVENTIONS IN CENTRAL AND WESthe South, which must end in the utter overthrow of slavery, and next, of the formation of a truly free

Northern Confederacy.

There will be years of disquiet in our economic and other relations, necessari There will be years of disquiet in our commercial, manufacturing and other relations, necessarily incident to a change of house-keeping on so large a scale; and it will take a century to free us from the deterioration of manners, morals and religion, which we have suffered from contact and guilty complicity with the slave States; but it will be an unspeakable gain to be freed from the sin, shame and ruin of continuance in this complicity; and it will be an unspeakable joy to have, at last, a Constitution, and an executive administration, which shall really secure liberty throughout the land, unto every inhabitant thereof.—C. K. W.

#### PREEDOM OF SPEECH.

After many shifts and turns to escape the pursuit of vengeful destiny, the fox slavery (fox and wolf in one) is now doubling on its tracks, and running over an early part of its course. Many years ago, in the North, the contest of freedom of speech against slave-ry was patiently fought and effectually won. That which Gibbon declared of the Romans is equally true of the Abolitionists; though frequently conquered in battle, they are always victorious in war. So it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. But as the actual slaveholders in the South, made desperate by seeing the gradual loss and failure of their party from year to year, are suicidally failure of their party from year to year, are suicidally grasping at the straw of secession, abandoning the Union which would have protected them awhile longer, and venturing the remainder of their fortune on the turn of a die, which they absurdly hope may restore the whole of fit—so their Northern partisans, equally desperate, are returning to the warfare which they vainly tried twenty-five years ago, the attempt to mob down free second. I. P. D. H. Jah. Jah. to mob down free speech. In Philadelphia, Buffalo and Rochester, in Westfield and Boston, they have tried again by clamor and violence to suppress slavery meetings, expecting thereby to suppress agita-tion, and to give a new lease of quiet continuance to

slavery.

This attempt, as absurd as wicked, even m blunder than a crime, is vain and powerless, except as it generates new force against themselves. Their attempt is not only ridiculous and futile in the nature of things—seeking to quell agitation by violence, to produce quiet by tumult, to secure silence by clamor-ous shouts—but external circumstances are even more and failed, in the years from 1830 to 1835. Civilization has advanced since that time, Christianity, how-ever betrayed in pulpits and prayer-meetings, has made progress elsewhere; many lying pretences of pro-slavery priests, politicians and traders have been exposed, past the power of further mischief; the com-pleteness with which, in the slave States, despotic oli-garchy has taken the place of republicanism has been shown, and has declared itself, beyond the possibility of further concealment; and we now know, thanks to the thoroughness of these manifestations, people in every slave State, their endurance by the increase of tyranny, are now ready by the increase of tyranny, are now ready for Republicanism and more, whenever a chance comes for their voices to be heard. The coming Conventions in the slaveholding States will show a beginning of the anifestation of this element. Meantime, the course of Abolitionists is energetic perseverance in free dis

#### WENDELL PHILLIPS AT THE MUSIC HALL

The Address of Mr. Phillips, at the Music Hall, on Sunday, the 20th inst., before the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society of Boston, was one of the pressive and admirable speeches he ever de livered. The full report of it, which has gone abroad in large editions of the Allas and Bee and of the Traceller, and which now appears in the Liberator, will show the reader that it was not deficient in energy or wont to censure Mr. Phillips's directness of speech praised this address heartily, and said the speaker was "more moderate than usual"; thus showing the cious change which had come over themselve mate of slavery and anti-slavery.

But a still stronger evidence of the pow quence and truth combined was seen in that very small proportion of the audience which had come to the Hall to express their dislike of the speaker, and their dis sent from his ideas.

Before commencing the address, Mr. Phillips re quested that his friends, and the friends of the Twen-ty-Eighth Congregational Society, would observe the accustomed quietness of that time and place; and they

But from a small number of persons, scated in the further part of the upper balcony, came at intervals brief expressions of derisive applause, alternating with hisses, in response to the stronger expressions of the address, whether affirmations of anti-slavery or descriptions of pro-slavery.

There was one amusing instance in which the dis-

turbers, having said A, with hearty good will, found themselves embarrassed in saying B. When the speaker said of the class led by Seward, who are now offering anything and everything to save the reus applause came from the upper balcony; bu when he proceeded—"and the slave clause is their sermon on the mount,"—there was a slight pause, and then a feeble attempt to raise another clap. But it died away ineffectually. Even the rowdles of Bosto could not cheer that description of their characters and lives. They can practise the slave-clause on week days without a blush; but when it is placed week days without a bussi, but when it is place side by side with the sermon on the mount, even they could not help feeling the shameful contrast. When Mr. Phillips said that even now, in case of

any assault from a foreign foe, Massachusetts and South Carolina would stand shoulder to shoulder to repel it, the applause (still proceeding from the same persons) was genuine and hearty. From that time to the end of the address, it was more frequently an exconcluding apostrophe, in which the speaker mentioned John Brown with honor, and mentioned Disunion as the inevitable forerunner of Abolition, was heard

The lamentees and the Free States, and with the Petitions against Slave-hunting in Massachusetts to be returned, and laid before the Legislature, without further delay. Those who have in hand the work of canvassing towns or districts should see that not another moment is lost. Now, while the concessionists are at work, trying to vote away the little that has heretofore been gained in this State for libbath as here for those of the formation of the formatio SEND IN THE PETITIONS. It is time now for sonists are at work, trying to vote away the little that has heretofore been gained in this State for lib-erty, now is the time for those to speak who wish Massachusetts to be made a Free State indeed. In-

MOBOCRATIC DEMONSTRATIONS!

STRACUSE, N. Y., Jan. 19, 1861.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Mobs seem to be the rule with us, of late, and or derly, undisturbed meetings the exceptions. The Rochester Convention, of which you will have had some account, was, on the whole, a decided and gratifying triumph. At Uties, the tide of feeling was stronger against us. The Board of Directors of the Mechanics' Association voted deliberately to violate their contract, and so closed the doors of Mechanics' Hall, which had been duly hired for our use. The Common Council held a special meeting, and strongly censured the proposed Convention—appointed a committee to wait upon the owners of all the public halls in the city, and to advise them not to allow us the use of their halls. Another committee was also appointed by the Common Council to wait upon those, who called the Convention, and urge them to desist from any attempt to hold a meeting. Excluded from Mechanics' Hall, in violation of our contract, no other public place of meeting could be obtained. Secret meetings of influential citizens, under the leadership of the Hon. Ex-Governor Horatio. Syxmour, we was also was held to devise plant for breaking up of the Hon. Ex-Governor HORATIO SEYMOUR, were told, were held, to devise plans for breaking up our meeting. Unmerchantable eggs, brickbats, stones, and pails of filth, it is said, were already prepared

for us.

The friends of the Convention were invited to meet, in the evening, in the pariors of Mr. James C DeLono. A good number of abolitionists from the A good number of abolitionists from the city, and the adjoining towns, assembled. The meeting was organized by appointing J. C. DzLovo, President; David Williams, Caroline E. Thompson, and Thomas Williams and J. Anne Rice, Secretaries; with usiness and Finance Committees.

