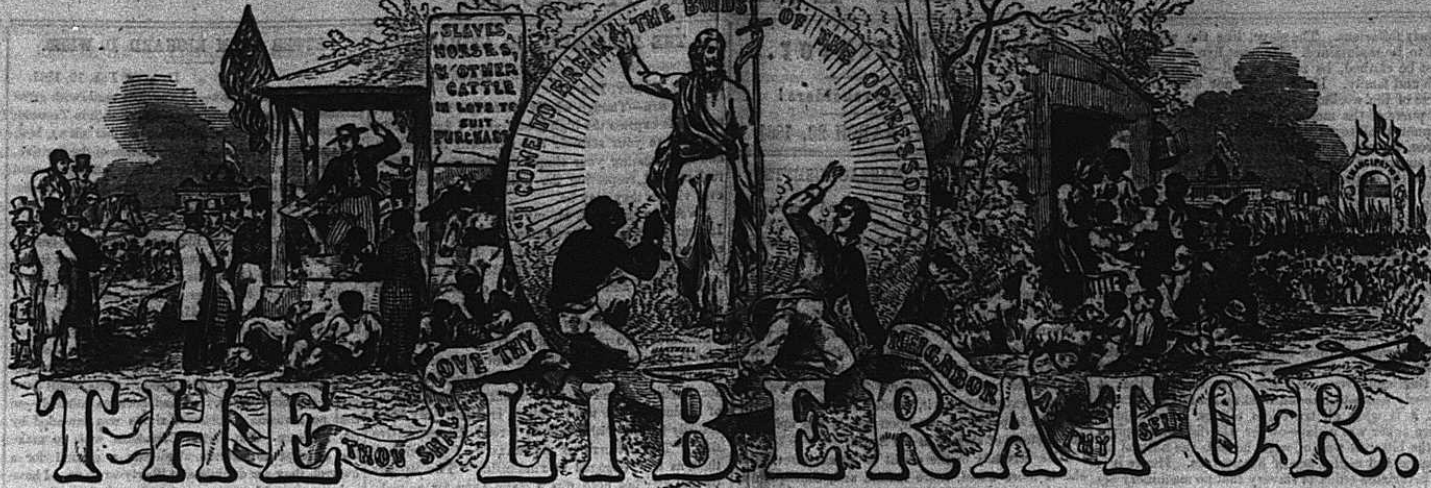


TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever treated with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the property and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Refuge of Oppression.

TRAITORS IN THE SENATE.

EXTRA SESSION OF THE U. S. SENATE—Washington, March 23. A resolution was adopted to print the general Address was adopted. Mr. Foster offered the following resolution:— "Whereas, Mr. Wigfall, now Senator from Texas, has declared in debate that he is a foreigner, owing no allegiance to this government, but to another, it is resolved that Louis T. Wigfall be expelled from this body." Mr. Foster, not seeing Mr. Wigfall, let the resolution lay over.

Mr. Mason remarked that the resolution was clearly for the expulsion of the Senator from Texas for what he had said on this floor. The Constitution enables the Senate to protect itself, and gives power to expel a member, provided that two-thirds vote for the resolution. But the expulsion of a Senator is punitive in character, and the intention of the Senate from Connecticut is to punish the Senator from Texas on account of what he said in debate. The Senator from Texas said what the Senator from Texas had said in debate. The Senator from Texas had declared that he was a citizen of the United States, but a foreigner and not a citizen of the United States, but a foreigner and not a citizen of the United States.

