EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

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

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1581.

with death, and an agree

# Refuge of Oppression.

WHAT THE ABOLITIONISTS HAVE DONE. The about time, in the history of nations, gentlemen diviry years only—when I had no gray hair on we head, but when, like many of you here, in the sine of youth this incident occurred, and it is an asgmicant one. A newspaper made its appearance, called the Liberator, and the Governor of Virgia at that day wrote to a friend of his in Boston show something of this Liberator newspaper. He said that the paper had been sent here through the post-office to teach insubordination and ineite grade in the said of the said the Governor, is the meaning of this? How is it that the old cradle of liberty allows this paper to exist? His friend write back and stated:—"The paper you have sent sel have carefully examined, and immediately and timy business to seek its origin. After a long and telious search, I discovered that it was published in the attic of a waste house in a back street of the ory of Boston. The publisher nobody knows or cars for; his whole concern is a small, dirty room, triving a news worked by himself once a week the attic of a waste house in a back street of the real Boston. The publisher nobody knows or es for; his whole concern is a small, dirty room, taining a press worked by himself once a week throw out the issue which he prepares for the bill. I think the Governor of Virginia — the wetnor of that great old Commonwealth which the van in the Revolutionary war—may rest ident that there is no danger to the liberties of rejuis from this source." That was thirty years; is ad, at that time, this little indication was but sail cloud in the heavens, not bigger than a see hand. How is it now? It has grown to be load that covers the whole face of the heavens agreess to be a power that is striking down the wark of constitutional liberty and freedom. That its origin. How has it progressed to this colosproportion? It went into the churches of the hab of God, and created divisions there; and then, impious presumption, said, we are more wise in generation than the God of heaven when he laws to, the children of Israel. We say that very is a curse, and that damnation will attend who live in the gountry where it exists. They you cannot sit down at the table of the Lord tis given as the covenant for man's salvation. you who live in the gountry where it exists. They say, you cannot sit down at the table of the Lord that is given as the covenant for man's salvation. But why do I dwell upon this subject? It is quite as familiar to you as it is to me, and it is therefore unaccessary that I should dwell any longer upon it. What institution in the country has this fanaticism to see upon and destroyed? It has invaded every fadamental right which we hold dear, and has fastly culminated in the destreastion of this great adjoints. Union: What is this which they religiously regard as a curse? God in his commandments wrote with his own fingers upon Mount Sinai. Thos shalt not cover, thy neighbor's slave"; and it have them remember that the first slave-catcher in the history of the world was an angel of God, sent by God to take a runary's slave—a negro—and bring him back to his subser. (Applanes and larghter). It is a ballowed institution, and it seems that, in the Providence of 65d, it came down through the new dispensation to be preserved, and perpetuated in conformity with the will of Divine Providence. With all reverence, allow me to state to those who want a new Bible and an anti-slavery God, that if the doctrine of Moss has become too old foryish for them, they can

rill of Diyjne Providence. With all reverence, me to state to those who want a new Bible an anti-slavery God, that if the doctrine of s has become too old fogyish for them, they can to the New Testament, and there seek some er light. An angel, as I have said, was the slave-catcher. St. Paul sustained the instituant admonished submission on the part of s to their masters; and everywhere we find it created by the will of God, through which it is need to a perpetual existence, to be controlled governed in conformity with his precepts. Is it effore to be presumed that this institution is ast religion? God thought not—Moses thought—Paul thought not—Jesus Christ thought not—Constitution thought not. Applause.) But stands the fact? Has it ever occurred to you the institution of African slavery in the United its was of itself a miracle, like the delivery of children of Israel from the bonds of the Egyp-3? Then the power of God divided the sea, let the oppressed go free, and the water stood a wall on either side, and the-oppressed went, when Pharaolo with his chariot was swallowed in the deep. (Applause.) How came African erv to be instituted in the United Strates? What aoh with his chariot was swallowed.

(Applause.) How came African ituted in the United States? What sequired it? What great rational 1 it? What great religious instinct What great sentiment of philansii it? Not one. Here were a people dition the most deplorable that the in contemplate, who, by some pecunitable destiny, were brought from they lived to this country, here to warm in these meaning the contemplates who had been consulted the second that the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the country in the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the property of the country is the property of the country in the country is the property of the country in the country is the country in the country is the country in the country in the country is the country in the country in the country is the country in the country in the country in the country is the country in th stand engage in those jurnation which personal the continue results. The institution has prospected the best of the results. The institution has prospected the best of the results. The institution has prospected the best of the results of the res

intended that the example should go further, and when He instigated our brethern at the North to an act of humanity, when he turned their eyes away from the burning of witches to the freeing of the American slave, what has been the case? When those men were liberated, after a century of close education, have they advanced in the school of human civilization? They have not, but have fallen as soon as the shackles of slayery were shaken from their arms—have fallen through the network of society, and gone down to the abyss of degradation, finding their way out from the centre of society through three channels—those of crime, poverty and insanity. They have disappeared; and all the moral sunsion, and all the 'teachings of the Gospel, all the Sunday schools and tract societies have been unable to stay their progress. Go into jails and hospitals and lunatic asylums, and there you will find confirmed what I have already referred to as the channels through which the depletion of this black element in society is wrought. No, the hand of God Almighty is in this thing. It is like the miracle which He performed in bringing the Israelites through the Red Sea. But these Northern men are wiser in this generation than God; they are holier than the Divine One who died on Calvary; and they come to tell you that you shall libetant these people, or you shall be damed. (Lausther) ry; and they come to tell you that you shall liberat these people, or you shall be damned. (Laughter.)— [Secretary Floyd's Speech at Richmond, Virginia.

### NO RECONSTRUCTION.

It must be a great relief to the many Northern people who are willing to make any concessions to bring back the seceding States, to read such articles as the following from the Mobile Teibune:—

as the following from the Mobile Tribune:—

"There is not a man so bold as to advocate at the hustings or in the Senate the reconstruction of the Union by the return of the cotton States to its embrace. No! not even with amendments to its Constitution, made by those States themselves. The affections of the people of the South are entirely allenated from the people of the North. The unkind words of our brehren are engraved in marble, and their unfirently deeds are impressed upon all of our institutions, social, political and commercial. Whilst they never loved us, we have ceased to love them. We do not hate them, for our feelings are those of indifference, running into concempt. We desire to know them only on the battlefield, or as traders, jobbers and hucksters in commerce. The latter we prefer, but no farther than that. With England and France and Spain, we desire the closest relations, not only in the common and binding interests of a great commerce, but in these of the hield some distinctions of social intercourse, and of well, poised and equated international sentiment. With those great countries, these relations can be honorably and justly maintained. Not so with the Northern States, for they lack the elements to cement them; and they posses the solvent of all such relations, in the acid of fanaticism, whose drop is poison, which cannot be neutralized until the Puritan race is extinct.

No! until Paritanism has fulfilled its mission, and the world is relieved of its curse, the North and the South can never dwell together, as one poop e, again; and let Mr. Lincoln and his bilind followers receive this truth, in all its magnitude and significance." "There is not a man so bold as to advoc

# A SLAVE ADVOCATING SLAVERY.

The Savannah Republican of the 28th says :-

The Savannah Republican of the 28th says.—
We have received a pamphlet entitled "Slavery and Abolitionism, as Viewed by a Georgia Slave. By Harrison Berry, the property of S. W. Rice, Covington, Ga." As we have not had time to examine its contents as closely as we would, we annex the commentary of our cotemporary of the Griffin Union:—We have just finished reading a pamphlet from the pen of this personage, Harrison Berry. We know Harrison, and know him to be a slave, and a black one at that; and, although the matter of his pamphlet is not arranged with that perspicuity and system that would mark an accomplished writer, there are truths told by Harrison that it would be well for many white men, and all black ones, to ponder and profit by it. That slavery is the proper status for the black man, no, one can deabt who will properly investigate the subject. In his native wilds he is a savage, with no hope of improvement. A free man among white people, he is inferior, and cannot rise to a level with his neighbors, and has all his work to do, when in health, under disadvantages that few can overcome; and, when sick, he has no one to care for him; while the slave has only his work to do when in health, with all the advantages his master's position and superior management can afford him; and when sick, his master is bound, by law and interest, to attend to his necessities. And it is true, as Harrison says, that the Abolitionists are his worst enemies, inasmuch as all their efforts only tend to draw the cords of servitude more tightly around him, and deprive him of many indulgences that he would otherwise enjoy.

# Selections.

THE SECEDING STATES.

Statistics are very ugly things. The importance

331,915,103.

The population of the seven departed States is 2,703,646 free, and 2,350,677 slave, making a total of 5,054,323. The white population of New York alone is 3,851,563, which exceeds that of "Secession" over a million, and combined with the population of Pennsylvania, which is 2,924,501, these two tion of Pennsylvania, which is 2,924,501, these two States show a front of a million and a half of free-men above the united free and enslaved of the South. The receipts for carrying the mails one year in the Southern Confederacy were \$829,582, and the expense \$3,082,960, a loss to the Treasury of \$2,253,378. In the five New England States, the receipts during the same year were \$1,224,280, and the expenses \$1,156,721, leaving a surplus of over fifty thousand dollars. The sooner we stop the mails, the more profitable it will be.

penses \$1,156,721, leaving a surplus of over litty thousand dollars. The sooner we stop the mails, the more profitable it will be.

We see no easier or more politic method of making these United States one and truly inseparable than by acknowledging the Southern Confederacy. Let the seven States take care of themselves if they can. Let them have their forts and their revenue peaceably, and they will find that setting up on their own hook is the most disastrous job they ever understook. The heavy direct taxation which is sure to follow will touch the pockets of the wealthy, time will assuage the imaginary wrongs which the North is charged with, and we shall see the reign of reason bring with it a reconstruction of our Government through the medium of a National Convention.

It is very easy to talk about plack and bloodshed, but there is nothing to be obtained by war which cannot be accomplished by conciliatory measures. It is not a foreign enemy we are contending against, but men who have been our friends, who, differing from us upon a vital principle, have sought a rash method to relieve themselves from evils which it pleased politicians, for selfish ends, to so magnify, that by subtlety and design they precipitated the Schit, and a law suppression of opinion has yet been made by the conservative men of the South, and many, we think the majority, are opposed to the adoption of measures which might prevent them from making their influence felt. War waged against them would certainly induce them to espouse the cause of their State, or they would be less than the wisset diplomacy is that which prevents suffering, and accomplishes a result without loss of human life.

the effect of fear is ridiculous when we consider that
the wisest diplomacy is that which prevents suffering,
and accomplishes a result without loss of human life.
The surrender of the forts is not a matter of any
weight whatever, and must inevitably follow a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. We require
the cooperation of the Border States, and we believe
Mr. Lincoln will retain them.

It is not to be expected that this trouble will be
settled in a day, for it will require many months to
convince the seceding States that they are not so
well off as they were before. They love the Al-

convince the seceding States that they well off as they were before. They

### AN ENGLISH PROTEST AGAINST SOUTH-ERN RECOGNITION.

carved out territory, restricted liberty, and created, license, for their own sectional objects and interests. So much for the long oppression which has driven them to resistance! And what outrage roused the reductint men of peace at last? What was the stamp act of the present occasion? It was the loss of an election, a constitutional election, conducted in a regular and orderly way!—London News.

### THE COWHIDE DESPERADOES.

THE COWHIDE DESPERADOES.

A Roman Emperor inaugurated his reign by declaring that he was determined to be hated. A similar ambition may be said to possess the statesmen of Southern America, whose constant effort, it seem, is to cut themselves off from all human sympathr, to be abhorred, and to concentrate upon their faction the obloquy of the world. There is something preternaturally repulsive in the slang, the iswagger, and the ruffianism of these cowhide desperadoes. Every fresh report from the headquarters of rowdyism aggravates the atrocity of its brutalizing influence. The Carolinian Sonator considers himself degraded unless he struts, like a Datch bandit, with a brace of revolving pistols in his pockets, or a bladgeon, the mere carrying of which would be regarded as any outrage even in guardism, a cowardice or a treachery, so consummate as that of the negro-driving States in the new Southern Confederacy.

It is not enough for the auctioneers of African fiesh and blood that they can torture their stripped

It is not enough for the auctioneers of Atrican flesh and blood that they can torture their stripped victims, and commit assassination with impunity; it is not enough that they are privileged to flay or burn alive their breathing chattlels; they must stalk into the Sanate-House armed with instruments of murder; they must conspire to establish a reign of terror by means of a cut-throat policy. They must plot to take the life of their new President, while

The slaves are distinctly too that upon the sage est indication of a scheme for joining with the ay tators of the North, they shall be tied up, one every cotton and peach tree in the land, and flag lated until they are more abject than the worms the dust. These threats, accompanied as they a

## THE MARCH OF EVENTS.

So rapid and impetuous is the march of events in the United States, so quickly does one scene succeed another, in the great political drama, that new becomes of secondary interest, almost define it is al. In the Pressures powers which the Con has given him, and refuses to recognize He is capable of considerable flights

to secede. We give the particulars as fol Saturday, the 23d inst., G. W. Israel p paper in the form of a Protest again the last General Conference in ado then taken up, and the first adopted by the following vote: to vote, 41; Declined to vote

union:

First, by abrogating the New Chapter.

