EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

ittances are to be made, and all lett

rtisements inserted at the rate of five cents ne

Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the ager, viz :- Francis Jackson, Eugend Quincy, Educate

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers

with death, and an agreement with hell?"

VOL. XXXI. NO. 13.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1580.

Refuge of Oppression.

BURNING PAPERS-HANGING PREACHERS

A repuducan member of the State Legislature, from Allen county, in Kansas, had a relative living in Texas, who wrote Mr. B. to send him the news from Kansas, in reply to which he sent him the New York Tribune and Lawrence Republican. The following letter shows the result. Fannin county is where they hung Rev. Mr. Dewey, for belonging to the M. E. Church, without the word South to it:—

Honey Grove, Fannin Co., Tsxas, January 18th, 1861.

N. B. Blanton, Esq., Humboldt, Kansas:

THE SOUTH ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF HARPER & BROTHERS.

It is extremely gratifying to know that the publications issued from this Black Republican, Abolition etablishment are fast Josing their circulation in the South Packages after packages are being returned, aid we trust that Southern people will cease entirely to read them. The last number of their Weekly is as violent an Abolition production as ever came from the office of Garrison's Liberator. The house of Harper has grown rich upon Southern astronage. is a volent an Abolition production as ever came from the office of Garrison's Liberator. The house of Harper has grown rich upon Southern patronage and support, and the return has been, that out of their colossal fortunes thousands have been subscribed and freely given for the maintenance of the infamous principles, the carrying out of which has caused the existing state of affairs. The Harpers have ever been bitter enemies of the South and her institutions. Their piracies of the works of foreign subors, and the cheap publication of them in New lork, and the immenses orders from the Southern States, have made them one of the richest establishment in the country. We must not give "aid and confort" to our enemies in any conceivable shape or form—Columbus (Ga.) Times.

We endorse overs word of the above: but, in the

or form.—Columbus (Ga.) Times.

We endorse every word of the above; but, in the amoof common justice, we protest against discrimination against Harper's publications. There is a best of pernicious Northern issues flooding the Southern country every whit as bad, and some of them rountry every whit as bad, and some of them rountry every whit as bad, and some of them would be somethern to be something to be someth

The same writer goes on to argue and explain the project, in the following free and easy way.—

"The South must occupy Mexico, to preyent the Abolitionists getting on the Southern border. The labor system of Mexico, after the conquest (or acquisition), should be the same as that of the South. It is essential that slaveholders, with slaves, should go and work the rich soil of Mexico. Manifest destiny and inexorable necessity so decree it. If it be wrong to take Mexico, and carry the African labor there, then it is wrong to stay in any part of North America, and it is wrong to bold slaves. The disposession of the Indian race was wrong, if taking the country from the weak Mexicans is wrong, and surely it is no greater wrong to carry negroes to Mexico than it was to bring them here, and it is no greater wrong to carry negroes to Mexico than it was to bring them here, and it is no greater wrong to carry negroes of mexico than it is to hold the negroes now here in bondage. In national affairs, and in the dealings of one country with another, the motto of "might makes right" mist often be adopted. If this be not so, Americans are the robbers and plunderers of the Indians. Nocessity, aye, imperious necessity, will send Southerq arms and Southern institutions into Mexico.

"A 'cordon of Free States' must never surround the God-given institution of slavery—the beautiful tree must not be girdled, that it may wither and die. This will be the probable policy of the new Government. I learn that steps are being taken (in the proper direction) to secure the admission of New Mexico as a State into the Confederate Union, and it is not improbable that that slaveholding Territory will at no distant day send delegates to our Congress who will ask its admission. A number of memorials intended to bring about a consummation, so much to be desired, have recently been presented by the

intended to bring about a consummation, so muc be desired, have recently been presented by Texas members of the Confederate Congress."

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIVERSAL FREEDOM.

Extract from the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society —
From a retrospect of the long struggle between the contending forces of Liberty and Slavery, in this nation, and from the developments of the present hour, the question arises in every thoughtful mind, What is to be predicted of our country's future? Amid the strifes of hostile political parties; the rending asunder of ecclesiastical bodies; the contest of various factions vieing with one another to suppress the rising rebellion of anti-slavery thought and speech; and the upheaving of the foundations of institutions which seemed as immutable as the everlasting hills; the Abolitionists have kept their eyes constantly fixed upon one result, which they know must come, at last, through the whirlwind and storm of the condict, viz., the abolition of American slavery. For this result they have steadily labored, refusing to be turned from their purpose by any side issues, or to compromise their demand for any lower aim. We now see that this end draweth nigh. It is not to the new administration of our Federal government that we look for the inauguration of the reign of Liberty. Very efficient service in the antislavery cause cannot be reasonably expected of a President who avows his intention of restoring the fugitive slave to his master; who tells the nation that though he believes that Congress possesses constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, he should not favor their abolition of it, excepting with the consent of a large number of the slaveholders of the District; and who says that if he

FURTHER EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Slavery expansion is already openly advocated at the Southern capitol. A writer in the Columbrus capitol. A writer capitol country of Central America, and the states, insting that our territory might extend for down to the tropical country of Central America, and that slaver will be extended for down to the tropical country of Central America, and a writer pose on the America, and a merch capitol. A writer pose on the America, and a merch capitol. A writer pose on the angle of expansion may seem like going it on a large scate, yet it is more interest. The issue compression of the following free and explain the project, in the following free and easy way:—

"The South must occupy Mexica, to prepent the Abollionists getting on the Southern border. The labor system of Mexica, after the conquest (or, all prophet warning, all brothery conquisition), should be the same as that of the South, it is essential that slaveholder, with halves, all the wrong to take Mexico, and earry the African labor writers of Mexica, after the conquest (or, and parely the writers) and its wrong to take Mexico, and earry the African labor writers of the following and incoronal necessity so decree it. If it is essential that slaveholder, with halves, and the writers of the work of the following the writers of the following the writers of the writers of

"And over Earth's full jubilee, Shall deeper joy be felt in Heaven."

THE LOYALTY OF THE BORDER STATES

If Scotland were to rebel against the present government of the British Empire, and if Ireland were to arm, and say that she would attack England, if that country should send an army to enforce the imperial law on the northern country, we should deem her loyalty to be worthy of the country that was exhibiting it,—a "very" Irish sort of loyalty indeed. Yet this is exactly what Virginia is doing, and few men think it anything out of the common routine of events. Nearly half the South is in open rebellion, and half of the other half is desirous of going over to the rebel camp; and Virginia is strivroutine of events. Nearly half the South is in open rebellion, and half of the other half is desirous of a going over to the rebel camp; and Virginia is striving to patch up a peace, under the leadership of the John Tyler, whose chief claim to respect is, that he is accidentally an ex-President. Mr. Tyler, the telegraph gravely tells is, demanded, in his late speech, that Virginia should demand "full and ample security as the only condition of remaining in the Union." This means that Virginia should a threaten to leave the Union, and declare her intention of joining the confederacy, unless there shall be a radical change made in the Constitution of the United States, and that change in the interest of slavery. If we shall so order matters as to secure to the slaveholders some fort? or fifty years more to the slaveholders some fort? or fifty years more of power, Virginia will consent to remain in the Union, and persuade the seceding States to come back—if she can; and she would take the other back—if she can; and she would take the other terms, and she should elect to rebel. This may be floyalty, but to most men it will wear the appearance of giving the highest kind of encouragement to communities that have committed, and are daily committing, the crime of treason.

The greenwalked programment to the virginia seadors have

a fallure, and caused a tyramy to exist; but to include the system that the Virginia security is a state of the system of the sy

SECESSION IN EGYPT-THE REPUBLICANS TO BE "WIPED OUT."

organization, I have recently been been established at Jonesboro', the

which their keen anxiety for the promote tempered.

We read that the "emotion created" by the prospect of emancipation "throughout the Empire is immense." And yet the simple faith of these poor peasants in the good intentions of the Czar has sufficed to prevent any premature demonstration of independence. Generations have lived and died in the expectation of a good time coming, yet no Jacquerie or servile war has broken out to crush Jacquerie or servile war has broken out to crush has cape or servile war has broken out to cruan the obstructiveness of the "old Russian party," who still repudiate the views of Peter the Great as too advanced, and to resist concessions which have log been numbered among the rights of man in Western

advanced, amble to have been numbered among the particle of the large as it may appear, that so grand an innovation should be consummated by a mere exertion of the Imperial perceptive, the same source. Writers on this subfrom much the same source. Writers on this subfrom much the same source of the large of the same source. Writers on this subfrom much the same source of the same source. ty of weakness, but the deliberate in liey, partly selfish and partly enlight

Richard H. Dana, Esq. of Boston, in the course of a speech delivered a short time since in Manchester, N. H., made the following reference to the Abolition-lets of the North, and to the influence and circulation

No man can understand the politics

mounts by Ant. Buchanan. As they are non-resistants, they have not seized the called the attention of the laws to them they seconded, on their own private ac-dividuals. They resigned all offices, St tional; refuse to take the oath of allegi-vote in any electrical.

where the first cheeced and protect in which are like the first protected and supplied depress on one interesting the door of strayer. This political work is the first protected and supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied of the season of the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and experient the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and one of the house of the house of the house of the house of the supplied depress on one interestively hower is, and the fifted by one of the house of th

press, no charge to bring, against the addividual members of the Police force—none whatever. If I had any to make, I should not make it here. Probably they are as good as the members of any other Police force on the seaboard. I have never found a policeman who has not exhibited a desire to do his duty. It is said that the Duke of Newcastle, during his late visit, remarked of Mr. Ham, that he was the best Police officer he had ever known. I think the compliment was deserved. It is not the character of the Police to which the petitioners object; it is the direction given to them. It is not to change a man on the list; it is to ensure the ge a man on the list; it is to ensure th

proper use of the force itself.

Again, gentlemen, for one, I do not appear here to censure anybody. I suppose it is not the function of the Legislature, certainly not of its Committees, it award censure to the various executive authorities of the city and State. No doubt, it is true, as my friend [GROHOE W. SMALLEY, Esq.] has just detailed to us that for weeks before that Anti-Slavery meeting in January, a meeting which had been held here for was met for a legal purpose,—stood behind the shiele of the law—it is no doubt true, that for weeks before of the law—it is no doubt true, that for weeks before that meeting, the press and the streets were full of threats that it should never be held; that it met; that it was disturbed by a mob, and finally turned into the atreefs, in broad daylight, in the presence of the Police force, by order of the Mayor; that not a gun was fred not a man arrested, not a finger lifted to protect the legal rights of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society After full, public notice given by the mob, a legal state of the massachusetts and in the city of gastronder. cable meeting was broken up, in the city of Bos by that mob; the State, county and city authori looking on; no visible effort was made to preven not a man was then or has been since arrested o of law, this gross outrage on the most sacred rights.