Mr. Mason was very certain if a Senator was not entitled to his seat, it could be vacated whenever facts to warrant such a course should be discovered. It is a punishable offence to allege a constitutional truth, then the resolution may be well founded. For one, he (Mason) recognized no allegiance to this government. He recognized and acknowledged no allegiance to this government, none whatever, and he took his position alongside the Senator from Texas, although Virginia is a constituent of both the Senate and the House of Representatives. He owed allegiance to Virginia, and to no one else. Did the Senator from Connecticut resist the doctrine of constitutional law, and hold that the Government of the United States is still sovereign? If he did, God help him! (Laughter.) So far as the Senator from Texas has committed an offence by saying he owed no allegiance to this government, he stood by his side. He should be unfaithful to Virginia if he did not. The old feudal idea of allegiance was the relation between the subject and sovereign, between the vassal and lord. Allegiance here is that which is due from a citizen to a sovereign power. He knew of no sovereign except the State. He took it for granted that Connecticut is the Senator's sovereign, and that if he yields allegiance to this government, he is faithless. The oath of allegiance in Virginia, to be taken by all who are admitted to the political powers of the State, is faithfully and truly to support the Commonwealth. If the Senator from Texas is a foreigner, he is not a citizen of the United States. But that is because of the fact, not because of the allegation; for the Constitution says that a Senator shall not have any other allegiance. The Senator from Texas said he believed he was a foreigner to this government, because Texas had separated herself from it; for the Senator did not then know the fact, nor did he know it now, unless he received the intelligence last night. The Senator believed that Texas had seceded, because he knew the popular sentiment of the State; and yet because of this declaration, the Senator from Connecticut sought his expulsion. The Senator and others and the new President declare that the ordinance declaring separation is null, and the State holds the same relation to it as before the passage of the act. We (said Mr. M.) deny it. Virginia denies it. Six of the States, as far as we know, not only deny it, but have acted on it; and not only have confederated, but formed a government prepared to sustain itself if this government shall attempt to attack it. If the Senator from Connecticut would say that the act was a nullity, then he held language which he (Mason) thought, with great respect to him, is more disrespectful tenfold than the language for which the Senator says the Senator from Texas deserves to be expelled. It is not a matter of course, but five millions of people and seven sovereign States are in insurrection. They declare the acts of secession nullities, although these States seize what they call public property. Yet, acknowledging all this, they take no means to recover it. In not acting upon the information, they are more reprehensible than the Senator from Texas. How could he owe allegiance to this government? Then he must obey the orders of this government in preference to those of his own State. He was sworn to support the Constitution, and not the government of this floor. Mr. HENRY regarded this movement as calculated to be dangerous. The resolution proposed to remove a member for a mere expression of opinion. The Senator from Texas had done nothing more than declare his belief in the doctrine of secession, and that his State had seceded, but that until he had the evidence of this, he would sit here. With other State-rights men, he avowed that he owed obedience to the Constitution and the laws, but not allegiance. All then he had said was, he believed, a majority in all the Southern States who held the right of secession, hold if the right was exercised, the State placed itself in foreign relation with the rest of the Union. If this was a cause for expulsion, why might not a Senator be expelled for other differences or declarations of opinion? How long might it be before it would be obnoxious to defend slavery, and perhaps a two-thirds vote obtained for upholding that institution? The power of expelling a member was never given for such purposes. Members could be punished according to the Constitution only for disorderly conduct; and according to all writers on parliamentary law, it is always to be exercised with great caution and care. If a man was to be punished for the expression of a mere abstract opinion, where was the usage to end? He maintained as the Senator from Texas had expressed no opinion that had not been expressed by all the Senators of the Seceding States, if he was to be punished, then they too must be expelled, for they have given a practical proof that they are foreigners from their own government. He agreed with his colleague (Mason) that they owe allegiance to their State, and obedience to the Constitution.

THE DELUDED ABOLITIONISTS.

To the Editor of the Herald of Progress: Facts prove that servitude, subordination to the white man, is the natural condition of the negro; and that unaided, unsupported, and unenforced by the white man, the negro is a poor, miserable wretch, spending his time in the indolence of the lowest propensities of animal nature; there, no book, map, history or tradition ever emanated from a negro people; and that the African, with the finest soils, the noblest rivers, the richest mines of the old world, has remained in the dark savagery of his nature; and there remains, till held up and sustained in the condition of helper, or servant, to his more indulgent friend, the white man.

If there be such a thing in nature as a spirit of deviltry and discord, that spirit has possession of Abolitionists, and uses Abolitionism as his chief engine in North America to work his infernal purposes. Here are thirty millions of people put on the rack of uncertainty about African slavery! The best government destroyed; the happiest and freest people have been rendered quarrelsome, and filled with a thirst for blood, because four millions of lazy, good-for-nothing negroes, that would otherwise have been obliged to pick up a precarious living, have been taken into the keeping of their more humane white friends; been taught how to raise cotton, and rice, and tobacco; have been furnished good comfortable houses, clothing, and food, and allowed to live among their children free from the cares of poverty, and to die at a good old age, leaving a numerous offspring, the surest test of a wise, healthful, and happy life.

The abolitionized mind is psychologized by a lie. Abolitionists teach that the negro is a white man, differing only in color. All history, all experience and observation, prove that the negro is neither spiritually, mentally, nor physically, the same as the white man. Facts and nature are speaking in thunder tones; the mighty crashing, the howlings of despair, the confusions worse confounded of disunion, secession, anarchy, pauperism, and suffering in Northern poor-houses; the absolute freedom from want, the perfect emancipation of our poor people from poverty; all these things ought to teach, and would teach the truth. But an Abolitionist prefers to believe a lie, to the infinite jeopardy of his country, rather than take the truths of history and common sense, and save both his country and the negro together. I don't say the negro is "inferior" to the white man, in any other sense than that a child is inferior to its parents. The negro of America is the superior negro, because he is better fed, better clothed, better housed, better cared for, than any other negro; and better than any other poor folk belongs elsewhere among civilized men.

smiles and soft words of the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. HALE.] The implacable Senator from Alabama, [Mr. CLAY,] pronounced us of the North, "the most bitter, relentless, and vindictive enemies on earth." The Senator from Virginia, [Mr. MASON,] who has received the greetings of the people of Massachusetts, regards the result of the late election as an evidence of our hostile feelings towards his section. I was pained to hear the Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. DAVIS,] who has received, during the past two years, so many evidences of respect and of kindness from the people of my own New England, say that the harshness of our figurative language was an evidence of the bitterness of our hatred.

