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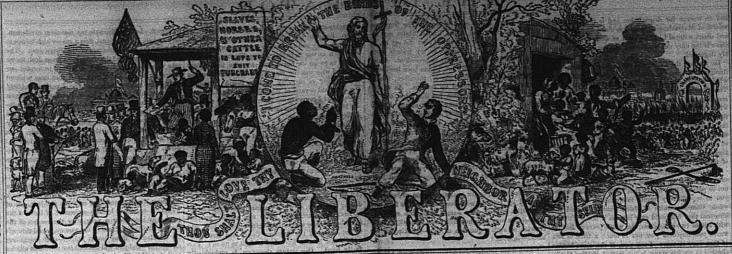
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

most are to be made, and all le

ements inserted at the rate of five cents

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pe ik, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies fied to receive subscriptions for THE LEBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial To Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the Committee of the Co



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printer

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 6.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1573.

Refuge of Oppression.

HON. (1) LUCIUS SLADE ON THE ORISIS. AN INFAMOUS LETTER.

We find the following letter in the Georgia Lite-rary and Temperance Crusader of January 3, pub-lated at Atlanta, Ga. We give it in full, in con-action with the introductory remarks of the editor:

action with the introductory remarks of the editor?

"THE NORTH AROUSING. The following letter, written from Boston by a prominent member of the Massachusetts Legislature to our fellowinizen, Dr. N. L. Angier, is full of solicitude in regard to the action of the Southern States, and if he reflects the feeling in that State, the people are truly becoming aroused. The letter was not intended by its author for publication:

You would be astonished to see what a change is casing over the spirit of their dreams. The great mass of the people are beginning to ask themselves. What have we done, and what are we doing? It full you, Neadom, the people are aroused, and asking tenselves where now is the remedy. We im Massachusetts are a laboring class of people, and a community of mechanics, manufacturers, operatives, &c. Now our mechanics, immufacturers, operatives, &c. Now our mechanics, immufacturers, operatives, &c. Now our mechanics and operatives are being thrown out of employment. Thousands upon thousands have allowed insertable, selfish and designing men to do their talking and their thinking, until the country has been brought to this (I need not tell you) distracted state. South Carolina, as you know, has gone through with the initiatory steps of secession. Will any other States follow? Ah! there is the rub. Now is the time to pause, and ask the serious questions; for our future happy existence depends upon how these questions are answered. God grant that the last step toward disunion has been taken, and that we may stop where we are, and reflect! The first drop of blood spilled will be the sounding note for a horrid, dreaded civil war, and the Union is dissolved for then and forever.

"I have been thinking, to-day, to whom in the South I-could speak; for, by heaven, I must speak to somebody! I want to speak a word of encouragement, and receive an encouraging word in reply. Whither are we drifting, and what are we coming to? You may know that I am serious and solicitons, when I tell you that of the two solitary De

ritten. We are for Union—for guaranteeing the

ord from you at your earliest convenience. Be accuraged, and not disheartened. Hoping that these few lines will find you and ours in good health,

very respectfully and fraternally yours, LUCIUS SLADE."

MAYOR WIGHTMAN AND THE ABOLI-

distinction or exult over it would be at once crussed out, if a fair opportunity was offered.

On Friday, the managers applied to the House of Representatives, then in session, for the use of their hall in the evening, and no less than 63 members voted to grant it, to 136 who voted nay. Had the meeting been held, the State House would have been dismanifed, as no sufficient force in Boston could have been raised to repel the roters, who had determined to grant no more quarter to disunionists in Boston than is granted to Unionists in some of the stave States. We are not surprised at this. There can be no doubt that the secession movement has had a serious effect upon business operations in Massachusetts, and this, taken in connection with the usual falling off in winter, has created some distress among mechanics, laborers, and clerks, who have families to support. We are satisfied that none of them will ever combine to do acts of pillage or robbery; but, they will no longer tolerate that class of meetings which have been the main instrumentality in bringing about the present deplorable condition of things. In short, we doubt whether any Southern community ever had so much justification for expelling abolitionists from their midst, as the business and working men of Massachusetts have for expelling Phillips, Gurrison, Pillsbury, Wright, Foster, and other abolition leaders, with whom the Republicans are always in alliance, in election seasons. There is no use in mincing matters now. It will not do to have mobile and counterly to see a soundrels teke are too lazy to work, too proud to beg, and too cowardly to steal, may get an easy living by free speech against our noble and equitable political institutions.—Boston Pilot.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOUIETY.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It was fortunate for the reputation of Massachusetts, that the House of Representatives, Friday, rejected the resolution tendering its hall for the use of the Anti-Slavery Society, and it was unfortunate that so many as sixty-nine members should be found willing to vote for such a proposition. The House early in the session "ordered that the use of the hall should be restricted to such societies and the dissussional beautiful to the session of the session when the session were such societies and the dissussional tentral productions and the dissussions of the session when the session were such societies and the dissussions are such sessions. sion of such subjects as have a direct and unmeasure bearing upon legislation." It was not pretended that the Anti-Slavery Society, or the range of subjects likely to be discussed at its meeting, has any such bearing. The proposition was offered or tensibly because the Society, being deprived of tensibly because the Society, being deprived of tensibly had been unable to transact its bus mess,—an allegation not proved, and we believe no true. It was defended, however, mainly as a test mony of sympathy for an association, which it

question whether it sympathizes with the purposes and conduct of the party in question is fairly opened. So long as it was a mere question whether the protection of the law should shield this Society in the enjoyment of its legal rights, the matter of sympathy could be set aside. But when it is proposed, not to give that Society the protection which it can legally claim in a hall which it has hired for its meeting, but to invite it to hold its meeting in a hall belonging to the State, it is impossible to avoid the question whether the Society has any claim upon the sympathy of the Legislature, or whether it can ask anything more than the letter of the law gives it.

It is very plain to our view that the spe

ployment, which misfortane they lay at the doors of the Abolitionists, who would have rushed in to abate the nuisance, at any cost of life or property. The vote for Mayor Wighuman proved Boston to be decidedly a Union city, and that any attempt to spread distintion or exult over it would be at once crushed out, if a fair opportunity was offered.

On Friday, the managers applied to the House of Representatives, then in session, for the use of their hall in the evening, and no less than 69 members voted to grant it, to 136 who voted nay. Had the meeting been held, the State House would have been raised to repel the rioters, who had determined to grant no more quarter to disunoints in Boston than is granted to Unionists in some of the slate States. We are not surprised at this. There can be no doubt that the secession movement has had a serious effect upon business operations in Massachusetts, and this, taken in connection with the usual falling off in winter, has created some disconting the small proposed mechanism of the country of the country of the source of the state States. We are not surprised at this. There can be no doubt that the secession movement has had a serious effect upon business operations in Massachusetts, and this, taken in connection with the usual falling off in winter, has created some disconting the same and closely also become the country of the country of the surprised of the surprised of the country of the country

Selections.

AN ORTHODOX MOB.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, an institution that for twenty-eight years has held its anniversary meetings in Boston, last Thursday made arrangements for holding their annual meeting as usual. It will be remembered that, last month, a meeting at Trenton Temple was called to consider the best means to abolish American slavery, but was broken up by a broadcloth mob assisted by the Boston city government. On the occasion of the breaking up of this former meeting, Mr. Fay and other rowdies who shared in the disgrace of the same, passed resolutions to the effect that all future meetings of a similar character should also be broken up in like manner. Acting upon the supposition that

sibility of the accusation rests with them, and not with us.

The duplicity of Mayor Wightman being thus exposed, he had no alternative left but to make at least the show of a demonstration, and the police were dispatched to clear the rear gallery, which they promptly did, and the meeting passed off with comparative quiet. But revenge is as sweet to Mayors as to any body else, and Mayor Wightman had his. At about half past six, previous to the commencement of the evening session of the meeting, the Chief of Police, with six or eight assistants, entered the hall, and read an order from the Mayor, directing him to clear the hall of all persons therein, and to take such measures as to prevent any meeting being held there that night. About fifty persons were in the hall, mostly females. Most of them obeyed the tyrannous edict, and retired. A few, determined that Boston should reap the full ignominy of its disgrace, refused to move, and compelled the police to put them out by force, and a few of both sexes were thus feecibly ejected.

And thus mob violence triumphed, and freedom of speech was suppressed and trampled upon. In ten minutes the Mayor accomplished for the mob what they had vainly endeavored to do all day; nor were the latter ungrateful for the services thus rendered to them by their friend, the Mayor. The air was rent with shouts and cheers for Mayor Wightman.

""Tis thus the ward! revenue the foot and the suppression of the mode of the mob what they had vainly endeavored to do all day; nor were the latter ungrateful for the services thus rendered to them by their friend, the Mayor. The air was rent with shouts and cheers for Mayor Wightman.

"Tis thus the world rewards the fools.
Who live upon her treacherous smil Yes; but let Dr. Watts complete his stanza:-"She leads them blindfold by her rules, And rules all whom she beguiles."

We wish no greater ruin to fall upon Joseph M. Vightman than the infamous disgrace he has already cheeved for himself in the eyes of the civilized

achieved for immelt in the eyes of the civilized world.

It is not necessary for us again to disclaim our sympathy with Abolition doctrines. We never defended them in any manner. We have, however, certain opinions of our own, for which we demand perfect freedom of expression, and we ask for ourself no more than we would concede to any one clast; and a blow administered to one person in this respect, is a blow administered to off. When freedom of speech is suppressed in any quarter, and especially by the arm and authority of law, it behoves the people to be on their guard, lest the foundation of their liberties be undermined. If one can be denied the freedom of speech, so can another. If religious worship can be disturbed in one place with impunity, so can it in another—as well in Park Street Church or even our own churches, as in Music.

only saved from burning disgrace by the coolnes and determination of his friends, unaided and un supported by His Honor (1) Mayor Wightman— Dedkam Gratth. Inv. 3

THE COURIER ON FREE SPEECH.

The Boston Courier denies the right of free speech, as commonly understood in this country, and evidently favors the policy of censorshin and suppression which despots find so needful to their security. Its whole meaning is not given in plain words, but is clearly shown. The Courier actually means that Wendell Phillips and the Abolitionists have no right to hire a room in Boston, go into it peaceably, and there utter their views of slavery to each other and the whomevers may choose to assemble with them.

TOTALITAM AND THE ADOLE
TOTALI

OUR MAYOR'S HIGHER LAW.

control of the police. It seems to us that the Leg-islature cannot dismiss the subject without som action. If it is not though expedient to more de-cisively at the present session, it might be well, a least, to refer the subject to the next General Cour-as a significant intimation that it is not and will no and will not be lost sight of.—Christian Watchma

SHALL WE HAVE A METROPOLITAN

their compliments are too meaning their compliments are too meaning. These things are too meaning the complete the consulting the conflictories of North street, or utter prayers which did norder. A mob has become the censor of speech, and complete the complete the

Edward Everett, or even with Caleb Cushing, when he denounces Gev. Banks, Gov. Andrew, and other leading Republicans as a "band of drunken mutineers." Shall we therefore have a mob in Fancuil Hall when they speak? In short, every time a meeting is to be held in Boston, with which any considerable number of men disent, is Mayor Wightman to go on the stand, with his face suffused with blushes at his reception, make a speech chefly empirace of the personal prongun, and then close the deem? If this is the rule, fet us know it.