That statement must be allowed on all hands. One may make one excuse, and one another; but that statement stands unchallenged. There were three persons charged that week with the execution of the laws of charged that week with the execution of the laws of the Commonwealth, and the preservation of its peace: one was John A. Andrew, Governor of the Common-wealth; another, John M. Clark, Sheriff of Suffolk county; and the third was Joseph M. Wightman, Mayor of the city. Upon one or all of them rest the crime and the disgrace of that day. It is not for us to divide it here. On other and fitting occasions, I, at least, as a citizen, shall express my opinion. We come here, gentlemen, not to censure the past, but to ask security for the future; to make use of these and other facts to induce you to remodel the machinery by which our rights are protected, and to endeavor to secure, within the city of Boston, the full exercise of their rights to minorities. Thus, at least, is my purpose here

Gentlement, there is a very orosa casas for this calam. It is not merely—on my part, at least—on the ground of free speech, to which my friend, Mr. Smalley, has alluded. I claim it, as a citizen of Boston, for a variety of reasons. Every body knows, as my friend the City Attorney [J. P. Healer, Esq.] remarked, that great cities are nests of great vices, and also, that it has been the experience of Republics that great cities are an exception to the common rule of self-govans, nor Baltimore-none of the great citiesand the ballot-box of its individual voters a sufficien be protected on the theory of Republican institution o may like it or not—seventy years have tried the periment, and, so far, it is a failure; and if there is no source outside of the city limits, then a self-governed resource outside of the city limits, then a self-governed great city is, so far as my experience goes, the most uncomfortable which any men who loves free speech can live in. It is no surprise, therefore, that we sak you no longer to let the Police force represent the voters of Boston. We are commencing, gentlemen, before this Legislature, an agitalion to protect the streets and the free speech of Boston. Whether we shall succeed this year, or in ten years, I do not know; but I always begin by acknowledging the whole clair but I always begin by acknowledging the whole claim, without any concealment. I mean to try, if God gives me life, to take the Police force of Boston out of the costrol of its voters. That is the exact essence of the claim I make. Why do I do it? I wish to be as brief as possible, to condense what I have to say into the smallest compass; let me select, therefore, two points. I shall take Temperance and Free Speech to illustrate the companie of my claim. ne grounds of my claim.

In the first place, the Temperance cause.

it is called; you know its terms—I need not enlarge upon them. It is measurably enforced in other sections of the Commonwealth; it is not enforced at all in Boston. Why! For these reasons: Nine-tenths of the criminal laws of the Commonwealth depend for their enforcement, within the city of Boston, on the meer entoreement, within the city of Boston, on the Police of the city. It is in vain that judges sit to try and punish criminals, if none are brought before them. An efficient and honest Police is perhaps more neces-sary for the enforcement of law than even an honest judiciary.

judiciary.

Now what controls our city Police! The Mayor and Aldermen who appoint and direct them. Who elect these Mayor and Aldermen! On an average, select these mayor and Address nor or less. There some twelve thousand voters, more or less. There are in this city two thousand places for the open sale of liquor; a thousand places where it is sold not so openly; five hundred is a small estimate of the houses of prestitution and gambling—measurably concerned, of course, in the same traffic;—thirty-five hundred of course, in the same traffic;—thirty-five hundred law, "We will undertake that you shall never be of law; legal or illegal, it matters not to him. As the legal to take the lot of the motice of the courts," it is exactly as old French novellet says:—"Despotism does bold places where the Maine Liquor Law is constantly vio-lated, with the knowledge of the Police—for I take my estimate from the Police Reports. Now, gentle-men, you would not consider that I was making a very large estimate, certainly, not one unduly large, if I set in the knowledge of the Police—for I take my estimate from the Police Reports. Now, gentlemen, you would not consider that I was making a very large estimate, certainly, not one unduly large, If all that each one of these places, on an azrage, could control a voter. Such liquor sellers are generally voters. If not, every one has a father, brotter, except, landlord, men of whom he buys his papelies, frequenters of his has. Certainly, I do not make too large an estimate when I say that, on an average, each one of these places controls one vote—thirty-fare hundred votes in the city of Booton out of twelver thousand. Gentlemen—they are a good as the rest of us. They want votes; it is the American falling—most men want to be Allerim and the control of the Sizaic. On the other side stands your system could prevent it all. I know the difficulties to which party-that want something, and there stand the party-that want something as all the stands of the common temperature of the common was an advanced to the common was an advanced to the stand the party-that want something to self-regard to the John Brown meeting. It was a stand the party-that want something as all the stand the party-t

Sanalya that the liquor shops of Bo

Arcuspecture and Horticulture had exhausted their art. It was so unlike any thing about it, I was led to ask how it came there. The man who was driving me said it was built by a village boy, who wanted to show how much money he had made in Boston in fifteen years. "He left here without a cent," said the young man..." was it is Beston, however, it is the property of the property o man-"went to Boston-became a distiller-returned with two hundred thousand dollars—that is his redeince." Do you suppose there was a Yankee boy within sight of that hill-side who was not tempted to repeat that Boston experience, of rapid and easy wealth! I rode on fourteen miles, and was set down er in life. He went with me to Lowell. We went through the mills and a mechanic trade. Never did one drop of intoxicating liquor pass his lips. Social fiolic, incresse of means, friendly entreaty, gay hours never tempted him. Until thirty, he atool untouched, guarded by an iron resolution. Having gathered a few thousands, he was tempted to Boston for a wider that the trade. He was them stayed its warra, came hierarch. trade. He went there—stayed six years; came hom-penniless and a drunkard, to lie in the very street where his father and grandfather had lain before where his father and grandmaner had lain before. He could stand up against every temptation, except Boston streets. There he lies dying, as his grandfather and father before him." Do you say that the people of these country towns have no interest in the streets of Boston! You tempt the virtue,

est in the streets of Boston? You tempt the virtue, melt the resolution and corrupt the morals of the Commonwealth, as far as your influence extends.

Look at the result of this choice of your Mayors by the grog-shops. My friend [Mr. Hkalv] would have said, doubtless, if he had known I was going to speak upon this point, as he did intimate in the course of his argument, that the city had done all that it could to enforce that haw. Have they? The Chief of Police realied to the question from the Massachusetts sometimes said, "You can't convict, such is public opinion." The Mayor and Aldermen of the city undertook and succeeded in putting liquor dealers on every jury. The District Attorney and his Assistants confess, in these same answers, that the reason why they could not get convictions in the cases where they failed was not for want of ovidence, but because liquor dealers were not here. liquor dealers were on the jury. Now, gentlemen, present to you the city saying to the Legislature "You send the liquor dealer to the House of Correct "You send the liquor dealer to the House of Correc-tion; we send him to the jury box. You say a man shall not be licensed; we say he shall. Help your-selves!" What is the result! The Police and be-nevolent societies of the city say that there are 43,000 persons arrested and relieved from want in the in orace to run Aldermen makes it exactly the same as if the cost of our school system were thrown into the dock over the end of Long Wharf. We know just as well what educates drunkards as what educates a school-boy. The Parker House, the Tremont House,

and the City Government says it shall be so.

The Police, we are told, are instructed not to arrer
a liquor seller, unless he be one that would not hav
been licensed. What is the effect of that, gentle dent, free and impartial as the lot of humanity admits." That is the Judiciary—that is one end of the law. What is the other? The Police force. We have a right to claim that it also shall be under the direction of persons as impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit—otherwise, good laws

Commonwealth split bairs on legal technic

orought to the nonce of the courts, it is exactly as old French novelist says:—"Despotism does bold good as if you gave him a ladge of his own selection. Your Police strains out the large sinners, and let only nuisances pass through. That is the only class that ever reaches the courts.

Now, gentlemen, make out the statement of facts. For three months, it has been publicly said that we ht to the notice of the courts," it is exactly as old French novelist says: - "Despo

ear me, knows this was an I do. I hope the Committee will enjoy at of the statement of his experience and ar-

tection we claim.

My friend who sits at my left [Mr. Hzatr] says that a great deal of argument and declamation may be expended upon the subject of free speech, but that there are certain limits to free speech. Nobody denies it. "A man has no legal right to blaspheme," he says. Granted. "A man has no legal right to slander his neighbor." Grant that. "A man has no legal right, in any sense, to insult his neighbor." the difference between Col. Sargent and the Mayor in the difference between Col. Sargent and the Mayor in that interview which they had. Col. Sargent thought that certain persons ought not to think as they were thinking. Very well. What did he propose to do? Nothing. He proposed to leave them to think. The Mayor proposed to go and shut up their hall, and let them be mobbed, and help mob them. My friend [Mr. Healt] said, in criticising the meeting at the Model Hell is which I sorke and was bissed that he question for this Committee—whether the time are come when a man cannot have a right to express his opinion, and how long that time shall last. I allow, gentlemen, all the limits to free speech—all the limits that any honorable man, thoughtful man, sane man, can claim—no doubt of them; but the question is, schat tribunal is to decide the limits. We say it is the welve men between me and my rights and the Go the Mayors of Boston the only sacred and intangibl functionaries in the Commonwealth? Is every ma who undertakes to say that a Mayor is a bad one to b

ondemned a man, none may afterward ever speak in its praise? May we never ask, was he rightly "con-icted"? Who is to judge? The Mayor? Mr. Healx. A jury ought to judge, upon your

Mr. Phillips. Where is the jury ! I have sought through the Boston streets, and have not seen one. Your jury is twelve men rolled into one, and sits in the Mayor's chair!

Again, the second claim is, that I and others are vituperative. Suppose we are—indict us! Have we a monopoly, a patent for vituperation! You heard Caleb Cushing in Faneuil Hall when, it struck me, he thanks, Savay languages allowed him.

to need it. This everybody on the peninsula knows
That John Brown meeting could not be held. We
hired that Tremont Temple for three sessions—morn g as he pleased, and then went away. were we not permitted to use it afterwards? Who shut it against us? The Mayor of Boston. Now, if he can show that he could not keep it open, I shall admit it as defence. He closed it, and he must defend and kept the peace. Why could he not have done it the same afternoon and evening in the Tremont Temple? Why could he not have done it just as well in one part of the city as another—better in that part of the city shan any other? The January meeting came. The Mayor says, in that interview with Col. Sargent, "Here is an organization of two thousand men, and I can't control it." But mark this: he only with the control is the property of the control it." Temple on the afternoon of the 28th of January.
Once at the Music Hall, when, by the good Providence of God, we were relieved from the presence of Mayor Lincoln, and Alderman Clapp—all honor to his courage and fidelity !--had charge of the city, we were protected; we were protected at the Joy street meeting; we were protected that one hour in the af-

city authority ever tried to look in the face of the mob, it was obeyed; the only order it ever issued was mutee and Legislaure, and say that he could not control the mob, when the facts show, that the only time he ever tried to control them, they obeyed him. I will not add the testimony of Mr. Ham, Mr. Coburn, and others, that with sixty, forty, twenty men, as they variously estimate it, they could at any time have controlled that mob. I do not go into that. The Mayor's own showing is, that he never tried to order it but once, and then it obeyed him.