In the halls of Congress, in the public journals before the people, everywhere, the Christian people of the North are accused of hatred towards their countrymen of the South, and these repeated accusations have penetrated the ears and fired the hearts of the men of the South to madness. The people of Massachusetts, of New England, of the North, hate not their countrymen of the South. I know Massachusetts; I know something of the sentiments and feelings of her people. During the past fifteen years, I have traversed every portion of the State, from the sands of the Cape to the hills of Berkshire; spoken in nearly every town, sat at the tables and slept beneath the roofs of her people. Around those tables, and beneath those roofs, I have heard prayers to Almighty God for blessings on slave and on master. From thousands of Christian homes in Massachusetts, New England, the North, tens of thousands of men and women daily implore God's blessing upon the whole country—upon the poor slave and his proud master. Around the firesides of the liberty-loving, God-fearing families of Massachusetts, I have often heard the men, stigmatized as "malignant, unrelenting enemies of the people of the South," on their benched knees, with open Bible, implore the protection and blessing of Almighty God upon both master and slave, upon the people of the whole country. Generals of the South, visiting Massachusetts on pleasure or business, are ever treated by all her people with considerate kindness and fraternal regard. The public men of the South are ever welcomed to Massachusetts; treated with courtesy by all, and sometimes with "complimentary flunkeyism" by the few. I assert positively, without hesitation or qualification, that the people of Massachusetts, ay, of New England, manifest more kindness and courtesy towards their fellow-countrymen of the South, sojourning among them, than they do towards their fellow-countrymen of the central States and of the West.

Selections. MASSACHUSETTS VINDICATED. Extract from a speech delivered in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 21st, by Hon. Henry Wilson— "The prophets of secession and disunion have indeed prophesied falsely, and the people of the South seem to love to have it so. Year after year these prophets, whose element is mischief, have persistently accused the people of the North of entertaining the sentiment of bitter, unreasoning, malignant hate towards the South. They and their Northern allies have stigmatized the ever loyal men of the North who cling to the faith of the fathers, as the unrelenting enemies of the Southern people, and too credulous people have come to believe the wicked accusation. Often have we in these Chambers been forced to listen, with aching hearts and wounded spirits, to the cruel accusation that the Christian people we represent "hate" their countrymen of the South. During the present session, this accusation has often been made in these Chambers. The impulsive Senator from Georgia, [Mr. EVANSON,] declared that we, the people of the free States, hated the people of the South, and he would have it so in spite of the general

charge the devastation of Italy upon the barbarians. The large Roman plantations, tilled by slaves' labor, were in ruin. Slavery had effected the decline of the Roman people, and had wasted the land, before a Scythian or a Scandinavian had crossed the Alps. Slavery had destroyed the Democracy; had destroyed the Aristocracy; had destroyed the Empire; and at last it left the traces of its ruinous power deeply furrowed on the face of nature itself. She also reads in Gorowski's "Slavery in History," that "it was domestic slavery, single-handed, which did the work for Greece, and particularly in Sparta and Athens. Domestic slavery enervated the nation, and made it an easy prey to foreign conquest. It converted into a procreant mass the once great and brilliant Grecian world." In fine pages of poets, philosophers, philanthropists, jurists, statesmen, of the ages of the mighty dead, both hemispheres,—of Plato, Socrates, Montesquieu, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Wilberforce, Humboldt, Washington, and Jefferson, Massachusetts finds testimonies which deepen her conviction and quicken her zeal against slavery expansion and domination in America.

