ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 91 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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F Trens-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, Fire copies will be sent to one address for TER pollars, if payment be made in advance.

FAll remittances are to be made, and all letters plating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to bedirected, (rost PAID,) to the General Agent. F Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,

Pensylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-Peansylvania and the subscriptions for the Liberator. of The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LORING, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

WENDELL PHILLIPS. WENDER PRINCIPAL OF THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

No Union with Glaveholders!

THE U. B. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES—OR engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God. delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatalto the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XXV. NO. 16.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1083.

We have received a very interesting letter from Missouri, giving an account of a revival of religion, with some results so peculiar and delightful that we make with pleasure the following extract. Says

it was my pleasure to attend lately a "Sacramental meeting." in Lafayette county, (50 miles distant-now made 70 miles, by the difficulty in distant—now made to inities, by the dimedity in closing the Missouri River, a pretty little horse-back role.) Shame to our faith, the meeting be-came unexpectedly interesting, and I was detained there one whole week, preaching every day. The power of Gid was wonderfully manifested. The work was characterized by awful stillness, solemnity, and deep, heart-breaking feeling. An aged, stout-hearted sinner, of sixty years, led the way in turning to God. Over twenty professed their faith in Christ previous to my leaving, and the work was till progressing. The aged and the young, the f the Cross, and became brethren in common bonds. This reminds me, -at the meeting of our Preshytery with that church last April, it was my privilege to witness the admission into that church f the minister's san, and the same minister's manereal. Both of about the same age, (and no doubt both had played together in childhood.) they now appeared side by side before the pulpit, took the same obligations, and were received into the same fellowship. The son, a recent graduate of Villiams College, Mass., the other a servant, " but now above a servant," even a " brother beloved ; they are both hopefully members of the same body, and in their different walks of life are pursuing the same, the only path to heaven. The one, being free, is the " Lord's servant"-the other, be-

This is the kind of abolition I admire and love (!) -abolishing sin and Satan. That minister, by the way, is one of our pious and godly men, (!!) and has been one of the most successful ministers west of the mountains for the last thirty years ; the companion of Nelson and Gallagher in Western revivals. He it was who instrumentally led the present Rev. Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, twenty-live years ago, from the gaming table to the Cross, when his large realth and fine talents were consecrated to Christ : and yet this same aged brother Glenn, owning a servers, could not receive the aid of the American Home Missionary Society. His people make up for him \$300, and the balance of his support he realizes from his farm. All last summer-so hot and dry-that man of God was in the same field at work, side by side, with his brother-servant (!!) following the plough around the rows of corn, &c. making five days per week in his own field, and two-nay seven-days per week in the Lord's field. This he does in order to pursue the work of the Lord himself, and at the same time raise his sons to the same work. May the Lord bless and prosper that generous 'Aid Society,' in which Northern Christians look with fellowship and sympathy upon such laborers as Brother Glenn in the

og a servant, is the " Lord's freeman." (!!)

SAN DOMINGO.

Extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Mason, (the infamous author of the Fugitive Slave Bill,) of Virginia, in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 26, 1855 :-

Lome now to the more recent case at San Doning). It was considered important on the part of this government to form commercial connexions of some kind with the Dominican government, which, we are well informed, is in the hands of the white race, the principal and great object being to attain the most desirable end of having a depot for cal. The island of San Domingo is the only one of these islands that is not in possession of some one of the European powers. As we all know, one end of that island is in the hands of the negro race. who have relapsed into savageism and barbarism; and the other end is in the hands of the African race, as they are represented now by the white of themselves. It was deemed important by our government, for high national purposes, to obtain a coal depot there; and if coal existed in the island, as there was strong reason to believe, to be allowed. the proper contracts and engagements, to have the privilege of obtaining it. Here again we fad the French consul and the English consul ac-tirely and personally interfering, until they at last successfully frustrated the negotiation.

We know very well, Mr. President, that the Spanish negroes at one end of the island are com-paratively few and feeble, and the French negroes at the other end are in a state of perfect savageism, are far more numerous, and that these two mediating powers claim the credit of keeping the French es from exterminating the Spanish negroes at other end, and they have been there in that character for a considerable time. San Domingo once belonged to France. At an evil day, she surrendered it to the African race, who at the time were her stares, but who had succeeded in a revolt. What has been the consequence! After the whites were expelled from the island, the negroes relapsed into a state of absolute savageism, which is paralleled at the consequence. alleled only by the same race on the coast of Afriea, from whence they came : and the only vestige, gress, of a capability to take care of themselves, thich is evinced by any portion of the African race of that island, is at the Dominican end, where the government is in the bands of the whites, at their arrender, and by whom they are controlled.

THE KNOW NOTHING MOVEMENT. The Hon. Thomas S. Flournoy, the Know Nothing candidate for the Governorship of Virginia, in

a recent letter, showing why the South is in-terested in the success of the new Order, says: The South is especially and deeply interested in this session; this immense and annual addition to our population settles in the non-slaveholding States, and the stiensive Territories of the West and Northwest, out of which free States will, in consequence, be more speedily formed, increasing with fearful rapidity the balance of jouer against us.