All the while the press of the city has never uttere rule; indulged in bitter and unsparing abuse and mis-representation of the Abolitionists, throwing on them the blame of these outrages. Their columns have been the blame of these outrages. Their columns have been full of the details of mole violence, reported not only without one word of reproof, but in the spirit of levity and encouragement. Meanwhile editorial articles discoursed of the danger of "unlicensed free speech," and "judicious free speech," and "respect for the feelings of majorities," and "the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier instead of New England. It would have been in vain to the total country as a but the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the form of the total country as the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present day; but I maintain that no are barrier in the present demonstration of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, as is often asserted in Europe, from their country as at the very indicated in Europe, from their demonst Name and the Boston Dully Advertiser, on two successive days, printed a long article, each day, in bitter-criticism of me—drawn by one of the best pens in Boston—my name printed at the head of one or both articles, and sprinkled thickly through them, joined with epithets of contempt. I asked half as much space to reply. But I was informed by the Hon. N. Hale, the editor, that he sheld not there have the Years ago the Bo tor, that he should not "open his colu the editor, that he should not "open his columns to the discussion"!! It was to the generous and mag-nanimous spirit of Hon. J. T. Buckingham, that I

noes were broken in upon. Presently, tepped up to him, and quietly said, "My and I will go out"—and they went out Juris proceeded with his speech uninter, need of going to the Police Office a west Mr. Green,—they hold no meetings that are inter-routed; never have been for fifteen years. They are all they are protection; it is enough that they are present. They may attack the Republicans, the Re-publicans may attack them, and both may attack the Abolitionists, but neither are mobbed. Caleb Cush-ng may break into the sacred house of sickness, and rillify the pollest name in the Emnine State when ecting in Fancuil Hall: George paid a thousand dollars yesterday, for myself and others; I think we should be protected without being called upon to pay specially for it." "That makes no quiet meeting; as an officer, you pledged us the presence of eightly policemen, for whom we were to pay; your policemen were there and mobbed us," what was his reply? He did not deny the promise; he did not deny the official duty. This was his reply—"We have not sent you the bill." As if not sending us a bill of one hundred dollars was any compensation for that meeting! From that day to this, we have ever had the protection of the police force of Bor

singistrate and flouse of Representatives were no willing to risk this Capitol, because certain boys headed by the Mayor, said that a meeting should no be held in it! Are you willing to live in such a Commonwealth, and be silent! I am not. You may decide, if you please, by your decision to-day, that it is right to mob me; that a man has no right to be an Abolitionist; if he is, he must take it at its cost of Granted! I am willing to so to the Commonwealth. the puppets of a system; I am here to argue against the system itself. Let me read a word from De Tocqueville, the wisest man who ever criticised our institutions:—

out their dominions, and even in their courts. Such is not the case in America; so long as the majority is still undecided, discussion is carried on; but as soon as it decision is irrevocably pronounced, a submissive silence is observed, and the friends, as well as the opponents of the measure unite in assenting to its proponents of the measure unite in assenting to its property. The reason of this is perfectly clear: no monarch is so absolute as to combine all the powers of the Police—saved from our confidence in the combined and to compute all expectations. the editor, that he should not "open his columns to the discussion"!! It was to the generous and magnanimous spirit of Hon. J. T. Buckingham, that I owed my opportunity of reaching the Boston pighlic in defence.

Genglemen, I contend that we have no protection for the right of speech in this city, except the Mayor choose to exrer himself. Whenever he does choose, he is abundantly able: We do not need the military—the Police is sufficient; they acknowledge themselves sufficient; the Mayor has proved them sufficient. We only want the law. That law we shall never have while you leave us with the voters of the city of Boston. This is not the only instance. There has not been an anti-slavery meeting protected in this city, for fifteen years. I never have attended one—never. I make a very grave charge—I know it. I mean exactly what I say. Let me illustrate my meaning. The Hon. Mr. Stevenson and ex-Judge Curtis held a meeting lately, you know, in Faneuil Hall. It was at an excited moment; it was during this mob reign. There were many persons, undoubtedly, in that hall, strongly opposed to the speakers. One man in the audience, who had begun by crying "Good". ""that's it."—\$c., to Mr. Steyenson, was allowed to go on during his speech; it was no interruption, rather a little impulse given to the feelings of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make free to think op means of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make free to think op means of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make free to think op means of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make free to think op means of the meeting. Judge Curtis rose. Either from inattention or heedlessness, the man began to make free to think of the meeting and the man of the meeting and the meeting and the means of the meeting and the means of the meeting and the means of

"Works have been published in the proudest as tions of the Old World, expressly intended to censer the vices and deride the follies of the time; I about inhabited the palace of Louis XIV. when he compace his chapter upon the great, and Molière criticised the courtiers in the very pieces which were acted before the Court."

Now mark this description of a Mayor who would have put me in the lock-up had I ventured to criticise the magnificent office of the mayoralty:—

Now, Mr. Chairman, we stand in that condition We are endeavoring, and have a right to endeave, (you may think us fools for the attempt,) to teach the majority what we think of their mistakes. (you may think us fools for the attempt,) to teat he majority what we think of their mistakes. They have a right to leave us alone, to quit our Hall, preserve a masterly indifference to us—perfectly right—we can not complain. If they come, they have a right to come, like Mr. Fay, with their pocked in the read by no the argument of Richard S. Fay when he said the Legislature to compensate the Catholics for the bening of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of his father, when he reported against the bening of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I could read the argument of the Convent; I wish I wish I could read the argument of the Convent of the of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of that Convent; I wish I could read the argument of George T. Curtis, when he asked this Legislaure to pay for this mob violence. But I have no time for that. They all felt then as we do now, the shameful that. They all felt then as we do now, the shameful that. that. They all felt then as we do now, the shameful outrage of mobs, encouraged by the presence and in-difference of magistrates—they could inist more excused that we can on the sacredness of these rights, on the horrors and dangers to civil liberty of mobs. Let them read now their own record. I wish Mr. Richard S. Fay would read his own argument, asd pay his bills. All I have to say is, that we are carping on an agitation precisely of the same christien with the daily press or the political parties. We are a minority—I know it. All we claim is the lay. You legal charge has been made against turnows. a minority—I know it. All we claim is the law, No-legal charge has been made against us—none. The mob has been allowed to drive us for three monts, threatening us beforehand, out of our hals, and the Mayor has cooperated with them. The now the sever attempted to control them, he succeeded. He never has attempted it since. His defence is, that he mover has attempted them. If he cannot, give us somethic never has attempted it since. His defence is, that he cannot control them. If he cannot, give us senething that can. If the Mayor and Aldermen camed put down Mr. Fay and two thousand young men of Reacon street, give us a Commission that can. If they could, and do not, give us a Commission that will. That is all we ask of the State. If the State says we have no right to be protected, we will take that asswer. If the State says that Anti-Slavery has no vichts which the Commonwealth of Massachusett is vichts which the Commonwealth of Massachusett is have no reswer. If the State says that Anti-Stavery has no
rights which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is
bound to respect, we will take that nawer. Asy
thing we will take. But we commence here the agument with the Commonwealth of Massachusett.
We claim, in behalf of our minority, and of the others
that are to succeed us—the laws. The very night We claim, in behalf of our minority, and of the others that are to succeed us—the laws. The very night preceding the Sunday I was to speak in the Masic Hall, sanctified by the memory of Theodore Parke, of whom one of your own members cloquently six, that the most munificent gift ever given by a choler to the city was given by him,—in that very pulpit the funded result of his life,—and the Trustees sat until half past clevea, before they dared to trust the one handred thousand dollars' worth of property is the penis of free speech. Is that a combilment to the cairied of free speech. Is that a compliment to the capital of Massachusetts? That Committee decided by one to risk it; but if that man had not had the courage to risk it, the record would have gone out that the city of Boston having, with one hand, just accepted the most munificent gift a scholar ever made, with the shops of the peninsula. Again, when I spoke after-ward, in the Tremont Temple, the Trustees of the Temple sat in the same way to decide whether they would risk their property, and a majority, of one, de-cided that they would. Braver than the Legislature, which decided that it dare not! That is the record

of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Do not say, gentlemen, that this is a matter of concern to the city alone, and should be left wholly to its willing to let their property for public meetings, every man, living in the city or out of it, who owns proper ty in it, is interested. Music Hall and Tremont Tem-ple, and all other public halls in the city, are less valuable to-day, seeing that their Trustees hesitate to let them for one class of frequent meetings. All holders of city property are interested in that

against Abolitionists. A mob is a two-edged sword.

It is dangerous to teach the unruly and criminal classes the way to mob, and let them reign supreme for days over law. A few years of such discipline will give us the murders and rowdyism that once disgraced Bal-

Gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer. If you think that is for the honor of Massachusetts, if you think that is the proper state of the law for the capital of Massachusetts, let it be. If you think that capital of Massachusetts, let it be. If you think that a Mayor who says one day he won't, and the axt day lies and says he can't, is a fit man to be trusted with the dearest rights of the citizen, be it so. Ah, gentlemen, I, too, could go over the contradictions of the testimony, if I chose to follow the City Attorney; it seems to be a city failing, the saying of one thing, and contradicting it by something clse, and the Mayor set the example. The City Solicitor has shown you what! Accused men denying their guilt:—that is exactly the amount of his examination of the evidence. I think every lawyer will say that it is the sual experience of criminal courts, that four out of fire of their prisoners deny their guilt. It is not strange to find its ners deny their guilt. It is not strange to find it so primoners deny their guilt. It is not strange to find its here now. But it does not matter. We have not been protected. We often put a fee at our does to keep out the very class we would like to reach, which we should welcome if they came feeling they were to knave there as in other protected meetings. Our lest laborers are often those who came once to mob w. We are not protected. The idea which comes up it once, to every one's mind, of an Anti-Slavery meeting, noisy, rowdyish, frequently broken up-often by de-picable youth, or a dozen drunkards, countenanced by the Police-saved from our control by the interference of the Police, tells you we are not protected. Ser-our streets from violence, from the rightful efforts of determined men to protect themselves. Give up ro-tection. That is all the minority asks of the Common termined themselves. wealth; and we have tried the experiment treny years before we come to you. It is a permanent, chronic disease; and we ask, therefore, for an amount tion. Let not us, who are accustomed to address pub-lic assemblies, have the right to say that, in troubled moments and great political convulsions, we on uni-our most unpopular opinions safely—that public hab-are opened to us freely in New York; but that, is Boston, halls are closed because prudent men darras peril them by free speech, and public meetings impo-sible, because there is no law for the minority and the

METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL. A hearing was lad before the Legislative Committee on the subject of the proposed Metropolitan Police Bill, in the Representatives' Hall at the State House, on Friday foreson in There was a large attendance. J. P. Healy, Exp. (by Sollcitor, occupied nearly two hours in a dull and is dious review and recapitulation of the testiment of witnesses before the Committee, concluding with reing that no charge had been sustained against the Mayor or Police of Boston. He was followed on the east ing that no charge had been sustained against use or or Police of Boston. He was followed on the ebe-side by Georgu W. Smalley, Esq., who acquired him-self in a very creditable manner. Wendell Philips, Esq. made the concluding argument—clearly, fordby, unanswerably—which we here publish in full.

We Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861.

REPLY OF REV. MR. HAVEN.

REFLI UT REV. Mr. HAVIM.

We publish, on our last page, the reply of Rev. Mr. Haven, in answer to some strictures we made upon a femer communication received from him. In this he infinates his purpose to retire from the discussion—a ficuasion we have no desire to prolong—but, in doing it, he certainly fails to sustain any one of the grave secusions he so secklessly brought against us in special, and the Abolitionists in general, in his Thanks-tring Sermon. Among them was this: that, led by one lave of free speech, we had "permitted" some of our "kading associates" to burden the Anti-Slavery case "with gross infidelities and social absurdities." It win have we challenged him to substantiate it, or ls rain have we challenged him to substantiate it, or any other of his charges, by producing a particle of ridence. He has found it easier to reiterate them, any other of his charges, by producing a particle of crisence. He has found it easier to reiterate them, leaving them wholly unsupported as at the first. We are sorry to see, in fils letter this week, what appears to us a disingenuous state of mind—not to say, a disposition to pervert the truth, particularly with reference to the real position of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the enalaving of men, women and children at the South.

Once more we quote his original impeachment of ear religious character:—

or religious character:—

Would that, in his sphere of effort, and to the
measure of his large abilities and influence, he had
lept his liberty from becoming licentiousness! Would
hit he, like Wilbersforce, had kept his heart sweet
with prayer and piety through the whole of this great

That word "licentiousness" is a very serious alle-ption. It is, of course, the quality of being licen-tions. Worcester defines that to be--- Using license, is led sense; unrestrained by law or morality; dis-sinte; lax; loose; vague; unconfined." Mr. Havon ridently uses it "in a bad sense, with a dissolute maning." We have asked him to show wherein we are failed to advocate a faithful adherence to princ here intered to arrocate a fainting and are the laws and ple, and an uncompromising regard for the laws and commands of God; when or where we have played fat-ind-loose with the claims of humanity, or the deands of justice; or when we have been beguiled e path of duty, or allowed others to stray therefrom on the ground of expediency or worldly policy. His only reply is, that all this is "not necessarily the case or the effect of prayer and picty." But what is if How clse is it to be accounted for, using language beneatly? How is it compatible with "licentious, and in what is it to be "licentious"? Has not less given the true test of character-"By their puts ye shall know them: do men gather grapes of home, or figs of thistics?" It is just here that the wining visage peeps out. We are at no loss to und sandwhat our accuser means by "prayer and piety." h is to violate the express injunction of Christ in report a publicity in prayer, and to subscribe to the Methodisticreed! It is to accept the theological dogman and to conform to the religious (1) usages of Mr. Saren! Not being disposed to do this-venturing to gisent from him in regard to certain speculation about a particular book and a particular day—he ve charitably and complacently sets as down as "licen sots"! To this we have to say, that as Paul justly deemed it "a small thing to be judged of man's judg. ment," so do we—especially when the man is smothered in the "cloth." Unpopular and prescribed as we are, everywhere,

for our refusing to compromise with popular iniquity, fr. Haven fluds it convenient to array Wilberforce sew lauded throughout Christendom) in opposition to us-he the dead saint, and we the living reprobate Certainly, it is not for us to speak of our piety, or to insist that we are infallible in all the religious views we cherish, as Mr. Haven assumes to be thoroughly qualified to do in his own-case; but we may venture to ask, how does he know that we pray not? If

"Prayer is the soul's sincere desire, Unuttered or expressed, The motion of a hidden fire That glows within the breast"—

direction of Jesus is worthy of ebedier "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when that shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is so as as and the father, which seeth is secre; shall read thee openly "—and if his example in this particular deserves to be imitated—how does our accuser dejustifed in making proclamation from his pulpit, that we are alike prayerless and irreligious? He assames, it is true, a great deal as to his own picty— more than would seem compatible with true humili-it; but does he also claim for himself the attribute of

Mr. Wilberforce, in spite of his "prayer and piety," sted uniformly in Parliament, we believe, on all mat ten saide from the slavery question, with the high try party. Toryism we detest and oppose as anti-Christian. What does Mr. Haven think of it? Wilerforce sustained the unhallowed union of Church and State. Such a union we denounce as at war with the genius and spirit of Christianity. What does Mr. think of it! Wilberforce was in favor of mearchy, an hereditary nobility, and a landed aris-bersey. We believe these find no place within the ple of Christianity. What does Mr. Haven think of then! Wilberforce upheld the vast naval and mili-lay system of England. We believe that such a sysam is opposed to all the teachings of Jesus, and be-logs to the kingdom of darkness; and that war, to tuse the words of the celebrated Robert Hall, is the temporary repeal of all the commands of the What does Mr. Haven think of it! We strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

Mr. Haven undertakes to make Theodore Parke Viness against the "picty" of the "leading Reference," and artfully applies the language used by lim, specifically to us and to our associates! What atthority has he for doing this? The charge is too indefinite to be met, and therefore neither permits nor a distinct refutation. How Mr. Parker's tes many, in a matter respecting genuine plety, can be barded as "of the highest value" by Mr. Haven, is busewhat singular, seeing that he has accused Mr. P. of having "denounced, with the most unsparing inctive, the revival of God's work, and declared the specialis of the Holy Spirit to be but the cunning serices of the Holy Spirit to be but the cunning serices of the ministers of Jesus Christ"—Mr. H. coaclading his diatribe by saying, "No equal torrent of hasphemeus infidelity poured forth from the crupture craters of Voltaire and Paine." But Mr. Haven has an object to graiffy, and that is to disparage and finder olions us and our "leading associates." It hows how deep is his interest in the access of the process have the created as the access of the coach shows how deep is his interest in the success of the Anti-Slavery ca

Does Mr. Haven doubt that Mr. Parker was perfectsincere in expressing his belief as to the spurious ture of the revival that swept over the country three Jeas ago, exceptional cases to the contrary? Will be session our sincerity in expressing a similar belief? If not, what does it prove ! Certainly, not an irreligreal character of the revival; for Thewing it as Mr. Parker and we did, ought we not to rne a faithful testimony against it, for true re

"Book sake!

How we regarded and what we said of the revival, at the time, may be seen by the following extract from a speech made by 'us' at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery' Society, at New York, in May, 1853. If there be any "infidelity," or "impity," or "blasphemy" in 'it, we should like to have it posted on:

A word in regard to the so-called revival of religions going on in the land. One of the resolutions we can the subject—drawn up, I thought, very dedly—elicited such serpent like hisses in the to just that it was really refreshing to my spirit. It

ght back the memory of thirty years ago; I felt t 'as good as new' in the struggle. Seriously,

there, he holds it at the present time in Amer-lew, you have a genuine revival of religion going ank you — a revival that hates the wrong, defe-ier right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you 'I fso, then there is a tremendous strife going it the land with 'principalities, and powers, and ep-al wickedness in high places.' The antagonistic tents of heaven and hell are now in ferce could not a blood-stained Church and State are shaken in forced the state of the strip of the strip of the strip in the strip of the strip o

ment of heaven and hell are now in ferce conflict, and à blood-stained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake! But does any body tremble? No! Is Satau uneasy? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and snores over it. A genuine revival of religion would scare James Buchanan so that he could not sleep of nights—and the whole South would be up in arms to resist this invaling spirit, and, if possible, to lynch it.

Now, when all is calm and peaceful, in the midst of all-abounding corruption, how dare you say that the spirit of the living God is at work? How dare you say that we have a revival of the religion of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer? Let exceptional cases be granted—that, here and there, a man may be changed from an evil course to a good one—it does not affect the general fact—it does not invalidate the statement, that the revival of which we hear so much is spurious and worthless, because it gives no trouble to the corruption, the demagogueism, or the demon spirit of lavery in the land.

You know they are determined on having the piralical foreign slave trade re-opened, and are looking for the time, not far distant, when it will be made a legitimate branch of American commerce. Yet among the very people who are thus desirous to extend and perpetuate slavery, and to renew the African slave traffic, the revival is spreading, and converts are multiplying in all directions! They have prayer-meetings in Washington, in Richnood, in Charleston, in Savannah, in New Orleans: they pray earnessly to their God, at the same time that they pray upon their poor manacled slaves, and are determined to have more victims. (Applanse.) I say it is a sham! Now let any one who wishes to hiss relieve his bosom. There was a very significant silence, broken at last by loud applause.]

There was a very significant silence, broken at last by loud applause.]

If any religion leaves a fetter upon my limbs, I shall denounce it as spurious, call it by what name you pleake. As every other human being is by creation entitled to the same rights as I am, any religion which leaves any man in bondage is equally deserving of execration. (Applause.)

I judge the present revival, and) determine its true character, by a very sure test. I am an editor, and my exchange list embraces papers from every part of the land. These I examine with watchful and contant solicitude, from day to day. My finger is continually upon the pulse of the nation. I know, if any man can know, what is the heart of the American people, because the press is the general exponent of their real feelings and sentiments; and, therefore, I should be a dull scholar not to know what is the leason it teaches. Everywhere revealing to me the fact, as it does, that the present revival is viewed with complacency and approbation by the most pre-slavery divines, by unprincipled political demagogues, by the stanic journals, by all who are hostile or indifferent to the cause of down-trodden humanity, I am sure it cannot be of God, whatever exceptional cases there may be in any part of the land—for if it were, they would assuredly be alarmed by its prevalence, and attempt to suppress it.

All this talk about 'coming to Christ' is, to my ear,

cannot see of 160d, whatever exceptional cisses there may be in any part of the land—for if it were, they would assuredly be alarmed by its prevalence, and attempt to suppress it.

All this talk about 'coming to Christ' is, to my ear, as melancholy as a wall for the dead, because it defines nothing, it means nothing, except in a sectarian sense; it gives no aid to the understanding, it does not reach the heart; it is destitute of moral courage, and seeks only conformity to a ritual religion. Now, the Christ who is 'not despised and rejected of men in a thoroughly corrupt age, whose sympathies are not with the poor and oppressed, and to whom ostentatious homage is paid by the pharisaical and time-serving, cannot save us here or hereafter. Throughout the South, they offer up prayers to Christ, and profess to venerate his name; but do I exaggerate when I say, the Christ they adore is a slaveholding, slave-breeding, slave-trading Christ! And is not such the Christ of America to-day, as interpreted and accepted by the American pulpit and Church!

I glory in the Christ of Judea, because he was willing to be made of no reputation for righteousness sake, and dared to confront popular iniquity, and exposed a rotten religion, to the sacrifice of his life. How my pulses leap, how my heart glows, as I read his history! How divine was his spirit—how world-embracing his love! "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world!" His spirit we need; we want the same moral heroism, the same abiding faith in the living God, the same willingness to 'endure the cross,' as he exhibited; so shall we find salvation.

I am for a genuine revival of religion—for no compromise with crime—for emancipating every slave—for man universally, and God the Father of us all. (Loud applause.)"