Second, by transferring the subject of slav
the exclusive jurisdiction of the Annual (
ences, where it exists.

Third, That a fair proportion of the period
the church be placed under the charge and di
of said Conferences. Then, and not until the
we reunite with them in the organization of a
General Conference.

S. Resolved, That the Conference has tak

ision."

The resolution of the East Baltimore Conference, calling for an extra season of the General Conference, was voted against by a great majority.

The Philadelphia Conference had the following Committee on the State of the Church, appointed by the Bishop:—

"T. J. Thompson, Chairman; J. A. Massey, T. J. Quigley, Joseph Mason, John Ruth, W. Cooper, W. H. Brishane, W. E. England, W. McCoomb, A. W. Milbey, R. W. Todd, C. J. Thompson, and B. F. Price."

None of these, we believe, are known to be approvers of what the church has done by passing the Chapter on Slavey. Numerous petitions were apresented from the slaveholding parties of the Conference, demanding either a repudiation of the Chapter or a division of the Conference, according to State lines, leaving the slaveholding parties by themselves. Of course, the Conference has no power, legally, to divide itself. J. N. McCabe, and others, regret that a part of the slaveholding territory, so called, will not consent to leave the M. E. Church, instancing Wilmington, Smyrna, Dover, the capital of Delaware, and other places. The party spirit was high on the subject.

The Committee on the State of the Church made a long report on the separate items, on which ains votes were taken, some of them by yeas and nays; and the report of them is such, in a Philadelphia lawyer to understand them. Our idea is, that the majority persistently shut off all debate, and put their heels upon the minority. The votes seem to be as follows: In favor of a repeal of the New New Chapter on Slavery, yeas, 174; mays, 35. These 55 answered to their nances, and are sound progressive New Chapter on Slavery, yeas, 174; mays, 35. These 55 answered to their nances, and are sound progressive New Chapter on Slavery, yeas, 174; mays, 35. These 55 answered to their nances, and are sound progressive New Chapter on Slavery, yeas, 174; mays, 35. These 55 answered to their nances, and are sound progressive of leaving cach Conference to Scate it is own practice on slavery, a count rote was, yeas, 161;

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

Siz.—In January last, the Indian Queen arrived at St. Mark's, Florida, from Aspinwall, for a cargo of cotton. The second officer and myself were taken down with Chagres fever, and were sent above to the Marine Hospital. This is a neat brick and stone two-story building, which cost the United State 320,000, and is the only good building in the place. The physician to the Hospital was a violent Secsionist, and a delegate to the Secession Convention. After we had been a few days in, the Hospital, the physician came home from the Convention, and told us that the State had seceded, and turned us out of the Hospital. I have paid Marine Hospital dues for twenty-two years, and this was the first time that I had ever had occasion to receive any benefit from these humane institutions, established by the Government, but supported by seamen. Being thus ordered out of what I considered my home while an invalid, I was obliged to pay \$30 for my expenses seed out of what I considered my home while an valid, I was obliged to pay \$30 for my expenses hile there sick. The physician said he thought it ell for the Southern States to remain in the Union long as they had the Government in their hands; at, as they had now lost control of it, they would cake up the Union. He thought as the United tates had now no further use for the Hospital, they ould give that and other public works in the State to to Florida.

States had now no further use for the Hospital, survould give that and other public works in the State up to Florida.

The Indian Queen lay about half a mile from land, though some ten miles below the town. We had in our crew seven colored men—able scanner. A plot was formed to take these out of the ship, and self them into slavery; but the conspirators (among them a Judge of the Supreme Court) were overheard at their midnight meeting, and the captain was informed by two o'clock in the morning of the danger that threatened his crew. He rose immediately, hired the only steamboat in the place, and by daylight had the ship towed over the bar outside, some five miles from shore, and beyond the jurisdiction of Florida. I was on shore at the time, and heard, the next morning, about the tallest swearing among the conspirators that ever greeted my ears. The Judge seemed to be the most enraged of any at the escape of his prey. They then threatened to go outside and kidnap the crew; but a report gained credit that the vessel was armed, and the crew would give the kidnappers a bloody reception if they attempted it. Besides, the vessel was then on the high seas, which would make it piracy. I was questioned as to how many negroes we had aboard, and what kind of hands they were.

A few days after the Ordinance of Secession reseed, a resident of St. Makk's remarked that he

hands they were.

A few days after the Ordinance of Secession passed, a resident of St. Mark's remarked that he thought the North were right and the South wrong; whereupon they seized and stripped and whipped him, and started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the train, with directions of the second started him North on the second started him North tions to run him out of the country.
WALTER D. MADDOCKS,

First Officer of bark Indian Queen. New York, March 16, 1861.

William H. Turner, of Manchester, New Hamphire, by profession an engineer and machinist back William H. Turner, of Manchester, New Hamp-shire, by profession an engineer and machinist, had for four years been in the habit of spending his Win-ters on the plantation of Woodworth & Son, at Clintonville, South Carolina, about seventeen miles from Charleston. Before the Presidential election, in reply to a question of one of his fellow-workmen, he said that if he had the casting vote, he would give it for Mr. Lincoln. About two weeks after the elec-tion, he was visited at the plantation by two men, mobably virilance committee men, who asked him it

r Mr. Lincoln. About two weeks after the eleche was visited at the plantation by two men,
hably vigilance committee men, who asked him if
had said what is reported above. He replied,
he had. They then exhibited a warrant for his
st, and raformed him that he must go with them.
charge was of expressing Abolition sentiments.
fr. Turner accompanied the men to Charleston,
was taken to the jail, where he was received by
turnkay, and immediately locked up. As he
ed through the streets, the bystanders hissed,
ed, and assaided him with threats of langing,
and whipping, following after to the jail, and
e collecting in a large mob. These waited at
prison, clamoring for his life, and threatening to
the jailer if the prisoner was not given upr dusk, the horse patrol came about, and disset the mob.

Phyting the night Mr. Turner suffered from hun g. The right Mr. Turner suffered from huning most sultry and oppressive. In the morning; the
Sheriff, whose name, he thinks, was Snodgrass, called
at the jail, and the prisoner asked him if he would
be pleased to give him a drink of water. The
Sheriff replied, "Go to h—II, and get water if you
want it!" Some hours later, the turnkey was also
asked for a cup of cold water. His reply was,
"Send down East and get it!" In the afternoon he
was taken before the "Vigilant Committee Tribunal," over which he thinks Judge Jeffers presided.
He was asked his name, and whether he had said
what was charged against him. He replied that he
had said it. The Judge then tore up the original
warrant, saying that another Court must take cognizance of the case, and ordered the prisoner back
to jail, using the foulest language and declaring that
he ought to be hanged.

ag the foulest language and ucciaring use to be hanged.

rner was then taken back to his cell, a bare rtment, 27 inches wide, and about eight dark, except when the full blaze of the sin kylight, which reflected some feeble rays, d that night, and every day and night of comment, in this hole, without a shred of his imprisonment, in this hole, without a shred of bedding, or a piece of furniture of any sort, except-ing a pail. The next morning, thirty-six hours after he was first taken, a small but of hard black bread and a pint of impure water were put into the cell, and this was the allowance for each day during his

and this was the allowance for each day during his confinement.

He was kept in jail till Monday, the 11 ult. During the period of this imprisonment—more than fourteen weeks—he saw no one but the attendants at the jail; his employer did not come to him, or communicate with him in any way. On the morning of the 11 th of March, young Mr. Woodworth called on Mr. Turner, and said he would do the best he could to have him sent safely away, and that the wages due, \$248, would be paid to him before he weent. He then disappeared, and Mr. Turner saw him no more. The prisoner was shortly taken to the court-room, and asked by the Judge if he would leave the city in six hours if he should be released. He replied that he would leave if he could get away. He was then sent, in charge of the Sheriff, to the steamer, on which he worked his passage to this city. The mob howled after him on his way to the wharf, and endeavored to get him out of the officer's hands to lynch him, but were unsuccessful. As one of his minor experiences it may be said that, before his arrest, he had left his watch and chain with a watch-maker for repairs to the former. When he called for it, on his way to the vessel which was to take him home, the watchmaker refused to give cither up, telling the owner to 'go to h—11"—a favorite manhome, the watchmaker refused to give either up, telling the owner to "go to h—ll"—a favorite manner of discharging obligations with the Scuth Carolinians.—New York Tribune.

# WAR AT HAND!

as a farce and a nullity, and defy those whom it in

vested with authority.

It has, while in power, loudly vaunted its fidelity and devotedness to the Federal Constitution. Los ing power, it deliberately repudiates that charter and adopts one radically different in its stead. and devotedness to the Federal Constitution. Let ing power, it deliberately repudiates that chart and adopts one radically different in its stead.

"The Union, the Union forever!" has been t vociferous cry of its servitors. Having lost an eletion, they treat that same Union as a hated curpassing ordinances and raising armies for its overhood.

passing ordinances and raising armies for its overthrow.

"Let the laws be enforced!" it was thundered
whenever the consciences of freemen revolted at the
inhuman atrocities of slave-hunting in free States.
But the moment the enforcement of the laws has devolved on Republicans, alavery denounces it as "coercion," and insists that it is imagurating civil war!

And in fact to very many, North as well as South,
slavery is above the Union, above the laws, above
the Constitution. Rebellion, in their view, is opposition to slavery; while love of slavery and love of the
Union are synonymous.

They plead for Peace, meaning that there be no
further resistance to slavery. "National Unity," in
their vocabulary, means a universal agreement that
slavery is eminently right, and that it ought to be
diffused universally and maintained forever."

And what is to be the attitude of the Northern
opponents of the Republican party in the new era
now opening before us?

They have professed to sustain slavery so far as
the Constitution required, and no further. Slavery
now repediates the Constitution, breaks up the
Union, and makes war on the Federal Government.
If Northern Democracy allows its sympathies to follow slavery into treason, how shall it conceal, even
from itself, the evidence of its own recreancy?

There is not even a pretence that the Federal
Government has done or refused to do anything
whereby this rebellion is justified. It has been pa-

from itself, the evidence of its own recreancy?
There is not even a pretence that the Feder Government has done or refused to do anythic whereby this rebellion is justified. It has been justified, it has been justified. It has been justified. It has been justified in the properties of the properties ters upon treason of Arnold. God grant that it pass through them with undoubting reliance on the omnipotent of Justice, and emerge at length, however tried and tested, unwavering in its loyalty to Freedom and the Rights of Man — New York Tribune.

### FROM ANOTHER STAND-POINT.

The Liberator, in commenting upon Lincoln's Inaugural address, says,—

"To break up the

augural address, says,—

"To break up the
Union on a pretence or a suspicion of foul play,—perfidiously seize fortifications, arsenals, and millions of other property belonging to the United States,—obstruct the collection of revenue, or use it for treasonable purposes,—fire upon a national steam-ship, and endeavor to sink, it, white obeying legitimate orders,—strike down the American flag, and run up a State flag of defiance in its stead,—these are crimes of gigantic magnitude, which admit of no extenuation or atonoment; and he who, intelligently conversant with them, does not brand them as the blackest tresson, is himself a traitor at heart, and doubly to be detested if he pre-tends to have any concern for the preservation of the Union." The deeds characterized as above would appear

The deeds characterized as above would appear in : somewhat different light if viewed from another tand-point. Suppose that, instead of ignoring State sovereignty, we recognize it, and freely admit, what disunion abolitionists have always contended forthe right of a State to secode. This right being admitted, it is not for Massachusetts or Ohio to authoritatively indicate to South Carolina or Georgia as to how much provocation will justify them in seceding; they may leave the Umon "on a pretence or a suspicion of foul play," or for any other None of these things affect the ingolf of the second a right for which all disunion abolitionists have consistently contended, until the Southern States have presumed to exercise it, not for the destruction of slavery, but for its perpetuation.

The property which belonged to the United States, in the event of a dissolution of the United States, in the event of a dissolution of the United States, in the event of a dissolution of the United States wish to arrange with the old government for an equitable division of property, and for the assumption of their portion of the public debt. What proposition could be fairer than this?

Had the abolitionists succeeded—as they hoped to do—in inducing the North to withdraw from the Union, we can hardly imagine that the seceding Northern States would have permitted the South to retain and garrison with hostile forces the navy yards at Charlestown, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, and to possess the arsenal at Springfield and at other Northern points, but strongly suspect they would have taken possession of all Northern fortifications, manufactories of arms and deposits of public supplies that could otherwise be used against them to compel them to remain in the Union; and such act would not, by the usage of nations, be regarded as "perfidious," or "a crime of gigantic magnitude."