BERIAH GREEN offered a series of spirited and ap-

POWELL, BERIAH GREEN, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, DELONG, Mr. MILLER, Mr. EZRA THOMPSON; and after a deeply interesting session, it adjourned.

The resolutions and a brief report of the pro ings appeared, the following afternoon, in the Uti Evening Telegraph, much to the discomfiture of the who were so determined that our sentiments show

be entirely suppressed.

By the persistent efforts against us, the whole city was resolved into a convention, for the discussion slayery, from and con. The agitation became gen and still continues. On Monday afternoon, we Susan B. Anthony and Beriah Green went to the at the hour appointed for the convention, they were greeted by a mob of several hundred persons. A man, officially authorized by the Association to prevent their entrance, was stationed at the door. The Mayor was present; and though he could offer no though told that his presence was not desired. Beriah Green has since received an anonymous letter, threat-ening his personal safety. Ex-Governor Seymour is reported to have said of Mr. Green, "He descrees to be ." So do the minions of slavery seem, just now

Our next appointment was at Rome. Rumors of nob were rife there also. In the afternoon we had quiet, undisturbed meeting, including some intellige and very attentive listeners. I addressed the meeti for half an hour, and was followed by Stephen S. F. ter in a stirring, pertinent and excellent speech upon the present crisis in our national affairs. The riots were on hand at an early hour in the evening for the work. Before our regular proceedings had commenced, a large body of organized ruffians marched to the Hall, and violently pushing aside Miss Anthony, who stood and violently pushing aside likes in the entrance way to receive the admission at once began their operations by taking posthe platform, and rendering the room a bedla fusion, by indescribable yells and drunken rioting. It being clearly manifest that no hearing could be ob-tained, we quietly withdrew from the Hall, leaving the ruffians to their reveilings. After a time, disappoi in their plans, and finding they were left alone, tracked us to our hotel, and at one time, the propr told me, more than a hundred of the mobocrata n the house, while many more were outside, occasion the managers and guests of the establi

It is doubtless well that respectable, conservative people should thus have opportunity to see that the nobs, just now freely interrupting our meetings, wit not, once called out, respecters of either

in the place, but to leave with the people the respondility and the credit of the mob demonstration. Le bility nd influential men of varied political and relig ious (!) connections are, we learn, implicated in thes outrages. At Rochester, I am told that several in outrages. At Rochester, I am told that several influential Republicans were among the most active and inveterate of the mobocrats, and the Rochester Demo-crat and Imerican (Republican) fully equalled its Dem-ocratic, satanic neighbor, the Union and Advertiser, in ocratic, its vile slander and abuse of the Convention and its Degenerate statesmanship, with truckling speakers. Degenerate statesmanship, with trucking criminal political subserviency, has new and strikin illustrations in the late exhibitions of Seward an

We are to have a Convention at Cortland to-day and to-morrow, — whether to be met there as in oth places, by a mob, remains to be seen. A. M. P.

## LINDA, THE SLAVE GIRL

Bosron, January 21, 1861. DEAR MR. GARRISON

press, entitled "LINDA: Incidents in the Life of a Slave concluding apostrophe, in which the speaker mentionpress, entitled "LINDA: Incidents in the Life of a Stare
ed John Brown with honor, and mentioned Disunion
Girl, seem years concealed in Slavery." It is a handsome volume of 306 pages, and is on sale at the Antiwith a silence betokening the intensest interest of the
whole immense audience.—C. K. W.

ender a signal and most acceptable service. The lamented Mrs. Follen, in her admir Massachusetts to be made a Free State indeed. Instead of abandoning the law which was found needfal to secure our own citizens from the kidnapper, let us take a step forward, and give substantial protection to the man who honors us by pausing in his flight from tyraning where he reachesour boundaries.

We lost the honor of passing the first Personal Liberty Law. Let us now gain the honor of refusing, first of all the States, to recognize any human being as a slave, or to yield to the claim made by any mun as a slaveholder. In the name of Heaven, let us begin to be a FREE State—c. K. St.

The Fast-Day Sermon of Rev. NATHANIEL HALL, of Dorchester, on our last page, is worthy of The Fast-Day Sermon of Rev. NATHANIEL.

HALL, of Dorchester, on our last page, is worthy of the closest perusal, the highest praise, and the widest circulation. What a world-wide contrast it presents to the malignant and implicus discourse of Rev. Parsons Cooke, delivered on the same day!

The Gov. Medary has resigned the Governorship of Kansas, making ten incumbents of that place who.

Yours for breaking.

THE WESTERN FIELD.

meetings in several places in the vicinity, and always with good attendance. The best Rpublicans are ap-prehensive that all may yet be lost through the ac-

commodating split to manifest in the party leaders especially in Congress. The course of Charles Francis Adams has surprised and grieved all his friends this way, not entirely devoid of anti-slavery sentiment. The Church gives us most inconvenience. All the mob violence we encounter is on her account. At our meeting this week, Mr. Brown and myself were honored with an encounter worthy of twenty years ago. Irish boys, Republican rowdies, Democratic sloughings, and Presbyterian Sunday school scholars. tive constituencies. For some time, they made, a most melancholy display of the religious and political

a Sunday sacrament.

Massachusetts mobbed us a dozen years. Boston does it still. But let half the mighty works be done here, that have been done in Now England, and you shall see millennial times. We must do here, however, as we did there; labor vigorously, and wait patiently. That is what we are trying to do.
PARKER PILLSBURY.

#### METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL.

In the Senate on Monday, Mr. Whiting, of Ply-

Orderd, That a joint special committee be appointed, to consist of two on the part of the Senate, with such as the House may join, to consider the expediency of so altering the charter of the city of Boston, that its police shall be appointed by the authorities of the State, and that they be desired to report by bill or otherwise.

### In support of the order, Mr. Whiting said :-

In support of the order, Mr. walling said—
Mr. President,—I suppose there are some considerations, which may be deemed general in their nature,
why an inquiry like that contemplated in this order
should be made. It is well known, that in some cities
in this country, the appointment of the police has been
taken from the city authorities and vested in the State. It has not been thought necessary, thus far, in our own Commonwealth, but if I am not mistaken, and have not been misinformed, it has been intimated by the Chief of Police of this city, that the time has arrived when it is important, and perhaps necessary, that the appointment of the police should be vested in other ands than those of the city authorities. But I offer this order here to-day for reasons immediate, special

wish to state some facts bearing upon the subject.

And in order to do so, I wish to repeat a little his And in order to do so, I wan to repeat a finite hory—going back but a short time. It will be remembered that on the 8d of December last, a meeting was convened in this city, at the Tremont Temple, for the purpose of considering the question, "How can American slavery be abolished?" That meeting was broken d (I speak the word deliberately) by of course—assisted (I speak the word deliberately) by the authorities of the city. The police then and there present, under the direction of the Mayor, turned all the parties out of the hall—those who called the meet-ing, and the disturbers of the same—on the ground that there was no other way to preserve the peace. A that of a man, whose house has been invaded, being turned into the street by the police, with the distr of his peace. Well, sir, at that time, that mob, ion of that meeting, legally called, for a very

Resolved, That the people of this city have submitted too long in allowing irresponsible persons and political demanagements of every description, to hold public meeting that disturb the public peace and mirrepresent us abroad that they have become a nuisance, which, in self-defended we are determined shall henceforward be summarily abated

Well, sir, the Mayor of that day has passed from of fice, and another has been elected, by the party claim-ing to be, par excellence, the law-abiding party—in favor nstitution, the Union, and the enforcement o Anti-Slavery Society—a private corporation, that has been in existence, and accustomed to hold its meetings here, year after year, for something like twenty-eight years—and in view of the warning that had been given by this self-constituted tribunal, headed by Mr. Richar and J. Murray Howe, and others of like kid ney, the Trustees of the Tremont Temple thought it wise to go to the Mayor of the city, and see whether they could be protected in the lawful use of their prop-erty. The Mayor, in reply to the application of Mr. Joseph K. Hayes, Superintendent of Tremont Temple, says :-

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, }
BOSTON, JAN'Y, 1861.