Now, it is a waste of words to say thus much. No dispassionate man can have but one opinion as to the acts of yesterday. They were infamous. They disgrace this ancient and order-loving city. Their repetition cannot be tolerated. We denounce alike the instigators and the perpetrators of the brutal outrage, and in the name of an insulted city demand redress and protection.—Alsa and Bee.

THE PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL

ARGUMENT OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, In the Hall of the House of Representatives, Jan. 29, 1861.

Phonographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTON

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:
What are we here to consider? It is the claim, or equest, of some citizens of the Commonwealth, and some influences outside of it, that one of our statutes

should be repealed. What is the cause of that request, and what is the statute? It is a statute to secure—so and what is the statute? It is a statute to secure—so it is named—the personal liberty of individuals within the Commonwealth. Why do any persons ask its repeat? Because it is supposed to conflict with a statute of the United States, termed the Fugitive Slave Bill. What is that bill? It is a bill to carry out a clause of the Constitution of the United States, which says that persons bound to service or labor in one State, shall not be freed from that bond by escap-ing to another State, but shall be delivered up upon

What is the objection to this Fugitive Slave Bill, that men are so anxious to have it countervalled, re-sisted, curbed, by the laws of Massachusetts! It seems to me, there is where our investigation com-

What is this Fugitive Slave Bill, and why do we hate it? For I am willing to allow, Mr. Chairman, at the outset, that I value this Personal Liberty Bill not the outset, that I value this Personal Liberty Bill not only for the protection that it gives to the free natives of Massachusetts, but for the measure of protection that it gives to fugitive slaves within the Commonwealth. I claim that, with one limitation,—that of the Constitution of the United States,—Massachusetts has a right to protect every human being within her than the protect of the Constitution of the United States,—Massachusetts has a right to protect every human being within her than the constitution of the United States,—the contract of the Constitution of the Constitution of the United States,—the contract of the Constitution of the has a right to proceed the may have been previously, or not. I wish it, therefore, understood, at the outset, that it is no objection, in my mind, that this Personal rty Bill does cover certain liabilities and dangers gitive slaves. And again, Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak to you, to-day, as under the Constitution, a I would address persons sworn to support the Co on of the United States. I repudiate that Consti ou; out I come to address a Legislature which ds under that law, and, of course, I wish to offer What is then, the Fugitive Slave Bill? is-a bill, as you know, that puts a man on trial for something more valuable than life, not before a judge, but hefore an efficer whom a judge appoints, and may emove to-morrow.

It says that his liberty may be sacrificed, on the affi-

davit of nobody knows whom, taken nobody knows where, before nobody knows what. No opportunity to cross examine that witness, no opportunity, even to cross examine that winess, no opportunity, etc., to know whether the apparent judge who signs the affidavit is a judge, whether the person who makes it is a living being, no means of cross-examination or scrutiny whatever. And on the faith of such a witness, and, if the Commissioner pleases, without any ness, and, if the Commissioner pleases, without any further proof, even of identity, a man is to be taken from a place where he has lived twenty years,—for aught you know, where he was born,—and carried away a thousand miles, or three thousand. Then he will have a trial somewhere, perhaps, if somebody

It is not necessary to refer here to such a tin It is not necessary to refer here to such a time-honored principle, for which we have fought for cen-turies, for which the Constitution of the United States contains a guarantee, as that a man on trial shall be confronted with his witnesses; that he shall be tried by due process of law, which every legal authority, from Coke down to Story, says means a jury. Beside that, witness Hancock and Adams, witness all the arits of the Revolution, that he shall be tried in the vicinage where he is found, other things being I say, this statute violates all these pr equal. I say, this statute violates all these provisions. I need not go into argument upon this point. It is a statute that made the blood of the Christian world run

tts having, in 1855, affirmed by the unanimous voice of her Legislature, that the Fugitive Slave Bill was unconstitutional-reasonably alarmed at the peril to which it exposed her citizens, puts on her statute book a law to curb it as far as possible. Now timid men say to the Commonwealth, "Take that law oft." Well, gentlemen, do you know what you are curbing! We have had Simms cases and Burns cases, where men, without, I might almost say, even the form of a trial, without a tittle of what the common law calls evidence, have been carried down

common law calls evidence, have been carried down our most public streets, in express and contemptuous defiance of the wish of Massachusetts—of the spirit of her institutions, of all her history.

But that is not all, gentlemen. The slave Commissioner sits omnipotent, and his certificate is final. Nobody can overlook it. It admits no appeal. What does it mean? It means that the slave-hunter may take his slave may or worm, and do what with them? take his slave man or woman, and do what with them Do you know what he may do, Mr. Chairman? The hunter left the city of Boston, in those cases, in hours, "because he feared the people"; but it it necessary he should leave in three hours—he is not necessary no snound cave in three nours—ne may stay a reasonable time—twelve hours—twenty-four—the time necessary for the assual arrangements to quit a State. What may he do in that time, sir! Let me tell you what he may do. The Prigg case

and on woman for degradation, and is the Common-wealth of Massachusetts bound to stand by a fettered and silent witness ! If so, then of such a group the slave is the only one who is not forever and mutters

though their language does cover them? I reply, the whole history of this slave clause shows the contrary. The Courts have pushed it far beyond its original meaning, and allowed the slaveholder under it rights of which the fathers never dreamed. They have never showed any reluctance to put into relentless practice the harshest provisions of the Presistance.

making the slave law of the South the law of Massa

chusetts—that is its exact purpose and effect.

Massachusetts has placed this Personal Liberty Lav recurs, as events require. This Bill has been recog-nized as law and held constitutional by the Supreme Court in one case. But courts often change their minds, and reverse their decisions. At any rate, per will not without a struggle relinquish one tittle of such rights. If any provision conflicts with United very question of such conflict affords a fresh opportu-nity of re-arguing the validity of the Fugitive Slave

are simply these: that in case a man is arrested under the Fugitive Slave Law, the Supreme Court may grant a habeas corpus. What is that I It is a comnand, substantially, that whoever holds a man in custo dy shall come before the court, and tell it why he holds him. If the court think the arrest illegal, on the face of it, they order the man to be discharged. If the oute, they may summon a jury to decide such facts. This, gendemen, is the substance of the whole Per-sonal Liberty Law, and specially of the 19th, 20th and 21st sections, which are the only ones relied on to show that the law conflicts with the Fugitive Slave

Bill.

Why, then, should such a statute be repealed ?

In the first place, who asks us to repeal it? It is said South Carolina asks us; but she does not,—she has not asked any thing of the kind. Who does ask Boston,—a body which keeps every law, except those which protect liberty and hinder intemperance! I denot think their voices ought to be very notent in

use fills the air. I desire to be respectful to an, before the Commonwealth. One Slave every man, before the Commonwealth. One Slave Commissioner urges the Legislature, before another sachusetts to compromise, the blood of Thomas Simms chokes his utterance. These, and others like them,

sonal Liberty Law is no new law, gentlemen. My esteemed friend, Mr. Sewall, referred to it as subsenever! Pardon me a moment, Mr. Chairman, while I look back to the history. We had this slave clause in '80, in '91; and certain men kidnapping a colored person in Pennsylvania, Governor Mifflin and George Washington had a correspondence together on the subject, which led to the enactment of the law of 1793. What did the States immediately begin to do! The States by their courts and by their statutes immedi-What did the States immediately begin to do! The can come to the streets of Boston, and take him, as he States, by their courts and by their statutes, immediately would a stray horse, without warrant or officer, or ask-

ional; this law is very like it; therefore, this is futuional. He assigned no reasons. As a prent, therefore, this decision has that force, and no
In 1865, the Supreme Court of the United
s (in Atleman vs. Booth) decided this Fugilive
Law to be constitutional. Granted Hey much ertainly he may be considered some auti-rawise, on such a question as this—spe banks-in 1841 ?

"No man holds in higher esteem than I do the mem of Chief Justice Marshall; but I should never hope or sented to make even him the final article between the ment and the people of this country on questions of constitution liberty."

unbroken line of precedents from the judicial be But here is only a single precedent—a late one—

captain should pay their jail fees, and that if he did not, he should be liable to a thousand dollars fine, and the negro men, if they remained there, should be so with that law, a little modified, but unrepealed, essentially, on the statute-book, until 1856, when the Dred necessary for the safety and the police regulations of my State. I will wait, until the Supreme Court is opportunity, on argun do we ask t All we ask is-su an opportunity for re-argument, and see if the Suly followed in regard to the Supreme Court.

But they say "our law is not constitutional." The

tional; Mr. Charles G. Loring, perhaps the highest authority, says it is not unconstitutional. With a sin-gle—and perhaps not even one—exception, Judge Thomas thinks it is not unconstitutional; and his decision is the more weighty, because on political ground he thinks it should be rep lieres it to be unconstitutional, except on the ground that the Fugitive Slave Law is constitutional. No man says it conflicts with the Constitution. All over the free States, this talk of unconstitutionality with the clause of the Constitution.

That is the only point of Mr. Joel Parker. He is unother person who asks us to repeal it—a person who aid, in the *Journal*, day before yesterday, speaking of G. Loring to make the Supreme Court issue its

How can a man be arrested as a fugitive slave? He can be arrested in three ways; first, the slave

that in some cases the master has to run from one

We come now to still another case—the third meth od of getting fugitives back. The master has got the slave into the hands of Commissioner Curtis, and has obtained a certificate. You say, "Well, it is all done; did not purport to be issued by the proper officer. Sup pose the Supreme Court had issued its hobeas, and the Marshal had laid his papers on the deak of the Judges and they had said—"Mr. Marshal, you meant to and took the opportunity of instructing such hounds how to proceed in future. In Cincinnati, a Marsha alo, Judge Conkling, of the United States Court,

to which I ask the particular attention of the Commit-tee. How do we ever curb statutes? By getting them construed. Under our doctrine of precedents, that is the only sheet-anchor of justice. When there history of the English government is a history of that undermining, if they could not directly contest, decis-ions. Here sits the man [Samuel E. Sewall, Esq.] hat of ten Chief Justices, for one single fact, and that brought into." My friend Mr. Aves. Who does not generously envy a man the look back upon such a life! That is one instance of an atempt to scrutinize laws, and oblige Courts to construc

eal. Let me illustrate my meaning, gentlemenng so, I will suppose first a case which brings to
ind the saddest feature of the Prigg case. The
if feature,—and that is saying a great deal, for no
tho loved Judge Story, or wished to respect our
me Bench, could ever read that case without
—the saddest feature is one I noticed publicly far as I know, RICHARD HILDRETH so has touched on it beside. By a de-reme Court of Pennsylvania, in the principle worth a line-not worth a word!