WHAT HAS BEEN MAJOR ANDERSON'S POLICY. CHARLESTON, S. C., March 9, 1861. The rebels have of late turned special attention to the harbor defences, as though the game they are playing depended on them. Capt. Hartstone, late of the United States Navy, and the most regretted deserter from it, has been giving the subject his special attention since he entered the service of the rebels; and it is evident that important results are believed to depend on their completeness. The plan clearly is, to render the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, or what is of quite as much consequence, the supply of the garrison with provisions, as near as impossible as they can. If Major Anderson is not supplied with provisions, he must in time surrender, if he is not withdrawn by the Government. There has been a deep game in this part of the business by the rebels, and I am able to state for a certainty that it proceeded from Jeff. Davis, upward of two months ago, while he was yet in the Senate. He urged the cultivating and maintaining of a good understanding with Major Anderson, and made a special plea in a letter to Governor Pickens that he might be permitted to purchase supplies for Fort Sumter in Charleston market. The reasons he assigned were fit for traitors only. His advice was followed, and it was about this time that protracted interviews took place at the fort between Major Anderson and leading Rebels who visited him on two successive days under a flag of truce. Then followed the mission of Col. Hayne and a messenger from Major Anderson to Washington, and the promise by Mr. Buchanan to do nothing but maintain the present status of affairs in Charleston Harbor, and the other movements by which the Rebels gained time, which they improved to render their position as nearly impregnable as possible. All the while the Government did nothing, and Major Anderson continued to advise no movement to relieve him. It was about this time also that reports leaked out from the Executive branch of the Government, prejudicial to Major Anderson, and which were mentioned at the time in this correspondence. With a magnanimity extraordinary as it was unexpected, the permission was accorded the garrison to obtain provisions from Charleston, though in small quantities. Fort Sumter, if not then actually short of provisions, could count the days when it would be. I but record a piece of the history of the last two months, when I state that, nevertheless, Major Anderson not once, but twice and three assured the Government at Washington that he stood in need of neither men, provisions, nor fuel. He steadily advised against any attempt to supply him with either, although at that time it was entirely practicable to do so, and everybody but he said he might soon have these supplies. During the ensuing six or eight weeks, he was going on all around him, in gigantic preparations to wall him in. His fate was as clear as the unclouded sun, if he was not relieved. I made no mention of the fact that he failed to assist the Star of the West to enter with men and provisions, or to protest even with so much as a single shot against the driving of her back; nor of the fact that he has permitted the rebels to transport their munitions daily and hourly under the walls of Fort Sumter. For near two months he has seen the harbor close gradually but surely against his Government, and he could almost count the days when any attempt to throw into the Fort provisions or men would be attended with extraordinary difficulties, if not an impossibility. And he saw at the same time going on all around him preparations to besiege him that told for a certainty that the time must come when he must have provisions and men, or his garrison sacrificed, if he did not evacuate the Fort. And yet, if we are to credit unverified reports, he assured his Government as late as twenty days ago that he required nothing, and, later still, that he could maintain his position, while then, and for some time before, he was in a large measure subsisting from day to day on the bounty of the rebels—a bounty which they could at any moment cut off. I mean no injustice to Major Anderson. We have for the first time I have been in Charleston, which is upward of three months, I have seen these and many other similar things, I have invariably spoken of him as a brave and meritorious officer, not daring to oppose any suggestion of my own against his wisdom. Not to be egotistical, I may say that repeatedly have I described the preparations going on, and predicted the very state of things which we now see, namely, the evacuation of Fort Sumter imperative, or its reinforcement under circumstances of the greatest difficulties, if not an absolute impracticability. I described it as the crime of Mr. Buchanan's Administration that the Fort was not relieved, and fortified, as any one might have done, what would be the inevitable result of the treasonous policy of withholding relief. The reader will recollect that I more than once referred to the fact, that notwithstanding the preparations of the rebels, and their evident intentions, in face of the clear indications of what must surely come from maintaining the status, with which there was such a strange committal, Major Anderson, for reasons which, as I then observed, were probably sufficient for himself, though not seen by others, continued to report that he stood in need of nothing, and to advise against reinforcements. This he did, as the world knows. What those reasons were, I trust the world is about to know. For, I conclude, no one longer doubts, not even Major Anderson himself, that what was foretold, and what he certainly should have been capable of foreseeing as the correspondent of the Tribune, has come to pass, namely, that Fort Sumter must be evacuated, or the garrison left to be starved out, or relieved by employing thousands of men at the sacrifice of many lives, and with the certainty of inaugurating civil war. The rebels saw the state of things to which we have now arrived; they saw it, and Major Anderson. The fact fills the country with interest; whether we see it clearly, I do not know. Were he in the streets of Charleston to-day, if he really the true man and faithful soldier, his ears would tingle at the remarks he might hear made concerning him. To be praised by rebels is at best a doubtful compliment. To have them claim him as an ally is either his disgrace or their injustice.—Charleston correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune.