Mn. JOSEPH K. HAYES— Sir: I do not consider any action necessary on the part of the city government in reference to the holding of a fair by the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society at the Trumont fair by the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society at the Tremont Temple on the 24th and 25th of the present month. If, as you intimated, public meetings are to be held in the evenings, it is for you and the trustees to decide whether they will be of such a character as to render a breach of the public peace probable. If you anticipate any result of this nature, the responsibility will rest upon you, as you cannot be justified in willfully putting the peace of the city in peril.

Yours respectfully.

Yours, respectfully, JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN.

Well, after such an intimation as that, Mr. Superio tendent Hayes, in company with another gentleman called upon the Mayor, and they report the conversation that took place between them, in substance, und their own signatures, to which they are willing to make

ures more attractive than many of its prepared to be histories of slave life in because, in contrast with their mingding of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the sevent of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the sevent of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the sevent of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the sevent of the fact, this record of complicated experience of the sevent of the fact, this record of complication of the Termont Temple, and fairs H. Heyrodo, acting of the Termont Temple, and fairs H. Heyrodo, acting of the Termont Temple, and fairs H. Heyrodo, acting of the Termont Temple, and fair the sevent of the present miscentry of the present miscentry of the present of the p

since in the present excited state of the public mind, it was

dent an anti-slavery meeting could not be held in Bos without serious and perhaps violent opposition, we think to hold one, and if it was held, and such oppo-on was provoked, he should arrany those who called he thought they I ug, to discuss exe

ussurvance. The Mayor replied: "If that is your request, my a is a very short one. If you have reason to expect turbance, you are not authorized to hold the meeting. The Mayor then called in Mr. Silas Peiros, Chairu the Board of Aldermen, and repeated to him the sub

the Board of American said of the Committee, then proceeded to fathe to the Mayor that he and his associates represented a religious society that had held regular meetings on Sundays for fifteen years, and that Mr. Phillips was to conduct the services in accordance with an engagement made some months since; at which point, the Mayor interrupted Mr. Dudley, and said: "There is no need of any discussion You have already had my answer to your request. If you

JOHN R. MANLEY,
HENRY W. WELLINGTON,
FREDERIC H. HENSHAW,
E. GERRY DUDLEY,
GEORGE W. SMALLEY.

Boston, January 21, 1861,

It seems, then, Mr. President, that it has co It seems, then, Mr. President, that it has come this, that we cannot hold a meeting here to discuss any question about which there may be differences of opinion in this community, and in relation; to which there may be any effort to create a public disturbance. It does not matter, it seems, whether our purpose is legal or lilegal, proper or improper; if it is likely to create excitement, or to fain the flames of excitement. create excitement, or to fain the flames of excitemer already existing, we have no right to hold such mee ng, and no owners of any buildings in this city have right to let them for such a purpose. Now, Mr. President, if this is really the state of ore of any buildings in this city have

things in this community, it certainly presents it to us in a very serious light. For if meetings of character may be put down, what safety have we for the discussion of any question whatever? the discussion of any question wantever: "Any may not this sapient Mayor of Boston, who, in the mutations of party politics, has been placed in the executive chair of this city, "clothed with a little brief authority"—why may he not, if he thinks the public peace requires it, send his mob, headed by Richard S. Fay and J. Murray Howe—that new firm of patent Union-savers—Beacon street, North street & Co.—why were he not send them up here and abate this why may he not send them up here, and abate this why may he not send them up here, and abate this Legislature as a "nuisance"?—discussing exciting topics, about which there is great difference of opinion in the community, and in which, possibly, some-body may speak disrespectful words about the government? I say, according to the declaration of the Mayor of Boston, we only sit here by his permission—because he has not yet seen fit to abate this Legislature as a public "nuisance." Why cannot they stop the temperature meetings that are helden from time the temperance meetings that are holden from time to time, and are to be holden in the other part of this building, the Representatives' Hall, on the ground that they may cause an excitement—that they may disturb the public peace—that they may interfere with somebody's pocket who is engaged in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks! What religious society in this community has any security for a single in at being set upon by a mob—set on and ad by the Mayor of the city of Boston—on the ground that somebody may give utterance to something that will create excitement, that will dis turb the public peace? It seems to me, Mr. President, that really we have no protection at all, and think it is time we looked this matter in the face Sir, there are times, in the life of individuals, when

nen become insane, and we shut them up in mad houses, for their own benefit and for the safety of the There are times when men become so lost to principle, to all sense of justice and right, as to invade he prerogatives of other men—the rights of property—and we shut them up in houses of correction, or the State PIISON; or we hang them on the gallows. It is just so with communities; and, sir, if it has come to that pass, that this compound of stupidity and ruffian-ism is the representative of the city of Boston, in the year of grace 1861, certainly, if we cannot hold a pub-lic meeting, on a lawful quanties. State prison; or we hang them on the gallows. It is lic meeting, on a lawful question, in a proper m without being liable to be disturbed by a mob, rested as disturbers of the public peace, it seems t me that the time has arrived when, at least, we should make the inquiry—we should make the inquiry—whether the interests and the rights of our people cannot properly and rightfully be placed under the guardianship of the State; and it is for this reason, Mr. President, that I have offered this order to-day, that, if the Legislature thinks it wise and proper, the inquiry, at least, shall be made; that we shall look at the facts; that we shall endeavor to understand where we are: that we shall settle this constitute when me that the time has arrived when, at least, we should we are; that we shall endeavor to understand where we are; that we shall settle this question, whether men can meet and discuss legal, lawful subjects, with out being set upon, either by a lawless mob, or by the constituted authorities of the city of Boston.

The order was adopted, with but one dissenting vote.—Mr. Slade, of Suffolk.

In the House on Tuesday, the order of Mr. WHITING opposed it as an insult to Boston. He said he did not sympathize with the mob which broke up the meeting in Tremont Temple, nor with the men who held the Boston would always be ready to defend law

Mr. Slack, of Boston, defended it. He loved loyal-Mr. Slack, of Boston, defended it. He loved loyal-ty wherever he saw it. He even appreciated the sen-timent in the misguided citizens of South Carolina, who rallied and defied nineteen millions of people be-cause they thought the rights of their State were en-dangered. His loyalty was involved in this order. He reviewed the several disturbances of meetings in this city within forty days, and also the mobs which had threatened Anti-Masonry and William Lloyd Garrison.

e proposed a e city of Bor the city of Boston, existing because if was

and openly anti-slavery. He would got as it as any-body in opposition to slavery, but under certain limits, suitable to the public exigency. He moved the year and nays, and they were ordered.