South Carolina, believing she had a right to secede, seceded; and, as a severeign State, it was a cheet.

agnitude."
South Carolina, believing she had a right to se South Carolina, believing she had a right to secede, seceded; and, as a sovereign State, it was a
duty she owed to herself to obtain possession of all
fortifications which she justly supposed would or
might be used to obstruct her in the exercise of
that right. Having assumed the position of a sovereign State, unconnected in Federal Union with
any others, pray, why should she not obstruct the
collection of revenue of her people by another government, collect it herself according to the rates of
her own tariff, and use it, not for treasonable purposes, but to defend herself against a government
that had assumed the right to make her a tributary
province?

that had assumed the right of mar-province?

That she should "fire upon a national steamship, and endeavor to sink it, while obeying legitimate orders," is neither surprising nor unjustifiable in the estimation of those who as fully admit the right of a Southern as of a Northern State to secede, and who remember that that steamship came to increase the facilities and the troops of another and an op-nosing government to bombard Charleston, and that

WAR AT HAND!

The last dispatch of our Spressionist friend at Montgomery leaves no room for hope of a peaceable adjustment of our country's intestine troubles. The Jeff. Davis Confederacy has resolved to wage offensive war on the Government of the United States, and will assault or open fire on Fort Pickens forthwith. Meantime, the limited daily supply of fresh provisions hitherto allowed by Gov. Pickens to be furnished to Fort Sumter has been stopped, and we may hear at any moment that this Fort, too, has been carried by assault, or is so pressed that it must speedily surrender. Within a few days at farthest, the cannon of the insurgents will be battering down the defences and alaughtering the defenders of the American Union.

Let us pause a moment and consider.

Slavery makes open war upon that Union which kas so long been its protection and security.

For thirty years, the opponents of slavery have borne the imputation—which not one in a hundred of them has deserved—of seeking their end through the dissolutions of the Union.

In all this time, not a squadron has charged, not a platoon has fired, on the National flag and forces, under the inspiration of Anti-Slavery. Its advocates have been beaten at elections, hunted out of halls which they had hired and paid for mobbed and maimed in the slave States, and generally proscribed and stignatized in the free, without being goaded into hostilities. Only in Kansas, when compelled to choose between resistance and annihilation, have they been moved to repel force by force.

The Slave Power, after enjoying undisturbed away for half a century, has at length lost an election. Hereupon, it proceeds to treat that election editorial columns.

The Tiberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY. The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be beld in

The Society will meet, to disastes spaces and, in the Locture Room of the Church of the Purians, at 8\frac{1}{2}, P. M. on Tuesday, and at 10 A. M. Wedeesday. The object of this Society is still,—as at its formation,—the immediate and total abolition of slavery wherever existing on the American soil, because of its inherent sinfluness, immorality, oppression, and barairty, and its utter repugnance to all the procepts of the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine Democracy; its measures are still the same,—paceful moral, rational, legal, constitutional, its instrumental lites are the same,—the pen, the preas, the leturing field, tracts and other publications, &c., &c., deseminating light and knowledge in regard to the tyrunica power claimed, possessed and exercised by slave holders, the actual condition of their miserable vicinus, and the guilty complicity of the people of the its spirit is still the same,—long-suffering, p hopeful, impartial, benevolent alike to the op-and the oppressed, zealously intent on "promoti general welfare and securing the blessings of ill universally, "knowing no East, no West, no North no South," but embracing the whole country in it ment, practice or tendency.

Whether the American Union, therefore

Let unusual efforts be made by the member friends of the Society to be present at the approx-anniversary, that there may be no lack of wise on and efficient cooperation with reference to the

mmation of its great purpose.

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

THE NEW YORK (CITY) ANTI-SLAVERY CETY will hold its anniversary in the Cooper Institute on WEDNESDAY evening, May 8th. Addresses by WENDELL PHILLIPS and TREODORE TILTON. Ad-mittance 10 cents, to defray expenses.

### THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

Last week, we published a letter from an ant writer, to our surprise, made our language pers

trine. Certainly, it is not a doctrine that has eve

as Southern as of a Northern State to secede, and who remember that that steamship came to increase the facilities and the troops of another and an opposing government to bombard Charleston, and that said steamer was not in the fort held by the United States, but in the waters of Charleston harbors where she came contrary to the wishes and against the express command of those in possession.

Nor is it remarkable that a Southern State, having exercised the right of seccesion, should "strike down the American flag, and run up a State flag of defiance in its stead." Had Massachusetts secede, the would probably have done the same thing; for it would be acting under false colors for any secceting State to retain a flag that was none of hers, and would be an act worthy of censure.

Reviewing the doctrine of secession which, as a disminon abolitionist, we have endeavored to illustrate and advocated or companies.

Reviewing the doctrine of secession which, as a disminon abolitionist, we have endeavored to illustrate and advocated recompanies.

With the measures of Southern secessionists, as we think we are with the wishes of Northern and slavery secessionists, we are not able, from our anti-slavery stand-point, to regard them as "crimed on the wishes of Northern and slavery secessionists, we are not able, from our anti-slavery stand-point, to regard them as "crimed on the wishes of Northern and slavery secessionists, we are not able, from our anti-slavery stand-point, to regard them as "crimed on the wishes of Northern and slavery secessionists, we are not able, from our anti-slavery stand-point, to regard them as "crimed on the south of the state as legitimate, rather than the despotism of a central government.

And in maintaining the right of Southern States to seeced, si well as Northern States, we no more endorse as defensible or reasonable or just, the please of the state as legitimate, rather than the despotism of a central government is injure because we recognize the sovereignity of the State as legitimate, rat

U

she has ne scrupies in resorting to the meanest, basest, most perfidious, most treasonable measures in carrying it out. In nothing does she evince a consciousness of rectitude. The passions of her populace are "set on fire of hell"; a bloody despotism reigns throughout her borders; she is full of the habitatious of cruelty; her pride is satanic, and her away baric. She has always been a nuisance and a curse, demoniacally possessed, and ever loudly protesting that she was "tormented before her time." Where is her defence to be found? By what theory of government, worthy of the name, is she to be justified? We know not. To talk of "State sovereignty," in such a connection, is to us an absurdity. No "sovereignty" has a right to play the villain or buccaneer; to subvert the simplest rule of morality; to make a single dishoused appropriation; to perpetrate a single ert the simplest rule of morality; to make a dishonest appropriation; to perpetrate a single unless, indeed, it is permissible to do evil on

a gigantic scale that good may come.

Again the Bugle asys—"As a sovereign State, it was a duty (1) she owed to herself to obtain possession of all fortifications which she justly supposed would or might be used to obstruct her in the exercise of that right." (1) So she herself declares; and she also inquires, in the language of the Bugle, "why should she not obstruct the collection of revenue of her people and more she man the sanguage of the Dayle, why since ahe not obstruct the collection of revenue of her people by another government, fire upon a national steam ship, and endeavor to sink it, strike down the Ameri

Then she would have been equally culpable, Tw wrong-doers never yet made the wrong right. rong-doers never yet made the wrong right.
As if anxious to exonerate South Carolina fro

cannibals; it has "cried peace, peace, when there is no peace." We cannot conceive, therefore, what has got into the head of our Western coadjutor to make general government as playing the despot over

With marked inconsistency, we think, the Bugle concludes its article as follows:—

"In maintain Northern States, we no more endorse cade as well as Northern States, we no more endorse as defensible, or reasonable, or just, the plea which they urge as the cause for secession, than we endorse the intemperance of a man who spends his wages in liquor, because we contend that he, as well as the sober man, is entitled to a day's wages for a day's work, and that, without reference to the reason that induces him to work, or the manner in which he spends his wages."

old government for an equitable division of property, and for the assumption of their portion of the public debt. What proposition could be fairer than this?" To this we reply, first, we have seen no satisfactory

think he has strangely confounded Northern disminion lism with Southern treason, by a false view of "State sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far more befitting the columns of the Charleston Mercury than his own, excepting the last paragraph.

We shall show the difference between Northern Dismin and Southern Secession in another number.

The Metalorolitan Police Bill, Rejected. In the Senate on Monday, the bill of Me Whiting for the organization of a Metropolitan Police in the city of Boston was discussed at length, and rejected by a vote of 7 to 21. Those who voted right—i.e., in the affirmative—were Mesers Battles, Boynton, Clark, Day, Walden, Watson, Whiting. In the House, on Tuesday, a similar decision was arrived at. But this is only putting Mayor Wightman and the City Authorities on their good behavior for another year. If they shall suppress mob rule, very well; if not, another session of the Legislature will apply the remedy.

The Senate, on Tuesday, by the casting view of "State and that the whole burden of a Fugitive Slave!"—that God wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of one race to another, and wordsine the subjection of ordinates are bujection of ordinates the subjection of the larger with the subjection of the larger with the subjection of the political effec

THE "SABLE CLOUD."

from the wife of a slaveholder, showing incidentally a genuine sympathy in some domestic affliction of some of her husband's slaves. It is just such a letter some of ner nusuana s saves.

as Mrs. Shelby, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," might have written, though it does not show so intelligent an appreciation as hers of the real welfare of the slave. It preciation as here of the real weither of the salve. It indicates feelings among some of the women of the South, the existence and the habitual manifestation of which have never been denied by abolitionists, and which have been repeatedly indicated by Mrs. Stowe in her anti-slavery tales, yet which do not in the slightest degree invalidate the representations made by that accurate delineator, and by the writers in these collumps of the year different disposition manifestations.

these columns, of the very different espection manifested by the great mejority of slaveholders.

The purpose, however, of Dr. Adams, requires that he should misrepresent the abolitionists, and depreciate one of them so honored and so useful as Mrs. Stowe, and this he does with characteristic indirectness and disingenuousness.

In the second chapter, he deline

to have understood as the impression received by an abolitionist from the sympathizing letter of the slave-holder's wife. Mr. A. Freeman North, the lay-figure cates no preference for slavery, and might himself from it). Then he conjectures long scrutinizes the post-mark and hand-writing letter. Then he elaborately calls up the me their kindred—which is the portion of their felicity touched upon in this letter. Then he thinks of Paul' letter to Philemon, calling it—"a very trying epistle to us of the North." Then he utterly collapses under

letters. Though much of the eulogy upon slavery in this means a non-committal work. It goes thoroughly and heartily, not only for the continuance, but for the

informs us that, though he disapproves the temper and language of the abolitionists, who differ from him in social position and manners, yet he must confess that

he sympathizes with them "in their principles, must continue to do so in spite of a thousand

abolitionists have consistently contended, until the South-em States have presumed to exercise it, not for the destruction of slavers. but you are reserved. It is application of the Golden Rule to the blacks does ern States have presumed to exercise it, not for the destruction of slavery, but you its representation of the Golden Rule to the blacks does and there be any "right" to do anything to perpetuate slavery! Whence does such a "right" originate? What "sovereignty" is competent to exercise it! And if the abolitionists use their right "for the destruction of slavery," does it follow that the slave-holders have an equal right to seek the perpetuity of "the sum of all villanies"? Is there no confusion of ideas here?

Of course, we attribute no intention of conniving at Southern villany on the part of our honored and long-tried coadjutor, whose Busile-notes have hitherto been so clear and spirit-attring, and whose standard has been so elevated and uncompromising; but we think he has strangely confounded Northern disunionism with Southern treason, by a false view of "State sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty," and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty, and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty, and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty, and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty, and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty, and thus been led to write an article far sovereignty.

THE LATEST NEWS FROM ST. DOMINGO.

HATTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATOR,
BOSTON, April 1st, 1861.

To the Editor of the Tribune;
Sin—I find in all the dispatches of the assets of the press, the following paragraph about Hayd ad &
Domingo:—

This news is capable of an explanation, at the truthful and less alarming than the comment of the New York Duily Times, and the letter of you have na correspondent.

As a vast majority of our citizen

As a vast majority of our citizens how noise about Hayti and the Dominican Republic, emping that both are inhabited by people of African deser-it may be necessary to state, that the island of 8t Do-mingo, or Hispaniola or Hayti, is held by twint-pendent nationalities; that of the eastern per being known as the Dominican Republic, or offerer 8t Do-cings or overs frequently the Search known as the Republic of Hayti. In the Dominin Republic, which has a population of 120,000, the public, who are chiefly mulattoes, talk Spanish, and we people speak French; they are the descretain a slaves, and of free colored people, who succeeded throwing off the French domination. Their rules President Geffraard, who represents in his blood the three original races,-Indian, black and white, and earnest aim is to establish a powerful indepen-tionality, to be exclusively composed of me

f African descent.