Ex-Governor Smith, of Virginia, who, when he siled the Chair of State, recommended the expulsion of the free colored people, has lately cut loose from the Democratic party so called, and come out an advocate of Know Nothingism; why, he expenses pains in the following extract from a late speech delirated by him in Virginia:

'I will never interfere with foreigners now in the togatry; but I know foreigners who approve the policy of arresting the importation of foreigners. The origin of the Know Nothings is a sfruggle for bread—a frightful and angry question at the North. At the South, it is a political question of high importance. The North

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

has fifty-five more Representatives than the South already. The natural increase of the South is one-third greater than that of the North, because there are greater checks on population there; but the artificial element of foreignism brings 500,000, who settle annually in the free States, with instincts against Slavery, making fifty Representatives in ten warr to swell the making fifty Representatives in ten years, to swell the opposition to the South! To stop this enormous disproportion, what is our policy? What is the frightful a pole.' But it's no use; it can neither be analyzed duty to the South is to discourage immigration. I deprecate it as a great calamity."

While these Pro-Slavery men are looking to the

We have been informed, on what we regard as wholly unquestionable authority, that a National Council of the American or Know Nothing party was held a few days ago in the city of New York; that it consisted of izing itself in regard to the Slavery question, but we in its organization : and we hope, trust, and believe,

SELECTIONS.

GOSPEL.

im ported into this city from the east, by that most selfcomplacent of all Societies, the 'Young Men's Christian Association of St. Louis.' His mission was to lecture the Association on history, to preach the gospel (of FRIEND GARRISON: damnation) to others, and to defend the divine institution of slavery every where. He pitched into his work with pious fury. He made the true distinction between politics as in religion. The politician who has little or expatiated on the necessity of forbearance and gentle- inhuman government, is but an experimentalist; and ness toward such amiable weaknesses as buying men, though he brays himself in a mortar of his own manings, passings laws to make them brutes, and other ishness will not depart from him. laws to punish them for being so; but towards great sinners, such as do not regularly attend the preaching tical demonstration of the above truths. After having of 'the gospel,' or who do not believe as much as he experimented upon the practice of a false expediency does, or who happen to believe a little more, he mani- until it ought to have brayed out all their folly, they tion; 'Universalists' who do not cook their spiritual with as much eagerness as though the past had satis-Latin, greater on English, but greatest on 'the gospel.' homage. He was mighty with unused words, mightier with The Free preachers,' but hardest on 'the gospel.' Didn't he doctor 'the gospel '! Didn't be 'cure it till it died '! Didn't be preach his gospel to his bearers until their by Free Soilers, could ever so shrivel into Nothing humanity was gone, their religion was gone, their souls as to ignore the very fundamentals of their profession, were gone, and until they had nothing left but Dr. is more than a natural-born Know Nothing can divine. Goosehorn's 'gospel'! Does he not teach that all they Professing to hold to the equal rights of all men, they want is to sneak into heaven? Does he not shew them, have fused themselves with a party which first accerby precept and example, that cheating negroes, abus- tains on which side of the meridian line that divides ing 'Universalists, infidels, abolitionists and she- the Old from the New world one is born, ere it can perpreachers,' are evidences of superior piety? Does he mit him to enjoy the rights of humanity. not bear testimony that persons holding such unpopular opinions should be belied and slandered by all truly the orthodoxy of those who practise these uncommon ing the happy state and condition of our dear Doctor. and the great fame that seemed to await him, falsely, maliciously and scandalously, did utter and publish, and cause to be uttered and published, of and concerning the said Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox aforesaid, and of Phillips can proclaim. Who can say that even Garriand concerning his opinions, certain false, scandalous, son may not yet teach his no-devil doctrine in the very malicious and defamatory words, with intent to have it be- place where the least of two-devil doctrines has heretolieved that he, the said Dr. Cox, was opposed to slavery; fore been taught? Locomotion of thought, as well as thereby defaming his, the said Doctor's, good fame, of rail-road, may yet give strange bed-fellows even in credit and reputation, whereby his deservedly great that city of elms. name and character, and high standing as an approved preacher of 'the gospel,' would be greatly damnified, of the Massachusetts Legislature, on the death penalty, and wholly ruined, prestrated, destroyed, and held for I deem masterly. I have loaned it as published in Tun naught. But the Lord was on the side of Dr. Cox; and LIBERATOR, and all who have read-it pronounce it unso were the slaveholders; and with such powerful allies, the slander was instantly met, the charge denied, lished in pamphlet form, for circulation, and let it be lies, the slander was instantly met, the charge denied. the evidence adduced, and the Doctor proved to be not guilty. It was because of this slander that the Doctor omposed his speech made before the Board of Commissioners last fall, and had it published in the 'Repub-lican,' with mighty editorial encomiums. Howbeit,

the beauties of this speech will never be all discovered.

They lurk around every sentence, but cannot be seen.