Mr. Parsons, of Lawrence, was in favor of sending, the order to a committee, and he strongly defended free speech. But still he would not lightly accuse Boston of doing wrong, and he was sorry to hear any-body else. He liked the spunk of John Brewn, but disliked his principles. He wished to God the present Chief Executive of the nation had as much pluck. He was for a hearing of the thing before a committee. Mr. Hills, of Boston, defended the city, but said he should vote for the order, as he would for any order of inquiry.

order of inquiry:

Mr. Chass, of Haverhill, agreed with the last speaker, and thought that the yeas and mays were not needed on the question of reference. The vote by which they were ordered was reconsidered on his

motion.

Mr. Slack spoke again, chiefly in reply to Mr. Hills, of Boston, who said that the police were present at the Music Hall last Sunday, and that some high authority had told him that the statement signed by Mr. Hayes, Superintendent of Tremont Temple, was untrue in many particulars, as printed; also that Mr. Phillips might have gone home on Sunday without trouble, if he had followed the advice of the police. Mr. Slack said that back-door exits and close carriages were not for Wendell Phillips, and that he would be Mr. Siack said that back-door erins and concentrations were not for Wendell Phillips, and that he would be defended in the city of his birth. He read from a letter purporting to be written by Senator Lucius Slade, which was printed some time ago, and he called upon that gentleman to come into Court and tell what he

hat gentleman to come into Court aus-tnew of an organized body to put down free speech. The House then concurred in the Senate reference nearly a unanim

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AMERICAA AAT-Shark Scottas, Cellections by H. Ford Dougless.
Lunenburg, \$1', Winchester, \$28; Westminster, 2; South Gardner, \$59; Hubbardston, 283; Barre, 216; Clinton, 882; Pepperell, 230; Estrilleg, 31 Ashburnham, 2; Gardner Centre, \$11; East Tompleton, \$36; Leicester, 263; Oakdalo, 126; Harvard, 132.
Douation. At Lunenburg, \$1°; Wine

Mrs. Sarah S. Russell, FRANCIS JACKSON, Tra

F NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION .- The Fourth F NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION.—The Fourth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Albany, in Association Hall, Monday evening, Tuesday and Wednesday, afternoon and evenings, Feb. 4, 5 (Hon. Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Beriah Gren, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Oliver Johnson, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Convention.

Afternoon sensions will commence at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission, 10 cents.

WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY. A. T. Foss, Sanuel May, Jr., S. S. Poster, H. Ford

Douglass, and others, will be present. The proordially invited. JOSIAH HENSHAW, Pro JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Sec'y. FA. T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusett Slavery Society, and H. C. WRIGHT, will speak at

Bellingham, Sunday, Jan. 27.
North Bellingham, Monday, 28.
West Wrentham, Sunday, Feb. 3. H. FORD DOUGLASS, an Agent of the M. ts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at. Sunday afternoon and every, Jan Tuesday, Feb. Sunday, Peb. Monday, "

a Sunday evening next, on the subject of "Capital ment," at Boylston Lower Hall, commencing at 7.

Charles Spear, How M. 17. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT .- A meet Spear, Hon. M. H. Boves, of New York.

Music—The Lay of Pestal,—composed by a Polish of-

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.-The Second Annual New TOWN STATES THE Convention will be held at ALBANY, in Association Hall, Thursday and Friday, afternoons and evenings, Feb. 7 and 8.

Lucrotia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Gady Stanton, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others, will ad-

convention.

con sessions at half-past 2 o'clock. Admission free.

sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission to a

FREE DISPENSARY, for Women and Children, 774 Washington street, Boston. Open every day, from 12 to 'clock.

The above institution (in connection with the Ladres'

both sexes. Difficult cases may have the l oltation on Wednesdays, at 12 o'clock.

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SITUATION WANTED .-- A lady who has had arge experience in matters of house-keeping, and who is minently qualified satisfactorily to discharge the duties connected therewith, dearen a minimum, either in this keeper, or matron of some establishment, either in this city or vicinity. The best of references given. Address X., Anti-Stavery Office, 221 Washington street.

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### Sewing Machines, PRICE PORTY DOLLARS.

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THIS is a new style, first class, double thread, Family Machine, made and licomed under the patents of Howe, Wheeler & Wilson, and Grover & Baker, and its construction is the best combination of the various patents owned and used by these parties, and the patents of the Parker Sewing Company. They were swarded a Silver Medal at the last Fair of the Mechanics' Charitable Association, and are the best finished and most substantially made Family Machines now in the market.

Soles Room, 188 Washington street.

GEO, E. LEONARD, Joens.

Mayes—crouching on the very plains
Where rolled the storm of, Freedom's war
a groan from Eutaw's haunted wood— A wall where Camden's martyrs fell— By every shrine of patriot blood, From Moultrie's wall and Jasper's well!

By storied hill and hallowed grot, By mosey wood and narrhy glen,
Whence rang of old the rifle-shot,
And hurrying shout of Marion's men!
The groan of breaking hearts is there—
The falling lash—the fetter's clank!
Maves—stayes are breathing in that air,
Which old De Kalb and Sumter drank!

What, ho !--our countrymen in chains !
The whip on woman's shrinking flesh ! Our soil yet reddened with the stains,
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh?
What! mothers from their children riven!
What! God's own image bought and sold!
Amenicans to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold!

Speak ! shall their agony of prayer Come thrilling to our hearts in vai To us, whose fathers scorned to bear The pairry menace of a chain; To us, whose boast is loud and long, To us, whose boast is loud and long, Of holy Liberty and Light— Say, shall these writhing slaves of Wrong Plead vainly for their plundered Right?

What ! shall we send, with lavish breath, Our sympathies across the wave, Where Manhood, on the field of death, Strikes for his freedom, or a grave? Shall prayers go up, and hymns be sing For Greece, the Moslom fetter spursin And millions hall with pen and tongue Our light on all her alters burning?

Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France, By Vendome's pile and Schoenbrun's wall, And Poland, grasping on her lance, The impulse of our cheering call? The impulse of our cheering call?
And shall the SLAVE, beneath our eye,
Clank o'er our fields his hateful chain
And toss his fettered arms on high, And green for Freedom's gift in vain?

Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be refuge for the stricken slave? shall the Russian serf go free Baikai's lake and Neva's wave And bid his bondman cast the chain From fettered soul and limb aside?

Shall every flap of England's flag
Problaim that all around are free,
From "farthest Ind" to each blue crag
t beetlen o'er the Western Sea?
a shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
When Freedom's fire is dim with us, And round our country's altar clings.
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go-let us ask of Constantine To loose his grasp on Poland's thro And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line To spare the struggling Suliote— Will not the scorching answer come From turbaned Turk, and scornful Russ Go, loose your fettered slaves at home, Then turn, and ask-the like of us!"

Just od f and shall we calmly rest, The Christian's scorn-the heathen's mirt Conte t to live the lingering jest

An by-word of a mocking Earth? An oy-word of a mount garact.

Shall our own glorious land retain

That curse which Europe scorns to bear?

Shall our own brethren drag the chain

Which not even Russia's menials wear?