The Eastern part, or the Dominican Republic, vi onquered by Toussaint L'Ouverture, having ben previously ceded to France by Spain, under the train ower. Toussaint had not quite completed its gation, when Le Clerc's expedition arrived and in called him to the West. During the war between the Haytians and the French, which followed the & embarkment of these troops of Napoleon, (sha was sent to reënslave the blacks, and were ignominiously defeated in the attempt,) the Eastern part was spin put under the power of Spain, and was thus held all

In 1822, the Eastern part was united to Hayi, then governed by President Boyer. For twenty-two years the whole island acknowledged his authority. On his no "reconstruction" with either Spain or Haya as yet been effected. \* Since the independence of the Dominican Republic

wo parties have divided and alternately go whose representative men are Santana and Basa, a the words reunion and independence indicate the

Dominican Republic under the Spanish crown; a failing in these attempts, he coquetted for a sim purpose with France, and then for a confederate min with Venezuela. But some of the powers would a cept his proposals. France and Spain had been the once, and were satisfied with that experience, as once, and we're work of the bitten at all. His last desperate effort was to induce a white emigration from the United States; but, although seconded by ur Consula there, (whose longer continuance in el will be disgraceful to our Republican Administration he signally failed to interest either our capitalists aborers in the project.

Some years ago-what I say now is drawn from Haytian official sources—Santana borrowed a millio of dollars from Spain. Falling to repay it according to the terms of the loan, he offered to give a mortga-on the Custom Houses. Last summer, according small band of Spaniards—not more than 1—arrived at St. Domingo, and three offi them immediately entered on their duties as col Republic by Spain. There has been a small empt-tion from South America; but this tide, with its far and reflux, is as old as the independence of the Spaish colonies; for, whenever there is a revolute in Venezuela, or the adjoining countries, numbers the banished seek a home in the Dominican Republications.

and secondly, to enable him to repay the
This, I venture to say, is "the sum
whole" hubbub that we hear from Havas Associated Press and the Cuba corre Associated Press and the Cuba correspondents on a stonishing that they should surmine, it is given only as a supposition,) that France would sein line as they think that Spain has seized the Demins Republic. The notion that Haytians would see the recensived would be quite pathetic, if it was not contained to the control of the control

There are various reasons why France will need

She has recognized the independence of Hayd.

She has recognized the independence of Hayd.

She draws a large revenue from Hayd, as her perment for recognizing that independence.

She is bound by treaty to defend Hayd spinst a foreign attacks; and, lastly,

She could not attack Hayd without first beginst war against England.

ar against England.

the experience of Napoleon, called the Gran assisted proves that France could not compar ling, she were to try; and, secondly, that Napoleon, the Little, is too shrewd a statement to defy the moral sentiment of Christola and the physical power of England combined risk. I might add to these reasons two other and the physical power of England contined the even if he were successful in conquering bed, possession of Hayti would not begin to balars expenses of governing it. Algiers, near Madagascar, easy of conquest, are more invining for his ambition than Hayti, the cometery of the world's greatest army.

flower of his uncle's greatest army.

I have also official authority for stating that January, England and France offered to be the sea tors of a treaty of alliance and of defence here.
Hayti and the Dominican Republic, by which is set
rity of the Territory of both countries against all jost
powers is automatical.

Powers is guaranteed.

The proposition was accepted; Communication of the proposition was accepted;

ed to conclude the treaty; and, when it is signed, smed to conclude the treaty; and, when it is signed. France and England stand pledged to enforce it. But, even if France did not stand thus pledged, is it likely that England would permit her to seize Hydi, in violation of the laws of nations, and of her son treaty stipulations? Never? For Hayti, in the lands of sfirst class power, would command the Gulf; and the Mole St. Nicholas; by the expenditure of a few thousands of dollars, could easily be made a second dibralur. England would not permit her trade with Janaica to be thus jangerilled.

Again: Napoleon, although a traitor and a perjurer, is far-sighted ruler. He knows the American people, and does not care to rouse them.— He knows, too, that events are far stronger than articles, and that, although our President's hands may now be tied by the Constitution; and treason flourish in consequence thereof, yet circumstances may compel him to appeal to, the North, which, once unshackled, would sweep with the besom of destruction all the Cotton States.

with the besom of destruction all the Cotton State with the besom of destruction and the Cotton State into the Gulf, at a quicker rate than Christ drove the derils (\*ho seconded into swine) into the sea.

Respectfully, JAMES REDPATH.

SOUTHERN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT.

It is curious to notice the many attempts made by prominent mea in the South to argue out the divinity which, it is alleged, gives inspiration to slavery. Fancies as numerous as winged insects in mid-sure seem to play about the Southern brain. The deknce of slavery at the South is no less an institution than slavery itself, and Southern wit has taxed its ut sost energies to shield the conscience against the

most energies to shield the conscience against the ensure of frowning humanity. Once slavery was but a bud which the best honestly believed would drop from the parent stock creft could mature. Contrary to expectation, it bloomed and ripened into bitter fruit. Once it was only to be toleety. Once a hateful hag, hell-born; now a scrap noted in light. Once but the harsh clash of capits and labor; now the strong arm of friend and ben factor, stretching over the unfortunate; majesti grength weeping over ill-proportioned weakness Christian and heathen, superior and inferior, as or dained of God, European and African, master and slave, in beautiful juxtaposition!

In the attempt to convince themselves and the votid that this delightful conclusion comes legiti mately of reason, all disturbing forces in the pro removed. Democracy must be carefully cast out, that the relation so natural between white ard black shall be more completely harmonized. Mr. Spratt, in his plea for the legalization of the slave trade of South Carolina, says one white master answers to one African slave, and cancels the democratic element which conflicts so mercilessly with the bes farm of society. One million of white, and half this number of black men, will not do. The first approach is perfection is equality in number. The next step is so increase the proportion of blacks at pleasure, till at length the great and glorious Southern Confederacy, slifmately to be established somewhere under a propical sun, may amount to forty millions. This manber of African slaves, with only a million of masters, would be a model community, once freed from a disorganizing democracy. The proposition is simply, that there shall be as many or more slaves than mas-

Having settled upon this for a social system-a re sult of the efforts of nature—the next step is to erect the political system. Based as the State is on this nice adjustment, so fruitful of good economy and so productive of wealth, circumstances are, of course, favorable to the birth and growth of a model class of men. Wealth and leisure insure the high culture of the best-born, and hence comes a legitimate aristoracy, out of which are to flow elegance, fashion, refinement, and the governing power. The less fortunate of birth and rank, though none the less master and protectors of the water than the control of the control o ters and protectors of the unfortunate slaves within their own precincts, are naturally doomed to be governed; and thus, in this glorious confederacy, we get a reproduction of the patrician, plebeian and slave.

It is to be observed that no thought of freedom to the slave is ever to be indulged for a moment. Master and slave-this is Heaven-ordained. This we are to take for granted, as the basis on which the whole structure is to rest. Not so much as a hint of the

structure is to rest. Not so much as a hint of the lack of a support of capital, or the possibility that labor can exist in any other form than that of slave. One is tempted to demand proof of the premises, before proceeding to read the argument.

Of course, it does not lie within the province of this school of political economists and philosophers to consider the moral aspect of this state of things; the simple assumption is, that Africans are inevitably and essentially slaves, and the creat mass of white men. tially slaves, and the great mass of white men, escentially staves, and the great mass of white men, though masters of slaves, must be ruled by a govern-ing class, who enjoy the prerogative of holding and dispensing rights at will. It is not even hinted that there is any possibility that the status of the slave can ever be changed. His office, like a foundation-wall, consists in perpetually imbedding himself, and all his natural rights, to form a support to the political struc-ture which is easer to rest on it. Slavery is the hand: the mass of white men the directing head. The governing class, high up and aloof, uses the latter as

means to its own princely support.

Golden visions like this float over the imaginations of prominent secessionists, and shape their action.

Not, as they say, to be practically carried out till they not only dissolve their connection with the North by the present revolution, but by the expulsion of de-mocracy from among themselves by still another revo--a necessary labor to be performed before this

The difficulty with this school of politicians is, that The difficulty with this school of politicians is, that they start on assumption and fallacy. They have been discussed in the present of logic and philosophy; but, the truth is, they ree only special pleaders. They have trained their intellects as long in the service of Southern statute law, and the peculiar property which it protects, and self-will has become so strong by possession of irresponsible power—to domineer is so fixed a habit—it is impossible that the possessors should be able to form any just view of either a social or political system that shall not owe its excellence to the degradation of the mass of the people. Born and brought up under a system which tolerates an unbounded exercise of more selfish power over the weak, must surely unfit nd for a rational investigation of the principles of social and political science. By aid of such perverted mental vision, facts as they exist cannot, in
the first place, be properly perceived, much less can
any theories arising from such a source be worthy the
attention of thinkers. Such a cast of habit and
thought must necessarily culminate in a tyrannical nature, and any government conceived in such a spirit
must necessarily be despotie. They give us fancies
for facts. So well trained are they to the art of convincing an opponent, that, having secured your assent
to the first position, they will reason you with lightning speed to every point of the compass, and make
you stick fast is the mire. These are the men who,
by every disgraceful means, plot the overthrow of the
United States Government, because they can no lonSer manage it; and demand its complete humiliation,
that they and their insane theories may rise above its
runs. of social and political science. By aid of such pe that they and their insane theories may rise above its ruins. How far they will succeed remains to be seen.

With such divergent, views between the two sections of the country, how can any rational man indelege the hope that there can, by any possibility, be anything like a union among us? Between the Free and Slare States, there are two essentially opposite and conflicting ideas, and all the powers in carth and hell cannot reconcile them. One or the other must family triumph. Which shall it he?

13 We conclude, this week, the very able disser-tation of Karl Heinzen, entitled 'The People and the State or, the Unitarian State and the Federative State; or, the Unitarian State and the Federa State; Read it carefully. [See our last page.]

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Taking it for granted that the District of Col Taking it for granted that the District of Columbia is forever abandoned as the capital of the natiou, allowing that several of the States have seceded from the Union, two questions will arise in the public mind.

First—Shall the remaining States be loyal to the Constitution, and shall they enter into negotiations with the seceded States, and recognize under certain stipulations their withdrawal from the Union? Or, Second—Shall the old confederation make war upon and force the new republic, monarchy, or whatever it may be, to submit to its terms, and acknowledge the superiority of its national power?

may be, to submit to its terms, and acknowledge the superiority of its national power?

To answer these questions concisely, it must be borne in mind that there is no natural basis of union between the two sections. One is interested in the maintenance of free labor, and the other must, for a season at least, use forced or slave labor. These must war with one another—both cannot exist together. One belongs to the South, the other to the North. The interests of the employers are, and forever must be, diverse; and as one lives, thrives, and comes into power, the other is weakened, languistics, and dies. It is clear to every intelligent political economist what the fate of the slave institution is. Heaven cannot smile upon them. "God has no attribute which can take sides with the slaveboder."

No doubt the defenders of the slave system expect

No doubt the defenders of the slave system expect to perpetuate it by secession; but all efforts in that direction must fail to meet the end aimed at. The dissolution of the American Union is the destruction dissolution of the American Union is the destruction of the slave system. This being so, every lover of his kind must rejoice that an event so desirable is at the door. Let it come—the sooner the better. It should be urged on, rather than retarded, by all who have the welfare of the poor and oppressed at heart. True union is desirable. Peace should be sought; but these great blessings must not be placed above external insite. Justice, must be done, let the cost be what it may, "Let the Union slide," then, without anxiety, without a tear. It is an event that must come. Better now than at a later day. The fathers should not leave this work to their children. They will have enough to do in their time, for the question of peaceable secession is to start other political, moral and religious questions. Disunion has come in the best time, and in Heaven's appointed way. The North does not leave the South, but the latter with-draws from the former. But the South does not choose to go out of the Union poor. She seizes upon the national forts, arsenals, navy yards, ships of war; and the Southern mint does not escape her notice.
What shall be done? Shall the North fight for these, and drench American soil with blood? By no means Let the South have what she has seized, and let he by all the nations of the earth. From this hour, let it bear all the ignominy which shall be heaped upon her be seen that she is not only guilty of piracy, but that she has seized upon property held in common by the family of States; and, in time, she will see herself as others see her. If the nations of the earth make wa upon her in her weak, distracted state, she cannot rehaste to return the slave to his master, even though a case were sustained on the plea that " labor or service

Federal Government? Has it an existence? are its courts? Where its navigable rivers? Where its custom houses? Where its capital? Where it post office? And of what use can the patent laws hereafter be? The whole thing has virtually faller to pieces. There is no Constitution, and there is no geographical union of the nation: it is but a rope of sand. National chaos has come. Lincoln cannot be regarded as the President of the United States. Congress cannot act, and the Capital must be forever for saken. But what if these things are so? Are then to construct a new and a better government than any that now exists on this earth? Let the trial be made The Iresident elect is without power, without a dollar to sustain his government. The American treasury is at this moment bankrupt. The Union, so called, cannot pay its honest debts. Sherman may seek to replenish it, but who cares to advance mo now! Seward, Hale, Crittenden, Adams and Sum-ner would be paupers to-day, had they not private resources on which to draw. There is nothing, then, to expect from the old Union. The work to be done is to construct a new and a NORTHERN REPUBLIC; and that Republic must omit, in all its basis papers, both the words male and white, else it will be a weak, rickety thing, and will "fall asunder like flax at th touch of fire." Neither women nor negroes will much longer submit to laws that they do not frame; neither will they consent to pay taxes while they are shut off from the ballot-box.