This great bull-work of grace, grammar and 'goepel,'

establishes the wonderful truth, that sin cannot be

counted righteousness, unless it is popular, and unless it pays. With what glorious, undefinable intertwistings

portion, what is our policy? What is the frightful a pole. But it's no use; it can neither be aumigrouped before us? The effect of Know Nothingism is nor its beauties summed up, and I abandon the underto turn back the tide of immigration, and our highest taking. But don't mistake the Doctor's meaning. It was not the 'Universalists, infidels, abolitionists and she-preachers' that the good physician was speaking of, when he advised the 'nation to bear and forbear with Know Nothings to prevent the multiplication of free States, and to reduce their political weight, each other.' It was those dear brethren who cheat nethere states, and to reduce their political weight, others in the South are trusting in their efforts to their efforts to at hand to aid his expositions. What if a man, jour-States, so as to lead them to ignore the Slavery neying from Jerusalem to Jericho, did fall among Question, and thus allow the perpetuation of the rule of Slavery. Hear the Louisville (Ky.) Jourto bind up his wounds, place him on his own beast, and give two pence to relieve his necessities? Nay, verily. It was not the way the priest did in the Bible; and a close examination of the text will prove that Christ did not command it. What Christ did command numerous delegates from all parts of the Union; that a motion was made by one of its members to engraft preach the gospel, and woe is me if I do not a motion was made by one of its members to engraft preach the gospel. But even if Christ did command preach the gospel.' But even if Christ did command Free-Soilism upon the party creed; and that the resolu-tion was roted down unanimously. We do not know that the American party will fully succeed in national the act of Congress, passed Sept. 18, 1850, commonly called the ' Fugitive Slave Law,' and is no longer obligbelieve that it is making a sincere and earnest effort to atory. He would not intermeddle with what did not concern him. But it was his duty to speak of the wickedness of sin, of the depravity of carnal nature, of the danger of trusting to good works, of the necessity of repentance, of the beauty of vicarious atonement, the efficacy of grace, and the unspeakable value of 'the gospel.' Thus did the Right Reverend Samuel Han-DR. COX ON GRACE, GRAMMAR, AND son Cox, Doctor of Divinity, receive much gold and silver, and establish his praise in the churches, even unto This right Reverend Doctor of Divinity was recently

St. Louis, March 6, 1855.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

The school of experience is the only one in which many politicians ever learn. Walking by faith is what with unrelenting power. He attacked unpopular sins such never do; and yet, faith is almost as necessary in unfashionable righteousness and fashionable sin. He no confidence in principles which ought always to inhere women and children; cheating them out of their earn- ufacture, and with a pestle of his own forging, his fool-

The state of political parties in our country is a pracfested a most godly wrath. 'Infidels' are his abomina- still choose the ignis-futuus of their experimentalism

food with brimstone, he detests; and 'she-preachers' fed their most sanguine expectations.

are sinners above all others who dwell in Jerusalem. But of all political folly or chicanery, that of mod-The great Doctor was truly busy. He preached in our ern Know-Nothingism exceeds. Under the specious churches, lectured in our halls, and wrote newspaper name of True American, and with a professed hatred of articles for our 'Republican.' His modesty and hu- Catholic Jesuitry, they have become more jesuitical mility were every where boldly and conspicuously prom- than Jesuitism itself. Under pretence of saving the inent. They were proclaimed in the churches. They Union from Catholic diabolism, they have given some were heralded by the press; and even the good Doctor specimens of propinquity to that spirit which ought to be did not hesitate publicly to declare that he was not satisfactory to all. It was to be hoped that the spirit ashamed to own his Lord and Master.' His great of Free Soilism would not have had any itching for theme was 'the gospel.' Its great importance was such an amalgamation; but, like ancient Israel, even ever uppermost in his mind. His newspaper compositions that chosen few seem to have gone after strange gods. tions, though bad in grammar, worse in sense, and Thus, what by many was considered the acme of politiworst in spirit, were full of 'gospel.' He was great on cal perfection, has fallen so low that none will do it

The Free Soil party in Connecticut, I fear, has sold small ideas, but mightiest with 'the gospel.' He was out to 'Sam' for less than Esau sold his birthright; for hard on 'infidels and Universalists,' harder on 'she- he did not get enough for one meal, but they have not obtained enough for even a luncheon.

How a party, with such a platform as that put forth

I cannot but regret that Connecticut Free Soilers should have gone after 'Sam.' They will find they evangelical Christians, and that to do so is evidence of have gone to Tarshish, and if they do not fall into the maw of the prophet's fish, it will not be their fault. and most exalted virtues? Can any one allege any in- Already, the true anti-slavery men who have refused consistency in his precept and his practice? Does he to be fused, are beginning to feel after the foundations. not make the Bible the man of his counsel? Does he A number, who have patronized Free Soil papers in this not prove by his daily walk, that ' Christ's yoke is easy, vicinity, have ordered them stopped, and say that THE and his burden light'? Does he not ask, in the lan- LIBERATOR, after all, can alone be depended on. Enclosguage of Paul, that 'If the truth of God shall more ed are five dollars for THE LIBERATOR; and I am reabound through my lie to his glory, why am I therefore quested to say to you, in behalf of those who sent it, judged as a sinner?' The Doctor's head was a halo of that they more than ever respect your adherence to pringlory. Resplendent beauties shone all around him. ciple. Thus the folly (if not the wrath) of men may Nevertheless, some vile person of the baser sort, envy- work out the salvation of the slave, by opening the eves of some.

In conclusion, I would say, that I believe there is progress even in Connecticut. New Haven has, for the first time, heard such anti-slavery truth as Wendell

The argument of Mr. Phillips before the Committee placed in every family in the Union? Is it not demanded? It is time that this relic of barbarism was expelled from Christendom, and that professed Christian nations make advances toward civilization, if not evangelization.