That case, which decided that a slave urther use it to curb the Fugitive Slave Bill, and its worth shall dazzle us blind to that slave-chain under worth shall dazzle us bund to that slave-chain under which Judge Shaw once stooped to enter his own Court. That girl resides in this Commonwealth. Suppose George T. Curtis should receive an affidavit from Alabama or Mississippi of ownership; an affidavit of escape Yes; take her," says the slave-hound Con preme Court have said, generally, that it is constitu-tional; but here is a new point; we would like to

Court deemed it constitutional. She sent Sam Dex ter to argue it. He argued it, was defeated, and we sat down to become bankrupt. But we were not going to be bankrupt until we had argued the question. Neither are we going to surrender Med until we have

Neither are we going a chance to argue the point.

Do not say I am supposing impossible, or even improbable cases. Slave free by law, in consequence of being brought into free States, have been claimed and surrendered in several instances—once in Cincinnati, and the Legis

lature, four of your citizens were taken but of a vessel in one of the ports of Texas, and sold as slaves, to pay their jail fees. You will find the case stated in the Resolves of 1852; but I have no knowledge that anything was ever done for them; certainly, the mer to which I have referred, in 1837, makes an argument to show that no State officer has a right, or is bound, at any rate, to act under the statute of 1798. New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania had held the same argument. It remained in that unsettled state,—

dered by Commissioner Guthrie, and is now in the lis authorized to notice—and such a man mental providence existing which he is bound, which had not been providence in the commissioner Guthrie, and is now in the lis authorized to notice—and such a man mental providence in the providence of the providence of

I will take hold of a twig or a twine thread to upold it." Will you not take hold even of the slighter cult, a nice question, but it is one that was raised; as if Edward Greeley Loring had been a Judge, and so a Commissioner, he would have allowed us to greak Again: the United States Constitution say." person held to service or labor in any State, in laws thereof." Mark you, "in any State, in laws thereof of the United States has not the District of Co. Now, as the District is not a State, if a slav capes from the District, he does not excess to Said the Judge, "That po

> land after twenty years, and for a note of hand after six years, and no principle that quents title to a man? Are all the principles of the lar.b be sacrificed? We will not believe it till after farlar ade all fugitive slaves free who ha and one day in London, unclaimed by their mann, was solemnly confirmed and extended to all cits, walled boroughs and castles in the realm. Free the privilege, long enjoyed, London took the name of the Free Chamber of the King." Shall we, in the nin enth century, admit no such principle as the Co essor established! Let a slave stay, unclaimed twee

Ableman vs. Booth, is a general decision. We preserve the mere power of narroving that It is the honorable policy of the State. E.

years, and still retain your merciless rights ever his.

This is a serious question of what the law call letterneedect. The law holds to the quieting of titles. La neglect. The law holds to the question that element of it now. Do not say, gentlemen, they are merely technique points. Suppose a man resides in Billeria twenty years, marries, and has children. He is a day labor. and carns his six dollars a week. Of course, he does not lay up anything. Slavery swoops him up, and en come upon the town. Has not Billerin something to say against the right of a mater by his slave live in the town twenty years, burden it will a family, and still have the right to come and the

him?

Here is a man who escaped sixteen years ago. workman. Suppose I have employed him; he is in my debt; he has insured his life; I know if he lives he will pay me. I do not know he is a fugitive; I amae bound to know it. He has lived in my street ten year Slavery comes and takes him, and my debt with his with the affairs of a town many years, and become passed of the knowledge of facts vital to some sui

to thousands of dollars. I found him an intelligentan faithful neighbor. I was not bound to know, could not know he was a fugitive. His master, whose neg leet has brought me into this position of trusting him. He has married. Having established a good characte by years of diligence, he marries. Has the slave holder such an unlimited right that he may make thi wife—guilty of no neglect or imprudence in form the relation—a widow! The slaveholder has be neglectful; she has not. Suppose we grant so hor way? Of course, he who has been guilty of see May we not raise the question? There are a the sand questions that can be raised. He has commit ion to Mr. Chief Justice Taney. You know

ave their free papers certified and recorded in the ounty courts. Of such a man an unprincipled slave

where the fine, which is fine, which is fine, our the fine of the

Whence came the famous Dred Scott case, genticines? The South made it up to settle the question of larery in the Perritories. What is the history of the vell-known Lemmon case now pending? Mr. Lemmon, of Virginia, brought his slaves into the free State of Sew York. Judge Paine held them emancipated. Now the State of Virginia retains Mr. O'Conor, the lead of the New York Bar, to contest the point, and is carrying it up through all its stages to the last appeal. Has not Massachusetts the same right? May she not do for liberty what Virginia does for slavery? Mr. Coairman, this is all we are asking you to do. What we Chairman, this is all we are asking you to do. Chairman, this is all we are asking you to do. What we want is, to save the opportunity of testing such questions as I have specified. If the arrest is made without a warrant, the habeas corpus is clearly constitutional. If with a warrant, even after a certificate, I have suggested a dozen cases where Massachusetts might legally and loyally bring a case before the Supreme Court, where them construct the law. It is a new law as lyand loyally bring a case before the Supreme Court, and have them construe the law. It is a new law as yet; and if we are going to compromise—if, as Mr. George T. Curtis would have us, we are to yield up every thing to South Carolina, and to exist hereafter as a dependency of that slaveholding dynasty and despoism—let us at least provide the materials to know how heavy the chains are, and how they hang. Who asks us to repeal this law? They say South Carolina asks it. If she does, I can only say, it weld to be a ordincible. When was as contive, van

Carolina asks it. If she does, I can only say, it ased to be a principle, "When you ask equity, you must do equity. You must come into Court with clean hands." At this very moment, South Carolina has her statute-book covered with unconstitutional hay about our seamen. South Carolina complain of our Personal Liberty Bill! I undertake to say, that the merchants of Boston have paid, in the harbor of control of the state of the same of th rieston, more unconstitutional jail fees than w toy all the slaves that ever escaped from South Carolins. South Carolina ask you to change your statute spack! I would like to see one member of this Legis ature trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute statute trust his person in the State of South Carolina statute stat u-day—one of them! Vote even for the repeal of this slowp there, and you will never come back-never only know that you come from Massachusetts And such is the State that comes into our High Court of Judicature, and asks you to repeal this Personal Liberty Bill !

After all, the objections to this Personal Liberty Bill An a monostitutional are based on the idea that you hold the Fugitive Slave Bill constitutional. If you do not, there is no need of a word of answer. If you do not, it is a hideous monster, which you are bound to have every possible weapon in your armory ready to re-sist. This machinery you are bound to provide for the protection of the fugitive on your soil. must not say, Possibly the United States may interpose. We do not want possibilities; we are not bound to wait for the U. S. Government; Massachusetts, our own State, is bound herself to furnish means adequate to the protection of all on her soil. She may not trus e other government will do it, and so herself

is constitutional? Massachusetts solemnly says it is not. Who says it is? Well, the forefront of the argument is borne by a Professor at Cambridge. It seems a former Legislature refused to pay a large bill of his, and, in consequence, he took that side of the argument. By his side stand who ! Nobody who could have ah office in Massachusetts to-day;—no, not one. Who stands on the other side? Every great name of which we are proud. You may repeal this law, but unless you shove! Massachusetts into the occan, you cannot keep it repealed. It has been on the statute-book ever since 1784; it will go back there when you leave these halls. It cannot be hindered. It is not a momentary spasm. It is the inbred and imbedded purpose of the Commonwealth.

ose of the Commonwealth.
that this law should be repealed Republicans! How do you sit here, gentlemen!
You sit here under an eath to the Constitution of the United States. Does one of you mean to obey that Fugitive Slave Bill! You are going to change that sainte-book at the bidding of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Do you mean to obey it yourselves! Mr. Joel Parwho thought the Simms case "amusing"-says after he has finished his argument on the constituti ality of that Bill, if a man should ask him to aid in enforcing it,—what? He won't do it! Every man in this Legislature, Mr. Chairman, will say the same you know it. Why will you say the same? Because you think the law good? You will say the same for one of two reasons: either because, like Charles Sumner, you do not believe there is a fugitive slave clause in the Constitution—some of you take that po-sition—and if there is no fugitive slave clause, there is no Fugitive Slave Bill; or because, though admit-ting that the Courts declare it constitutional, personally you will never obey it. Those of you who take the first position, who say, "We came up here and swore to support the Constitution, believing that there is no fugitive slave clause "—by what right do you repeal that law-our only barrier against infan uurpation? One half of you say that. The other half say—"The Courts say it is constitutional, and we cannot actually wipe it out, but personally we will never obey it." Then we claim of you, if personally you are assamed to obey it, that, legislating, you shall give every kind of machinery possible under the Constitution to curb it, to make it as inoffensive as possible, to test it again and again, to carry it up again and again. What did the South do on th

and the first it again and again, the carry it up again and again, the carry it up again and again, the carry it up again and again, and again,

was not a slave, you shall be punished. Nobody saks you to take the responsibility." Is not this fair 1 It is a horrible thing. It is taking a man whom Massachusetts holds to be free, and dooming him to slavery. That is worse than death. Whoever volunteers, with indecent haste, to make a man a slave, surely Massachusetts may say to him, "Sir, do it 1 take the responsibility! But if you do it, recollect this, that in 1784 the responsibility! But if you do it, recollect this, that in 1784 the seventy-five years ago, Massachusetts said, whoever assists in kidnapping a man from Massachusetts goes to the State Prison! She had a right to say it. Three of the Constitution of Massachusetts in kidnapping a man from Massachusetts goes to the State Prison! She had a right to say it. Three of the States is not the right of free discussion in the single isolated limit of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Mind Massachusetts, with owl-like gravity and most ingular you, that you get your feet on to it. It is on your the sum of the properties of the question at all 1—"whether this figs of our counter. then a crime. The only exception to that crime is the single isolated limit of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Mind you, that you get your feet on to it. It is on your own responsibility. Put your feet on that 'marl' of hell, for if you do not, Massachusetts sends you to the State Prison." Has she not a right to say it? Is she not bound to say it? Nobody asks him to help—nothing but money. When a deed except in one single case is crime, when a man is not called or bound to do it, and when without due inquiry he hurries forward to volunteer it, the law may infer malice. More especially when the act is one in its nature base, one which every honorable, right-minded man spurns, one that inflicts endless wee on its victim. To go forward to such an act without absolute knowledge, is proof of that crassa negligentia which proves malice.

that crassa negligentia which proves malice.

That is why I would keep that provision in the Law It is to warn men whose hearts are cankered with gold, who would do anything for a dollar, that if they undertake to send a man into slavery, they must walk on the line—like the silken thread that, in Mahomet's fable, carries the believer safe over hell—they must walk on the line of the Fugitive Slave Bill; if they lose their foothold on that single thread, Mass bids them beware of the State Prison.

bids them beware of the State Prison.