Men of all colors being admitted to an o right, it being agreed that woman shall take her place in the councils of the nation, there may be procedure to issue a declaration of sentiments. That work could be better done by WM. LLOYD GARRISON than by any other American writer. When a Declaration is agreed on, it will not be difficult to frame a Constituagreed on, it was not be discussed to frame a Constitu-tion. Charles Summer, Wm. H. Seward, assisted by Bates of Missouri, could do that work in less than a month from the time it was committed to their hands. As for the post office, the Government need take no trouble about that. Adams, with his vast express machinery, would take due care of that. He now runs his express in less than four days from New Orleans to New York, while the United States mail covers seven days. There is no good reason why the American people should not send all their packages and letters to suit themselves, without let or hindrance from the Government. As for the patent office, it has be-

THE WESTERN FIELD. Bourson, (Ind.) March 27, 1861.

To THE EDITOR:
Marshall and Kosciusko counties, where I have spent the last month, were, thirty years ago, an un-broken wilderness, inhabited by a remnant of the tribe of Miamis, who have disappeared before the white man's civilization, with the exception of one neigh-borhood, seven or eight miles in extent, now under the culture of the Baptist Home Missionary Society.

These Indians are sober, honest and kind. They are thrifty, but I am told have no interest in American

offices.

The soil of this part of the State of Indiana is superior to any I have seen, supporting, in great abun-dance, large and healthy timber, mostly oak, walnut

lesson of the dominance of a few ignorant, jobbing politicians, who, to carry on "Internal improvements"—internal to the pockets of the few, but improveriabing to the purses of the many—involved the State in heavy liabilities, from which, though she has sold part of those improvements, as she had before disposed of most of her credit, she is not yet able to extricate herself, and will remain tethered to the ground, until the energies of the people develop from their own hidden resources a system of politics in which common honesty is not wholly ignored.

In these counties they have common schools six or eight months in the year, and the loss of the high school is in part made up by literary and lyceum associations, in which manhood as well as mind receives culture. Among the young men of these associations

within five mites of waraw, ine capital of the county where I last week held a meeting, before inviting me to her hospitality, the hostess inquired, aside, whether or not I was a woman. "They say," and she, "no rooman ever talked as she talks, and I never knew one talk at all." She was terribly re-

tution, to authorize the abolition of slavery, at Etas Green, a Jack-at-spinch Justice refused to vote in its favor, because, he said, he had "taken his stand on the Chicago platform, the platform of the Fathers, and the platform of non-intervention"! I was told eternal justice. Justice must be done, let the cost be what it may. "Let the Union slide," then, without practised elecution, previous to his election, in the old Demosthenean style. Standing upon the bank of a deserted mill-pond, he challenged the ancestral knights of Frogdom in this wise: "Fellow-Citizens, Frogs of My informant says it was a dreadful encounter, but

> Methodist minister asked an interest in the prayers of his church for Mr. Lincoln. The pro-slavery Demo-crats took it in high dudgeon, and seriously proposed to withdraw. The church was refused for an antislavery meeting, on the ground that they "have al-

> quested to publish J. R. Giddings's article on "The Fugitive at Cleveland;" and though he is prodigious-ly and slavery, no notice of this, or of the anti-slavery meeting, has yet appeared. His column of "Local News" shows, however, that he has an acute eye to small things.

At a meeting in the Methodist Church at Bou bon, the circuit minister uttered his solemn protest against political meetings on the Lord's day, and in the house of God, and declared himself shocked and the house of God, and declared himself shocked and amazed at the mixing up of the names of Jesus and Seward in the pulpit. A vote to amend the Constitution so as to authorize Congress to abolish slavery passed unanimously over the head of this pious Democrat, supported by his brothers in the ministry, several of whom were present, and his church generally, including class leaders and new converts. The timeant system is, to this minister, his only forlorn hope

The local preacher of Franklin refused the use of the Methodist church, last evening, as, he said, seve ral of the members "believe slavery is right"; and the minister declared he would take up arms sooner than abolish slavery, and allow the "niggers" to come to Indiana. The large school-house was opened, and many who could not come in, heard through the oper

ing to do with audiences here. The Government and the Church are in a siege against humanity, and the people, who know it, are invulnerable. The flying visit of that able and faithful advocate of

al emancipation, Marius R. Robinson, has left an indelible impression upon this community. The doctrine of Disunion, which he taught as a men that scarcely a man can be found to deny the right of the South to secede, while I hear many declare that they would shoulder a musket to pro-

onth to give you a just idea of an average aspect of been held in these two counties, the people have given almost unanimous and enthusiastic votes in favor of ritories—and have largely signed the petition to amend the Constitution accordingly.

Agents are here, receiving generous contributi Agents are here, receiving generous contributions for suffering Kansas. There is a great mania here for building churches, and funds are being raised for a College in Marshall county. The people in this new country ears their money, and have but little of it. In view of all these difficulties, my collections are small. A few have been induced to take anti-slavery papers, and I am sure a month here has not been mis-applied, and so thinks Elisha Erwin, the standard-bearer here.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING.

the Government. As for the patent office, it has become a most oppressive monopoly, and should be abolished; and the shrewd inventor will manage his own affairs without protection from the nation. The custom-house will not be wanted—trade will be free—taxation will be direct—and the harbors requiring light-houses or light-boats will be supplied by the States which need them. In short, much of the machinery that was needful to the old confederation will not be called for by the new. In a future number, I shall take opportunity to speak of the structure of a shall take opportunity to speak of the structure of a Son. 8. Temptation. 9. Retribution. 10. The King-dom of Heaven. 11. Immortality. 12. Miracles. They are all highly instructive, and exhibit that coplousness and felicity of illustration, that closeness of reasoning, and that power of expression, which characterized nearly all that came from the pen of Mr. Mann, whether occupying the arena of political life, the office of Secretary of the Board of Education, or his last position as the President of Antioch College. This publication is a solid service rendered to the cause of religion and morality.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE HOUR: A Discourse delivered at the Paine Celebration in Cincinnati, January 29, 1861. By Orson S. Murray.

This Discourse, with an Appendix, occupies 68 occurs opages. It relates mainly to the tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery now going on in the land, and deals with men and institutions in a bold the land, and deals with men and institutions in a bold and scathing manner. Particular attention is paid to William H. Seward and his whiffling policy since the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the lash applied with merited severity. For a long time we have read noth-ing more racy or pungent. We shall find room for some extracts hereafter. In the earliest and most try-ing period of the Anti-Slavery cause, Mr. Murray-first as a Baptist minister, next as ne dilice of a Ben-first as a Baptist minister, next as ne dilice of a Benand agree and healthy timber, mostly oak, walnut and poplar. It is not uncommon to see poplars sixty feet high, without limbs. The railroad (Chicago, Fort Wayne and Pittsburg) gives these new settlers an advantage over their neighbors, as they can sell, instead of burning, all their timber. The caks are carried at full length, for ship timber, and the walnut goes east, for furniture. I am told that Warsaw, the county seat of Kosciusko, ships on the road more lumber than any other town between Chicago and Pittsburg.

The farmers already raise cattle and grain in abundance, have tolerable fencing and passable roads, but few good houses and orchards.

The school system, if indeed there is such a system here, is wretchedly incomplete; owing in part to the bankrupt condition of the State tressury, and, in other respects, to the inappreciation of education among the people. The State of Indiana has recorded a striking the sale and suppose the sale and grain in abunct of the state of Indiana has recorded a striking the subject, the abolition of all "gods' having occupied his subject, the abolition of clastict slavery. He is always exhibitor of clastict slavery.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Majority and Minority Reports on Amending the Federal Constitution.

A RESOLVE NOR A RATIONAL CONVENTION.

The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom we ferred the resolves of the General Assembly of tana, proposing a National Convention, reported dioxing—

tollowing resorve:—
Resolved, That while we regard the Constitution of
the United States, if properly interpreted and duly
enforced, as amply sufficient to secure the just rights
of the people of all the States of the Union, still, as
dissatisfiction and misunderstanding have arisen, re-

"No amendment shall be made to the Constitution rhich will authorize or give to Congress the power to bolish or interfere within any State with the domestic attitutions thereof, including that of persons held to abor or service, by the laws of said State."

which will admarks or give to Congress are power to aboilist or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service, by the laws of said State."

The principles upon which the General Government was established are well understood. It was insended for the general purposes of protection to the several States within its jurisdiction, leaving to the individual States all powers of sovereignty and rights of legislation not necessary to the objects for which that Government was instituted. Included in the rights thus reserved, to the States, is the absolute control over all their domestic institutions. This is evident from the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It is universally admitted that the several States have exclusive jurisdiction over the system of involuntary servitude within their respective limits. Under the Constitution of the United States, the General Government has sio authority over, or responsibility for, the existence of slavery in the United States, and no State has the right, in any manner, to interfere with the system in any other State. The States upon this subject are as much independent of each other as they would have been had the people not delegated any power of sovereignty to the General Government. Massecthasetts has no more authority over slavery in South Carolina than she his over any domestic institution of any nation in Europe, and consequently has no responsibility for its continued existence. The Committee believe that the people of Massachusetts, and of the other free States, concur in these opinions. But it is evident that these opinions are misunderstood by many people in the slave States, and it was undoubtedly for the purpose of senoving all doubts and cause of dissatisfaction upon this subject that this amendment to the Constitution has been proposed by Congress, and submitted to the Legislature elected with a knowledge of the proplet of the same; and as this amendment has been proposed since the election

Senate: { WM. D. NORTHEND, GEO. T. DAVIS, J. F. PHILLIPS, P. H. BURNHAM, }

MINORITY REPORT.

During the last few months, the aims and intentions of the Slave Power have been more fully developed than at any former period. It is now clear to every unprejudiced mind that this power either intends to possess the Government of these United States or to annihilate it. The Free States have conceded to the claims of slavery time after time for the last forty years, and yielded point after point under the plausible term "compromise." Every new concession has paved the way for a new demand. Every new demand has been, at first, boldly resisted as a thing too unjust to be listened to; then it has been feebly argued for on the score of policy, and finally, submitted to as a necessity, for the sake of peace. The Missouri Compromise in 1820 was forced upon the reluctant North by threats and bravado. The annexation of Texas, and the consequent Mexican war, were also forced upon us by the Slave Power. Then followed the finality measures of 1850, the legalizing of slavery in Utah and New Mexico, and that gentle infliction upon a Christian community, the Fugitive Slave Act,—a compromise on the part of freedom, where power was the thing given, and degradation the equivalent received. Then followed the era of assumptions: the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, und the claiming of the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case as a decision. None of these measures has the Slave Power attempted to justify as compromises. They are all high-handed assumptions, forced by a factious minority upon a timid and yielding majority.

Some years ago, Massachusetts asked the Slave states to grant her a hearing in their Courts, in restruction, that slavery might utterly fade out, in every
State of the Union, and still every provision of the
skiffully drawn instrument be needed for the government of free and confederate States. The future historian will search the letter of the Constitution, in
vain, to find a line that necessarily implies that man
can, under its provisions, lawfully hold property in
man. The Constitution of the United States was the

—St. Louis Republican, April 2d.

—St. Louis Republican, April 2d.

ions of the Court, only when such decisions were supposed to favor their own peculiar State policy and interest.

Tonder this Constitution, the country has prospeced in a degree heretofore unparalleled in the history of the race. Our Democratic friends, whilst in power, professed to regard the Constitution of the United States as the most perfect instrument of government that ever had been or ever would be framed and put into operation by the wisdom and ingenuity of man. Their greatest fear seemed to be that the Republicans, on the other hand, yied with the Democrats, in asserting their veneration for the Constitution, and their sacryl regard for its provisions. The sectional party, organized and controlled by the Slave Power, was defeated, last November, by the popular vote which States. Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Lincoln was known to be a believer in the great trust of the Declaration of Independence. He was also known to be a disbeliever in the great trust of the Declaration of Independence. He was also known to be a disbeliever in the practical maxim of the Slave Power, to wit:—that slavery is the corner stone of our Republican institutions, and that the chief duty of the General Government is to extend the domain of slavery. Suddenly, a change is wrought in the views of almost an entire political party. The Constitution must be remodelled, new quarantees must be given to the slave interests, or the further was also known to be a proclaimed to be so sound, so fit and proper to be administered by the Slave Power, is now regarded as an instrument dangerous and unfit to be administered by a Republican President. The Constitution must be remodelled, new quarantees must be given to the slave interests, or the further was also known to be a distolet and the first and mother, and their two-childrens and the first and mother, and their two-childrens must be given to the slave interests, or the further was also known to be a distolet th

and six of these seven had preclaimed themselves or ganized under a new confederacy, and now stands with arms in hand, defant to the Government and the Constitution of the United States. Under these cir-Government es. Under these cir-contitutional majority

comstances, Congress, by a consitutional majority, asks the States to pass a vote upon the following proposed amendment to the Constitution.