I rejoice to learn that your Peace anniversary in

Worcester was so well attended, and excited so much interest. Such meetings, instead of being yearly, ought to be quarterly, if not monthly. Oh, what a work is before the philanthropist and Christian! The world lieth in wickedness; its fields are all white for did he interweave the materials of this great speech! the harvest, but laborers are few. Let us pray the Lord No words can express the classic, chaste, and lofty to send forth true and faithful laborers into his vine-

Yours, truly, 2. S. GRISWOLD.

From the Hartford Republican.

bread to the hungry and employment to the laborer, it cannot be called a failure, if it leaves the thinker's lips ungagged. Gentlemen, you list-ened last evening to a Virginian, who defended the charge that it could sanction and approve of Virginia and her institutions. When I, or any one like me, shall be welcomed in Richmand to de-Virginia and her institutions. When I, or any slavery. And yet you have heard men in these one like me, shall be welcomed in Richmond to defend New England and New England's institutions, duty to Christianity; and you have heard of clerfend New England and New England's institutions, without danger of the penitentiary, then it will be time to weigh Massachusetts and Connecticut against Virginia and the Carolinas! (Applause.) Gentlemen, I would not attempt to answer, even most respectfully, the arguments that were presented to you last evening; I think that they answer themselves most fully. And any one who could spend an hour on one of your Connecticut hills—on West Rock, for instance—looking down swer themselves most fully. And any one who could spend an hour on one of your Connecticut hills—on West Rock, for instance—looking down upon your towns, filled with a hardy, industrious and moral population, your schools and frequent the pulpit do it. Ours is a voluntary pulpit, and it must represent the sentiments of the majority. their own fortunes—on an industry which uses It cannot be otherwise. ten times over every drop of water before it falls But the pulpit! You s into the ocean—upon an education that not only lifts up this State, but runs over with its benign influences into other States,-I say, any one who science of an honest man! What I say is thiscould stand for an hour looking down on such a scene as this, and say that free society is a fail- Bible, by statute, to every sixth man that is born ure,' must look elsewhere than on earth for suc-cess. And any one who can look upon the past that an abolitionist, who believes in the necessity history and present condition of Virginia, and say of religion, will arraign it as wrong. Thes that the ulcer which is eating at her vitals is free twenty millions of people are our jury. The trade, and not slavery, is like the sailor, who, when Church which sees injustice, and has no protest, advised to do without his grog, asserted that it was is not right. not the rum in it, but the water, which did him

harm. (Laughter.)
I said that this was the first time I ever spoke in Connecticut on the subject of slavery. With all due respect I say it-Connecticut has never taken so deep an interest in the anti-slavery cause as she ought to have taken—so deep an interest as the other Northern States. I say that she has been a laggard in the army of liberty! On the pages of her history, for the last twenty or thirty years, there rests many a blot! Twenty years ago, in this State of Connecticut, whose educational system is so perfect, and where education is considered to man his manhood—has met with the most 'Massachusetts.' persistent opposition? I ask, how comes it!—
There is some key to this riddle. It is a fact. It is a fact of the utmost significance, that Connecticut, of all the States of New England, has shown our ministers, who could not be drawn orth of the country of this, are roused, and come forth boldly at the ling. As soon as I arrived, I told the leader that Nebraska bill. Why is all this! I say it is to be I wished to speak with him a moment. He said, referred to the far-seeing, consummate sagacity of I it was about that man, he would not have after him.

sentiment.

The only complaint which has been made of the anti-slavery movement, with which I am particu-larly connected, is, that it is anti-Government and anti-Church. Now this is a grave charge to substantiate against any movement, if it can be proved that this hostility were not a necessary means to gain our end. The Pulpit says that we are infidel—that they will have nothing to do with us—they will not touch us. But the Pulpit never refused in the days of the Revolution to work with Thominent men of our Revolutionary history, who were infidels. Thomas Paine himself, the very im-

ras formed to promote justice and liberty, is a bear.

raitor to his country! The man who says that

The second in command of this mob was a fac-

Now, another question. Should I need to argue with you in this way, if the negro slave was white!

A babe is born in Carolina, and a white hand is laid on its brow, just fresh from the baptism of the Almighty, and says, 'This is mine.' The Church says 'Amen,' and politicians say, 'Smother your prejudices.' Now a babe is born among the Green

tion : when we established the right of the univer-WENDELL PHILLIPS IN NEW HAVEN.

We give below extracts from Mr. Phillips's eloquent lecture on Slavery, delivered in New Haven a short time since—the evening after a Mr. First are—the scorn of Europe for enforcing a law which, a short time since—the evening after a Mr. Fitz-hugh, of Virginia, had lectured in defence of Slavery.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—This is the first time that I ever spoke on the subject of slavery in Connecticut. I am exceedingly gratified at this opportunity which has been afforded me. I rejoice to stand before you here. I rejoice especially to stand here on the night following such a lecture as some of you listened to yesterday. The highest attribute of a free society is that which suffers free men to reason fearlessly and speak freely their opinions. The society which will allow this cannot be called a failure! Even if it could not give bread to the hungry and employment to the

But the pulpit! You say, ' He's an infidel who touches it!' Gentlemen, in this battle with the dollar, there is no fulcrum for us but the conthe Church that allows fifteen States to refuse the

[From correspondence of New York Daily Times.] AN ABOLITIONIST RODE ON A RAIL, BLACKENED, AND SENT PROM TOWN ON THE CARS.