THE EVACUATION OF FORT SUMTER. The news of the probable withdrawal of the United States troops from Fort Sumter, flashing by telegraph all over the land, has profoundly affected the public mind of the country. This lowering of the national flag in the face of the traitorous hands that betrayed it—this conspicuous and undeniable confession of defeat by the National Government, this surrender of a post so important and so strong to the revolutionary Government which now rules at the South—it is, to say the least, immensely unfortunate that such should be the first prominent public act of the new Republican Administration. We have all confidence in the wisdom and the manhood of the gentlemen who constitute this Administration. Their fidelity to Freedom is altogether unquestionable. We know that they have had the

whole case before them, while we see only its more obvious features. The mature judgment of Gen. Scott should be of right a most influential, if not indeed a controlling element, in their deliberations. And if it has become, as is now alleged, a military necessity—there being no longer any possibility of reinforcing the fort, and the alternative to surrender being simply the speedy starvation of the garrison—then the event is not only to be submitted to, as Decretum itself must be when it comes, but it is to be attributed to the late Administration, which neglected its duty when it might have been performed, not to the present one, which has had no possible chance of performing it.

But the fullest explanations will certainly be needed to satisfy the patriotic and resolute men who compose the great mass of the voters at the North that such a necessity has existed. They will demand to know, they have a right to be informed, on what basis the persistent representations of Major Anderson, that he needed no further supplies, have been founded. And we know that the knowledge, at least, that the war is a mode of reaching and reinforcing the fort which have at different times been suggested, and which hundreds of men have been ready to take part in, have been severally considered, and proved impracticable, before they will be satisfied that so signal and stupendous a sacrifice should have been made, of the dignity, prestige, and strength of the Government. Unless it shall be plainly shown that its hands were not manacled only, but really paralyzed by circumstances, the indignation will be well-nigh universal that this key to the gate of South Carolina should have thus been relinquished.

BOLD VINDICATION OF SLAVERY. The political philosophy which underlies the secession movement is well expressed by the late Mr. T. S. Gourdin of Florida, editor of the Southern Confederacy, one of the ablest writers of the new nation. "With the formation of the Confederate States of America a new era in civilization has commenced—an era in which, if we hope to gain the respect of the civilized world, we must abandon the old idea of our forefathers that 'all men were born free and equal,' and teach the doctrine of the divinity of the races, and of the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race over all others. We must take the ground never dreamed of by the men of '76, that African slavery is right in itself, and therefore, should be preserved. African slavery is either morally right, or it is morally wrong. If wrong, no excuse will suffice, in the eyes of the Almighty, for its continuance. He is perfect, and cannot tolerate iniquity. The same moral and physical laws which in the beginning (of this earth) He laid down for the government of this world in which we live, were, are, and will be right, yesterday, to-day, and forever. Earthly legislatures may change their laws to suit the necessities of the times—for they are fallible; but the Almighty—that great being who from the heavens of heavens cannot contain—never. If, therefore, we after due investigation of the subject, honestly come to the conclusion that slavery per se is morally wrong, let us, as honest men and Christians, abolish it at once, without regard to cost. There can be no such thing as a 'necessary evil.' Evil is the misapplication or perversion of what is good. But if, on the other hand, we believe slavery to be morally right, and, in addition thereto, find it to our interest to keep up the institution, let us be manly enough to maintain our principles by the sword. We must not, in the name of God's sake, and the sake of consistency, do for let us form a Union for the express purpose of maintaining and propagating African slavery, and then, as the Southern Congress has done, confess our error by enacting a constitutional provision abolishing the African slave-trade. The opening of the African slave-trade is a mere question of expediency to be determined by legislative enactment hereafter, but not by a constitutional provision.

The effect of this surrender on the minds of foreign nations can hardly be overestimated. Their prompt recognition of the integrity and independence of the Southern Confederacy, whose path has been so early strewn with a succession of triumphs, is hardly too large or too important a result to follow logically from it. Its effect at home, unless counteracted by prompt, wise, and efficient action in other quarters and in a different direction, cannot fail to be disastrous. It is the most unexpected and prodigious national humiliation known to our history. It seems to offer license to rebellion, and to put the largest premium upon treason. Unless it be speedily followed by measures positive and emphatic, in distinct directions of rights, purposes, and power of the Government, we shall have no longer any Government, except for such as are too lazy to question it, or too timid to withstand the most empty of menaces. There will be nothing left for insurrection to fear; nothing left for patriotism to cling to. The old flag will trail in the dust so that the very swine may run over it. Our national airs will become the merest souvenirs. The Revolutionary blood will be shown to have turned to the thinnest of milk in our degenerate veins. We had better all bow down at once to the flag of the Stars and Stripes, and entreat the Congress they assembled to let come into the manlier and more stalwart Confederacy which they have inaugurated. An immense responsibility will rest upon those who have advised or consented to such an act. From it they must go, either forward or backward; making it the last step on the path of submission and national surrender, or else making it the first step on the path toward the full and cordial recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Standing disconnected from one or the other of these policies, a simple acknowledgment of complete defeat and ignominious expulsion suffered by the Government, the significance of the event will be fainter, and the consequences more ambiguous. We must not, in the name of God's sake, and the sake of consistency, do for let us form a Union for the express purpose of maintaining and propagating African slavery, and then, as the Southern Congress has done, confess our error by enacting a constitutional provision abolishing the African slave-trade. The opening of the African slave-trade is a mere question of expediency to be determined by legislative enactment hereafter, but not by a constitutional provision.