The understand field that there are serious objections to the adoption of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, a faw of which they beg leave briefly to state: First It Introduces a more feature into the Constitution itself. Our fathers believed the human race to be progressive, and hence it et every part of the Constitution open its amendment, The proposed amendment is a more father than a constitution unalierable in one of its provisions, and the constitution unalierable in one of the provisions of the constitution unalierable in one of the provisions of the constitution unalierable in one of the provisions of the constitution unalierable in one of the provisions of the constitution of the constitutions and the constitution of the constitutions and the constitution of rebellion to the Constitution further than the constitution of rebellion to the Constitution the constitution and the constitution of rebellion to the Constitution to the constitution of the constitution of rebellion to the Constitution to the constitution of rebellion of the constitution of the constitution of rebellion of the constitution of the constitution of the constitution, as one of its ribers, and mended to be faithful to all its provisions. Her self-espect, therefore, forbids her to concede amendments to that Constitution under the threats of her sister States. Fifth, If this amendment gives new guarantees to slavery, as many suppose, then the State policy of Massachusetts, as the constitution of the constitution of

N. H. WHITING, Senate.
O. W. ALBRE,
J. M. ROBBINS,
House.

SECESSION IN NEW MEXICO—GOVERNOR RENCHER HEADS IT—FORT MARCY IN POSSESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.—LOS VOGAS, New Mexico, March 12, 1801. The stage arrived here this morning from Santa Fe, en route for the States, and as it was about leaving REVOLUTIONISTS.—Los Vogos, New Mexico, March 12, 1861. The stage arrived here this morning from Sante Fe, en route for the States, and as it was about leaving here on its way in, an express arrived from Colonel Fauntleroy, commandant at Fort Union, ordering this officer to prepare for defence. On yesterday morning, about 11 o'clock, the people of the capital, San's Fe, Americans and Mexicans on masse, seeming to have sprung up like "Cadmus' men," well armed and in great numbers, at once seized and now hold Fort Marcy. Col. F. declined to surrender the Fort, as was expected, and while in the act of remonstrating with the populace, the citizen soldiery rushed upon the works, and in ten minutes they were above

Governor Rencher was the prime mover in these proceedings, and he now has charge of all the military equipments and public property. Everybody is aurprised at this well concected and efficient cosp of arms. In brief, New Mexico now has declared for and practically affiliated with Texas and the South, and the United States is suddenly ignored and our allegiance changed.

man. The Constitution of the United States was the read for mutual concessions on the part of the different States confederated under it. The people of this Uniton have been taught by the leading statesmen of all parties, to regard the Constitution as ascred. The Democratic party, especially, have claimed it as the very palladium of our liberties. The Supreme Court of the United States has been regarded as the authoritative expounder of controverted constitutions is provincias, and its decisions have ever been acquiesced in with deferential respect, by Massachusetts, whether these decisions coincided with her State policy and interest, or otherwise; whilst on the contrary, the Slave States have been willing to submit to the decisions of the Court, only when such decisions were supposed to favor their own peculiar State policy and interest.

Under this Constitution, the country has prospered in a degree heretofore unparalleled in the history of the race. Our Democratic friends, whilst in power, processed in reconstitution, the constitution of the United

EF A. T. FOSS, Agent of the Macclety, will speak at
Weare, N. H.,
North Weare,
Besox, Mam.,
Manchester, Mass.,
Manchester, M. H.,
Sund. New Bedford, Sunday, April 14. New Bedford,

New Bedford,

FF HENRY C. WRIGHT will speak at

Mariborough, Sunday, April 14, at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M.

Sunday, April 14,

" 21,

" 28, EF SOUTH DANVERS.—An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held at South Danvers, Town Hall, on Sunday next, April 14, at 2 and 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

PARKER PILISSERY, WM. LEOYD GARAMON, Jr., and others, will give addresses. Lot there be such an attendance as the momentousness of these imperilled times EF WM. WELLS BROWN will speak as follows

" Raypham,

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April 12—3t

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References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarball, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D.,

hours from 2 to 4, P.

DIED-In Hancock, (N. H.,) March 22, Capt. DAVID BOUTHLER, of paralysis, aged 67 years. Obituary notice,

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For particulars, send for Circular to the address of WM. S. HAYWOOD, ABBIE B. HAYWOOD, Principale. Hopedale, Milford, Mass., March 30, 1861.

The Herald of Progress,

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, EDITOR. ASSISTED BY AN ASSOCIATION OF ABLE WRITERS AND

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fiven more magnificent than our old world,
Of mines of untold wealth, of fortile soils,
Of mighty forests, and of prairies wide,
Where countless herds untained may freely range;
Land of rith Truits and rare, of headscous forests,
Around whose cups gay glittering insects dart;
Whose groves are rocal with the song of birds;
Land whose extent is measured not by miles,
But leagues; and whose vast boundaries inclose
Both trople heat and winter's ice-bound realin, But leagues; and whose vast boundaries inclose
Both trople heat and winter's ice-bound realm,
And the Atlantic and Pacific shores;
Land vaster than the mightiest States of oldOh, wouldet thou wisdom from their ruins learn!
What caused their overthrow, may cause thine own
Oppressors of the helpless, their hard bonds
Of slavery orushed out souls created free.

Yet those great States of old, whose wreeks yet.
Remants of gorgeons splendor, never heard
Those holy, blessed truths, that Law of Love
The Shrist whom ye call. "Master" died to teach:
The gods they worshipped they but imitated;
Gods cruel, vengeful, false, licentious.

Oh, glorious land !- and does thy teer Oh, glorious land i—and does thy teeming Produces all Nature's riches, while thy sons, Forgetful and ungrateful to the Giver of all this laviah wealth—forgetful, ico, Of the responsibility is brings, Sirive, vainly, anxiously, to reconcile The two religious which the Lord declared Impossible. "Ye cannot serve," he cried, "With true allegiance, both God and Mama

"With tree allogiance, both God and samm.

Are ye so blind, America's proud cons,
As not to see slavery and mob-misrule

Are bringing on you Europe's cold disdain?

Will not that tyranny ye now permit

End in wild anarchy, till ye become

The jest of despote, who will meering say,

"Behold the end of all insane attempts

At governing without a crowned king!

Behold the fate of vaunted Liberty!

It ends in anarchy and mob-misrule!"

Why should the strong North cower to Oh, Northern freemen, do ye truly love
Your home, your children? Tremble not for them;
Leave them beneath the care of Freedom's God! Leave them beneath the care of Freedom's Oct.

Tains not your honest palms with Southern gold:

Better is honest poverty than wealth Wrung by oppression from slaves' unpaid toll.
Such wealth still brings a curse to sap the walls,
And crumble into dust proud palaces.

Tenterden, Eng.

JANE ASHRY.

For the Liberator. YANKEE LAND. A PARODY.

AlB—"Dizie's Land."

The Yankees' love for man is rotten; The Yankee land is ruled by Cotton; The Yankee land is ruled by Cotton;
Look around! look around in Yankee lan
In Yankee land which I was born in,
The "higher law" they treat with scorning.
Look around! look around! look around in Yankee lan

CHORUS. Yet I'm gind that I'm a Yankee-hoo In Yankes land I'll take my stand, To live on honest Yankee.

Away! away! such mock humanity!

Hooray! hooray! Fill be an honest Yankee!

Each day, as I around am walking, I see vain men and women stalking, Strutting round, &c. They'll turn their nose up at a nigger, They feel that they 're a good deal higger, Strutting round, &c.

Chones-Yet I'm glad, &c.

Tet when their Southern lord and master
Just enops his whip, they'll trayel faster,
Strutting round, 49.
As much his slaves,—in different station,—
As those at home on his plantation, Strutting round, &c.

CHORUS-Yet I'm glad, &c.

Though they may dress stittle better, They just as truly wear the fetter, Sneaking round, &c. Snearing round, so.
They'll never be true men and women
Till they leave off this wholesale sinning:
Looking round, to give the suffering slave their hand-CHORUS-Yet I'm glad, &c.
Boston, April 2, 1861.

For the Liberator WHAT I HAVE SEEN.

I have seen Vice a god stand forth; Before his alfar thousands bow'd; Seen modest Virtue crush'd to earth,

Down-trampled by the vulgar crowd!

While Falsehood base spoke out with pride, Men listened to his cunning speech; From honest Truth they tarn'd aside, Nor heard they what she had to teach.

I've seen the Right borne down by Wrong ; Seen men enslaved by tyrant Might ; Seen men enslaved by tyrant Might Not one of all the cringing throng Hath dared to vindicate the right.

Seen man beneath th' oppressor's rod,
(Stripp'd, bruised and beaten, there he bleeds!)
And preschers of thy word, oh God!
Quote taxis to sanction hellish deeds!

While drones in gorgeous palaces
Were safely sheltered from the storm,
Fre seen the little busy bees
Without a roof to shield their form. Pre, seen, while palaced Knavery fed

Good honest Worth go beg for bread, I've seen, ay, while the rich rogue had His splendid robes for grand display, The faithful toiler meanly clad ;

.

he faithful toiler meansy comp.

Pre seen—I see it every day,

Righand Hingscliffs.

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

Ye friends of freedom, falter not Hes victory you have bravely won; Till liberty, so dearly bought, Extends to all beneath the sun. Then rally all from every State,

And buckle on your armor well; Who freedom love and slavery hate, Let love of truth your bosoms swell.

A faltering for will ever yield
While shining bribes allure their
Rise, friends of freedom! take the f
And take the for upon surprise.

A universal cases is ours,
Our motives reach to all mankind,
Conland in love with all your powers,
Redeem the lame, the halt, the blind.

Our Southern lords place all at stake;
Make way for liberty! they cry;
The pillars now begin to sinke,
Slavery erq long is doomed to die. harons and Moses' of the tribes,
While marching for fair Freedom's lands,
Stand firm, and never mind the bribes,
While friends of truth hold up your hands.

And when we gain fair Freedom's soil, We'll rest secure from all dur foes, From strife and care and anxious toil, Preedom enjoy, with sweet repose.

The Tiberator.

uphlet "The People," by Karl Heinzen, 1853. THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE;

The Unitarian State and the Federative State

[TRANSLATED PROM THE GREMAN.]

If we realize the question correctly, it will be seen that federation is a round about very, by which States, that can no longer singly reach their destination or secure their interests, may gradually get into the harbor of the unitarian State; or that it is a safe harbor, in which said States may dwell together, until the time has arrived for them to form another, more natural Union. But as the States that have hitherto existed under that form have enjoyed a greater freedom than others, (which resulted from their very nature, only republics being able to form a confederacy) people have come to consider federation as the destination of all States, and the condition of liberty. This critical cirror has been especially supported by North America, whose peculiar relation caused it to be overlooked, that the true cause of its miraculous development does not lie in the federal system, but in the concessions made by the same to the system of centralization. We know from history how much trouble was incurred, and what compromises had to be made, to bring the several colonies up to those concessions, which, having once been [Concluded.] compromises had to be made, to bring the several col-onies up to those concessions, which, having once been made, must either be enlarged, or again retracted. Another circumstance that has hitherto blinded us, in regard to the federative system, has been the form and bad effects of centralization in other States, es-pecially in France. On the one hand, North Ameri-ca is pointed to, and it is said—Such are the glorious fruits of confederation; on the other, we are referred in France for the nurses of about the said.