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, to have taken so much of your time; but we spent weeks and months to put that law of '43 on the statute-book. Forty thousand petitioners, if I remember right, asked for it. You are asked to repeal what has been the arowed purpose of the State for seventeen years, and its policy for seventy-five years. We have spent hours, years, life, making Massachusetts, strengters that intention seventy-new years. We have spent nours, years, line, in making Massachusetts stereotype that intention on her statute-book; at least, we have a right to remonstrate; at least, we have a right to say to our Legislature, Consider, before you undo what seventeen Legislatures have said was legal, and that they wished it done! You may repeal it, gentlemen; you may offer that holocaust to South Carolina; but, as Pascal said, when Louis XIV. thundered at the gates of their tery, and his comrades offered to compromise their principles—"You may compromise you ciples; you will never save the Port Royal." say to you, gentlemen, you may disgrace Massachu-setts by repealing this bill, but you will never save South Carolina.

At the commencement of Mr. Phillips's arg the Chairman of the Committee requested that ther should be no demonstrations by the audience; but the should be no demonstrations by the audiciner, but in-feeling of sympathy could not be entirely repressed and occasionally broke forth in applause, which was a once checked by the Chair. At its conclusion, how ever, a simultaneous and enthusiastic outburst of ap-plause rang through the hall, testifying to the hearty appreciation of the large audience.]

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1861

THE LEGISLATURE AND FREE SPEECH.

We had no space, in our last number, to make any comments upon the discussion which took place, or the 25th ult., in the Massachusetts House of Repre sentatives, on the resolution so very properly pro-sented to that body by Mr. Fiske, of Shelburne "That the use of the Representatives' Hall be ten-dered to the officers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery dered to the officers of the Massachusetts Ami-Sakery, Society, for the purpose of holding a session therein," in consequence of the suppression of their meetings by "a mob of lawless men." and the Mayor of Boston Though sorely pressed for room, we cannot let that discussion pass, without a word of comment.

The fact in regard to the suppression of the regular anniversary of one of the oldest Societies in this anniversary of one of the oldest Societies in this Commonwealth, by Mayor Wightman and the mob, was known to every member of the House, and de-nied by no one. A fundamental, sacred and constitu-tional right, without which either despoism or anar-chy must be in power, and which is essential to the existence of a republican form of government, was effectually cloven down by official usurpation and a effectually cloven down by official usurpation and a rictous outbreak, thus subjecting the city to the con-trol of a brutal mob. Under these circumstances, the representatives of the people of Massachusetts being fortunately in session in Boston, owed it to their con-stituents, to themselves, and to those whose rights had been thus trampled in the dust, to offer the use of their hall in the manner proposed by Mr. Fiske. In what spirit was his resolution met? Sixteen memwhat spirit was his resolution met? Sixteen members participated in its discussion. Of these, only four spoke in support of it—Messrs. Fiske of Sheburne, Tirrell of Burlington, Brownell of Westport, and Branning of Lee. Mr. Branning said he was not afraid of meeting his constituents, after voting for the order; and, assuredly, he need not be. But even he must sully the nobleness of his act by making the following uncalled-for fing:—"Wendell Phillips and his associates are the only friends Carolina has here older. (Leachter, and applause)." The meaning his associates are the only friends Carolina has here to-day. (Laughter and applause.)" The meaning of this is, that the Abolitionists applaud the course pursued by Carolina, and are one with her in spirit and purpose. Nothing can be farther from the truth. While we rejoice, and give thanks to God, at the growing anti-slavery spirit of the North, before which the Slave Power shrinks in terror and wrath, we are at no point in agreement with the conduct or design of any of the seceding States. They have behaved in a most reorditions and treasmable manner for a in a most perfidious and treasonable manner, for a most tyrannical and devilish end. The secessionists have proved themselves a band of outlaws and buccamost tyrannical and devins now.

have proved themselves a band of outlaws and buccahave proved the suppression of the suppression

publican!

Mr. Smith, of Boston, instead of meeting the simple issue presented as to the right of free discussion in Massachusetts, with owl-like gravity and most lugubrious tone said—"The question now is "—it was not the question at all !—"whether this flag of our coun brious tone said—"The question now is "—it was not the question at all —"whether this flag of our country shall wave over our heads as citizens of America, or whether we shall become a broken and dissevered nation! It is a serious question! It is a solemn question! "Very serious and very solemn, Mr. Smith! But it is a question needing no answer, as yet, in Massachusetts; for she unfurls no other flag as the ensign of her loyally to the Union. Go to South Carolina, Mr. Smith, and there propound your "serious" and "solemn" question, if you dare! Take the starspangled banner for your protection; and the chivalric Carolinians will smother you in its folds, or hang you to the first lamp-post! For, to-day, no man in that State—slaveholder or non-slaveholder, native or foreign—can raise that banner to the breeze, and yow allegiance to it, except at the peril of his life. Carolina has put that banner beneath her feet—has or foreign—can raise that banner to the breeze, any ow allegiance to it, except at the peril of his life. Carolina has put that banner beneath her feet—has fired upon it as though it were a piratical signal, and driven it with impunity from her waters—and grows frantic with rage every glance she bestows upon Fort Sumter, where it still mocks her treasonable prowess, and for the conquest of which she is "moving hell from beneath." What have you said of such conduct, Mr. Smith, either as citizen or representative? You, too, are a—Republican! Great excitement, you tell us, exists throughout the South; and, in view of it, you "submit to the candid judgment, in view of it, you "submit to the candid judgment of the House whether we shall invite this Society to occupy our hall." It will give offence to the South! When was it ever asked in any Southern legislature, whether Massachusetts was excited? When did the South ever care to inquire how its action would be regarded by the North? Read the following compliment from the Charleston Mercury:—"Eighty short ment from the Charleston Mercury — Eighty abort years have converted THE PROFER OF THE NORTH into one vast mob—a ranting, reckless, lawless mob-shricking for liberty amidst blood, and freedom in plunder." Considerate—is it not! You cower un-der the lash of the Southern overseers, Mr. Smith, and are better qualified to be a plantation slave than a Massachusetts legislator. You "believe it is the right of every man in this country—the right of every slave that the Union shall be kept together." It is not of every man in this country—the right of every state—that the Union shall be kept together." It is not for you to speak for the slave. Please ask the South to allow her slave population to decide that question for themselves! Your belief is equally foolish and imperiment. Forty thousand fugitive slaves in Canada prove this. Every slave feels the pressure of the Union upon him like an avalanche. What sense, then,

Union upon him like an avalancie. What sense, then, is there in your declaration that he has "a right to it"? A right to be involuntarily and hopelessly crushed! Mr. Calhoun, of Springfield, "upon his conscience believed they should do wrong it they granted the hall." A very remarkable conscience this! "They should do nothing to put in jeopardy their honor and consistency"! That is to say, it would be, most in consistent and dishonorable for the State, in its legis consistent and canonorance for the State, in its legis-lative capacity, to protect or vindicate the rights of its citizens, after they had been brutally violated in the metropolis! The constituents of Mr. Calhoun, and the whole western portion of the Commonwealth, will please make a note of this.

please make a note of this.

Mr. Sears, of Boston, saw terrible consequences in volved in granting the hall. "To pass an order like this," he said, "in the present crisis of affairs, would be certain to settle at once and forever all atte adjust our national affairs"!!! What a derisiv cachination would break forth in all the secedin States on hearing such a ridiculous declaration! is proposed," he continued, "to open this hall to men who proclaim doctrines that are treasonable who proclaim their sympathy with disunion-sanction invasions of other States." Three hoods in one breath! Our doctrines are the sel vident truths of the Declaration of Indep evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights of Massachusetts—nothing more. We have no sympathy with Southern disunionists. We have never sanctioned the invasion of other States. Again:—"The passage of such a resolve" he said, "would make ciril sur sure, (!) and upon the members of the Legislature would rest a fearful responsibility!" The poor man is beside him self with terror of his owners and overseers at the South. So, free speech must lie still under the heel of Boston mobocrats!

Mr. George T. Davis, of Greenfield, moved the in definite postponement of the resolve! Mr. Davis ha been particularly anxious, at the present session, o various occasions, to show his downward tendency and degeneracy in relation to the cause of freedo

and degeneracy in relation to the cause of recoom. Formerly a Vice President of this same Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, year after year, he can now see it deprived of all legal protection in Boston, without a word of censure or sympathy.

Mr. Wightman, of Chelmsford, (a relative of Mayor Wr., we presume—at least, evidently of the same stripe), said that "until Boston asked for the assistance of the State, he was willing to believe she could get along without it." What had the resolution to do with offering assistance to Boston ! It simply pro-posed to offer the Representatives! Hall, for one eve-ning, to a Society unlawfully denied a meeting in the city—a Society moreover, that for a series of year held its anniversary in the same Hall by vote of the House, whether Whig or Democratic! Mr. W. was in favor of free speech, to be sure, but "there are of free speech, to be sure, but "there a the sentiments of others, who are quite ened, conscientious and patriotic as himself, are conflict with his own! Out of such notions of fre dom proceed all forms of despotism; and so Mr. W. readily concludes that "it is the duty (!) of the chief magistrate of the city to prevent such a meeting."

What better is he in spirit, in this particular, than the

better that the Sinte House be left in ruins, with not one stone upon another, than that the supremacy of a mob should be acknowledged and obeyed by the chosen representatives of the people of Massachusetts! The vote stood—Yeas, 69; Nays, 136. All honor to the 69, who have won for themselves a good his-toric reputation! Shame upon the 136, for their rec-reancy to the cause of freedom in the trial-hour!

VERY TERRIBLE.

Alas for the administration of President Lincoln II was known, long since, that the Slave Power, in secting from the United States, had determined to make treaties with all the great European courts, which should at once advance their own interests and damage ours. We knew that they had determined, with inexorable rigor, to build up a commerce from their ports which should supersede and destroy ours; and that, as soon as they had completed the trifling preliminary work of shaking off the free States, and establishing a government fit for gentiemen slaveholders to live under, they would proceed utterly to deprive us of that staff of life, cotton, and to look on with smilling superiority while we pined and dwindled away.

We knew that they were determined to do these things. That, considering the importance of the present crisis, they had decided to set aside these old, timid maxims of conservatism—"tit takes two to make Also for the administration of President Lin

ent crisis, they had decided to set aside these old, timid maxims of conservatism—"it takes two to make a bargain," and "it is bad to reckon without your host,"—and that they had decided what these treaties and these commercial advantages were to be, without troubling the other parties to express an opinion.

This was bad enough for us of the North. But worse was to come upon us. And now—it has come!