The fact of the matter is this: All these erroneous ideas of the rights of man, and the equality of the races, we derive from our ancestors of the Revolution. We blame them not for the ideas which they entertained; we honor them for the valiant manner in which they contended for what they believed to be the truth. But, it does not follow that because our ancestors entertained, fought, and died for certain principles, we, their descendants, should be compelled to entertain, fight, and bleed for the same principles. No! far from it! Our ancestors claimed the privilege of thinking and acting for themselves, without regard to the opinions of their forefathers. We, their descendants, claim the same privileges.

This is all fair and above-board. Let the issue be met as thus boldly but truthfully presented,

PLEAS FOR SLAVERY.

Now that our eyes are fixed upon the crisis in the North...

Their main principle is, that nature has drawn a broad line...

Nor is this view without some foundation upon which to rest...

The next argument which the planters are in the habit of using...

This extravagance needs no reply; but setting aside the idea...

What are the reasons which induce the slaveholder to beat...

But, even were slavery a blessing to the negro race, that good...

The Southern planters have boasted of their chivalry and high breeding...

If the effect of slavery is not to elevate, but to degrade the slave...

But, even were slavery a blessing to the negro race, that good...

Such is the introduction of slavery in so many countries in the world...

tionally fallacious. The slave, like the white man, has to be maintained...

It is certainly to the credit of Massachusetts that she is more hated...

Mr. Wilson earnestly and truthfully repels the accusation, that the people of Massachusetts are the malignant, unrelenting enemies...

In a speech recently delivered in Congress by Hon. Charles H. Van Wyck...

"Your unholty crusade, therefore, against the Union, is to extend the area of slavery."

Another tale of horror. Charleston (S. C.) Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

"Union men increase on every side. Find a Northern man, or a German, wherever you like—let him see, and know...

It occurred in the town, or rather village, of which I have already spoken...

R. S. Tharen, Esq., of Wetumpka, Alabama, once law-partner of the Hon. W. L. Yancy...

Mr. Tharen is not an Abolitionist, but was opposed to the statements of his law-partner...

Mr. Tharen was several times in peril of his life, from mobs who preferred a hanging...

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1861.

INDICATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

We have already briefly noticed and commended the speech of Senator Wilson...

It is certainly to the credit of Massachusetts that she is more hated, more feared, and, consequently, more revered by the South than any other State in the Union...

Mr. Wilson earnestly and truthfully repels the accusation, that the people of Massachusetts are the malignant, unrelenting enemies of the people of the South...

In a speech recently delivered in Congress by Hon. Charles H. Van Wyck, occurs the scathing and merited rebuke to Treason and its abettors, which we publish below...

"Your unholty crusade, therefore, against the Union, is to extend the area of slavery. For that purpose you invoke the God of battles, when your system ignores all His attributes, and defies the spirit of His teachings..."

Another tale of horror. Charleston (S. C.) Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

"Union men increase on every side. Find a Northern man, or a German, wherever you like—let him see, and know, that he can trust you, and will not be betrayed into the clutches of wild beasts, and that you find that he is a Union man..."

It occurred in the town, or rather village, of which I have already spoken, only four weeks ago, when I have dared to speak of it, and he has no correspondent in the North...

R. S. Tharen, Esq., of Wetumpka, Alabama, once law-partner of the Hon. W. L. Yancy, and recently expelled from the State of his residence by a mob...

Mr. Tharen is not an Abolitionist, but was opposed to the statements of his law-partner, Mr. Yancy. Mr. Tharen was several times in peril of his life, from mobs who preferred a hanging to the milder process of expulsion...

Mr. Tharen was several times in peril of his life, from mobs who preferred a hanging to the milder process of expulsion.

Such is the introduction of slavery in so many countries in the world; yet no fallacy can be more obvious...

THE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

BOSTON, March 20, 1861.

DEAR SIR—Though wholly a stranger to you, permit me to express his high gratification I have felt in listening to your sensible and excellent instruction...

Twenty years ago, on my first visit to Dublin, Ireland, I made the acquaintance of a most amiable and worthy gentleman, WILLIAM H. DUNSMORE, D. D., Honorary Member of the Belfast Natural History Society...

"O man! tyrannic lord, how long, how long Shall prostrate nature groan beneath your rage, Awaiting renovation?"

Truly, "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." The cause of this state of things are manifold, but not such as to forbid the hope of a general redemption...