ca is pointed to, and it is said—Such are the glorious fruits of confederation; on the other, we are referred to France for the purpose of showing what lamentable fruits centralization will bring forth. Yet, neither example proves anything. Shall we abolish all knives, because a murderer may cut throats with them? Let because a murderer may cut throats with teem's Jes-us take care to do away with murderers—then we shall have no danger from knives. Centralization, like the State in general, is capable of being misused. But that abuse will cease when the jower ceases from which it aprings. Let us consider France. The cen-tralization of to-day that chains the whole country to the government in Paris, is still the very same th the French despots have created and misused. What avails the republic, if it neglects to secure its most neo essary conditions, and, on the contrary, maintains the conditions of a monarchy? If in France the bureau-cracy (the ruling power of the officials) were restricted, the communes emancipated, and the business of the aliministration ceded in part to the departments the aliministration ceded in part to the departments. the amministration center in part to the operation in (provinces or counties,) the political life of the rest of the country would naturally be quickened and ele-vated. If we affolish the standing army, or reduce it to a minimum, and organize a general militia instead, we abolish the sword by which despots have enthrall-ed France. But, before all, the stronghold of despot ed France. But, before all, the stronghold of despot-ism, the form of the government, must, be changed. If we abolish entirely the republican king, the Presi-dent, nay, the whole separate executive power—that nat-ural or forced betrayer of the people,—and if a per-manent convention of delegates, elected by univer-sal suffrage, and always revocable by the majority of stituents, govern the country by means of a have almost immediate participation in their govern-ment, and the ill effects of centralization, which is an ily in the hands of a separate executive pour disappear. If we abolish the independence must insplean: irresponsibility of the general assembly, the possibili-ty is removed of the trustees of the people, changing into betrayers of the people. A Louis Napoleon be-came possible only because the French Republic committed the folly of retaining a separate executive pow er under the name of the Presidency, into whose hand they gave the knife to murder the Republic; and the the name of the Presidency, into whose hand to the knife to murder the Republic; and the Assembly playing into the murderer's hands was only possible because their constituents, without the right of revolution, had no means of substituting a better one for it. The principal advantages of centralization in a truly State consist in this, that it must put in mo-

tion all the powers of the whole State for its genera

the law of the whole people without hindrance; keep aloof all separate interests inimical to the general pro-gress; enlarge the views of all citizens; facilitate the gress; enlarge the views of a give a unitarian foun-dation to patriotism; prevent the fossilization of the people in partizanship; and secure the lowest possible expensiveness of the administration with the greatest these advantages cannot be lost, unless, by an absurd division of powers, (into Executive and Legislative,) the government is placed in opposition to the people, and enabled to operate behind the back of the people's representatives, and against the people yoken the people's representation is also the people's government, the will of the government must be also the will of representatives, and against the people. When the people's representation is also the people's government, the will of the government must be also the will of the people, and the centralization of that will must form the very power of the people, instead of being dangerous to them. If the people enunciate and execute their will through representatives chosen by them, and at any moment liable to be recalled, instead of letting these delegates, after the election, talk like independent masters, and permitting, besides them, a separate executive to act like an independent master, the possibility of injuring their rights will be removed, as the people will no more act against them the possibility of injuring their rights win derived moved, as the people will no more act against themselves than a single man. We shall, then, need no States within the State, in order to create bulwarks against the central will, which is here the people's own will; hence, no federal members, with separate against the central will, which is here the people's 1800.—The foregoing fragment of a pamphlet, written own will; hence, no federal members, with separate legislatures, powers and sovereignty. Even for the central power to leave as much business as possible a project the provinces, and to emancipate the communes, is not calculated to create a dualism in the State, nor to protect the several sections of the State from the encomments of the central power. That division is rather a practical necessity of the State administration, it below improved the project to the project the several section of the State from the encountered power. That division is rather a practical necessity of the State administration, it below improved the project the several section of the State administration. It is federal division. rather a practical necessity of the State demanary cause is to be countral tion, it being impossible to survey, from the central point of a large State, all the several local necessities, and particularly to regulate the political home economy of the citizens, the political business of the communes, (or towns.) As long as a State does not transcend the circumference and idea of a commune, the political life of State and commune will entirely coincide. But the expansion of the State renders a separation of the trace beautiful as a multiplication of the trace beautiful and the trace of the t ration of the two branches, as well as a multiplication of the communes, and a middle link between them and the central government, indispensable, ever from physical considerations. It is, then, considerations of the State mechanism, administration, local practicability, &c., but not the intention of making parts of the State mechanism, administration, local practicability, &c., but not the intention of making parts of the State independent individualities, in order to protect them against the whole of the State,—it is not such an absurd intention that establishes an articulated division in the central (or consolidated) State, in every rotional State. That intention dates only from States whose government was based on opporession, force, or which endeavored to protect themselves from such force; in which, therefore, people had to look to some expedient to escape as much as possible from its influence. But it is to create a great contraint of a State not free, to a free State, because they rendered some service under quite different premises. Who will make a stove fire in summer because it was necessary in winter! As in summer we need not heat the room, or as in health we need no medicine, no more is it necessary in a truly democratic State to protect the people by means of sovereign cantons against the central power, as that central power is suching else but the power of the people itself.

It is now time that we should make a useful application of what we have explained, to North America. After the people in this country have come to regard the federative form, which, it is true, in the outset, branches, as well as a multiplica-nunes, and a middle link between

Union, as the perminent, perpetual and unimprovable frame of the State, it does not, of course, occur to politicians to trace the necessary evils of such a polity to their true source. Their fighest wisdom, therefore, consists in the invention and application of palliative remedies to ward off the consequences of the fideral or now existing form of government, and whose application is always attended with unconscious opposition to the advantages of the only true system, the unitarian or centralized State, and a change in the mode of government. At all times has the "Democratic" party of North America made retizance to the extension of the powers of the central government, and to the management of certain general interests by Congress, and at the same time endeavored to preserve, as far as possible, the sovereignty of the stand-point of the federative theory; but it was a narrow policy, because nobody thought of elevating himself above that stand-point, and of subjecting the federative system to a rational and radical critique. And yet, there was never a lack of incentives to do so Only think of the "internal improvements" already alluded to. That they are wanted, that they must be put to the general assistance of the Union, everybody must admit; but the "Democrata" resist, being afraid lest the central point of the Union obtain too large a preponderance over its several members. If there were no separate Executive, and if that centre on-sisted of but a single chamber, by means of which the people could govern as directly as possible, democratic jealousy would have lost all ground, and just the true democrats would necessarily be the first in advocating internal improvements. But that change of view remains foreign to them, because they sitch blindly to the established system, glorifying with an irrepressible faith in precedents or authorities, their. Constitution as the ideal of all constitutions, and, therefore, cannot fully comprehend the causes of their anomalous position.

The Whigs, on the other hand, are

The Whigs, on the other hand, are contending for the opposite, that is, for strengthening the central power, and for accumulating, as far as possible, all sorts of general business in Washington. Of course they are; for they want domineering power and reac-tion,—soft bens, by means of the separate Executive,— and in the federalive State the sovereignty of the sector, is the prospersative garainst such reaction. But parts is the preservative against such reaction. But when the federative State is converted into a unitarist when the federative State is converted into a unitarian State, when the separate executive is dropped, and when, with a single chamber, the government is simply administered by the majority of the whole people, the Whigs will give up doting on centralization; for centralization will then secure the expression and section of that popular majority, among which the Whigs proper are not to be found.

If in a North American unitarian State, the real Union majority were in possession of the government.

If in a North American Union majority were in possession of the governmen, as, you know, is required by genuine democracy, is would soon be ready with such laws as would gradually free the Union of its pernicious evils, without dangering, on the other hand, its continuance in present boundaries. It is only as a unitarion State that the Union can become a truly democratic State. As a fee-eral State, it is and will remain more or less in the hands of the arisfocrats and slaveholders.

But how shall the Union become a unitarian State! That question can, perhaps, be more easily answered than it may seem at first. The Union will be led forward to the unitarian State by the consequences of the federative system—consequences which will be chiefly brought about by the sectional policy of the slave States. These will sooner or later secole, (1) or compel the Union to a forced reconstruction, and the result of that reconstruction must be a unitarian State, governed by come law from the unpore lakes down to the Mexican reconstruction must be a unitarian State, governed one law from the upper lakes down to the Mexic Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific occur. And how will it be possible to erect a common Bureau of Law and Policy for that vast territory? Who g a separate executive powPresidency, into whose hand
rder the Republic; and the
g into the murderer's hands
their constituents, without lar meeting. When we, as radical the the fundamental principles into whose bed the historical development suss finally return like a devious stream, then the efforts of politicians, meanwhile prac-tising on the wandering stream all possible pilot arts sight of its future direction, will assume a peculiar ap agnt of its indice directions
pearance; and we feel tempted to pity the greates
practitioners, if they lack theory.

In America, we may learn that theory without prac-

In America, we may learn that theory without prac-tice is impotent, but, likewise, that practice without theory is foolish. We may learn that North America, albeit, the asylum of republicans, is not the ideal of the Republic. We may learn, here, how the Repub-lic ought not to be, though we may unhesitatingly ac-cept a hundred of its practical particulars. Above all, we may be taught by the "people" of New York, the "people" of Pennsylvania, the "people" of Mary-land, (who even seize the ships and break the skulls of the neighboring people of Pennsylvania, if they catch a few oysters—State oysters!) "the people" of South Carolina, in short, by the thirty different "peo-South Carolina, in short, by the thirty different "peo-ples" of this nation, that it must be one of our first precautions to prevent the springing up in our native country (Germany) of a "Badish people," "Suavian people," "Bavarian people," "Saxon People," "Prus-sian people," "people" of Hamburg, Schleiz Loben-stein, &c., but to recognize only a German people, consisting of forty millions of State citizens, and not of forty kinds of provincialists.

Poststript of the author, in the "Pionier" of No. Protective of the attack, in the Protect of 1800.—The foregoing fragment of a pamphlet, written ten years ago, might as well have been suggested by the present situation of things in the Union, which furnishes a practical comment to it. We are almost question is not the primary cause of the secession as a specific sectional interest, it only provides the occasion and impulse for putting that separation, which was prepared in the formation of the "sovereign" States, into action. Slavery could not continue and the provided by a continue and the provided by States, into action. Slavery could not continue and grow but by existing in sourcegn States; nothing but the habit of a "socreign," separate existence could invest these States with the power and presumption to disclaim all obedience to the Federal government. In the South, that issue was accidentally brought about

LETTER FROM REV. BERIAH GREEN.

number of the Liberates, that Beriah Green is to be classified with the orthodox. I am a little surprised that Mr. Whipple should assign me any such position. I remember, however, that I live obscurely in a retired corner; and that such a mistake may easily be made by observers at a distance. Do I make too much of myself in inviting the attention of your readers, a few moments, to the subject thus introduced? The American slave has for the last thirty years had very few friends, at all superior in wisdom, strength and enterprise—in zeal, activity and courage, to William Goodell, Amos A. Phelps and Charles B. Storra-The memory of Phelps and Storrs I cherish with a veneration, which is equally profound and refreshing. Goodell, thank Heaven, still lifts up upon us the light of hit, thoughful, benigmant countenance. I have known him long and well; and never did I see him begin to falter in the cause of dear Humanity. His white head, as beautiful as it is hoary, is a "crown of righteousness." The hallowed names, which I have ventured to repeat, were, I suppose, eminently orthodox. Goodell is so to-day—warmly, fully, tenderly. I am, I suppose, generally regarded as quite otherwise. It is certain, that I long ago withdrew all sympathy and cooperation with those, with whom in the religious sphere I had been identified. To the doctrines, which I then inculcated—to the conclusions, which I then commended, I now subscribe under a natural construction. Had my fellows—my old associates in religious enterprise and exertion—truly believed in the creeds, which they officially magnified, I should not have retired from their presence. It was not their orthodoxy—it was their gross inconsistency, which shocked and reprelled me. I could by no means persuade them to oct on the principles on which, word-wise, they in sisted. To instance in a few particulars: On "sin ners" generally, they urged, vehemently, the necessity of immediate representations. repelled me. I could by no means persuade them to out on the principles on which, word-wise, they instance. To instance in a few particulars: On "sinners" generally, they urged, vehemently, the necesity of immediate references; but while agreeing with me, that slaveholding was as as, they reproached me for maintaining that, like other sins, it should at once be renounced and shandoned! They taught as once be renounced and abandoned! They taught as essential to Christian character, that the Bible is everywhere, certainly in all the general precepts it enjoins, divinely inspired; and then cast their votes where political positions of the gravest character were to be filled, for names which neither "feared God" nor "hated covetousness"—for the vassals and viotims of their own appetites and passions! The worth of the human soul, they declared, exceeded their powers of the sacrons o description or comprehension—was worthy of the sac rifice which the Savior made on the Cross for its re rifice which the Savior made on the Cross for its re-demption; yet might be reduced to a "chattel" with-out a forfeiture of the smiles of God or the compla-cency of mankind! They eagerly gave their counto-nance and support to candidates for the highest offices, who, according to their to their own creeds and in were totally depraced! And this when the inspired volume expressly teaches, that from "an evil man" only "evil things" can be expected! They man fied the claims of all the heathen to our sympathy and fied the claims of all the heathen to our synamy and assistance, while identifying themselves with arrange-ments and usages, which were deliberately and openly employed in multiplying, thousands upon thousands, the most abject and hopeless heathen! With such the most abject and hopeless heathen! With such glaring inconsistencies, with such gross hypocrisy, I could not identify myself, by profession or position, without forfeiting whatever might deserve the name of self-respect; without plunging headlong into atheism and misanthropy.