GREENSBORO', GA., March 18, 1855. There was a disgraceful mob here on Saturday, the 17th. I was attracted by a crowd on the principal street. On drawing near, I saw a young midst of the crowd. They were asking his name, which it appears he declined giving. I inquired of of the highest value, efforts to extend its advan-a by-stander what the excitement was. He in-tages to a most despised race were met by the peo-formed me the young man 'had declared himself ple with a mob—by your leading statesmen with indifference. Connecticut—of all the States of New England—of all the States of the North—bas him.' He was told to leave the place, but he demake men worthy of their immortal being. Now all this is worthy of remark. Why is it that a cause like ours has met with indifference in your most democratic State! Why is it that an attempt to democratic State! Why is it that an attempt to give to the husband his wife—to the slave his Bible were the least excited advised him to leave. He was asked where he was from; he answered,

I saw him leave the crowd, and go to the hotel. Soon he came out and walked past the crowd, gocut, of all the States of New England, has shown such disrespect to the question of the nineteenth century; and it adds only to the singularity of the problem, that your leading men, who could not be what they might do, I concluded to follow, and, recursed when may ricensed triumphed over the aroused when mob violence triumphed over the North—when the blood of the first martyr to the liberty of speech reddened the plains of the Misliberty of speech reddened the plains of the Mississippi—when free debate was stifled on the floor of Congress—when Religion veiled herself, and did obedience unto party—it adds, I say, to the singularity of the problem, that your politicians and your ministers, who could not be drawn forth by all of this, are roused, and come forth boldly at the

referred to the far-seeing, consummate sagacity of the Slave Power, which has controlled your public. At this point the man broke, and they after him. He jumped a picket fence, and entered a dwelling robe. They searched the house a long time before he was found. I tried to reason with some, per-suading them to give it up and let him go. But suading them to give it up and let him go. But they were so excited, I did not know but they would lynch me, if I said much more.

I went up town, and soon the mob came back,

making all sorts of hideous noises, with their pris making all sorts of hideous noises, with their prisdel—that they will have nothing to do with us—
they will not touch us. But the Pulpit never refused in the days of the Revolution to work with Thomas Jefferson—to work with some of the most prominent men of our Revolutionary history, who
were infidels. Thomas Paine himself, the very impersonation of practical infidelity, was a welcomed
assistant in that civil struggle. The common sense
of our fathers never refused to struggle, even side
the properson of the control of our fathers never refused to struggle, even side by side, with the infidel creed. But the charge of infidelity cannot be substantiated against us. We are not infidel. We are not anti-Church; but we do arraign the Church, and charge it that it is opposed to the anti-slavery movement.

The abolitionist who says that Massachusetts can make her own bread, without allowing the South to whip negroes, is an enemy to his country! The abolitionist who says that the Union was formed to promote justice and liberty, is a superior of the struggle, even side but heard them crying him off while I was at tea. The mob took him to a drinking-saloon, and had the niggers hugging and kiesing him. He bore it like a martyr. They said they would kill him, if he resisted. A search warrant was procured, to search his baggage, to see if he had any Abolition documents, and all that was found any way suspicious were three copies of the New York Tribune.

While at the drinking-saloon, they indulged quite freely, and some got more than they could bear.

Massachusetts cannot make her own bread, unless two let the Southerners whip negroes, is a patriot! Who never owned a negro, and more, never will, if one man who says Christianity can be preached without violating alavery, is a friend to the Bible; and Mr. Garrison, who says the contrary, is an infidel, is he!

Now, another question. Should I need to argue the second in command of this moo was a factory hand, and, I should judge; a very poor one, who never owned a negro, and more, never will, if one may judge from his ragged appearance. The cars left at 11 o'clock in the evening, and he was put on board and sent to Augusta. While at the depot, the sheriff and marshal had a fight, and thus ended this mob of Greensboro'.

Just before this, General Houston, by in

ritation, had been delivering a lecture to the good people of Boston, in defence of Slavery; and abou

Almighty, and says, 'This is mine.' The Church says 'Amen,' and politicians say, 'Smother your prejudices.' Now a babe is born among the Green Mountains of Vermont. Suppose a hand should claim that babe as property, the Green Mountains would tear themselves from their roots, and empty down upon the Carolinas, to vindicate blue eyes! (Great applause.) But the other child is black, and there is nothing for him in the Bible, and nothing in the Declaration of Independence! (Sensation.)

1 love, as much as you do, the names of the great men of the past. I am an American as much as any of you; and far be it from me to foul our beautiful nest, and bring dishonor on our country. But the question for us is, 'Shall slavery make of our Government a great oligarchy of despotism?' Never, with but one exception, have we made a successful resistance to its demands. That was, when we vindicated the right of peti-

growth of free labor. Mr. Fitzhugh was listened to respectfully, treated kindly, hospitably enter-tained, and went his way unmolested, unchal-

Now, whenever the slave States can show the same magnanimity, the same appreciation of fire freedom of opinion and rights of discussion, the same respect for law and order, the same confidence in the truth and right and good of their peculiar institutions, which those 'fanatical Abolitionists' exhibited in New Haven and Boston, it will be time enough for their philosophers and poets to argue and chant the praises of Slavery. Till then, let them blush for a system, the tendency of which is to supplant Civilization by Barbarism -National Era.