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, Feb. 19, 1861.

MY DEAR GARRISON—I have just read, with great satisfaction, a speech made by Gerrit Smith in Toronto, on the Anderson case...

Twenty years ago, on my first visit to Dublin, Ireland, I made the acquaintance of a most amiable and worthy gentleman, WILLIAM H. DUNSMORE, D. D., Honorary Member of the Belfast Natural History Society...

"O man! tyrannic lord, how long, how long Shall prostrate nature groan beneath your rage, Awaiting renovation?"

Truly, "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." The cause of this state of things are manifold, but not such as to forbid the hope of a general redemption...

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

The field of your labors expands to a boundless extent. You are needed every where in the two-fold capacity of teacher and savior. If it be true that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"

It is equally true that his barbarity to fish, and fowl, and cattle, mightily augments the sum of mortal agony. The lesson of humanity is the slowest, if not the hardest, to be learnt by mankind.

RELATION OF THE RELIGIOUS SECTS IN THE UNITED STATES TO SLAVERY.

A friend of Theodore Parker, in Switzerland, expressed the opinion that "orthodox intolerance is the natural ally of slavery in the United States."

The notion that orthodox intolerance is the natural ally of slavery in the United States seems a very plausible one to those who, holding the theological ideas which Theodore Parker taught, also recognize the mutual relationship and alliance which truths of every class have with each other, especially if they infer a like relationship and alliance among errors.

Neither is it just to say that the peculiar and distinguishing ideas of orthodoxy are favorable to slavery. It is indeed true, not only that the Church is the main bulwark of slavery, but that many of its leaders have quoted Scripture in favor of that wickedness, and pressed their peculiar theological tenets into advocacy of it.

But another fact bears with equal force against the hypothesis of a natural connexion between orthodoxy and slavery. The two principal sects that represent heterodoxy, the Universalists and Unitarians are no more favorable to anti-slavery, either in their denominational action, or as represented by the action and influence of the mass of their clergy, than the orthodox.

The truth is—a truth which makes it very difficult for a person newly entering upon this investigation to get the entire truth, or even a just average of the diverse facts—you can call evidence from orthodox or from heterodoxy, or from any of the constituent bodies of either, which shall seem to indicate an anti-slavery position, or a pro-slavery position, at your pleasure.

Table, for instance, the life of Rev. Dr. Channing. He wrote a great deal against slavery; yet, during the greater portion of the time intervening between his first mention of that subject and his death, he held a position practically midway between slavery and anti-slavery.

A similar diversity of evidence will be found by one who examines the record of Henry Ward Beecher upon this subject. No doubt he is making progress, both in the direction of Mr. Garrison's anti-slavery, and of Mr. Parker's reformed theology.

Such diversity of testimony (and of fact) can be found in the life of a single individual, in a position prominently before the public, how much rather must it exist in the case of a sect or a party, which is judged partly by its combined action, and partly by the action and speech of its individual members!

It is thus very possible to produce a great body of evidence called from the words and acts of orthodox ecclesiastical bodies, churches, clergymen and religious periodicals at the North, which shall seem, to the hasty reader, to show that "the orthodox go for freedom throughout the North." But he who carefully examines this evidence will find that it fails to prove the point in question.

1. It will be found that very much of the evidence relied upon to establish an anti-slavery character for orthodoxy consists merely of words, not pleading the parties uttering it, or voting for it, on any action, and, in fact, followed by any action on their part, but merely expressing the sentiment of the moment, or the acquiescence of the majority (probably for the sake of getting rid of "agitation") in some form.

2. Among those "resolutions" of churches, ecclesiastical Associations, &c., the phyllophony of which does promise efficient action, it will be found, in a majority of cases, that no corresponding action was really taken, and that those bodies continued in a state of quietude respecting slavery, of practical acquiescence in the existing state of things, which left slavery undisturbed, granting all that the South demanded.

3. Examination will show that the great majority of churches, Associations, &c., in the North, have taken no action on this subject.

Poetry.

For the Liberator. THE HERO OF HARPER'S FERRY. BY REV. J. T. POWERS. Sword of the Lord and Gideon!

THE SLAVE'S APPEAL TO FREEMEN.

Up, freemen, in the name of God! Break, now, the vile oppression's rod!

NO COMPROMISE WITH TRAITORS.

Freemen, stand firm! Though shadows thick and dun May seem to darken Liberty's bright sun.

THE HERO OF HARPER'S FERRY.

Sword of the Lord and Gideon! Amidst the battle-smoke, Even in the shadow of the night,

THE HERO OF HARPER'S FERRY.