Up, then, in Freedom's manly part, From gray-board eld to fiery youth And on the nation's naked he And on the nation a macca near-feather the living coals of Truth! Up—while ye alumber, deeper yet The shadow of our fame is growing! Up—while ye pause, our sun may set In blood, around our altars flowing!

Oh ! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth-Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
When hall and Gro above it ran!
Hear ye no warnings in the air?
Feel ye no earthquake underneath? p-up-why will ye slumber where The sleeper only wakes in death?

Up now for Freedom !--not in strife And smite to earth Oppression's red,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love
Made mighty through the living God!

Down let the shrine of Moloch sink, Down let the shrine of Molech sink,
And leave no traces where it stood;
No longer let its idol drink
His daily cup of human blood;
But rear another altar there,
To Truth and Love and Mercy given,
And Precdom's gift, and Precdom's prayer,
Shall call an answer down from Heaven!

SNOW.

Stiently down, gracefully down,
Over the forest and over the town,
Robing the earth in a pure white gown,
Wafting to and fre; Drifting, circling, eddying rour Comes the feathery snow. Gently it falls, quietly falls,

Country it falls, quietly falls,
Covering hats and covering halls,
Building its ministure cities and walls
Over the earth below;
Spreading in sheets, relling in balls,
Daneing, freikking mow.

Cold and bleak, frozen and bleak, Tlying about in a merry freak, Twirting around the mountain peak Down to the valley below; Losing itself in the rippling creek, Fickle and fleeting at

Over the ground, the frozen ground,
The crystal fishes chase each other rose
Forming a valley or building a mound,
When the north winds blow,

Chinging to trees, the evergreen trees, Porning fantastic images, Scattered as the merry breeso Rushing owned doth go; Losing itself in the movy reas, Pair and fragile snow.

Sweeping away, melting away, When the can with its golden ray Into the arbor errops to play, Where the violets grow; Melting, wasting, hiding away, Frail and beautiful snow.

# The Diberator.

THE ORISIS.

A SERMON. Preached at Dorchester, Mass. on the or late National "Fast." BY REV. NATHANIEL HALL

INAIAN, 1: 16.—"Put away the evil of your doing from before mine eyes; cosse to do evil; learn to do well seek judgment; relieve the oppressed."

I deem it becoming the good citizen to respect, so far as he conscientiously can, the recommendations of the constituted authority. A respect to the authority as such, does not imply a respect for the person in whom, for the time, it is vested. Nor does a compliance, in general, with a recommendation like that in response to which we are assembled, imply an ac-ceptance of the views in which it originated, or the position no longer, it would seem, the heresy it was;) believing in the efficacy of prayer—which is not holiow and hypocritical; in the efficacy of fasting—such as consists in an abstinence from cruelty and fraud; believing, moreover, that we are a people laden with a great iniquity, who ought to humble ourselves therefor, before Heaven, and seek light and strength for a crisis which wicked compromises and wicked rulers have brought upon us;—believing thus, I see nothing less than a holy propriety in an occasion when, in the language of the Proclamation, "with deep contrition and penilent sorrow, we may unite in humbling ourselves before the Most High, in confessing our individual and national sins, and in acknowledging the justness of our punishment."

I referred to the views in which the

I referred to the views in which the occasion origi-nated, and the policy which dictated it. Judging them to be what I do, I reject and repugn them. They are heaven-wide from those which my convictions compel me to accept as true and worthy. I am ashamed for my nation that such views and such a policy should find adoption by its Chief Magistrate. For, what are find adoption by its Chief Magistrate. For, what are they? They are views which accept slavery as a thing to be tolerated, deferred to, compromised with, and this at the cost of moral loyally, of honor, con-science, manhood, and the welfare and rights of mil-lions of men; views which practically dengthe truth of human brotherhood, the equality before God of races and of men; which put expediency before jus-tice, self-interest before mercy, Satan before God. It tice, self-interest before mercy, Satan before God. It is a policy which, in consistency with such views, would seek peace by unrighteous concessions; by playing into the hands of despotism; by betraying the cause of the poor and helpless; by blinking the same which Providence is presenting, through an atheistic dread of consequences,—the consequences of placing oneself in alliance with the Almighty. And the latter of the player of the cutture, as with "besechings" before Heaven, while violating, and urg-ing others to violate, and seeking to have the nation more grossly violate, Heaven's plainest requirements, enactments, testing the divinity of all verbal scrip-tures. Have we got no farther than this? Do we linger in the old Pharisale superstition, which Jesus reproved when he said, speaking for God—"I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," and the prophet, when he said, in the same dread name—"Your solemn observances my soul hateth: put away the evil of your before mine eyes; cease to do evil, judgments; that any sacrifices avail with Him but the sacrifices of righteousness! The inward shudder with which I read his Proclamation, for its seeming blasphemy, was only relieved by the thought that such coaspnemy, was only relieved by the thought that such tous his superstition;—illustrious specimen of the cursed fruit of that Theology which separates Religion from Morality, which puts Pictism for Goodness, Sacrifice for Mercy, places the Letter above the Spirit, the Bible above the Soul, and which allows the Bible, by the undiscriminating and idelators. Bible, by the undiscriminating and idolatrous recogni-tion of it as the "Word of God," to be a justifier and patron of slavery. And yet, it is beyond belief that a man should be superstitions to the

and the fear of God, as accountable to Him alone, but to Him most solemnly accountable, to know the causes to Him most solemnly accountable, to know the cause, so far at least as they are moral, of "the present distracted and dangerous condition of our country"; to seek to see God in it, and our duty; and to cheer ourselves, if we may, amidst its threatening evil, with the thought of what may prove its providential good—to catch glimpses of a light within the portentous cloud, or to trust, at least, that it is there.

Its causes are not hidden. So palpably manifest are they, so evident have been their tendencies towards the arrived result, that it needed no gift of propher years to have long ago predicted it. In the allowed proto have long ago premease a so by the natural cedure of things, it was inevitable, as by the natural workings of unalterable law. Far back, in the very workings of unalterable law. workings of unalterable law. Far back, in the very infuncy of our national existence, is found the initial error from which all that we see has grown,—that recognition in the constitutional compact of Slavery's rightful claim to existence and consideration under it, and of certain obligations to which the several members of the confederacy are held in its behalf, binding them to a complicity with it. Error, as surely it was, we should bear in mind in our judgment of those who, though unwillingly, consented to it—among them great and noble men—that they did so by the constraint of what they deemed an imperative necessity, as being the only condition by which a Union could be effected; that it was done under secret pretest, and in the idea that the slave-interest would gradually become extinct—with no conception that

deepened, through their aroused apprehensions as to what the end should be to themselves; lest their most cacy of primal principles, all intimations of the right of a human being to himself—a purpose in which (shame to us 1) it has received, beforehand, the pro-mise, by their acts, of ready tools, among the "freeof the North : in the spirit of a co domination—inseparable from its system, educated by it, essential to it—more and more manifest towards those whom that system offends,—in these and thus

new its triumphs, and consummate its iniquity. For, surely, this is the work of God—this rising of a yet free people. He is behind and in it, as surely as the instincts of Justice and Humanity are His inspiration,

instincts of Justice and Humanity are His inspiration, as surely as He works His ends, through the human instrumentality that is true to these.