THE LAND OF THE PREE.

Twenty-four Americans were seized in Washington, the capital of the United States, in the month of February, 1855, for the crime of meeting together. They were guilty of no overt act. They said nothing, swore nothing, conspired nothing, did nothing, that could be construed into an offence against any person or law; they simply assembled together They did not assemble together at midnight, in mysterious conclave, to swear eternal enmity and opposition to any law of the land, or to any religious organization in the nation. They met in council, to organize the means for purchasing the freedom of a slave girl, whose owner was willing to sell her. This arrest was not made in a slave State, under the exclusive sanction of slaveholders. It was made in a city where the President of the American Republic has his home, where all the high efficers of state have their bureaus, where the ambassadors from foreign countries have their residences, and where this country has established its legislative halls. Louder speeches have been made at Washington, about 'American freedom,' than in any other city on the continent. American orators have indulged in more extravagant glorification of American liberty there, than any where else from Maine to Florida. They have exultantly contrasted it with European oppression, and have pushed their proud comparisons into the faces of the rep-resentatives of European kings. American Secre-taries have written letters about it, too, with the most complacent self-gratulation, and have smiled at the benighted Austrian despots who could not

understand it.

But what did Austria ever do so despotie, so cruel, so utterly subversive of liberty, as was done a week ago, in the city that, ironically, bears the name of Washington! Twenty-four Americans were taken into the custody of the United States authorities, for assembling together. The docu-ments that were found in their place of meeting were a Bible—God's blessed charter of liberty to all men:—Seneca's morals—a book that might be read with profit by some American legislators, al-though it was written by a heathen;—Life in Earnest—which the religious tract society would readily endorse ;—and the constitution of a socie-ty called the 'Daughters of Jerusalem,' the object of which was to ' relieve the sick and bury the

For the awful crime of meeting together, for the the Americans thus taken were sent to the work house, one of them receiving six lashes. The other

twenty were fined \$5 58 each.

It is not long since a great number of our presses
were very such offended at some English playgoers, because they cheered when the death of Nicholas was announced to them. Our censors said that those cheers were disgraceful, &c.; that they were barbarous, brutal and disgusting—and they seemed to feel proud to think that our civilization was above all reproach. But, after all, we have reason to be very modest in our criticisms and censures of other people. The young men of Austria never did anything more disgraceful to civiliza-tion than was done within the shadow of the American Capitol, only a few weeks ago. But you see, the twenty-four men apprehended were colored !- Worcester Spy.

[Correspondence of the New York Daily Times.] KANSAS.

The Election (by Courtesy) - How the Bullies Carried 11-Infamous Proceedings.

Kansas, Saturday, March 31, 1855.

The election (so called, by way of courtesy.) which was expected to provide this fine Territory with a Legislature and special laws, was held yesterday; and enough returns have come in to ena-ble me to present the whole thing, without naming a single majority. In fact, figures have nothing whatever to do with the result, unless it may be such rhetorical ones as are necessary to describe adequately the fraud again practised upon the citizens of this Territory and the Union. Hereafter, it seems to have been decreed by the slavocracy, that the election returns shall be prepared before-hand, and the programme carried out by brute force. It matters not what may bappen to be the views of the simple citizens who were weak enough to suppose that the 'popular sovereignty' of Southern men could mean anything but abject submission to their dicta; the only uniterial fact now entering into the political calculation, need only be what number of marauders shall be detailed

from Missouri to bring the pro-slavery majorities

up to the necessary point.
In sober fact, the outrage of last fall has been

repeated with circumstances of fresh atrocity.
Funds have been raised in Missouri, and men hired
by thousands to come over into the Territory, and
do all the voting. Three thousand men are said to have been encamped about Lawrence, and to have voted without the slightest regard to actual resihave been encamped about Lawrence, and to have voted without the slightest regard to actual residence. The same thing, to a less extent, has been practised everywhere. In the Douglas precinct, the first Missourian offering a vote refused to take the prescribed oath, and the mob said seriously to the judges, 'Yield us up the poll-book, and let us select judges of our own, or we will in five minutes uproot the house and storm it.' The judges saw preparations made to do this, and yielded; but the poll-book was not to be found. At last, it was seized in possession of the Clerk, and he compelled, under the most solemn promises of being instantly hung, if he refused to deposit a pro-slavery vote. Instances are numerous where candidates have been made, under penalty of instant death, to vote a pro-slavery ticket—in some cases, to make proslavery speeches. Not the slightest regard was paid to the legal requirements; the polls were seized, and the drunken cohorts marched up, and permitted to vote without challenge. And so great was the preponderance of numbers, that the Free Soilers saw it was in vain, and would be madness to resist; and so, in many precincts, refused to

Soilers saw it was in vain, and would be madness to resist; and so, in many precincts, refused to share it at all in such shameful mockery.