They are going to use their influence—against us, not merely at the European courts, but at the court of

Georgia, has decretified or with the Creator in favor of the President and Congress of the United States, and to transfer the whele preponderance of that weight to the scale of Georgia. These are his that weight to the scale of Georgia. These words, calm but inexorable, published in the Sa News :-

To the Clergy in the Pr

case of Georgia:

DRAB BRUTHERN,—During the session of the Convent
of the State of Georgia, you will use the enclosed form
prayer, to follow immediately after the prayer for Congre

of the State of Georgia, you will use the enclosed form of prayer, to follow immediately after the prayer for Congress:

Almighty and Eternal God, the Supreme Governor of all things, who sitteth on the Throns judging right, and whose power no creature is able to resist; be present, we humbly beseech thes, with the Supreme Council of our State, now assembled in thy fear and presence. Save them from all crure, ignorance, pride and prejudice; endus them with wisdom, moderation and justice; direct and prosper all their consultations, and overrule all their decrees to thy glory, and the best interests of this Commouvesalth. Let nothing be done of strife og vain-glory, but all things in thy fear, and under thy guidance. These supplications we present unto thee, not for me righteousness, but for thy great mercies, in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

In the event of the secession of the State of Georgia from the Union, the clergy will suspend the use of the prayer entitled "A Prayer for Congress;" and in the prayer entitled "A Prayer for Congress," will omit the words, "thy servant, the President of the United States," and substitute in their places the words, "will count the words." In the svent of the secession of the State of Georgia from the Union, the clergy will, upon the reassembling of the Legislature of the State, resume the prayer entitled "A Prayer for Congress," altering it so as to read, "most gracious God, we humbly beseech the, as for the people of this State in general, so especially for their Senate and Representatives in Legislature assembled."

In the event of war, which God avert the clergy will introduce into the service a prayer, entitled "A Prayer in the second of the Prayer in the second of the Prayer in the second of the results in Legislature assembled."

resentatives in Legislature assembled."

In the event of war, which God avert! the clergy will introduce into the service a prayer, entitled "A Prayer in time of War and Tumulta."

Given under my hand, this 14th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1861.
STEPHEN ELLIOT, Bishop of the Dixese of Georgia.

The conscious power of the Bishop is shown in th thing to request, even of omnipotence, that the power which now rule in Georgia may be saved "from of error, ignorance, pride and prejudice". That they, having been, up to this time, such as we have seen, may now be endued "with wisdom, moderation, and justice"! If we give the Bishop credit for sincerity, his faith is certainly of the kind which expects to re

THE HONORABLE [!] LUCIUS SLADE.

Our last week's record (made up from the daily pa Our last week's record (made up from the daily pa-pers) of the proceedings of the anti-abolition mob of Thursday, Jan. 24th, relates that when they were shut out from the Tremont Temple in the evening, the more turbulent portion of them took refuge in the Tremont House bar-room, where various inflamma-tory speeches were made. The second of these speakers proposed three cheers for "Hon. Lucius Slade and his later".

If any readers of the Liberator have hitherto failed fully peruse it now, in its appropriate place on the first page. If any have failed to understand the close inpage. If any have failed to understand the close in-timacy, and the directly pernicious results, of our connection with Southern slavery, they will do well to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" this

A Senator of Massachusetts, who is also a citizen of Boston, boasts his knowledge of an organization, "a most powerful organization, here," for the purpose of committing unlawful violence. Shortly after the accidental publication of this letter, which appeared in the Journal of Jan. 11th, copied by it from the Georgia paper in which Mr. Slade's correspondent had printed it, a brutal mob in Boston, acting in a manner which indicated pre-arrangement and organization, did the very thing at the Tremont Temple which Mr. Slade's letter had boasted would soon be done, and then gave three cheers for him and his letter!

three cneers or min and his letter!

Is Mr. Slade a member of this conspiracy, as well as
cognizant of it? Is not this a suitable case for examination by the Grand Jury? It is bad enough for our Judges to recommend the repeal of laws which have been found needful for the protection of the liberty of our citizens; but if, in addition to this, a member of the higher branch of our legislature can cooperate with "a most powerful organization," secretly estab-lished for violent, intergence with our most receipts

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Standard informs us that a Con-under the suspices of the "Church Anunder the suspices of the "Church Anti-Slavery So-clety," met in New York city on the 23d ult., holding its day sessions in the Lecture-room of the Church of the Paritans, (Dr. Cheever's,) and its evening session in the Third Reformed Presbyterian Church, (Mr.

loane's.)
The New York Observer, of Jan. 31st, thus reports

ment was produced. It was reverely let alone."

The Standard copies the resolution's adopted, with a portion of the address of Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Secretary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, states that the discussions were spirited and interesting, and names among the speakers Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, a hearty anti-slavery worker in the small denomination of "Reformed Presbyterians," Rev. Nathan Brown, editor of the American Baptist, and representative of a very small minority of abolitionists in the Baptist church,) and Rev. H. Mattison, one of the most energic laborers for reform in the Methodist Episconal orers for reform in the Methodist Episcons

The Church Anti-Slavery Society has now had nearly two years' experience of the fact, that ninety-nine in a lundred of the churches of every one of the great and preponderant religious sects in this country are either utterly indifferent, or hostile, to its principles and purposes. In view of this fact, the Standard appropriately alludes to the erroneous claracter of an assumption very commonly made, that the "evan-golical" church and ministry of this country are hostile to the American Anti-Slavery Society, not for its abolitionism, but for its alleged "infidelity." Examination shows both parts of this popular assumption to be false. It shows, first, that the ascription of infidelity to this Society is utterly erroneous; that its principles and its acts are alike Christian; and that its work comes nearer to a "following of Christ" than the lives of those who make formal "profession" of being his followers; and it shows, next, that these being his followers; and it shows, next, that these churches and ministers evince no more sympathy with a distinctively orthodox abolitionism, presented to them by the Church Anti-Slavery Society, than with

the appeals of Mr. Garrison himself.

The founders of the Church Anti-Slavery Society
wished to purify the church at least as much as to
help the slave. Finding that the church felt sore unhelp the slave. Finding that the church felt sere un-der the "harsh language" which the elder abolition, ists had addressed to it, they took the opposite policy, and used none but tender and fraternal expressions, in their haste and zeal addressing even pro-slavery churches and ministers as "Christians." For two years they have patiently tried these efforts. What is the result ! The *Independent* and the *Congregations* take no notice of their Convention whatever; and the Observer rejoices that it was "severely let alone."c. K. W.

ANOTHER MOROGRATIC OUTRAGE.

Extract of a letter from Miss Susan B. Anthony

Extract of a letter from Miss Susan B. Anthony, dated Rome, (N. Y.) Jan. 18.

"Yesterday, S. S. Foster, A. M. Powell and I came on from Utica, to commence the Rome Convention. We had a quiet afternoon meeting of thirty or forty men, and three women. All appearances were, that we were destined to a "terrible letting alone."

At the evening session, I placed myself at the foot of the first flight of stairs, to take the door fee. Some thirty assessed un quietly when there came, with heavy thirty passed up quietly, when there came, with heavy tramp, a compact gang of forty or fifty rowdies. The leader, with head bent forward, was in the act of passing me, without paying his ten-cents, when I reached out my hand, with "Admission, ten cents, sir." He pushed me saide, ruthlessly, and hallood, "Come on, boys! don't stop for her"—and rushed on up to the pushed me aside, ruthlessly, and nationd, "Come on, boys! don't stop for her"—and rushed on up to the hall, with hideous hootings and yellings. There they stamped, and howled, and whistled, and sang "the stamped, and howled, and whistled, and sang "the star-spangled banner"—marched on to the platform, seated themselves at the table, pulled out a pack of cards, and then took the table and threw it to the floor with a crash. Under the circumstances, we made no attempt to speak, and soon left the hall. Mean-time, I had kept at bay some two hundred of the less desperate of the rioters, who had not quite the villany to rush over me without paying, nor the manhood t

gang made desperate efforts to force their way through the hotel entrance and halls, but were repulsed by the landlord and others. The landlord, says a hundre quiet meetings, such as we had her four years ago rould not do a tithe as much to make us converts,

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER-No. 228-for ry, 1861, contains the following papers:—1. Alger' History of the Doctrine of a Future Life. 2. The Place of "Modern Painters" in Art-Literature Place of "Modern Painters" in Art-Literature 3. Origin of the Gospels. 4. Ary Scheffer. 5. The Church of Holland. 6. Garibaldi. 7. Review of Cur rent Literature. New Publications received. The

so, we think, in the present number.

In the article on the Memoir of the life of Ary Scheffer, the admirable and meritorious French artist, by Mrs. Grote, the reviewer says :-

tist, by Mrs. Grote, the reviewer says:—

"In a note in her Appendix, Mrs. Grote alludes to the engraving of "Le Unrist Consolateur," which was published in the United Slates, les frontispiese to an edition of the hook of Common Prayer used by the Episcopal Church, where the slave was erased from the print! It is indeed a pittable saire, that a society calling itsel. 'Christian,' in as republic that was based upon principles of freedom, should find it necessary to multishe the work of an artist whose life was devoted to liberal principles, in a subject intended to portray the broad, unfettered love of Christianity. A childish altempt, too, to think with a few strokes mon a steel plate, to remove a fettered slave, whether white or black, from beneath the hands of 'Christ the Consoler,' or in this way to get rid of glances that still anosal to havanity. 'Christ the Consoler,' or in this way to get rid of glances that still appeal to humanity. Its childishoes might ex-cite to ridicule, but the laughter must be as sad as it is

REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

The following remonstrance against the repeal of the Personal Liberty Law of this State was pre-sented to the Legislature on the 29th ult., with the names of James Scott and 406 others, Leonard A. Grimes and 168 others, Wm. H. Logan and 149 others. In all, 722. Many more signatures could east been obtained, had not the friends supposed

To the Senate and House of Represe

To the Scenar and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The colored citizens of Boston, feeling the danger to which the Pugitive Slave Bill exposes them, though free and citizens of Massachusetts, and bound by the closer, in many instances, than those of race alone, to fuglitives from slavery, carnestly remonstrate against the repeal of the Personal Liberty Law.

The On Tuesday forenoon and evening last, Fan-euil Hall was crowded with the allies of the South, to propose terms of capitulation to the traitors who have left the Union. The meeting no more represented the sentiments of the people of Massachusetts than did the mole in Boston—composed of the same elements— on the 3d of December and 24th of January. The depths of corrupt concession into which William H. Seward and Charles Francis Adams have descended, may be understood by the cheers which were given may be understood by the cheers which were given for those gentlemen by the Union-saving hunkers of Boston, both in the morning and evening meetings. Lacius Slade was one of the Vice Presidents!! [See his letter on the outside.]

No Room! We are perplexed, beyond all power of description, from week to week, to find room for a thousandth part of the immense amount of interesting and important matter, both original and selected, which is daily accumulating upon our hands. It is impossible to keep our readers posted as to the doings of the parties, exceeding of the treasonable South with a mation, especially of the treasonable South, with a weekly issue, and at the same time carry on the gen-eral anti-slavery discussion. Hence, correspondents must specially be patient; relying on our give them as early a hearing as practicable.

"Truth not to be Overthrown nor Sile is the title of a most timely and eloquent Sermon preached at Dorchester, Sunday, January 27th, 1861, by Rev. Nathaniel Hall, and published by the request of a number of highly respectable citizens of that town. It was drawn out by the recent mobocratic outbreak in Boston. We shall try to find room for it entire, crowded as our columns are.