Well, I did not see that Unitarians generally, so far as

Well, I did not see that Unitarians generally, so far as I was acquainted with their history, were more intent on reducing their professed principles to practice. In opposition to what they described as the inculcations of the Orthodox, they affirmed that God was equally and impartially the Father of all men—sternly adverse to "respect of persons"; yet looked with complacency on those who deliberately and stoutly practised this pregnant vice under its most malignant and "en't Paule and the professional prof and impartially the Father of all men—sternly adverse to "respect of persons"; yet looked with complacency on those who deliberately and stoutly practised this pregnant vice under its most malignant and odious forms I. In His name, they made excuses of offered apologies or attempted a justification of slave holding! They were copiously and fervently eld quent in descanting on the dignity of Human Naturea divine entity, which they professedly regarded with varm complacency and profound veneration, while they consented to its exposure in the shambles, as an "article of merchandize" i'! Their neighbors, who sternly and persistently opposed any such desceration of "the image of God," they held up to general contempt or abhorrence, as infected with gross and malignant famaticism. The Orthodox and the Heterodox seemed in vast majorities to combine their strength and ether resources, in despite of their respective creeds, in a most eager and virulent assault upon the Abolitionists, whenever and wherever opportunity in vitied. What could I care for the inculcations of those who did not believe in the creeds which they professed —who were not convinced by the arguments, or persuaded by the appeals, which they urged with facilities it reads to be a state of the creed which they professed —who were not convinced by the arguments, or persuaded by the appeals, which they urged with facilities it rade—eagerly and desperately prostituting their these logical apparatus to gambling purposes! How could I have been been added by the appeals, which they urged with facilities are read to be a state of the professed tised this pregnant vice under its most n

strengthen each other; and can by no means se experience, as unitedly and everlastingly the soul and substance of Christian character. Where these are, there are truth and love, wisdom and strength, beauty and dignity, usefulness and blessedness. These bring down the Heavens to the Earth—raise the Earth to bers rejoice with it." Of course, all are embarrassed by the chain which oppression fastens on the limbs of any individual. Each in asserting his own rights, asserts the rights of all; each in promoting his own welfare, blesses all his fellows. He exults in his identity with Human Nature—here and elsewhere—now and forever—with Human Nature under whatever form. with Human Nature—ners and enewer—now and forever—with Human Nature under whatever form, aspect or condition. Such, Mr. Liberator, is the sum and substance of the Orthodoxy of BERIAH GREEN.

# Selected Articles.

LIFE IN THE LAND OF CHIVALRY. THREE MONTHS IN PRISON FOR HATING SLAVERY

THREE MONTHS IN FRISON FOR HATING SLAVERY.

Mr. Arthur Robinson, a young man about twentyeight years of age, who was expelled from New Orleans for entertaining views not favorable to slavery,
ealled at our office yesterday, and related his experience of the liberty of speech and freedom of opinion
in the Crescent City, as follows: He resided in New
Orleans for seven years, up to the 11th of March,
1861. He has always been strongly opposed to slavery, and hoped to see it abolished by lawful means.
For four years he was the publisher of the New Orleans True Wilness, an Old School Presbyterian paper, unt never inserted in that journal an article expressive of Anti-Slavery sentiments. He was a
prominent member of the Young Men's Christian
Association of New Orleans, and when that city was
the suffering, and providing for the burial of the poor
among the deal. His views of allovery, he says, were
never concealed from such as desired to know them.
He was known as the warm advocate of Fremont in
the campaign of 1856.

nediately after the election of Mr. Lifeoln, rer, at a secession meeting in New Orleans, a the names of residents heatile to slavery was up, and his among them. Spies were set upon

Robinson was committed to jail on the 29th of November, and remained there till the 11th of March—103 days. During his incarceration, the jailor frequently said, that he would give "the d—d Aloilitionist" up to any mob of ten men who should call for him, and agree to I yuch him.

It is required by the laws of Louisiana that, before any case shall be submitted to the Grand Jury, the prisoner shall be examined before a County Recorder, to ascertain if there be probable cause to believe him guilty; this was not done in Robinson's case. The Grand Jury found a "true bill" against him. There were several counts in the indictment, as follows: Using language calculated to excite discontent among free persons of color, and insubordination among slaves; bringing into the State a copy of Barnes' Scriptural Views of Slavery. (This was fabs, as Mr. Robuson purchased the book in the city of New Orleans.) The third and fourth counts were in relation to the Boston Liberator and the scrap-book before noticed. It was charged that he had brought the scrap-book into the State, which was not the case. As to the Boston Liberator, he had been a subscriber to it for two years and he had received it regularly up to the time of the Secession excitement. While in jail, he received information that his liberty could be purchased from the keeper for \$250. He was taken before the Criminal Court on the 11th of March, but it was then discovered that the ignorance of the "Grand Jurors" had been more than a match for this intended villany. The indictment charged that the incendiary documents had been found in Robinson's house on the 1st of December, whereas the "prisoner" was in jail on that day, and had been committed because of the discovery of the books. This flaw in the indictment procured his release, on condition of his leaving the city within twenty-four hours—Cincinnati Gazette.

HANGING A MICRIGAN MAN.

About a veer since, a young man named John

HANGING A MICHIGAN MAN.

About a year since, a young man named John Nott, who had for some time previous been in the employ of Mr. Bender in this city, left for the South. A gentleman who knew him well, and worked with and near him in Vicksburg and vicinity, has just returned to this place, bringing the information that the young man was a Republican, and so expressed himself in that locality, for which free expression of opinion he was lynched and hung in January last. He says that a band of Southern cut-throats, who made lynching and mobbing their principal business, took him when partially intoxicated, and therefore less cautious in regard to the utterance of his sentiments than on other occasious, and carried him over the river into Louisana, and there hung him as they would a dog, to a tree, until he was dead.— Grand Rapids Eagle.

SIB RANKIN HUNG—A LITTLE.

SIB RANKIN HUNG-A LITTLE.

\$1,200 WORTH OF NIGGER HUNG.

S1,200 WORTH OF NIGGER HUNG.

W. C. Moore of Sumner County, Tenn., was attacked with a knife by one of his slaves, a few days ago, and received two terrible wounds, one on the throat and the other on the chin. Mr. Saunders and the father of Mr. Moore came to his rescue, when the negro turned upon the former, and commenced cutting him, and then upon the latter, cutting his throat from ear to car, almost severing his head from his body, and killing him instantly. The alarm having been given, the people in the vicinity hastened to the bloody scene, and it was necessary to shoot the negro three times, before the kinfe could be got from him. He was then taken, and hung immediately. It is thought the wound of the younger Moore will not prove fatal.

WHIPTING A WOMAN TO DEATH.

WHIPPING A WOMAN TO DEATH

Whipping A woman to Death.

We learn that Mr. Jacob Patten, who lives in the south-western part of Missouri, whipped one of his slaves, a negro woman, to death, on Saturday, the 7th inst. After the negro was buried, suspicions of foul play caused her to be taken up. A coroner's inquest was held, and it was evident, from the condition of the body, that she had met her death as above stated. Patten was arrested, and gave ball in the amount of \$2,500 to appear at Circuit Court."

was no of the factor of the fa

MR. LEWIS FORD'S LECTURE

Mr. Ford delivered his lecture as per appointment, at the Everett School House on Thursday evening subject, "Immediate and Unconditional Emanchation, the Duty of the Master and the Right of the Stave." To say that it was able, fart paid. Take it all in all, matter and manner, it was the sablest public address, of any kind, we have such as the subject of the subject of the sablest public address, of any kind, we have such as the subject of the subject in the same such as the sam jointed paragraph in the whole—which was a com-plete and concise presentation of the subject. We were greatly taken by surprise, both at the mante-and at the manner of delivery, which was dear, calm, earnest and even eloquent, as Mr. Ford a set known as a lecturer.

He assumed that staveholding most approximately as the pro-

ecturer. He assumed that slaveholding must be either right or wrong. If right, then there is no ground for the Republican desire to limit it, for if right, why are tend and perpetuate it to the utmost of our abiny. But if wrong, there can be no other doctine is moralist to preach but immediate cessation of the wrong. God calls upon all men, everywhere, to repert; and says that now is the accepted time. In no place does the Bible give any countenance tamplan of gradual repentance; and these opposers of slavery who condemn it, and still talk to slavely do condemn it, and still talk to slavely do condemn it, and still talk to slavely to condemn it, and still talk to slavely to great of their continuance in wrong, are the essentially to break off their sins by righteousnes, but spokgize for their continuance in wrong, are the essential between the continuance in wrong, are the essential between the continuance in wrong, are the essential between the continuance in wrong, are the essential talk of their continuance in wrong, are the essential between the c

gize for their continuance in wrong, are the easest both of the skaveholder and of the stave, and of the cause of truth; for they confuse men's minds, by serve God and Mammon.

Every man has a right to his own body and sad, to the reward of his own labor; and those who the to the reward of his own labor; and those who the cither from him by violence do, in very ded, retified. Every hour the thief keeps and uses the stoles property is a renewed act of theft, and it does not be proved the title to have this property pass, by deven to the heirs of the persons who originally acquoin it. If a man steal your horse, and leave it at is death to his son, who knows how it was adopted you do not recognize the right of the son any reas than that of the father.

Slaveholders live by appropriating to their sen use that which belongs to others, i. e., by theft if there were a common thief in this community, se would think strange of a reformer who sould upp him to leave off his bad practices gradually; and inasmuch as he had robbed a bank last week, at him to content himself with robbing a country stee.

this week, with stealing a horse next week, a con a the next, and sheep on the next; and in the mean time to be preparing some plan for getting as bones, living --St. Cloud (Minnesota) Democrat, educt by Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm.

SPANISH INVASION OF DOMINICA. The Dominicans have issued the following predi-nation against the Spanish invasion:—

mation against the Spanish invasion:

Dominicans! The country is in danger, and ther is but one way to save it—by revolution. Satina, since his last elevation to power, has sold the Repablic. The price of the Yankees did not sai him. To-day he has adjudged it to Spain, and is preparig to crush the Dominican people under the rolonal yoke for the vile price of a few puerile dignitis, and of the gold which will be distributed to him and five or six principal accomplices. To-morrow, the Tettars will enjoy in quet the riches gained by facriminal bargain, and will welcome as with an instead smile on hearing the clank of our chains. To-morrow, shame will settle on our hearthtones, and the stigma of ignominy will soil our bross. To-morrow, our wives will fly from our arms, or noters will refuse their caresses, and our children ther

can smile on hearing the clank of our chais. Inmorrow, shame will settle on our hearthstose, ad
the stigma of ignominy will soil our brox. Iomorrow, our wives will fly from our arms, or medcrs will refuse their caresses, and our childre their
smiles—a degenerate people merit them so. Tomorrow, we shall be able to leave to our familie
neither country, glory, honor, prosperity, set wen
the repose of the dongestic hearth. To-merow, in
express it once for all, we shall have changed the
noble ægis of the Cross for the livery of savery.
What, then, shall be the way of testoration? Revolution. A revolution, holy, noble, just, grand, because it has for its object the preservation of antionality created at the price of the blood and fetunes of its citizens; a revolution, holy, noble, just,
grand, because it is undertaken to save our countryand liberties. Fatherland! Liberty! this was the
heroic cry which preceded the revolution of 184;
and the same cry precedes the revolution of 184;
and the same cry precedes the revolution of 184;
and the same cry precedes the revolution of 184;
the cry of a nation, which now suppresses forever
the cries of mere factions.

Dominicans! to arms! let each citizen be a selder
of liberty, and to the eag of a Vira la Nation!" the
tyrant will be forever annihilated. Let the fre d
patriotism burn in our hearts as the tropical san
vivifies our existence. Dominicans! to arms! shame
to those who dally in the rear! In this great diy
of our country, there are but two classes—thoe
who are good citizens and those who are tration!
Dominicans! to arms! we must conquer or die; for
death is preferable to degradation, and if we remain
impassible, we can no longer pretend to the dignity
of free men. Dominicans! to arms! Let us arise
on the same day and at the same moment, as a single man. No mercy to traitors. We must conquer
at any price! Let no reverse discourage us. It
we triumph in the villages, in the substake, in the plains,
in the forests. We should make a fight of gants
which wi

Dominicans us were the crown of heroes beaute warry's palm.

The general of the armies of the Republicans, Jose Marie Cabral, also issued an appeal to the people. The Kingston papers have published a protest of the ex-Emperor Soulouque, which excits much mirth in Hayti.

# DESIGNS UPON NEW MEXICO.

If the Federal Government main If the Pederal Government maintains a "many ly inactivity," its enemies do not. The telegral apprises us that the St. Louis Republican of year-day has a letter from Las Vegas, New Meixed the 12th ult., which reports the secure of Fert Merg by a parity of Americans and Mericans, tendel by Gon. Rencher. We knew already that spents of Fert Merg William of the Constant of the Constan

to their cause. And our last Mempias "Secession oracle—in noticing this report, syn"New Mexico will doubtless join in the morent.
She applied to Congress for admission as a suit,
and was rejected by the Black Republicans herse
slavery was recognized in her Constitution. He shall be should be supported by the Black Republicans herse
territories, from locality and identity of intense,
belong to the slaveholding States. So long alkele
Republicanism rules the Union, of which is and
holds a lease, subject to perpetual reaeval, help
could not entertain any hope of legaling sharp,
white in a territorial condition, so as to make it
permanent institution, nor curoll themselves it
permanent institution, nor curoll themselves the
sisterhood of States while they adhered to the
present policy. This movement will complete
affairs somewhat at Washington, and will be slain
pill for Seward and Lincoln. They deay the right
of secession to a sovereign State; they will not
called upon to discuss the right of revaluing is
Territory.

Swift retribution is falling upon the North fe's
recusancy to justice. They recoved, in defant of
right, to exclude the South from the comme teritory, and now, the most fruitful of the terririver are sliding from their grasp. They readthem a cordon of fire; but the hand of Presser,
has opened a passage for the South through its erithem to its occupation."

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