Now, God, for fitting words, that I might pour The lava torrents of my burning soul

The Liberator.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By the Constitution of the United States, Congress has an exclusive legislation over this District in all cases whatsoever. This language is so comprehensive in its import, that it would place Congress on the same footing in relation to the internal affairs of this District, with the different State legislatures in relation to the internal affairs of their several States.

To these views in relation to the power of Congress upon this subject, I would state in reply two objections, which, in my judgment, go to destroy their force, and prove them unsound. One of these objections arises out of the character of a representative government, whether in Congress or in the State legislatures.

The first objection to be considered arises out of the character of a representative government, whether in Congress or in the State legislatures. A representative government does not, I apprehend, imply that the representatives are the mere agents or attorneys of their constituents, bound to act agreeably to their wishes.

The second objection to be considered is, that Congress, in legislating for the District, is bound to consult the interests and welfare of the slaves, as well as the white population. And this is a view of the subject which is always left out of sight, in considering the duty of Congress in relation to this matter.

When men, with hatred burning in their eyes, Offer that loathed thing—a compromise— Let us, with dignity and calm disdain, Reply to them with honest speech and plain.

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery League. TO THE HOUNDS OF LAW AT CLEVELAND. Now, God, for fitting words, that I might pour The lava torrents of my burning soul

Now, here are certain great objects which are said to be the object of this instrument to obtain, among which are, "to establish justice" and "secure the blessings of liberty."

FREE SPEECH, MOBS, &c.

Mr. Editor—I don't know whether you know that I have been in Albany at two conventions—Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights—and that Mr. Mott, Mrs. Stanton and myself, and a hearing before the Judiciary Committee, on the Divorce Bill, now before the House.

Such being the case, slavery was, I conceive, legally abolished in the District of Columbia as soon as it was ceded to the United States, and the laws of Maryland and Virginia ceased to operate within it, and it became subject to the control of Congress, who were bound to look to the principles promulgated in the National Constitution as their landmarks of power and rules of duty.

Wendell Phillips—I shudder with horror at the thought! I am nauseated with disgust at the remembrance which the name calls up! Abomination! Abomination! All is abomination! Boston, our beloved Boston, so respectably connected, so rich, so elegant, is fast becoming a byword and a hissing because of him.

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

FREE SPEECH, MOBS, &c.

Mr. Editor—I don't know whether you know that I have been in Albany at two conventions—Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights—and that Mr. Mott, Mrs. Stanton and myself, and a hearing before the Judiciary Committee, on the Divorce Bill, now before the House.

Such being the case, slavery was, I conceive, legally abolished in the District of Columbia as soon as it was ceded to the United States, and the laws of Maryland and Virginia ceased to operate within it, and it became subject to the control of Congress, who were bound to look to the principles promulgated in the National Constitution as their landmarks of power and rules of duty.

Wendell Phillips—I shudder with horror at the thought! I am nauseated with disgust at the remembrance which the name calls up! Abomination! Abomination! All is abomination! Boston, our beloved Boston, so respectably connected, so rich, so elegant, is fast becoming a byword and a hissing because of him.

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

When I assumed my present position as Mayor of the city, I took the following official oath:—"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Mayor of the city of Albany, to the best of my ability."

with which to combat erroneous opinions. These who resort to it pay but a poor compliment to truth; for they thereby virtually confess the weakness of their own cause. Allow me, then, to exhort you, and all other good citizens, to refrain from these men, and let them alone.

THE SOUTHERN CONGRESS.

The city is filled with strangers. All direct their steps to the capitol. Isn't it a glorious day for the first meeting of the Congress? Here is the hall in which the body is to assemble. Ten o'clock! why it is two hours yet before the Assembly will be called together, and even at this hour the capitol is thronged.

REMARKS OF THE PEOPLE.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

filled with one purpose, that submission should be no longer. These were the men whom Carlisle applied foul epithets to; men who are now determined that, standing by their own banners, standing under the shadow of that old fame, standing under the banner of the immortal words, "Give liberty or give me death," they will hurl back Carlisle in a way never to be remembered, and will not consent to attempt to coerce that gallant old State, who have been the occasion of that noble State, but of any of the States that have linked their destiny with hers.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

STARVING OUT MASSACHUSETTS.

I have heard a good story, as told by Mr. Edwin Forrest. A few days since, he was going to Philadelphia, and in the seat in front of him were two gentlemen from the South, and opposite them, in the car, a Massachusetts Yankee.

EXTRAORDINARY MEANNESS, OR MORE EXTRAORDINARY MALICE.

The proprietors of Harper's Weekly Journal have seemed determined to show the utmost extent of meanness to which a dastardly editor can descend.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.

Let us stand aside, and note the delegates and the remarks that are made about them by the people. See that tall, booby-looking fellow from the country, who stares at the rotund, burly frame of Cobb, of Georgia, as he waddles through the throng.