O! the glory of the free elective franchise!

It was thought that an attempt would be made to make every voter seem a resident; but the apprehensions of the fire-caters were too great for their discretion. It is now openly proclaimed that

10, A. M HOOL

om, for the until 4, P.

Missouri will turn the balance with her heavy hand. Threats are made against the Yankees, that in a civilized land would oblige the makers to give bonds to keep the peace. If asked whether they bonds to keep the peace. If asked whether they suppose that Gov. Reeder can sanction an election so acknowledgedly fraudulent, the reply is, that if he does not his life shall pay the forfeit; he will never see his friends again. And it is understood that, at this election, Rev. Mr. Johnson has been balloted for (and of course elected!) for Governor; and that he will grant certificates, and President Pierce shall remove Reeder, and appoint the choice of the people! Can braved go further!

But, though brave men fear for him, the Gover-

nor does not fear for himself. His path of duty is plain, and at all hazards he will walk therein jest of an election he will probably disown and immediately carry his case to Washington in person, if indeed some drunken desperado does not fulfil the bloody threat, and add his murder to the bloody outrages already committed.

(Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.) BARBARIAN DESCENT ON KANSAS.

STEAMER NEW LUCY, Kansus River, April 1. The 'great fight' in Kansas has proved nearly as fair a contest as the struggle between Hungary and Austria—only that the Czar, when he overwhelmed the Magvars with his legions, observed more of the amenities of civilization than have the Cossacks precipitated upon us by Atchison. What think you of a free election in the Territories of these United States of America, in the year of grace 1855, where a thousand 'Outside Barbarians' rush in, wrest the polls from their two or three hundred legal guardians, making new Judges, overturning the whole machinery, and allowing every man access who has a Pro-Slavery ticket in his hand, a white ribbon in his button-hole, and all the whiskey in his skin he can hold; and in many instances compelling known Free-Soilers to take the same dose and vote the same ballot, un-der serious threats of instant death by the cord in case of refusal! Brave doings these! and bravely has the freedom of our elective franchise been vindicated before the world! Who will refuse to

huzza for Popular Sovereignty!
All that I have here implied is sober fact. On the 30th day of March, an army from Missouri regularly organized, armed, officered and disciplined, and liberally supplied with rations and whiskey, seized on the polls in each election district in Kan-sas, appointed their own Judges, prescribed their own Judges, and cast three-fourths of all the ballots. more or less; what matter a few figures! It is enough that they were prepared to overwhelm any legal vote that could be cast, and thus they did it. What matters it whether the pro-Slavery majority is one thousand, or ten! The right, the justice and

the result are the same.

All this will be read like a fable in the East; would that it were so. But it is fact, plain, un-varnished; and will receive its coloring from the atrocious details which will soon reach you. The invading army was divided into battalions, which were detailed to various points as wanted. They were held as a reserve corps, to he brought into action if needed. The main force was directed against Lawrence, and that devoted city was com-pletely overwhelmed. Resistance would have been adness against an armed and infuriated mob, crazed with passion and whiskey. It was only by submission that bloodshed was avoided; and even with it, it is said that Mr. Brown, editor of The Herald of Freedom, was a mark for the bullet of a desperado named Wallis.

As for the Governor, men who ought to be re-

spectable are daily heard to say that his life is not worth an hour's purchase, if he refuses to sauction this audacious mockery of an election. But the Governor, thus far, has gone straight on; and I have that faith in him that I believe he will die, if need be, at his post, rather than violate his oath by any such sanction. And I also believe that his firmness will produce its legitimate effect, and that no hand can be found animated by a courage or depravity equal to the execution of the horrible against him. It is now said that he will refuse the certificates, and go in person to Washington with the matter; but Slavery swears that he shall not quit the Territory alive.

On this boat are a hundred men from the interior of Missouri, who are returning from the election; many of them seriously ill from the effects of whiskey and exposure. They are an army of semi-barbarians; and they carry one's mind irresistibly back to the Dark Ages, when might made right, and the weakest went to the wall. Such might have been the bullying and profane crew who tore the dust of Milton from its grave, and butchered the Covenanters at their altars. Slavery has in them embalmed and perpetuated the vices and

barbarisms of the past.
Will the North—the Union—abide these insults and these wrongs! Less cause has overturned States. Let the Free States, if indeed they are free, arouse and act. Let them erase the vaingloaious boasting which has answered no purpose as yet, but to infuriate the South, and pro eed calmly and strongly to work. A few thousand good men in Kansas, prepared for any emer-gency, will defend it against all odds. Send us no coxcombs and cowards, armed with big words; but send us sturdy workers, sworn to the right, and invincible in calm courage. Kansas can

THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS.

The Kansas Pioneer contained the following, among other equally inflammatory appeals, prior to Pro-slavery freemen of Kansas! the election come

off on next Friday, the 30th inst. Your candidates are at our mast-head-Mr. Grover for the Council, and Messrs. Harrison and Weddle for the lower House. They have been regularly nominated by our party, and it behooves us one and all to rally

to their support.

It matters not who are elected, provided they are qualified, and are right upon the great and important subject of slavery. We have such men in our candidates, and we should, as a party, unite on them, and give them the whole pro-slavery vote. It will be of no benefit to the party to split and cast their votes for this or that man, who is not a regular nominee; it will be just so many votes

thrown away.