The following is the resolution on the revival above referred to

The following is the resolution on the revival about referred to :-

referred to:—

"Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which
"Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which
where the country with contagious rapidity
during the last three months, is manifestly delusive
and sparious, exceptional cases to the contrary notwithstanding; because it has expressly excluded the
millions in bondage from all consideration—has multiplied its converts as readily at the South as at the
North—has excited no opposition in the midst of uniyersal, all-abounding corruption and profligacy—has
received the sanction and cooperation of the most proslavery divines and journals in the land—and has
the sanction and cooperation to the most proslavery divines and journals in the land—and has

We see no cause for changing a single word in the resolution we offered, or in the speech we mrde, on the anniversary referred to. We believe they ex-"the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the comment referred to:the truth.'

Our statement respecting the revival, that "its con Our statement respecting the revival, that "its con-verts were most numerous in the blood-stained South," is denied by Mr. Haven. He says, "The great prayer meetings scarcely went below Philadelphia." They were certainly held in Baltimore, in Richmond, in Sawere certainly held in Baltimore, in Richmond, in Savannah, in New Orleans, and elsewhere at the South, with a flourish of trumpets; and it was exultingly claimed by Southern religious journals and correspondents, that the fruits of the revival indicated not only

claimed by Southern religious journals and correspondents, that the fruits of the revival indicated not only that Heaven had no controversy with slavery, but rather showed thereby its approval of the "pseuliar institution"! Possibly they lied about it; but, so far as the deliverance of those in bondage was concerned, we think there was nothing to choose between the North and the South.

Moreover, we are gravely called to an account for publishing an advertisement, entitled "Self-Contradictions of the Bible, the so-called Word of God"! Would it suit Mr. Haven any better to have it read thus—"Self-Contradictions of the Word of God"! That "Word" is from everlasting to everlasting; but the manuscripts of the Bible are none of them anterior to Moses! The pamphlet thus condemned is simply a comparison of scripture with scripture, without note or comment; and yet Mr. Haven says there is but one other paper in Boston but the Laberator,—and that an "infidel" one,—that would allow it to be advertised in its columns! We doubt the assertion; but is not this a singular compliment for a devotee of the Bible to pay to the book! In carrying out Paul's many injunction to "prove all things," may not one be justifued to the proposed of the paper in Boston but the paper in Boston but the secretion; but is not this a singular compliment for a devotee of the Bible to pay to the book! In carrying out Paul's many injunction to "prove all things," may not one be justifued to "read a line work of the market of the scale of market of the savery question; for the Slave Code, dripping with human blood, presented the wick taken by our Southern brethern" of the slavery question; for the Slave Code, dripping with human blood, presents that view and the readers to the about all the savery question; for the Slave Code, dripping with human blood, presents that view b

jects, by way of variety, and to help along the cause of human redemption in its broadest phase. In doing this, we may have made "the Liberator its own worst nemy"; but we have set the enemy"; but we have set the manly example of an untrammelled press, and of perfect justice toward all sects and parties; and we think this is nothing to be ashamed of. Those who do not want such a paper

ashamed of. Those who do not want such a paper need not take nor borrow it.

The truth is, while professing to be an abolitionist, and claiming for himself the right freely to pround-gate his views on all subjects whatsoover, Mr. Haven denies to us, and to our "leading associates," a simi-lar right. He objects to our making the Liberator a free, impartial, independent journal, allowing all sides to be fairly heard (as we invariably do) in its columns. He insists on making it (what it has never been) the official organ of the Anti-Slaver Society, whereas it He insists on making it (what it has never been) the official organ of the Anti-Slavery Society; whereas, it is an individual enterprise, for which no association is responsible in any shape or manner; so that his reference to the Temperance Journal is not in point. The American Anti-Slavery Society has an official organ,—to wit, the National Anti-Slavery Standard; and that paper scruptuously adheres to its one object, excluding from its columns the discussion of those subjects which are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the Libera are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the Liberator. The paper, therefore, cannot justly be charged with "being its own worst enemy." Its commanding ability is equalled only by its single-eyed, unfaltering devotion to the cause of the oppressed. Yet the Standard has a more limited circulation than the Liberator—thus de nonstrating the hollowness of the pretence, that if th but had adhered solely to the anti-slavery cause, "gladly would the ministry of every name, whether evangelical or liberal," have rallied to its support. Why, then, don't they take the Anti-Slavery Standard?

We must examine what Mr. Haven so deceptively ays about the position of the M. E. Church in our next

SPIRITUALISM-REPUBLICANISM.

ALBANY, (N. Y.) March 27, 1861. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—It gave me great pain to ce the Herald of Progress in your "Refuge of Op-ression." My strong friendship for its editor, and the many noble testimonies he has borne in behalf of have inspired in me high hopes on his behalf.

But now, all seems lost. You have placed th Herald where, at present, it belongs; and the justic of your course would have been a thousand time more clearly seen, had you inserted the editorial com ment under the article. (1) That was worthy of the ar ticle itself. And in the Herald of last week from the same pen, and kindred in spirit and purpose, if not in violence and falsehood of expression.

My experience is just this, on the subject of Spirit

nalism, and that type of Progress which the Herold represents:—While there are some, but not very many, Spiritualists who understand and nobly serve se of Freedom and Humanity, the grea are just the same obstacle and dead weight to the ad wance of that cause, which we find among the mos bitter and bigoted sects or parties in the land. And I only bear this reluctant testimony, from a

solemn conviction that fidelity to my mission tively demands it. And all attempts to coone piritualists, as such, in anti-slavery work, have nded, and I fear must end, in sad disappointment. Of course, I speak only from my own individual of

ntegrity, in word and deed. Whoever cannot, dar not speak truth, and the whole truth. "in w for slavery, everlasting twaddle about pheres for different races," (or sexes,) in Heaven's une, when shall we have done with them?

Is man touck or wanter annual 1 moral being—responsible, immortal ? Then accursed be all laws or logics, all creeds or constitutions, all "conciliations" or "compromises," that touch one hair of all their heads, to subject them to irresponsible ower; or obedience to one law or ordinance, which a enacting, they had not an equal voice and vot with the pr

"conciliation, concession and compromise"—when we are, at this hour, more completely subdued, conquered by our Southern masters, than were ever Poles by Russians, or Greeks by Turks! Why don't they put halters round their necks, and go beg of Jefferson Davis to condescend to hang them! Perhaps he would "compromise" and have concessed. would "compromise," and hang one-half, and sent the other to dig among his sigar-canes. But, seriously, why do they not have the decency to throw down their offices, confess themselves in

competent, and scamper back to private life and honest living, if on a dunghill? Were ever, gor such burlesques enacted before, in the name of govern-ment! PARKER PILLSBURY.

(1) Our friend P. is mistaken; there was no comment "under the article." In an editorial column, however, we find this reference to it, which did not attract our attention at the time, and which must be

"D. J. Baldwin's answer to Wm. Thirds, and 'The Pacetical Workings of African Serviture,' by R. B. Hanney, are positive and candid articles, from which the reader cannot fail to gather a plain understanding of the view taken by our Southern bethere of the system of slavery in the midst of which their lot is cast."

We do not object to the Herald of Progress allowing We do not object to the Herald of Progress allowing the most pro-slavery sentiments to be promulgated in its columns, on the responsibility of their authors—for that we do ourselves; but it surprises us that such sentiments should be referred to in such a gingerly manner, and especially that the Anti-Slavery side of this question should be so seldom presented either by the editors or correspondents of the Herald. It was quite needless to refer the Herald readers to the abominable letters alluded to, "for a plain understanding of the view taken by our South-

SOUTHERN AGGRESSION AND NORTHERN FORBEARANC

terms, it is not this. The expansion of the second second

all human relations. Northern men believe in the existence of great human capabilities, and in that culture which will best bring them to view. They live in time, but look forward to eternity, and so they are vigilant to stimulate every interest that may help the cause of human development, and consequent preparation for a nobler life hereafter. The great mission of the North is to unfold its own natural, moral and intellectual forces that it may be instrumental in the of the Norm is without it may be instrumental in the intellectual forces, that it may be instrumental in the uplifting of the lowly the world over; and it recognificant the state of the s upitting of the lowly the world over; and it recog-nizes no remedies for abuses which apring from the conflict of base passions. It ignores the bloody field of strife, not from fear, but from an calightened policy. It would, in the settlement of all questions, substitute the olive branch for the sword—reason for brute force. If men are in the wrong, to kill is not to reform. To extinguish the light of the eye is not to see.

The terrible crisis through which we are now pass-ng furnishes one of the most satisfactory evidences so could have, of the good sense and discernment of all those gifted men to whom we are so much indebt ed for our system of public instruction. There was time when the question of the education of the masse time when the question of the education of the masses encountered opposition; the experiment had never been tried, and the subject was viewed, in some cases, from the ordinary level of making it aid in the preservation of civil order, on the ground that it was better to be taxed to support schools than standing ar-mies. This result, it is true, has been yielded by the experiment, and far higher. But if our system did not aim beyond this, its success thus far would be suf-ficient to account for the wonderful fact that, to day, deient to account for the wonderful fact that, to-day with the great shoulders of the North pressed as never before with a weight of insult and mortification, instead of repelling her aggressors by force of arms, she calm-ly relies on the great principles so dear to her, and so long cherished, for a peaceful solution of her political difficulties.

lifficulties.

The advocates of peace may yet be able to point to ples, in the humane and magnanimous North. Twenty millions of highly enlightened, industrious, wealthy and powerful people, conscious of their strength their resources, their patriotism, and their humanity, a their resources, their patriotism, and their humanity, as opposed to a far inferior number, with only an excep-tional training, and bound from an awful moral and political necessity to support by sophistry a system of oppression, at which the civilization of the world

The glory, honor or salvation of a people lies not in numbers, in wealth or skill, in art or arms. Its educa-tion, not of the intellect alone, but of its heart quali-ties, to deal gently with the vicious and degraded, to use its strength to raise up the weak, and to show, by a life of fair dealing with the neighbor, the superiori-ty of mind and soul over matter and physical force.

Educate the people, then, in all the States where in the states where it is to tolerated. Cultivate, as far as possible, good Educate the people, then, in all the States where is shall be tolerated. Cultivate, as far as possible, good will with those States which now feel it for their later est to leave what was once a Union, and compel them by every kindness and every good example to account for the superior condition of the North in all that con situates true worth in her ever improving system of edication. Convince her that her attempt at a sepa-rate nationality will but end in ignominy, for the rea-son that her ruling principle is simply the lore of do-minion, and the influence of ideas borrowed from barninion, and the influence of ideas borrowed from bar arism, and not from a Christian civilization. That the South must suffer much, by and by, in he

but if wisdom can only be born to some of folly an as preparatory to the reconstruction of a political edi-fice whose foundation shall be laid in the broadest lib

conciliatory, and just to all. Let her moral courage ranscend even the pride of country, if that country e clearly in the wrong, and she may yet be hailed by be clearly in the wrong, and ane may yet be hance by her less privileged brethren of the South as their friend and deliverer. At every worthy step forward in the march of reform, let the North rejoice, and, with-out being officious, generously lend a helping hand.

A NORTHERN FREE CONFEDERACY.