Mayor Wightman and his associates may learn in what estimation their conduct is held abroad, with reference to the Anti-Slavery meeting in this city, by consulting the first page of the Liberator. More here-

The excellent speech of Charles C. Burleigh at the meeting at Tremont Temple will be given soon. SENATOR SUMNER'S INTERVIEW WITH

ATHE PRESIDENT. Our Washington correspondent sends us the following full and authentic account of the interview between Senator Sumner and the President:—.

ween Senator Sumner and the Fresident:—

WASHINGTON, February 4.

Much, interest is manifested in the interview between President Buchanan and Senator Sumner. Mr. Sumner visited the President, at the request of Gov. Andrew, to learn his answer to the Massachusetts offer of military aid; that done, Mr. Sumner said: "What else can Massachusetts do for the good of the country."

Mr. Buchanan. A great deal. No State more.

Mr. Sumner. I should like to know what.

Mr. Buchanan—(after pause.) Adopt the Crittenden proposition.

Mr. Buchanan

Mr. Sumner. Is that necessary.

Mr. Buchanan. It is.

Mr. Sumner. Massachusetts has not acted directly
on these propositions, which seek to five slavery a constitutional protection in territories, and disfranchise
large numbers of her citizens; but I believe such are
the convictions of the Massachusetts people that they ould never consent to any such proposition.

Mr. Sumner repeated his assurance in the strongest

Mr. Summer repeated his assurance in the strongest language.

The President said he felt discouraged by the reply. Mr. Summer spoke of the common ground where all who truly loved the country could stand. It was the Constitution as administered by Washington. The verdict of the people, last November, should be recognized without price or condition.

The President said he and Mr. Summer must differ, politically.

politically.

Mr. Summer assured the President that the people of Massachusetts were attached to the Union; that the real disunionists there might all be put in an omnibus, but Massachusetts could not be brought to sacrifice or ahandon her principles, and in that he (Summer) sincerely joined.—Traceller.

The Charleston correspondent of the Baltimore American writes,—"Major Anderson, it is believed here, is adding greatly to the strength of his position. He has dug a mine under the causeway leading to the gate of his 'donjon,' and will blow up the first company that attempts an escalade. This he can easily do without injuring himself or his fortification. At the points, however, that bear upon Sumter, South Carolina still continues to concentrate her forces, and when the struggle does come, it will be terrible."

THE UNITED STATES SENATE, The following Senators have withdrawn from this body: Mesers, Davis and Brown, of Mississippi; Yulee and Mallory, of Florida; Clay and Fitrpatrick, of Alabama; Toombs and Iverson, of Georgia; Hammond and Chestnut, of

ABOLITIONISTS MOBINED AT AUBURN. We learn that the Anti-Slavery Convention at Auburn was disturbed and prevented pretty much in the same manner as in this city. A person connected with the railroad shops, in that place, was chosen chairman, and the outsiders hast things pretty much all their own way. The meeting was distarbed by the ringing of bells, and other poises.—Systems Sanndard.

WORCESTER SOUTH A. S. SOCIETY.-The an

monumentary course as Society—The annual meeting of this Society will be held in Washburn Hall, Worcester, on Sunday, Feb. 10.

A. T. Foss, Sawurt, May, Jr., S. S. Foster, H. Foun Douglass, and others, will be present. The public are cordially invited.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, President.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, President.

F. H. FORD DOUGLASS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at North Berwick, Maine, Mouday evening, Feb. 11.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Mastta Anti-Slavery Society, will lec

Tuesday, Feb. 12. Wednesday, " 13. Thursday, " 14. Friday, " 15.

DR. J. S. ROCK will speak at the Free Church in dillord, Sunday, Feb. 10.

LINDA.

NCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, ANDEAUS IN THE LIFE OF A CLAW GIRL, Seven Vear conceased in Shavery; narrated by herself; with an introduction by LYMA MARIA CHILD, and a Lei-ter by Axr Post. A handsone book of 30¢ pages, just issued, which is receiving highly commendatory notices from the press. Price, \$1.00. Orders for mailing must include sixteen cents in postage stamps. oents in postage stamps.

WM. C. NELL,

221 Washing

A PEW Photographs of WENDELL PHILLIPS, by Horrow, are on sale at the Anti-Slavery Reome for \$1.00 cach. They are much admired. FS U

WEST NEWTON

ENGLISH AND CLASSIGAL SCHOOL.

THE next term will begin Wednesday, February 12, 1861. For particulars, address.

NATHANIEL T. ALLEN, Feb. 1. West Newton Mass. Feb. I.

TRANSIENT BOARDERS.

THE subscriber has just opened house No. 17 Myrdis street, for the secommodation of transient Rearders. The location is a piguant one, within a few minutes walk of the most central portions of the city. Terry exertion will be made for the confert of those who may favor the house with a call. Rooms furnished with or without board. Terms moderate.

Jan. 11.

For the Liberator THE DISLOYAL SOUTH

Brothers! your scenic lightning-dark
Shows sear uptoming with the fates
Of church and trade, of wealth and art,
The tragamers of the drifting States.
We hear your angry tropic-swell
Chafe roughly up our castern bayawe think it but the wrash of hell
God turns to freedom and to praise!

Of old, with wind and wave at fight,
Strove a small band with firm accord,
When on the billow's frothing height
There stood the world-rejected Lord.
We doubt not Him who walks the surge;
We dare not cry, "It is a wraith!"
Behold the Master, who shall purge
Gur land from sin—the Christ of faith!

Men of the hot Palmetto State Men of the hot Paimetto case,
Just Winthrop and our godly Vane
Bequesthed us strength that will not bate
Through all the wrenching of your strai
Mark, Sirs! our Commonwealth is calm, Mark, Sirs! our Commonwealth is ca Firm on foundation Pilgrims dug; The crackling of your foolish palm
But thaws our churches' icyfshrug!

Be yours the player's stamp and start, The bluster of the dress parade; This beating of our freer heart Is worth a century of trade. Through manly discipline to win— cerish your silver troughs of wealth, That held New England's husks of sin!

Come, Poet, thrill the word divine
Through feeble prate of art and taste!
What prophet was inspired by wine,
What martyr's crows begonned with paste?
Cease, Preacher, walling for the land!
No longer are as a divined. No longer are we sin-enticed;
Break bonds! Away with eye and hand!
But, bleeding, let us live to Christ!

> WHERE IS CHRIST BY REV. J. T. POWERS.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto others, ye have it unto me."—Jesus Christ. Christ stands within the market-place,

A scarred and bleeding slave ; The Son of God and Son of Man ed to a bloody grave! Christ lifts his toiling hands to heaven,

Prom bonds and groans and tears and death, From curse of slavery! Chelat fleez before the Southern hound ;

He hides him from his foe ;— Is trocked and hunted by his race, And doomed to human woe!

Christ, as the Crucified, Behold in Afric's race His martyr crown upon its brow, His blood upon its face ! Christ, as the suffering Slave

Christ, as the scourged and bound; Christ, as the flying Fugitive; In every Slave is found.

From the Boston Journal. "NEW ENGLAND LEFT OUT IN THE COLD." BY LYDIA M. TENNE

Left out in the cold! be it so, if you will—
New England will shrink not, she's used to the chill;
The snew on her mountains, the fleree sleeting rain,
But furnish the life of her heart and her brain—
Heart and brain ever busy new plans to unfold learning and progress, out here in the cold. Left out in the cold! yet, indeed, let her be
By the rough granite boulders—the solemn-volced sea;
With her hammers sharp click, and her mills' steady whir
With her hamlet's dear quiet, her city's brisk stir,
And her heavenly charities, pouring out gold.
To give bread to the hungry, out here in the cold. Left out in the cold ! that is where she'll remain Unawed by the menace of lash or of chain;
With a heart ever open to pity's soft thrill,
But with nerves kin to those which achieved Bunker HillNerves that hardened to iron, when ruthleady told
To compromise honor, out here in the cold. Left out in the cold ! aye, she likes the refrain, Her poets will set it to music again,
"I will be rung as an anthem where loyal hearts beat,
And trilled as a oradie song, holy and sweet,
By mothers, when infant bands revrently fold By mothers, when infant panes set in the cold.

In a prayer to "Our Father," out here in the cold. Left out in the cold !—where she'll calmly await The Future's just verdict—the unrolling of fate; Neither threatening nor trembling, in peace or in

From the Salem Gazette A CLOUD UPON OUR COUNTRY. A cloud upon our country! and it lies
Because our country held so foul a wrong!
A wrong that burdened every breese with sighs,
cooked up unpitied with its weeping eyes,
And formed the minor strain in Freedom's song. And torned a minor of the control of

Her honor and courage unmoved as a star;— Esteeming her liberties dearer than gold— With Freedom and God, leave her out in the cold.

A cloud upon our country, not more dark.

Than that veiling her face so many years I
Through the wide world was heard for blood!

We may do wrong until we think it right;

Pamiliarised with ovine, the crime defend;
But down-crushed manhood hath resistless might When it arouses from Oppression's night; And pent-up fires volcanic streams will

A WORD FOR THE HOUR.

A WORD FOR THE HOUR.

BY JOIN G. WHITTER.

The firmament breaks up. In black celliped Light after-light goes out. One avil star, Larvidly glaring through the smoke of war, As in the dream of the Apocalypse, Drags others down. Let us not weakly weep, Nor rashly threaten. Give us grace to keep Our faith and patience: wherefore should we leap, On me hand, into fratricidal fight, Or, on the other, yield eternal right, Frame lies of law, and good and ill confound? What fear we? Safe on Freedom's rankage ground Our feet are planted: let us there remain In unrevengedul calm, no means untried Which truth can sanction; no just claim denied, The and spectators of a relicide? They break the lunks of Utlean a claim we light The free of hell to weld snew the chain? Draw was not even now a ricer breath As from our shoulders fills a load of death Loathsome as that the donned Mennetina hore? Why take us up tht accurace thing again? Pity, forgive, but urge then back no mire, Who, drunt with passion, hoke Diunkon's reg With its ville reptile blazen. Let us press The golden cluster on our brave old fig. In obser union, and, if numbering long. Beighter shall shine the stars which still remain t amedury, 16th day of 1st month. BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

ury, 16th day of 1st month.

The Tiberator.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAST AND A PRO-SLA

to, or in the villages among the Green Moun-The Abolitonists, like the Apostles, are re-t, as you well know, as "turners of the world down." The President's Fast, which we here teep, has been the occasion of street, and this

and spirited Anti-Slavery meeting, at which, among others, the following resolutions were passed, after protracted discussion and bitter opposition —

lers, under extraordinary circumstances, may tatively proclaim a fast, yet we do not and regard the official call of the President of the States to observe this as a day of fasting as at all binding upon us: First, because the United States Government, of which he is the chief executive, is ence. Third, because no does not call the nation to fasting on account of the real causes of God's dis-pleasure, viz., national sins, such as Atheism, Infidel-ity, rejection of the Mediator as King of nations, and most cruel oppression. Fourth, because those very things which the President deprecates as evils, we rather rejoice in; and those very things for whose preservation he asks us to pray, we would rather see destroyed.