Our humiliation, as citizens, should be for past unfaithfulness,—to the spirit and genius of the Republic; to its noble Founders; to our Puritan lineage; to our brethren in bonds, "as bound with them." Our prayer should be for strength to stand in whatever flery trials may await us, panoplied in Faith, girt with Righteousness; our Leader, Christ; our Sovereign, God;—to act and to suffer, in no spirit of hitterness or hate or angry contention; nay, but in a calm and hallowed resolution, with all the forbearance possibly consistent with a due fidelity to truth and right; in that spirit by and through which God may make us the instruments of His blessed Will. It seems to me that the predominating feeling in our hearts towards our Southern brethren, at this crisis, can hardly be other than that of sorrowing pity, for their persistency and devotion to a system accursed of God; for the movement. God save us from too harshly judging them! as we would not ourselves be judged. They do not see slavery as we do. They cannot, perhaps; brought up in the midst of it, taught to regard it as allowable if not right; having associations with it, it may be, pleasant and tender, and seeing in its abolishment destitution and desolation. But we must be true to ourselves and to our light. We may not withhold the condemning testimony which conscience and beart company against their conservations in itself and acceptance. heart compel against their system, as in itself and es-sentially wrong and evil. We may not, for the sake that the door is shut against the possibility of repre-senting to the South the real feelings towards her of the North; infamously mirrepresented by the only Northern sheets she permits to reach her. The hatred the North; infamously misrepresented by the only.
Northern sheets she permits to reach her. The hatred
she supposes does not, I am sure, to any considerable extent, exist. There is a hatred of her Institution, so its victims—the voluntary, any more than
the constrained, save as its hateful spirit dominates in the latter. I wish it were less certain that her

in the latter. I wish it were less certain that her feeling towards the North is hatred. But it is more pardonable in her than it were in us, with her misapprehensions as to the object and motive of our hostility upon her pecuniary and domestic prosperity.

As to Disunion, it seems of necessity. Not alone from the present attitude of the Slave States, but from the nature of the differences which separate between them and the rest. So that the concessions which might restore a nominal Union would leave the parties still, as ever, in virtual conflict; bringing the congratulations of "Peace," when, in fact, there would be necessed. But the concessions will not be made. test, and in the idea that the slave-interest would gradually become extinct—with no conception that it would ever come, as it has, to rally around that in definitely phrased clause as the sanction and charter of its perpetuity and extension, of its nationality and sovereignty. It is a memorable instance of the truth, that all compromise with Wrong, to secure whatever ends, to avert whatever peril, is inexpedient as it is unjustifiable. The error—for such, whatever the seeming presumption, we must judge it—of allowing slavery a legal footing under the Constitution, (trusting to the spirit of freedom for its ultimate abolishment,) an act in glaring inconsistency with the soliment, or act in glaring inconsistency with the soliment, and the heralding assertion of the Constitution itself—was succeeded, in after generations, by the positive crime, with one section of the country, of unscrupulous efforts to perpetuate and extend it, for sordid and political ends, and with the other, for like ends, and for the sake of peace, of consenting to this—

shall come as the consequence of loyalty to conscience, will be worth all, and infinitely, its cost of evil. We need faith in God—a cheerful faith in a living God—whose very judgments are merciful, whose prerogative it is to bring light out of darkness, order from confusion, from night and chaos the dawn and beauty of a new

biestes of justice and humanity in the universal beart—until the public conscience became blinded and bunted to its enormity; until, from being a thing to be tolerated, under the circumstances and for a time, as a necessary cert, slavery came, first, to be extenuated, as having favorable aspects and providential ends, and scriptural precedents; and then to be advocated, as positively good and beneficent—openly advocated within its borders, and silently acquiesced in almost everywhere, before a public sentiment, that, for commercial or political ends, or inserval entropy in the public is in the same thing.

But this could not be without a protest, passionate or calib, spoken or silent, in thousands of hearts. The heart cannot lose its institutive humanity, its love of justice, its sympathy with the wronged; cannot be unresponsive, in this age and land, to the appeals which come from every noble and generous sacrifice for his down-trodden countrymen, or the nobleness of a \*Russia, giving freedom, in the present week, to twenty millions of her serfs, rebounds, in hortective humanity, talloved the how every throle of instinctive sympathy that greets the heroism of a Garibaddi, risking his life for his down-trodden countrymen, or the nobleness of a \*Russia, giving freedom, in the present week, to twenty millions of her serfs, rebounds, in hortebuke; cannot, above all, be insensible to the heroism of a Garibaddi, risking his life for his down-trodden countrymen, or the nobleness of a \*Russia, giving freedom, in the present week, to twenty millions of her serfs, rebounds, in hortebuke; cannot, above all, be insensible to the sheepeds whose of the Russia, giving freedom, in the present week, to twenty millions of her serfs, rebounds, in hortebuke; cannot, above all, be insensible to the characters; cannot but feel how every throle of instinctive sympathy that greets the heroism of a Garibaddi, risking his life for his down-trodden countrymen, or the nobleness of a \*Russia, giving freedom, in the present week, to twenty

For myself, when I think of Southern slavery,what it is, and what it does; the wrong it is in the sight of God, the calamity it is to millions of His children; when I think what a human being is, and of the atrocity of the crime that holds and treats him mitely, the area and multiply the victims of slavery; and when I think that to this foul injuty and inhumanity the Free States are, constitutionally, a party; are held, by compact, to favor and protect it; to return its flying "property"—return those wise, in a love of freedom, (with a heroic daring which, on any other soil, in any other race, we should admiringly applaud,) risk life for freedom's sake ;-to return such appliand, risk the for freedom's sake;—to return such to their despotic claimants, and to their avenging crucities; when I think of the demoralizing and debasing influences which come, are seen to have come, from this connection and fellowship with slavery,—how it blinds and debauches the public conscience, how it represses, even in youthful flearts, the native noblement that would side with the excepted and hadden. now it fosters the spirit of violence and lawlessness,—
) we is affects the very administration of religion, and
tempts Church and Pulpit to deny their Lord;—when
I think of these things, I am forced to say, all that is
true and noble and human and divine within me, impels me to say,—let us, at whatever cost, be frest from
this connection and fellowship and complicity; for the sake of the oppressed, for our children's sake, for our soul's sake, for the sake of God's kingdom that we tinction of color, caste, clime, race, in his regard for humanity, but saw in all men children of God, and stood in awe before the lowest, as more sacred than Jerusalem's Temple; whose cross stands forever the witness of a self-sacrifice that included a world in its

Oh, that Christ might be our master and leade here, as in all things,—his truth guide us, his spirit fill us! Come, that spirit,—so strong and yet so gen-tle, so brave and yet so meek, so just and yet so compassionate, daring all things, enduring all things, hoping all things,—come, that spirit, and fill and lead us

# Selected Articles.

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION:

and other marks of indecorum, foreign to well regulated assemblies.

When Miss Anthony stepped forward to introduce Mrs. Stanton as the first speaker of the evening, she was greeted with a moderate broadside of hisses and ironical applause. But when Mrs. Stanton commenced her address, she was interrupted by a yet more noisy demonstration, and, although she persevered for some time in her attempts, she was unable to complete a single sentence, and consequently stood quietly facing the audience.

Voices—Go on—go on!