Возтох, March 18, 1861. DEAR GARRISON—The following is in the New York Tribune of this day. It is taken from the Wash ngton correspondence of that paper. It will cheer the leart of every friend of freedom and of humanity:-

meart of every friend of freedom and of humanity .—
"There are Republicans here, of high political standing,
who assert both knowingly and positively, that the secret
of the nucrypected consent of Gev. Chase, and other radical
members of the Cabinet, to the surrender of Fort Sunter,
is their from belief in the inexisability of the ultimate discisois their from belief in the inexisability of the ultimate discisoof the country into two confederacies—ONE DISTINGLY FREE
LANCE, THE OTHER SELVEROLDING—and their desire to
bring about the separation witness account. That
this idea has been broached in the Cabinet Council is
certain."

This is the one end at which you and your coadju-tors have aimed for twenty-five years—the dissolution of the Union—as essential to the abolition of slavery. The conviction has been extending and despending among the people, that liberty and slavery tannot co-exist and enjoy equal rights and immunities under the same revernment. There is no power in the the same copy equal rights and immunities under the same government. There is no power in the Union that can harmonize these two moral antago-niams. Seventy years have demonstrated the utter folly, as well as wrong and outrage, of all attempts to extend equal protection and privileges to both. The two, liberty and slavery, can meet only on the field of conflict, and of death to one or the other. If liberty exists, slavery must die. exists, slavery must die.

In the Traveller of Saturday the 16th inst., is the

following announcement:—

"We must begin to prepare to make our election between these two propositions:—1. A reconstruction of the Union on the basis of an unconditional surrender to the sheerester,—granting all that they may ask while the precess of reconstruction is going on, and with the understanding that whatever else they may ask for breacher shall granted;—or, 2. A FRACKRIER, FORKAL DISSOUTTON OF THE UTION, through the labour of a regular National Convention; to be followed by THE FORKATION OF A NEW UNDER

THAT SHALL BE CONSTRUCTED OF THE FREE STATES"-[Le., on the principle of NO UNION WITH

the ideas of the ags."

Let the Republican party and Administration inaugurate and actualize a peaceable and bloodiess dissolution of this kidnapping, alave-hunting and alwertading Union, and establish a confederacy based on free soil, free labor, and free mem—on the principle of no union with alaveholders, and those who traffic in the bodies and souls of mem—and they will deserve and receive the heartfelt thanks of every friend of humanity, and give hope and life to the enslaved and oppressed of all lands. oppressed of all lands.

THE CONTEMPLATED VISIT OF HON. J. J. CRITTENDER TO BOSTON. The following letter indicates that Mr. Crittenden will not visit this city at so early

Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, Mayor of the City of Baston:
Sin.—I had the honor of addressing you a letter, a fore
days ago, accepting the invitation with which your elty
has honored me, informing you that I expeded to go to
Boston in about the surface, and that I would give you,
thereafter, more particular notice of the day I would

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, fo March, contains the following articles: —I. The Indian Civil Service: its Rise and Fall—Part II. II. The Physical Geography of the Sea. III. Lee's History of the Church of Scotland. IV. Iron-Clad Ships o War, and our Defences. V. Norman Sinclair: An Autobiograph—Part XIV. VI. Recent Natural History Books. VII. Wilson's German Campaign of 1812. VIII. The China War of 1860. Published by Leonard Scott & Co., New York-Crosby, Nicl & Co., Boston

New Music. Just published by Oliver Ditson &

Co., 277 Washington street.

1. The Mountain Stream. By Albert Lindahl.

2. Call me Pet Names. Ballad. Music by Miss

Mary Bioede.

3. Nocturne. By L. D. Hoard.

4. My Childhood's Days. From the new opers,
"Biancs, the Bandit's Bride." By M. W. Balfe.

5. Amongst the Village Swains. From the new
operetts, "The Marriage of Georgette."

6. New England left out in the cold. Words by

"The Marriage of Georgette."

J. J. J. Grobe. Music by C. E. Kimball.

7. Brilliant Variations on "Still in my dreams thou'rt near." By Ch. Grobe.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of New York, on the 7th and 8th of May. The members and friends of the Society should endeavor to arrange their affairs sent a full attenda Rights Convention will be held in the same city on the 9th and 10th of May.

Fort Sumter, at the last accounts, had been attacked, surrendered, evacuated, nor blowup! Where or what is the government

DIED, in Acworth, N. H., on the 14th Inst., Rev. BEOUGHTON WHITE, aged 83 years. He was for a long period the paster of the Congregational Church washington, N. H. After his resignation of that office, he labored as a missionary in various places in New Hampshire and Vermont, where his memory will office, he labored as a missionary in various places in New Hampshire and Vermont, where his memory will be long and gratefully cherished. The "modern degeneracy" of the New England pulpit in regard to slavery never reached him. He welcomed the first testimony of Garrison against slavery as a sin, his first call for immediate emancipation. He had a deep sense of the guilt of the American Church und Ministry in regard to slavery, and great admiration for Dr. Cheever on account of his fidelity in exposing their sin. For many years, till his dying day, he was a careful and deeply interested reader of this paper.—Anti-Slavery Standard.

FIENDISH. We learn from the Salem (Ind.) Times, that an inhuman wretch in an adjoining county to Washington deliberately laid the following plan by which to put his wife to death. It seems that, to accomplish his hellish work, it was necessary to employ his own son, a small boy, to assist him. He set his fence on fire, and instructed his little son to perpetrate the deed. After he had set the fence on fire, he sent the little boy to the house after his (the boy's) mother, to come and put the fire out, while he (the father) secretch timself in the woods near by, telling the boy before this, that while his mother was engaged in extinguishing the fire, to approach her from behind and set her clothes on fire, which he did, and before she was aware, her clothes were in a blaze, burning her to death. The Times does not state that the inhuman wretch has been arrested.—Boston Herald.

CRUEL TREATMENT OF COOLIES. The Callao correspondent of the Panama Star announces the recent arrival there of a vessel having on board about six hundred coolies, who have engaged to labor for eight years at the rate of five dollars a month. They are sold at auction for this term of years at the rate of four hundred and fifty dollars. In many cases, they are put under the direction of negroes as overseers, and too often treated with great cruelty. No attention is paid by the authorities to their complaints, and a band of fifty who escaped from their masters were sent back to chains and punishment.

THE BISHOPS AND SLAVERY. Bishops, as well as boccors, disagree. Bishop Whittingham of Maryland has written a letter to Gov. Hicks, earnestly approving the Union stand taken by the latter; while Bishop Rutledge of Florida has sent five hundred dollars to the treasurer of the Secessionists to aid in the disunion movement in that State.

Bishop Hopkins, of the Vermont Episcopa diocese, has written a letter, in which he attempts to show that slavery is not a sin according to the Bible.

S. M. BOOTH RELEASED. S. M. Booth has been released from jail. One of the last acts of the expublic functionary was to make out an order for his release, which was duly forwarded on the last day of his administration by Attorney General Black. The pardon reached Mijuwakee on Sunday morning, the 3d. Mr. Booth was immediately released, and attended divine worship at the Church of the Holy Redeemer.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings was on Monday confirmed as Consul-General of British America by a vote of 30 to 10. The votes in the negative were those of the pre-slavery Democrats, who have not forgotten nor forgiven the vigor with which the indomitable old man has opposed their schemes.

The New Orleans Delta of March 8 states that Gen. Braxton Bragg, of the army of Louisiana, has been appointed Brigadier General of the army of the Confederate States, and has been ordered to proceed to Pensacola, and take command of all the troops of the Ropublic there assembled, and conduct the operations against Fort Pickens.

crations against Fort Pickens.

The A Charleston letter says, "The Rev. Mr. Van Dyke, of Brooklyn, ought not to have come here; he is being made a fool of by some weak men of the 'moon-tide' class, but is generally considered to have made decidedly the worst speech at the Bible meeting, and to be altogether quite an ordinary person."

The Southern students—seven or eight in number—have "seconded" from Dartmouth (N. H.)

his The Duke of Sutherland is dead. He was born in 1786, and succeeded his father as Duke in 1833. His income was pearly two million of dollars per year.

COLLECTIONS FOR TRACT FUND,

-Thomas Lincoln, Req., \$2. -E. D. and Anna T. Draper, 10 : Mrs. ole, Mass—Mrs. P. Rockwood, 1; Otls Thayer, 1; rd, Mass—Mrs. P. Rockwood, 1; Otls Thayer, 1; description of the Control of the

Miljord, Mess.—Mrs. P. Rockwood, 1; Otls Thayer, 1 Dea. Carpenter, 50e; Geo. W. Blasy, 50e; E. Summer, 50e; Friends, 4,0e. Barre, Mess.—Mrs. Almworth, 1; Mrs. Abby Cumings, 15e. Language, Mess.—Peter Wellington, 50e; Miss Wellin, Lexington, Mass.—Peter Weilington, 50e; Miss Weiliz, 50e; Mrs. Hannah S. Robbins, 50e; friends, 75e... West Cambridge.—Friend, 25e. Total, 233.35.

MRS. M. B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fift years' experience in the Homospathic treatment of, dis-cases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity. References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

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EF NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

Conventions, in the State of New York, to be addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY and SUSAN B. ANTHONY, will be held s follows:—at Easton, Thursday and Friday, March 28, 29. Union Village, Sunday, March 31.

EF A. T. POSS will speak at Rochester, N. H., Sun-

HENRY C. WRIGHT will held meetings in the

own Hall, in Quincy, Sunday, March 31. PEMBROKE.—H. C. Waterr will speak in Pem

ast Day, April 4

EF WORGESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.—The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held at LEOMIN-STER, Fast Day, April 4th,
A. T. Foss and R. H. Harwood will be present. The public are cordially invited.

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No. 17.—Argument of Wendell Phillipp, Bey, against the Committee of the Legislature, Tuesday, January 29, 1861. pp. 5 cents.

For the Liberator TO MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.

That the Right at last shall triumph, even as

She should say unto her brot

Southern power—

Be the dupes and tools of party—yield e'en Hon less dower;
And, to save this blood-stained Union, make with ain,
Smothering e'en the voice of conscience, as soul within:

And again on Mammon's altar lay the be bling slave,
While his outstretched hands imploring, value call on you

. Ye may give to human bloodhounds hu

rallying-cry is ever, "God defend and sp Sister, many a true heart's blessing follows thee

way, Knowing thou wilt never falter, or thy holy trust betray And when, thy mission ended, angel-spirits call thee hom How this blessed thought will cheer thee, "I my Father work have done"!

Barre, March, 1861.

For the Liberator. THOUGHTS.

uggested by the sacrifice of John Rhown.

'I is done, the savage deed is done; Oh, hase Virginia! shame to thee! Shame to thy feelish, braggart son! Shame to thy beasted chivalry!

The brave old man whose daring hands Were raised to set the bondman free To break Oppression's galling bands, And strike a blow for liberty:—

A victim to Virginia's fear,
In Treedom's cause the hero dies!
A glory circles round his bier,
While in the dust thine honor lies. Thou should'st have claimed him for thine own, With Patrick Henry's wreathed his name

It had a halo round thee thrown, Rekindling Freedom's altar-flame. E'on had his weapon failed to spare,
T was base the brave old man to slay,
The man who laid your folly bare,
And showed you where your weakness lay.