2. Whereas, President Buchanan, in his recent mes age, advises to amend the Constitution, so that it may recognize the right of property in slaves in those States where it now exists or may hereafter exist, and so as to more effectually pledge and secure the surren der of fugitive slaves, as well as to make all Persons

der of fugitive slaves, as well as to make all Personal Liberty laws of the Northern States null and void: Whereas, he believes that these proposed amend-ments are necessary to the preservation of the Union, and in his proclamation asks the people to pray for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union, thereby asking prayer that such infamous amendmen may be made so as to save the Union :

may be made so as to save the Union:

Whereas, the President, having laid the blame of
the present troubles in the country to "the violent
agitation of the slavery question at the North," now
proclaims a fast that we, Abellitonists, may confess our faults to God :

our faults to God:

And, whereas, the Governor of Vermont unites
with the President in proclaiming a fast: therefore,
Resolved, That we cannot comply with the call of
Gov. Fairbanks, but hereby testify against his conduct
in the premises as unworthy of the chief executive of a State that has declared that "every person that has been held as a slave, who shall come into this State,

which I give you below were laid on the table for ful-ler discussion at a subsequent meeting. This being the mind of the audience, intimation was given that, at that meeting, it would be shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church is very guilty, and is a "bulwark of American slavery." Whereupon a committee was ap-pointed to invite speakers to address the next meeting on the resolutions, the intention being to obtain Meth-odist-ministers to defend the church against the charge of pro-slavery. Accordingly, afterwards four of their ablest clergymen in this part of the State were formally invited, and special efforts made by their friends to have them come. At the appointed timelast Friday evening-the house being full of anxious last Friday evening—the house being 10th or anxious or excited auditors, the committee reported that they had failed to obtain any speakers from abroad. Whereupon the resolutions, laid on the table at the previous meeting, were taken up for discussion. They are as

ber them that are in bonds as bound with them"; tatives cannot enact a Personal Liberty Law that shall make Massachusetts soil as free as England's. We ask them to be true men and Christians, and tear every that other and see a second seems of the colors and seems of the colors. holders nor neutral in this struggle, we are under the

2. Resolved, That as the American Church, composed of the large and popular denominations, most of which are slaveholding or in Rellowship with slaveholders, has vast power in the formation of the institutions and laws of the country, and in the moulding of public opinion, it follows that the "American Church is the bulwark of Slavery," and that such a slaveholding religion is not the Christian religion, or such a clurch the Church of Jense Korist. such a church the Church of Jesus Christ.

accuse them of pro-slavery. Under the leadership of a Democratic champion—a pro-slavery officer of the administration—an almost successful effort was made to break up the meeting. Tumult, abuse and threats frightened away a few, but the mass of the Abditionists held their ground, and through the promptuess and courage of our Chairman, a scalous John Brown man, the mob spirit was rept down. Amid bitter accusion, the mob spirit was rept down. Amid bitter accusion. is beld their ground, and through the promptiness and courage of our Chairman, a scalous John Brown man, the mot spirit war lept down. Amid bitter accusations that we, by our anti-slavery meetings, were endeavoring to break up the Methodist revival meetings being held here, and not without more cries of "Great is Diama of the Ephesians!" the meeting adjourned for two weeks, for continued discussion.

N. R. JOHNSTON.

STRIKE BUT HERE."

"A new article has just been added to the Russian edge of entoning in the compelled to insert, grattly the part and periodical, will be compelled to insert, grattly the content when they have been the attacking good many and periodical in the United States, would make the press a little more careful of attacking good more and good reforms. In this country, the "best also the weeks, for continued discussion.

N. R. JOHNSTON.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION.

a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth sury. Why is not the soil of the Old Bay State? What hinders? The Constitution and the on; where the Slave Power entrenched itself at formation of the government, and which is its last nghold. We must continue to attack it there. Lassachusetts Senators have voted that the peti-cars for the cultilities of large hunting wife.

heel. The Constitution. With its grasping names, as cluiches Massachusetts by the throat, saying, "Pay cluiches Massachusetts by the throat, saying, "Pay that thou owest." From the State House the Reme that thou owest." From the State House the Republicans respond, "We will." It says to them, "You shall not be just nor humane; your righteous laws we will annul; your people shall not be a Christian people; your soil shall be hunting-ground for those who make game of men; you and your children shall not say, nay." And they answer, "Be it so; great is the Constitution and the Union." We sak them, as men, to protect heroic manhood fleeing from oppression. They answer, "We are legislators; we are a part of the government; we are solemnly pledged oppression. They answer, "we are legislators; we are a part of the government; we are solemnly pledged to permit slave-hunting." Alas! too true; they have signed away their manhood; they have made a lengue with the devil; they have sold their souls to the Slave Power: henceforth no more Honorable, let them say with Milton's Beelzebub-

Must we renounce, and, changing style, be call'd Princes of Hull."

The kidnapping of men and women is wicked. It is wicked in a Democrat, in a Belleverett. It is just as wicked in a Republican.

"Thou sly hypocrite, who now would'st seem Patron of Liberty!"

Why cherish this idolatrous worship of an impect, sinful compact, made by erring, short-sighted mer under the pressure of circumstances which no longe people of Charlestown, recently, justly remarked—
"The cause of our present troubles is African Siavery, sanctioned by the U. S. Constitution." Mr. Seward, in his recent speech in the Senate, said, "To-day
all those (European) States are firmly set in hostility pulsion; the other American, which the African slave trade, and resist the entrance of de mestic slavery into Territories where it is yet un known, while it leaves the disposition of existing sla vorably American opposition to slavery contrasts with European; yet Mr. Seward, in the same speech cast aside all their own systems of government, in accept this Republic of ours, with all its short-conings and disappointments, maintain it with their arms and cherish it in their hearts!" The people of Et rope would spew this Republic out of the

they understood the workings of the Slave Power as well as Mr. Seward does.

But, to the point —Mr. Seward goes on to say, in relation to the two forms of opposition to slavery, "It is the Union that restricts the opposition to slavery in this country within these limits. If dissolution prevail, what guaranty shall there be against the ful pment here of the fearful and uncompro-

Let every lover of liberty cling to it no longer. Let us aspire to European civilization, and cherish that spirit which to-day makes Italy famous, and Garibaldi spirit which to-day makes Italy famous, and Garlbald a hiero, and Hungary hopeful, and the Czar of Russia a philanthropist; and which, twenty-five years ago, enacted the most memorable chapter in England's history—which, shame for us, sees America, under Republican rule, debating whether or not to admit a new

slave State!

We appeal from the Senator to the man; from the cold heart of the citizen to the warm pulse of human ity. We call the attention of the people of thi State who love Liberty, or even the remembrance of solved, thank God! Where are those precious and preaching—"God will abolish slaver in his ogneyy"? Now that the drum-beat of God's retributive justice is mustering all the forces for the desistant of the property of the desistant of the control such a church the Church of Jesus Christ.

3. Resolved, That we may never do evil that good
God's time "1 I caught one yesterday signing a
may come; that it is always safe to do right; and
Crittender Compromise petition. You will find them
that four millions of immortal beings are of infinitely
more value than the Union, the Constitution, the gov-

"STRIKE BUT HEAR."

N. R. JOHNSTON.

If Mr. Johnston is the pastor of a Covenanter church in Topsham, made up of those whose religious integrity is proof against the powerful temptations of the times to compromise the principles of everlating rightconness. Would that every other church and look at home."—but that the editors of that paper may rightconness. Would that every other church and look at home."—and begin, either to cease from pulpit oscupant in Vermont were of the same spirit!—

Ed. Lib.

Win for themselves |—Independent.

Let us hope that the above general confession of the Independent may prove to be not merely a matter of the confessions of church people, that they are imported as saying in Bostou, that the only hope of perpetuating the Union lies in effecting a union of the Christian Church pulpit oscupant in Vermont were of the same spirit!—

Ed. Lib.

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PROPLE

and profligate classes come forth from their dens of pollution and crime, and walk abroad unmolested at moon-day; the hand of the assassin and oppressor is

can hold a people permanently together, and that is, exact justice to all, even the meanest and most degraded. The hour has now come to make the following plain declarations:

I. The American Union is dissolved, and never

nore can the old confederated States act in concert.

II. This Union is dissolved because it has not reof Independe

higher confederation, and that confederation will avov the following sentiments:—
1st. Each man and woman has a right, not to b

they can earn and wisely us

2d. In the sight of high Heaven, all peoples, na-tions, tongues and tribes are equal. The sun shines upon both the evil and the good; and, 3d. Man is wise or foolish, weak or strong, sinful or ous, in the ratio that he makes a just use of the

the human race, through a wise and beneficent educa-tion of the whole man; and, 6th. All governments should flow from the hearts of the highest and purest persons who may live in an age

or nation.
6th. All laws framed for the government of a people should be so simple that all might know, comprehend and understand them.
7th. To have a wise and good administration, there

tial, yet they now divide the people. Very soon, th people will divide the American people will divide themselves into three factions, representing the three interests already named, and there will be an effort to organize three distinct, though somewhat conjoined, confederations. The uneasy South must begin this work. It is a neg nence general disanon; and for a time there must be strife for the supremacy. The South now takes pos-session of the national forts, arsenals, navy yards. Soon the American government that was will seek to make reprisals. Ships from those ports where the war has begun will be seized, and then the commer-

seeking justice, and being out of the realm of contest

States, there must be plunder and war. Property will lose its value because of the internal commotions.

mon, for the war has begun, and cannot be ch

President elect to her borders for inauguration and other national purposes.

7th. As the revolution reaches its culminating point, it will be seen that there will appear able, pacific, and hroadly constructive minds, who will guide the voy, agers home to the port of a higher justice than has heretofore obtained among men.

At the present time, the author of this address to the American people desires to be unknown to the public. Should this address to received with fivor by the people, then further suggestion may be expected from the same source.

S. M. J.

January 20, 1861.

Selected Articles.

SLAVE-HUNTING IN MASSACHUSETTS.

the Massachusetts Senate, January 24th, the of the Committee on Federal Relations, on etitions of L. Babcock and others for the pro-m of slave-hunting in the Commonwealth, was

aken up.

Mr. Whitring desired to put himself right. He oped it would not be considered that the report on the committee was an expression of the unanimous consent of the committee. For one, he was thereby opposed to the report. The people asking or a bill have not been heard.

mous consent of the committee. For one, he was utterly opposed to the report. The people asking for a bill have not been heard.

There are some men on the committee who believe that conton is not king, and that commerce is not pure. There are some who think that men are above all these things. They have come up here, and ask to be heard. Perhaps no such bill can pass. This subject has been discussed here in one form and another every year for many years. He had not seen such a map judgment as has been sprung upon these petitioners. They have been granted leave to withdraw without being heard. He thought it would be fairer to all, and be likely to contribute much to the tranquillity of the country, if such a course was adopted.

the tranquinty of the country, it such a course was adopted.