Richard L. Swift, Constable—Go on! That answers my time exactly (flourishing his came). I'm a gentleman (Applause, "Ha, ha!")

Sheriff Smith, approaching Swift, commanded him not to disturb the meeting, under the penalty of being taken out of the Hall.

Swift at first questioned the Sheriff's authority, but finally promised to keep still.

Mrs. Stanton—I would say (hisses) to the (hisses) andience—(prolonged hisses, and yelling and stamp-inc.)

Achiteky, for this is shead of any demonstration against free speech that I ever saw at the South. (Hisses.)

A Voice—Put him out! (Applause.)

A Voice—Put him out! (Applause.)

Another—Try it, you—

A. M. Fowell next came forward, and for several minutes talked aloud, but his voice was entirely drowned by the mob.

After a long silence, Mr. May made another unsuccessful attempt to address the audience, and retired, saying, "Well, then, we'll have a Quaker meeting; only let us think—let us all think a little." (Bahl bah! Get out!)

Constable Swift—I understand this is a meeting for free discussion. I don't know, Chairman, whether I should call you Mister or Miss, but I propose we all keep still and hear what is to be said. Will you do it? ("Yes! oh yes!" Uproar and applause.)

Mr. May then undertook the reading of some "uncompromising" resolutions, but was not permitted to proceed. The words "denounce Gov. Morgan" were distinctly heard, and then followed an indescribable tunult, and "three cheers and a tiger."

Jacob S. Gould moved that a committee of four be appointed to carry the resolutions out of doors. (Applause.)

(Applause.)
A son of the late lamented Rev. Dr. Penny sec-

A son of the late lamented Rev. Dr. Penny seconded the motion.

S. J. May—Will any one here defend the African Slave Trade and the Fugitive Slave Law?

Swift (excitedly,)—I will, as long as the Constitution protects, and I will carry back any fugitive slave! (Applause and yells)

The sheriff again approached Swift, and threatened his arrest. Acting Mayor Angevine also attempted to calm the turbulent constable, and he temporarily subsided.

Mr. Powell again essayed to speak, but could not be heard.

be heard.

Constable Swift—What do we live upon—(sen-

A Voice—Whiskey! (Screeching and yelling— A Voice—Whiskey! (Screeching and yelling— Swift sat down.)
Mr. Powell continued talking against time and "Bedlam." Mrs. Stanton left the stage, and took a seat in the audience.

Jacob S. Gould—I came in here in good faith; expended ten cents: I want some one to preserve

seat in the audience.

Jacob S. Gould—I came in here in good faith; expended ten cents; I want some one to preserve order, and I nominate E. F. Smith for Chairman, and O. L. Angevine and Hiram Sibley, as committee to conduct him to the chair. All in favor say anye. (Cries of "aye.") Carried.

Mr. E. F. Smith did not show himself, however. Dr. Hillman—All gentlemen who are in favor of sustaining free speech in Rochester, come over to the west side of the hall.

Almost every person on the opposite side left his seat and rushed to the side indicated, and the greatest confusion prevailed.

The Chief of Police here mounted the platform, and stated that the persons who had called the meeting declared it adjourned till to morrow (this) afternoon, at 2 o'clock.

This announcement created the wildest excitement among the rioters. They had "paid their ten cents," and had not their anticipated fun.

Voices—"We won't adjourn!" "We've paid our money!" "Give 'em hell!"

Such cries prevailed for several minutes. Meantime the managors of the hall began to turn off the gas.

A man named Kendall jumped upon the platform,

gas.

A man named Kendall jumped upon the platform, and bellowed lustily and incoherently, but could not

and bellowed lustily and incoherently, but could not be understood.

Constable R. L. Swift ejected himself chairman, mounted the rostrum, and put a resolution adjourning the meeting till to-morrow night—then till to-morrow (this) afternoon.

H. P. Merrill got upon the platform, and "resolved" that the meeting repudiate the resolutions read by the Abolitionists. (Applause.)

Voices—'0 I yes." Bully for you!" "Go it!"
"Three cheers for Major Anderson!" "Hurrah!"
Mart. Young—Don't let's adjourn, Reorganize!
A Voice—Oh! go it while you're Young!
The gas was finally shut off, the audience gradually retired, and the rowdy element, clamoring for the restitution of their "ten cents," jostling and yelling as they proceeded through the hall, at length dispersed.

Thus ended this trumphant imitation of Southern

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION:

THE MOB SPIRIT RAMPANT—PREEDOM OF SPEECH
COUCHANT—INSPICIENCY OF THE CITY AUTHORITIES—ROCHESTER DISGRACED!

The secret conspiracy, hatched by a few ricous
spirits within a few days past, against Freedom of
Speech in Rochester, last night developed itself in a
most disgraceful and scandaloms disturbance of a pubtie meeting, held by an insignificant cabal of fanatical men and women, and at last broke out in open
and flagrant defiance of the constituted municipal
authorities.

Every reader of the Express knows that our party
sriews and political action are diametrically opposed
to the sentiments and the policy entertained and in
culcated by the so-called Garrisonian school; and
furthermore, that the Republican creed, to which we
subscribe, looks with equal disfavor and offers equal
resistance to the principles of extremists, in bots
North and South. But, at the same time, in common with all conservative and law-abiding citizens,
we recognize the imperative necessity, as well as sacred obligation, of maintaining Low and Order—of
affording to every class and every individual protec-

we recognize the imperative necessity, as well as ascred obligation, of maintaining Law and Order—of affording to every class and every individual protection in the enjoyment of free and untrammeled. Special Neither does the political crisis which we now experience—the complication and danger of public affairs—in the least impair that right or that obligation. On the other hand, it is more vitally important to maintain it now than in the ordinary peaceful condition of affairs.

Hitherto the Abolitionists have held their annual meetings in this city, and their deliberations have not only been undisturbed, but have failed to attract general public attention or concern. In every city, however, there is a large element of the population who are restive under restraint, and will exultingly seize every opportunity of displaying their bad manners, malignant spirit, and bruish instincts; and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they said only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they said only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they said only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance, and they wait only the relaxation of public vigilance

the suggestions of "respectable" instigators, to break forth into violence and riot.

Thus it was apparent in the meeting last evening, that a large majority of the disorderly congregation were either young men who, stimulated by bad advice and worse spirits—and countenanced by bads advice and worse spirits—and countenanced by base whose position in society and whose education should have taught them better—were on hand in full fore; while the remainder of the rioters was composed of hackneyed and bankrupt politicians of Democratic and pro-slavery-American antecedents—of men who could listen to the treasonable dogmas of Tancey with silence, if not approbation, and of men who turned out with concealed revolvers to protect the Angel Gabriel in his denunciations of the "Scarlet Woman"!

At 74 o'clock, Corinthian Hall contained a congregation of nearly five hundred persons. An admission fee of ten cents was exacted at the door, and from the character of the audience it was evident they were not generally of a class who raily to the standard of moral reforms, or who often sit down to intelligence, worth and position—who had been attracted from the best of motives.

The platform was occupied by the persons who

our institutions. He did not promise to vote for the resolution he offered, but would like to have it de-

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our institutions. He did not promise to vote fir the resolution he offered, but would like to have it is cussed.