By cruel wrongs to frenzy driven, John Brown, the fearless, good and brave Believed himself th' elect of Heaven

To break the yoke, and free the slave Go, now, of gallant Henry boast;
Brown was his brother—Freedom's
Undaunted, each defied a host;
And both by cowards were reviled.

Successful, one is known to fame,
A patriot—one a rebel dies;
Alike their object—causesthe same

Their struggle for an equal prize Henry, for self and country's weal, Resolved on "Liberty or Death"; Brown, with a high and holy zeal, For the poor slave resigned his breath.

Dishonored droops Virginia's star, On Fryedom's breast she leaves a sear,
That time can never, never heal.

F. M. Addingron, Weymouth.

For the Liberator.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY!

In every man a brother greets ;

And, when he prays, "Thy kingdom come Upon the earth Thy will be done As 'tis in heaven"—whose life shall be With such a prayer in harm Who, when for "daily bread" he's prayed, To trust in God is not afraid, And will not providence decry

If he has not a month's supply:

Who, when he prays, "My sins forgive As I do those 'gainst me who strive," Breathes not e'en one revengeful breath, Nor chokes the erring one to death;

Who, when he prays, "Lord, never lead Where I in paths of sin shall tread," voice will ne'er de When he of danger would apprise.

Wanted to see, in days like these, A man who seeks not men to please Wanted, O God! the Church to see, A light to guide mankind to Thee.

Wanted to see, a man who dares To live in keeping with his prayers; Fears not to say his soul's his own,

One such, sustained by heavenly grace, A thousand of his fees shall chase; Two such, ten thousand put to flight, Because well armored for the fight.

Men thus equipped, with Faith's strong shield, Shall make their stoutest foes to yield; And Error's night shall pass away, Because they acr as well as pray.

Then God shall sit upon his throne On earth; by men his will be done; The triumph of the wicked cease, And all mankind shall live in peace. Boston, March 19, 1861.

THE TRULY JUST MAN

All are not just because they do no wrong;
But he who will not wrong me when he may,
He is the truly just. I praise not them
Who, in their petty dealings, pilfer not;
But him whose conscience spurse a socret fraud
When he might plunder and defy surprise.
His be the praise, who, looking down with seer
On the false judgment of the partial herd,
Consults his own clear heart, and boldly dares
To BE, ROT TO BE TROCKET, AN MORRES MAN.
—Sel.

The Tiberator.

THE MARTYR CRISPUS ATTUCKS.

The ninety-first anniversary of the martyrdon.
CRISTUS ATTUCKS (March 5th, 1770) was comme rated at the Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston,
Monday evening, 11th inst. (unavoidably postpos
from the 5th.)

from the 5th.)

WILLIAN C. NELL, on rising to anne ercises, remarked, in substance, that the for the evening was a wide departure from rate and novel presentation, for many moplated, but which, by force of circumstances.

nated with his deeds of patriotism and valor, commencing with Crispus Attucks in State street, Mar mencing with Crispus Attacks in State street, March sth, 1770, whose example of gallant leadership and marryrdom in the cause of impartial liberty has been emulated by other colored Americans, in every battle on land and ses, through the wars of 1776 and 1812; and though, shameful to relate, there is still to be found, here and there, an unscrupulous press to disparage and ignore the claims we truthfully and proudly associate with "the Man and the Hour," yet the our own rights respected

on of Mr. Nell's remarks, there fol-At the conclusion of Mr. Nell's remarks, there to-lowed appropriate Classical Readings and Declama-tions, including extracts from the recent speeches of Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. Henry Wilson, in the United States Senate, against the Crittenden Compro-mise, and in vindication of Colored American citizen-ship. Also a debate, in which the volunteer aid of the "Union Progressive Association" was a prominent feature. These exercises were in-terspersed with choice vocal and instrumental music by several ladies and gentlemen, whose efforts were highly appreciated by the audience.

The evening's entertainment was concluded by a

social gathering in the Vestry, where refreshments had been provided by Mr. George T. Downing, which arrangement, to many, was a very agreeable item in this year's commemoration.

REPLY OF REV. GILBERT HAVEN.

Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.:
DEAR SIR—I should have made an earlier

of my letter against your editorial, had my health al-lowed me to prepare it. The subject may not yet be state to all your readers, though my treatment of it will probably be deemed, by many of them, "flat and and provatory or deemed, by many of them, "flat and unprofitable." In seeking to shun a "painful and profitless" controversy with some of your leading associates, I hardly expected to plunge into one with you. I hope yet to avoid it. With as few words of defence as the subject will admit of I shall close the lite will only be a wasto of your columns to seek, through this medium, for a common ground whereon to bdild up a common faith. The lesser differences are all that will repay consideration.

first article, on the supposition that I impeached your faithfulness to your conscience, and say, "Now let the reader turn to the verbose rejoinder of Mr. Haven, and find, if he can, any attempt to give explicit answers to these questions—for we cannot." I cannot imagine how you could have read that letter without finding "explicit answers to these questions," repeat times. My honest compl most to "vain repetitions," were based solely on your "faithful adherence to principle." Had they been omitted, or reduced within moderate dimensions, the verbosity of "the rejoinder" would have been mate-rially lessened, and the letter been shorter than its

Inese questions are asked as a detence against my lament that you did not resemble Wilberforce "in prayer and piety." Do they prove that lament groundless? I as bold and constant support "of the claims of humanity or the demands of justice" necessarily the cause or the effect of prayer and piety? ty internat love or God, which I think is not dependent on conscience." Again, in reference to the very class of which you are so eminent a representative, he thus speaks, page 112: "I found this lack of the emotional part of religion affected many of the Reformers. The leading Reformers are men of large men, full of philanthropy, and living lives worthy of the best ages of humanity. But the best ages of humanity. But, as a general thing, it seemed to me they had not a proportionate development of the religious feelings, and so had neither the most powerful solace for their many griefs, nor mid all they see and suffer from. They too com-monly shared this sensational philosophy, [Unitarian-ism,] and broke with the Ecclesiastical Supernatural

the discontinuity of the Bible," and in which the Book is epoken of as "the so-called word of God," travelling out of the record, and raising a false and impertinent issue "? There is but one other paper is Boston that would publish that advertisement. That paper rejoices in the name of "infidel." I commend it for its honesty. t for its honesty.

What would be said if the Temperature of religion

What would be said if the Temperance Journal had thus mingled discussions on religious subjects with its reformatory matters? Would the Christian friends of temperance have been condemned for withdrawing their support from the paper, and the Society that sus tained it? I have an intimate acquaintance with severn of the leading advocates of this reform, who differ from me, very materially, on questions of doctrine; yet I always receive them gladly into my pulpit, and join with them; on the seneral platform, because we confin ways receive them gladly into my pulpit, and join with them on the general platform, because we confine ourselves to the duty before us. Why is it not so with these advocates of the Anti-Slavery reform? Why is not the Liberator welcomed to every Christian anti-slavery family, and its contributors to every anti-slavery pulpit? Simply because they do not confine themselves to anti-slavery. There is no one whom I would so gladly invite to address my people as Mr Garrison, were it not for his connection with this course of action. Did he now, as at the beginning o his career, apply the Word of God with great faithful ness and power to this iniquity, did he only refrain from contemning that Word, and the doctrines it teaches, and the Church it establishes, he would be conful. joyfully welcomed to three-fourths of the churches the Northern States. We ask for no defence of ied in an anti-slavery journal, and on an anti-slavery

If it be said, the Liberator is not an exclusively as slavery journal, Iask, What else was it started for What else does its title mean? What else do i pictorial heading and surrounding mottoes mean What else has been its only work and fame, apa What else has been its only work and fame, spart from this anti-Christian element of its latter years. Is not that chosen work great enough? Is it so near accomplishment that you can afford to drive away crowds of sympathizers by these extraneous assaults. You complain of being "few," and of being kept so by "the papal arrogance" of "the clergy generally." Nay, my dear sir, not so. The Liberator is its own Nay, my dear sir, not so. The Liberator is its own worst enemy. Gladly would the ministry and membership of every name, whether "evangelical" or "liberal," join with the oldest paper and the oldest Society whose organ it is, in this glorious service, had they not been repelled by "the gross infidelities and social absurdities" with which the speeches of the salaried agents of that Society have abounded; had they not seen the substance of these wreeches in many they not seen the substance of those speeches in man-

statement of the simultaneous destruction of slave and the Orthodox Church. Though the remark w and the Orthodo Church. Inough the remark was riveted on my memory by its character, the time and manner of its utterance, and, especially, by its being made the subject of immediate and subsequent conmade the subject of immediate and subsequent con-versation among several who were with me, still I am willing to confess our ears were at fault, not your tongue. I rejoice that you concede that slavery can die without the death of the Church. I believe it has died elsewhere, and is dying here, through the life of the Church more than through all other instrumen-

You speak of my remark touching certain boo and lectures on social and religious questions as shocking and libellous. Moore said he first blushed for some of his poetry when he had a daughter old enough to read it. I think the author of these works than loathe the free-love doctrine of divorce, and sur dry other writings of these, so far, "filthy dreamers." I am glad I mentioned no names; for their compara-tive silence of late upon these and more sacred themes suggests the thought that they find the tone of Christian society and the faith of the Christian Church to tian society and the faith of the Christian Church too lofty and vigorous for their assaults. They have heard the voice of Christ saying, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." May they yet penitently receive him as their Saviour, and preach the faith

At its not necessary for me to defend my sever as all the points in which it was condemned. Especially it is not necessary for me to defend the Bible. All I sought to show was, that it was not accepted by the Liberator as the perfect revelation of God. Whether such views are called "infidel" or not, is a question of such views are called "infidel" or not, is a question of small importance. If a course of conduct, respecting slavery, met with the unqualified approval of the extremest pro-slavery section, you would say, and that justly, that such conduct was pro-slavery. What clae then can we call that form of belief which meets with the unqualified approval of avowed and boastful infidels? To me, there is but one answer.

relied upon by that Church, in all ages and in all its divisions, as of Divipe origin and authority. Her divisions into sects prove nothing against this fact; for all these sects have certain grounds of unity which are found in the Bible only. Their very names are only school, of Biblical intercretain.

intersperse admiration points in the senter from him, either to ridicule the sentiment of the quotation false. If the latter, I can e exact words may be found in the sermon "A True and False Revival of Religion,"

unfairly and unfeelingly referring to Mr. Parker, and especially that you will not consider me as one who would willingly tear open the wounds which his death has made in the hearts of those who lived in his love. No one more deeply sorrows in their sorrow. "Non ignerus mali, miseris succurrer disco." There are more courteous and tender words in that "Letter" than those you quote. There are also more deadly words. While therefore charity wraps his memory in her amplest folds, and grief most willingly weeps with those that weep, the cause of truth and righteousness no less demands that we should honestly point to the dreadful animus of that dying letter, and those many sentences, which, with great variety of expression but with unchanging enmity, declare that our Bible is "a Fetich," our religion, "a trusting for salvation to the blood of a crucified Jew," and our "God is a devil,

tience with my unwelcome talk. And yet, I would fain say a word in defence of the anti-slavery action and condition of the Church of which I am an un-worthy member, before I relieve you finally of my

That Church has contended ceaselessly and mightily for the great reforms. In 1844, after ten years of faithful labor by a portion of her ministry and laity, she stayed the proud march of the Slave Power, sacrificing her, at that time, most influential section, rather than allow one, whose wife held slaves, to preside in her Conferences. It was a great victory, and resulted in the secession of the slavery loving section, an act which Calhoun and Webster declared to be the foregree of that discusses were secured. which Calhoun and Webster declared to be the fore-runner of that disunion you so ardently desire. Has she ever had a word of commendation in the Liberator for that struggle and triumph? In 1848 she refused to recognize this seceding body as a Christian Church, and has so refused to this day, simply because of its submission to the Slave Power. In 1856, she put at the head of her Sunday School department one who labored with you in those early days, when Gospel migisters and members were the labored with you in those early days, when Gospel ministers and members were the most active members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and who has never denied the faith he then preached. In his present important position, he faithfully teaches through his books and remove the whole the state of the his books and papers the whole truth of abolitionism.