Mr. Northend supposed that when a subject was presented to a committee, and they were instructed to consider a matter, that committee is to judge of the merits of the question before them, and how they are to treat it. He feared that granting the leave to be heard would be opening a dangerous precedent. The reason that the committee have taken the course they have, is because upon the face of the petition a law is asked for which is in direct contravention of the Constitution of the United States, and nothing else. He did not think it was the place of the Senate to dictate to a committee what course it shall take in considering the subject. Why does not the gentleman from Plymouth present a bill to prohibit the rendition of any fugitive by any officer of the State or the United States in the Commonwealth? Let the Senate then meet the direct question.

un. WHITING said ne was not carried in the law the gentleman from Essex; but there might be sons whose names are on these petitions who pos-a share of common sense, and with honest rea-think that such laws are not in contravention of Constitution of the United States. He hoped

son time that such always not in contractation to the Constitution of the United States. He hoped the Senate would meet the question on its merits.

Mr. NORTHEND was in favor of meeting the question on its merits in the Senate Chamber, as the committee has done. The committee have given their reasons for their action. He did not believe any person possessed of common sense and intellition on its merits in the Senate Chamber, as the committee has done. The committee have given their reasons for their action. He did not believe any person possessed of common sense and intelli-gence, who is capable of understanding the Constitu-tion of the United States, could believe such a law

as constitutional.

Mr. Whiting had no bill to propose. He did not

Mr. BATTLES, of Worcester, said that he had on Mr. BATTLES, of Worcester, said that he had one reason for favoring a recommitted that had not been mentioned. At an early part of the day, a report from parties desiring to be heard upon this subject had been laid on the table, because there was no paper upon the subject before the Committee on Federal Relations. To refuse to recommit would kill the petition that has been haid on the table. It would defeat the end of the former motion to lay the petition on the table. He had always supposed that committees who are created by the Legislature derived their powers from the power that creates them.

The year and nays were called for, and they were

ordered.

Mr. DAYIS understood that the majority of the committee had made the report, and the minority had not opposed it. Mr. WITTING was in the minority, and made no minority report. When a committee has decided that they did not wish to hear arguments, it would be a work of supererogation to force them to hear them. He should therefore vote against the recommitment.

at this moment for the exercise of free speech. They cannot freely speak anywhere else than in Boston and it may be that they cannot speak here. If they would find a sanctuary here where they can be heard.

nt. The oaths

Mr. WHITING responded with much feeling.

Mr. STONE, of Bristol, desired to have it understood that he recognized the right of free speech.

He argued that Massachusetts might prohibit her own officers making arrests of fugitives. He doubted whether any man who believed in the Constitution of the United States would deny that a slave master could recover his slave in Massachusetts. Taking the words of the Constitution, and giving them a fair construction, he believed this must be the reasonable deduction. He knew of no man who would deny this, unless it was one of that class who believe the Constitution is "an agreement with death and a covenant with hell"—those who believe in disminon. With that exception, he knew of no other person who believed that the Federal officers may not more value than the Union, the Constitution, the government, or than even church organizations; therefore we should spare no hawful effort to secure the fore we should spare no hawful effort to secure the enact of the constant of the enact of justices and humanity, our warery should be—God speed the chariot of Freedom and Salvation, and let all opposers get out of the way or perial!

In the discussion of these resolutions, and in a somewhat protracted address, the fruth of the charge way and the previous loss of the enact of the ena

that the petition should be dismissed without delay.

Mr. DAVIS said he should vote against a recommittal, because it would be both unjust to the petitioners and contemptanous towards the committee, the vould be contemptanous to the committee, because they had fully expressed their minds, and unfair to the petitioners, because it would send them before a committee who had declared their opinions to be fixed upon the subject.

A motion to adjourn was lost. The question recurring upon the motion to recommit; the yeak and anys were ordered as follows:—

YAA-Messrs Babson, Battles, Cook, Fiske, Glazier, Nash, Walden, Walker, Whiting—9. NAYA-Messrs, Burt, Cheover, Clark, Davis, Day, Dillingham, Dresser, Hardy, Kinney, Northend, Nor-ton, Rogers, Sanderson, Schouler, Shaw, Slade, Stone, Tompkins—18.

Mr. Davis thought the report rather simmary, and moved that all be stricken from the report, except that portion which granted leave to the petitioners to withdraw.

The amendment was accepted, and, on the open

tion of accepting the report as amended, the year and nays were ordered.

The vote was as follows:—

YEAS—Messrs. Balson, Battles, Burt, Cheere Cook, Davis, Day, Dillingham, Dresset, Fiske, Gissa Hardy, Kinney, Northend, Norton, Rogers, Sandrons, Schouler, Shaw, Slade, Southworth, Stone, Tompkin Walden—23. NAVS-Messrs. Walker, Whiting-2.

SOUTHERN OPINIONS OF NORTHERN UNION MEN.

From a letter from Macon, Georgia, to the X-york Tribune, we extract the following:

The more general expression concerning the more allowery demonstrations at the North's of a The more general expression concerning the pro-slavery demonstrations at the North is of as disguised and hitter contempt. Let me conern you a more vivid idea of this state of feeling that you a more vivid idea of this state of feeling that you a more vivid idea of this state of feeling that you coherwise could, by reporting the remark of a Georgia and South Carolina desuminos, who was the other day talking together in the public room the other day talking together in the public room. talking together in the pub House" in this place. 1:

Georgia and South Carolina desiriost, "Is of we then that talking together in the public was at the other day talking together in the public was at the "Lainer House" in this place. I have you moreover, that the sentiments of so many peaker than the public was a sentence are truthfully represented by the convenience of the convenience of the talking that the properties of the convenience of the talking feeling.

But to my illustration: Both the South Carolinian and the Georgian were men in perseal as is the ruling feeling.

But to my illustration: Both the South Carolinian and the Georgian were men in perseal as a sent of the sentence of the sent intenting the South Carolinian a torent of the most stinging words you can imagine, which I en any feebly reproduce. Said he—"There, now by if I had needed anything to continue me that the standard of the said heart of the said annued Abolitionists were rotten cowards the precedings of that meeting would here finished me. I swear, it makes me sick to read the resolution; put can hear the whining of their rotes and he chattering of their teeth, when you read the stoff. The Georgian assented to this proposition, and soil the whole affair reminded him of a bow who his noths, and then, frightened at whap he had done, hope had offers him his biggest apple not to tell did, whole affair reminded him of a bow who his noths, and then, frightened at whap he had done, hope had dear with his wife at the breakfast-table, and throw a fork at her; but the moment it had lella hand, he turned pale with fright, and yelled at Dodge it, my dear!"

Some further remarks in this same strain of heationsness followed, during which the worthy Phidelphia brethren were rudely handled. The Said Carolinian presently grew warm again, hower, and proceeded substantially thus; "You how will cancel the like a rugged up and down fight. In have some respect for a bold rascal; I have resect of a sort, for a sincere man, too, no matter that be believes. If, now, I was an Abolitionist, as be hieved that slavery was wrong or if I delain est dam.

believes. If, now, I was an Abolitonist, and he hieved that slavery was wrong, or if I didn't act damm whether slavery was wrong or not, and so meant to fight against it, and if I had made a sur-fight, like what those Northern fellows have on why, by the Lord, I'd cut off my hand and like my tongue, before I'd take any part in one of the surveiling pow-wows they call Union meeting Here, for years, the blasted fellows have been give than they have been the control of the properties of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control o all they've got, and a good deal more, and never so again so long as they live, if we'll only let'en this once. Long John Wentworth says the chive will back down, and they are always resdy to will back down, and they are always resty to e dirt when the scratch comes; but I should like see the Southern mass-the would crawl on his lel like those hounds at Thiladelphia and Boston, a gobble dirt with such an appetite as they seen have! I'd shoot him before I went out to has a Abolitionist that was stealing my miggers. Bythe der! I'm ashamed of my kind!"

You will observe that the gentleman from Sor Carolina was slightly heated: the other was hard less see: and the remarks here imperfectly report

who nodded to each other in approval or the sea-ment.

I say to you again, this is not an exceptional in-stance. I have heard similar comments on steat-boats, in railway trains, in numerous tavers, among the groups at the street corners. Much the same feeling was more mildly expressed by Mr. Cobb, in its speech I reported for you the other day. Other orators have thus spoker in meetings of less note. If the Northern Union-savers think that their case will gain ground among, or receive the respect of the Slavocarcey through the agency of such mee-ings and such resolutions, let them come to Georgia, let them go to other Southern States, and their cyts will be opened."

IMPORTANT SECESSION MOVEMENT — A Post HOUSE OUT OF THE UNION!! We learn from reliable source, that the inmates of one of the largest and most respectable County Infirmatic in the State, have held a meeting, and unanmostly resolved to secode. Intense excitement prevailed, and all felt that they had been in a state of dependent as long as honor or self-respect would allow, and that they would sacrifice all their carthly goods rule than endure it longer. The speakers were tookously applauded whenever they connselled defant to the constituted authorities. Resolutions were adopted with entire unanimity and the wildest extremity and the wildest extremity in the substance that por point are as good as rich ones, and of right soverigs and independent; that all laws which reduce the last extremity; that, while their neighbors had light in affluence and luxury, they had been key is humiliating state of dependence on the public charty; and that the only remedy for the past, or servicy for the future, was in separate and immediate secession.

The Seceders are in quiet possession of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of the second of the light of the past of t

secession.

The Seceders are in quiet possession of the lafter that the secession of the lafter that the second of the second of

A MAINE DOUGHFACE! We copy the follows, letter from the Kennebec Journal, which was set from Brunswick, Maine, to Charleson, South Lao lina. It had the effect aimed at, in prevening the John Curtis from obtaining a freight. The may be wrote it deserves to be a slave on a Carolina fire Plantation, with one of the hottest of free-eater is a taskmaster:—

Plantation, with one or the notice.

A taskmaster:—

Colector custom house Charleston:
Sir the Bark John Curtis has cleared from fle vannah for your poart she is owned by Analist kind of Black Republickans Thomas Stolified is the Legeslator at Augusta and I heard him say to days Ago that the fugite slave law should not be pealed this winter if he could prevented.

Now sir if you can prevent that Bark for the first owners & have don more to cleet Macch and Thomas Skoldfield & Clement Skoldfield is the first owners & have don more to cleet Macch and ywo men in the state of maise and book are five sockers after making thare money from he seaf & are two retierd ship masters make hir Law that will dock its to spot thare ships & give law that will dock its to spot thare ships & give law to have any thing to do with A rusaway dare as to have any thing to do with A rusaway dare and yor his relation I remain your truly.

A trew friend to the Sonth.

The recent vote in New Orleans short in 9000 voters refused to go to the polls. Out of 1280 voters only 8000 voted, and yet the majorit for cession was only 800.