Ald. Buell did not believe it the day of the Coxmon Council to advise Mr. Reyole at the two mon Council to advise Mr. Reyole at the two mon Council to advise Mr. Reyole at the two mon Council to advise Mr. Reyole at the two did not be council to advise Mr. Reyole at the two did not be council to the council to the council to the peace, the whole power to that end was used in the Executive, who has the police at his commad. He was willing to repose condoint that there and not the hands of the acting Mayor.

Ald. Holmes took the position that there had to the hands of the acting Mayor.

Ald. Holmes took the position that there had to the think of the acting Mayor.

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Ald. Holmes took the position that there had to the think of the acting the public mind the hands of the acting the public mind the hands of the acting a time when every critizen should exert limit a lallay exertement. They preach disminon, and many and a time when every critizen should exert limit a lallay exertement. They preach disminon, and an and assault the forces of the United State. It would Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund the sund the sund the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund the sund the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the sund the sund the sund Lang Mr. Toomba, or any one who preach the

from boding forth as advertised.

Ald. Stone differed with Ald. Bradstret as to be reputation and character of Rochester. No city is the Union ranks more deservedly high, in rayes of good morals, social order, intelligence, the angled good morals, social order, intelligence, the angled good morals, social order, intelligence, the Rochester. For one, he was not ashamed of his reactly, and would cast no evil reflections upo her. As to the meetings of the Abolitionists, he basel if those who did not agree with them would stutend their meetings, no disturbance nor any gust evil would be the consequence of them. Further than that, he was willing to leave the preservation of the public peace in the hands of the constitute authorities.

Ald. Shelton moved as a substitute, that the Common Council regret that Mr. Reynolds has leaved in Hall for meetings of an excitive of a section.

authorities.

Ald. Shelton moved as a substitute, that the Common Council regret that Mr. Reynolds has leased in Hall for meetings of an exciting and agitaing character, at this crisis in public and national sfars.

Ald. Shelton briefly supported his motion. He was disinclined to meddle with the Abelinosis, and thought this Board had no right to interfer. It a breach of the peace was committed, let thee whose duty it was to preserve the peace attend to it.

The motions to substitute and to anced we voted down, 4 to 10, and 8 to 8. Ald. Cabagi motion was also lost, 7 to 10.

Ald. Holmes moved that the proceedings of this meeting be expunged, and that they be considered and kept secret.

This motion was opposed quite generally.

Ald. Seward advocated it, and said that he lad no idea there would be a mob of any sercosses.

He had witnessed one in this city, many year ago, and was not afraid of such demonstrations, because they amounted to nothing. \*\*Ille repeated what level and server as they amounted to nothing. \*\*Ille repeated what level and server as they amounted to nothing. \*\*Ille repeated what level and server as they amounted to nothing. \*\*Ille repeated what level and server as they amounted to nothing. \*\*Ille repeated what level are in the server.

they amounted to nothing. He repeated what he had said on a former occasion, that our institutions are based on a free press and free speech; and it these rights cannot be sustained, the sconer we aban-doned our present form of government and reverted to the rule of Great Britain, the better for all con-

erned.

He did not agree with the Abolitionists, but be-He did not agree with the Abolitomist, but le-liewed them wrong in their course of action. Sell they had a right to the expression of their opinies and sentiments, and no one should attempt to abridge it. In this country there is no constructive treases, but every man has a right to say what he pleaser, subject to the laws which protect the rights of others. He would hang traiters as seen as Ald. Holmes, but he would not deny the right of free speech to any one.

Holmes, but he would not deny the right of free speech to any one.

Ald. Holmes having withdrawn his motion, Ald. Seward renewed it. It was lost nearly unainnesty.

Ald. Bradstreet moved that treason at the North was no better than treason at the South, and that this Common Council deprecate any unnecessry agitation, by public meetings, upon the subject of slavery, in our city, at the present time.

Ald. Stone moved that this resolution he on the table. Carried.

And the Board adjourned:—Ibid.

# THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following are the Resolutions presented to the Anti-Slavery Convention yesterday afternoon, by A. M. Powell, and discussed and attempted to be again read last evening, by Rev. Samuel J. May:—

by A. M. Powell, and discussed and attempted to be again read last evening, by Rev. Samuel J. May-Resolved, That in the present condition of our national affairs, the universal agitation, the arceed public feeling, and in the dismemberment of the Staveholding Confederacy of the United States which is now taking place, we have increased kop and encouragement that the day of deliverace to the nearly five millions of enslaved men and vasual at the South is near at hand.

Resolved, That as by the terms of the eight compromises, the national government, haptired is the American Union, has ever been the belief of slavery and the shield of a slaveholding eight of slavery and the shield of a slaveholding eight of slavery and the shield of a slaveholding eight of slavery and the shield of a slaveholding eight of slavery and the compression share ascretions, and by the rendition of heroic fugitive lates from all parts of the Confederacy, its support has ever involved blood-guiltines; therefore, not early should there be no more compromises with share holders, but those which have 80 long been maintained in unpardonable complicity with opprast and men-stealers should be at once and faverer puddiated.

Resolved, That heartily opposed as are infectent to slave-hunting, and the rendition of fugitive slave, we emphatically denounce the humiliating subserviency, the inexensable disregard of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of linety, each of the constituents, and the interests of line

twentieths of the people of the State, we emphatically denounce the humiliating suberviency, the inexcussable disregard of the coarticast of his constituents, and the interests of liberty, exhibited by Gov. Morgan in recommending the repeat of the so-called Personal Liberty Bail of the State, gratuitously including the Personal Liberty Lavs of other States, so that the whole North may be free and unobstructed hunting ground for innovest, be roic, but deeply injured men and women, by the roic, but deeply injured men and women, by the rishers and despots who unbesitatingly impriesa, hars, or banish all suspected Northern citizens found with in their own dominions.

Resolved, That deprecating the professed allegiance of the Republican party to comprumes in favor of slavery "where it is," we would remidten that South of Mason's and Dixon's line, by the madness of "those whom God would destroe," for their opposition to slavery in the abstract and to its extension into the Territories, Republicans are diven to make common cause with slaves and Aboliticans, and are persecuted and exiled by the power of the Union they would falsely maintain.

Resolved, That if concession to the demand of the slaveholding oligarchy could be made to appart morally exensable, it has been manifestly proved to be ineffectual and inexpedient, having only exensable, it has been manifestly proved in men that nothing will satisfy them but the eatier and recommend and the country of them but the eatier and recommend and the country of them but the eatier and recommend that nothing will satisfy them but the eatier and recommend and the country of them but the eatier and recommend the cause of the state of the country of th

morally excessible, it has even induced be ineffectual and inexpedient, having only occupanged them in their aggressions; until it is seen of all men that nothing will satisfy them but the entire control of our national policy, domestic and forcing the universal acceptance of their demoralizing properties. The protection and aggrandizement—that is to say, the utter subversion of American Liberty. Resolved, That the saddest fact in the past history of our country is the subservinery of the Churrh and its ministers (with a few most honorable exception) to the slaveholding oligarchy that has ruled our Republic, and that no where is this vital reform, for which we plead, more needed than in the so-field House of God, where the professed people of God should be diligently taught in accordance with the declaration of a distinguished minister of this cip, that even "to save the country, we should not be willing to give up those EFERNAL PRINCIPLES which no man can surrender."—Ibid.