She put in the Quarterly Review one of the finest scholars and writers in the country, and he has not failed to this hideous sin. So has she manned her posts, and fought her battles for the slave, till last year, to avoid all charge of complicity with slavery, that to be the true reading of her constiher Bishops have since proclaimed to be its original and constant meaning, by which slaveholding as well

as slave-trading is especially forbidden.

How is all this long and successful work treated by
the pioneer Anti-Slavery Society and paper? With
a word of approval? With a word of recognition,
even? Exf from it. It is only said of her, that she
yet "receives slaveholders without rebuke or disciling." and that "thereas"

rum-seller, because Boston, in spite of her law, gives him aid and comfort? The Church is a greater and more enduring institution than the State. Like the State, too, she may be pure in word and doctrine in law and labor, and yet be helpless for a seasor power to try and expel its members ; each conference of ministers the sole power to try and expel its mer bers. Now, if the local society and its pastor refu how can the Church, as a whole, help it ? She must repeatedly declare her law and her admonition; fill her offices with abolitionists, and wait for the reno-vation of the rebellious section, as Massachusetts, powerless but not speechless, much less submissive, well as real metropolis.

well as real metropolis.

You may say, "Come out of a Church thus contaminated." Whither shall I go? Is there a Church whose record is as good as hers, whose prospect of the speedy expulsion of this mailedy from all her members is better? Shall I leave it for the world? In my judgment, the world is far more identified with this iniquity, as well as with every other than the this iniquity, as wen as the branch of the real Church of Christ. But I have no branch of the real Church of Christ. But I have no more right to leave this Church, without joining or founding another, than I have to leave the State for the utter barbarism of no civil society. Why have not those who preach thus left this land, so long and so deeply devoted to the support of slavery? Why do they obey its laws and claim its protection? My Church is greatly in advance of my country in her anti-slavery action. I ought to leave the latter, sooner than the former, if I must abandon either of them for this reason.

The this corruption of the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the content of the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything see anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything, so complete the stranger into his lap, rose anything see anyt this iniquity, as well as with every other, than any branch of the real Church of Christ. But I have no

monly shared this semanticant billosophy, [Uniterinary thin face cell-sided Superaturals and the Bible only. Their very manus are the former, if I a must channel on the third of the Politic Superatural and the Bible only. Their very manus are the former, if I a must channel the attention was tailed with this corresponding to the company; and though he had in no, he converged that county in the converged of the soush, his declaration that it could be provide any of the soush, his declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that the provided of the soush is declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that the provided of the soush is declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that the provided of the soush is declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that the provided of the soush is declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that the provided of the soush is declaration that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that it could be provided as also, of the impostors of surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it could be provided as also of the surject that it is not all to represent the provided as also of the surject that the provided as also of the surject that it is not all to represent the provided as also of the surject that the provided as also of the provided as also of the surject that the provided as also of the s

se, to show that the supporters of such a ten in the spirit of courtesy, of esteem, of love. May it hardly be the representatives of that they be so received.

OR CHEEVER AND THE AMERICAN ARO-LITIONISTS.

with David at Aduliam had been in the anti-slaver ranks, where persons had sometimes uttered senti-ments offensive to Christian sense and feeling; in for such sentiments as these the Church, so called was to blame, and the wonder was it had not mad more infidels than were to be found in America fro-its unfaithfulness to its own mission. Dr. Chieve paid a very noble tribute to Mr. Garrison, with whoo he had held many long and earnest conversation he had heard no sontiments but such as any Chris-tian could have listened to with interest; and he had felt that his doing so, and the sympathy it evinced, had been of great value, and would tend to cement the union of all who were earnest for the abolition of slavery."

CHARLESTON UNDER ARMS.

This is the title of a racy and graphic article in the Atlantic Monthly for April, from which we make the

following extract:—

A favorite subject of argument appeared to be whether Fort Sumter ought to be attacked immediately or not. A lieutenant standing near me talked long and earnestly regarding this matter with a civilian friend, breaking out at last in a loud

with a civilian friend, breaking out at last in a loud tone.—

"Why, good Heaven, Jim! do you want that place to go peaceably into the hands of Lincoln?"

"No, Fred, I do not. But I tell you, Fred, when that fort is attacked, it will be the bloodiest day—the blood

"How are ye, Cap'm? Gaw damn ye! Haw, aw, aw!"—and reeled onward, brimful of spiritu-

d-nature.

days more had I in Charleston, waiting le to tide for a chance to sail to New York, ening from hour to hour for the guns of Fort.

Sunday was a day of excitement, a reporting that the Floridians had attacked Fort, and the Charlestonians feeling consequently hours to fight their own dragon. Groups he hotel, besides gathering at the corners and lling about the Battery. "We must act." "We not delay." "We ought not to submit." Such e the phrases that fell upon the ear oftenest and

at the first attempt to escalade. Another in general favor, was to smoke Another means of a raft covered with burning mixtuchemical and bad smelling, nature. Scill with perhaps yet, fewer adherents, was to on all sides in such a vast number of row-the fort could not sink them all, whereups vivors should land on the wharf and process such further measures as might; in the control of the country of the country

dent massiveness of the walls and the inecolumbiads.

"Good Lord, what a gun!" exclaimed on
"D'ye see that gun? What an almighty.
I'll be —, if I ever put my head in froat a
The difficulties of assault were admitted
very great, considering the bad footing, the
of the ramparts, and the abundant store of a
and grenades in the garrison. As to bread
body seemed to know whether they could h
or not. The besieging batteries were neithe
nor near, nor could they be advanced as
regular sieges, nor had they any darks as
regular sieges, nor had they any darks as
regular sieges, nor bad they any darks as
the defence, except in the number of '
while in regard to position and ealthe th
inferior. To knock down a wall nearly thigh and fourteen feet thick, at a distance,
than half a mile, seemed a tough understate
than half a mile, seemed a tough understate

inferior. To knock down a wall nearly are high and fourteen feet thick, at a distance of nor high and fourteen feet thick, at a distance of nor when unresisted. It was discovered, as the the hand half a mile, seemed a tough underthing very when unresisted. It was discovered, as the the only weak point, had been strengtheed as as make it bomb-proof, by means of interior management of the horizontal properties of the normal proof of the horizon of the horizontal properties. Then nobody wanted to knock Fort Sunter form Inasmuch as that involved either the labor of leisting it up again, or the necessity of gong witset as a harbor-defence. Finally, suppose it head in as a harbor-defence. Finally, suppose it head be attacked, and not taken? Really, we meaned people in the art of war were vastly puzzled, as we thought this whole matter over, and exclaim doubted whether our superiors were not these doubted whether our superiors were not these ciqually bothered with ourselves.

This fighting was a sober, sad subject; and reist times it took a turn towards the ladicross. Age-tleman told me that he was present when the steam Marion was seized with the intention of using ler in pursuing the Star of the West. Altered dispute arcses as to the fitness of the vessel for in pursuing the Star of the West. Altered dispute arcses as to the fitness of the vessel for in pursuing the Star of the West.

"Fill her with men, and put two or three eighten-pounders in her," said the advocates of the means.

"Where will you put your eighteen-pounder'demanded the opposition.

"On the promenade-deck, to be sure."

"Yes, and the moment you fire one, you'll see go through the bottom of the ship, and the you'll have to go after it."

During the two days previous to my seed as successful attempt to quit Charleston, the city was in full expectation that the fort would hordy be attacked. News had arrived that Federal roop were on their way with reinforcements. As smed successful attempt to quit Charleston, the city is maily crowded, the streets had

MR. DANA AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The remarks of Richard H. Dana, Jr., about the Abolitionists and the Liberator, in his recent speed, are excessively shallow. His question, "Who see the Liberator?" will be laughed at as generally a Sidney Smith's question—"Who reads an american book?" His patronizing air towards Mr. Phillips' attack upon him, but it is very budierous for all that Mr. Phillips's audiences care but little for his costitutional theories; his influence is not strengthesed or weakened, materially, by these theories; and his attack upon him, but it is very ludierous for all hat Mr. Phillips's audiences care but little for his constitutional theories; his influence is not strengthered or weakened, materially, by these theories; and his influence upon Massachusetts opinion, for the list ten years, has been a hundred times as great as Mr. Dana's. It is very funny to hear Mr. Dana making the depot and horse-car circulation of a newspaper the test of its influence. "Who sees the Libertont Is it sold at our railroad spations, or in our steam cars, or horse cars, or at our steamboat landings, or hawked in the streets?" No: is the Christian Wieness, or the Churchmon, or the works of Edmuel Burke? No, again. Yet, Mr. Dana would be lost to acknowledge that Burke is obsolete, or that the Episcopal Church is without influence. Tried by the railroad station test, the New York Herald is the most influential paper in the country, when, in he, of all papers pretending to have influence, it has be least. There is not a country newspaper in his great West, printed for a colony of Norwegiuss of Dutchmen, and excluded from all except localic culation, which does not, in ten years, have not maked in the streets."—Boston Correspondent of the Springfeld Republican.

For the remarks of Mr. Dana, eliciting this riticism, see the last column of the first page of the present number of the Liberator.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN IN BOSTON.

The present City Government of Boston, having been elected by a combination of all the force of slavery and rum, have, perhaps, appropriately zivited ex-Senator Crittenden to visit Boston as the contract of the combination of the combination

vited ex-Senator Uniterates has grace-guest of the city. Mr. Crittenden has grace-accepted the invitation, and is expected there at an early day.

A mean Yankee, it is said, can be the meanet, man in the world, so perhaps a mean government of a Yankee city can be the meanets city government in the world. At any rate, the government of for-tion can furnish protection to lawless violence at ton can furnish protection to lawless violence at