If this Territory is to be abolitionized by a set of men from the North and East, with the Emigrant Aid Society to back them, we think it is full time that we were looking after our interests, and should meet them at the polls with an open and dauntless front, and convince them that the power remains in the keeping of pro-slavery freemen. We must be fully prepared to meet the enemy in every emergency. We must accomplish our purpose—the flownfall and prostration of abolitionism in this Territory, at the approaching as well as every future election. Show them no quarters, clear every head of them out of Kansas; they have no business here; they are put out of their latitude.

We presume the Governor will allow them (the

anti-slavery men) to vote. This class of men have no interests in Kansas, and are shipped here for the express purpose of abolitionizing the Territory. Not one of them have a claim, an actual and bone fide home here, or anything else, to entitle them to a vote, according to the Governor's ideas of a qual-ified voter. If this is allowed and considered fair, it ought to be regarded just as fair and honest for the citizens of Missouri, or any other slave State, to vote here; they make as good one-day citizens as any

Who dare censure Missourians, and Western and Southern pro-slavery men in general, in rising in their strength and power to make us a slave State, their strength and power to make us a slave State, when their property is so much in jeopardy. Can it be reasonably supposed that Missourians can sit quietly and tamely, and see the slaves run into Kansas by a class of men who have congregated at Lawrence for the unboly and unlawful object of stealing negroes, without a sturdy, determined and resolute resolve to put down such corruption and rottes-heartedness! We must defend our rights, our property, and the Canstitution of the United rotten-heartedness! We must defend our rights, our property, and the Constitution of the United States. We must rise in our strength, and thwart every obstacle in the camp of the enemy. If necessary, we must defend ourselves at the peril of loss of blood and life. If our batteries must be thrown blood and life. If our batteries must be thrown open, our swords unsheathed, and our musketry brought into requisition to defend our rights, let us commence the light. The institutions of the South must and will be respected. Insults are being of fered, nay, heaped upon us every day. The offenders should be taught a lesson that will convince them we are not to be trifled with.

We lose the liging and would like to answer the state of the state

We love the Union, and would like glorious flag soar over every portion of it. But, at the same time, we want to see the Constitution

of this great Confederany observed to the letter by the enemies of our Union—the abolitionists. They are causing all the disturbances in the land by their are causing all the disturbances in the land by their hellish and disunion-loving manœuvres, and if a dissolution must take place, they will be the aggressors, and should consequently be the sufferers. Southern men have borne insult upon insult from this class of men long enough: they are utterly devoid of justice, truth, principle and honor, and will be as unpopular in hell as they are in pro-elavery latitudes. The devil will never be satisfied till he has them in his Satanic majesty's keeping.

The Southern character is not made of material that can withstand every insult offered by this

that can withstand every insult offered by this God-forsaken class of men, and if the virgin-Kansas must be enriched and purified by American blood, we say 'war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt,' and 'damned be he who first cries hold, enough!

Here is an extract from an editorial article in a paper published at Atchison, Kansas, entitled The Squatter Sovereign':—

Within the last few days, we have welcomed to Kansas a great many of our old friends from Missouri. They are coming in to make a permanent settlement, and we are glad to see them in before the election, as it is very obvious that our nominal Governor is devoting all his time to try and carry the ensuing election for the Abolitionists. He is (we have no doubt) delaying the election as long as he dare, for the purpose of getting as many of his the Society as practicable, from all parts of negro-thieving friends from Thayer & Co., as he try, is earnestly desired and strongly urged. can, prior to the election, and to drill his secret confederates as thoroughly as possible before the fight comes off. Won't it be a glorious sight to see this regiment of his Excellency's! Falstaff's rag-ged regiment would be beautiful, compared to it. And it is intimated that they will really have every ragged rascal of them. We hope none of the 'bloody villains' will come this way; 'our folks' are not used to the smell of gunpowder, and the gleaming of knives; it makes us feel like fainting to talk about it : we really think the Government ought to be called on, to protect us from these bloody-minded Thayer men.
We hope our timid friends in Missouri will not

be scared out of their intention of coming here, however; perhaps we may persuade them not to hurt us. Provisions are scarce in Kansas: we would therefore suggest to the emigrants to bring their guns and ammunition with them, as game is very abundant—deer, turkeys, &c.: and a Missourian can always make a living with his gun in a game country. We would also advise that they bring plenty of well-twisted *Hemp* rope, as there may be a great many ne—horse-thieves about the time of our election, and it may be necessary to hang some of them by way of example, and to prevent the shedding of blood, as Cromwell once said, when he ordered a company to be shot. We are order-loving and law-abiding men, but, until we make laws, we are Higher-law men. We go in for hanging thieves of all kinds, as high as Haman, as a gentle We go in for hanging hint to evil-disposed men to deter them from the commission of crime.

From a long handbill manifesto, issued at Boonville, Missouri, to denounce and berate Gov. Reeder and his Election Proclamation, we make the following extract :-

But the contest is not yet ended. Defeated in Congress-outvoted in both branches of our Federal Legislature-repudiated by the Executive, this desperate faction of political fanatics have retired to their strongholds, and, under the sanction of legislative enactments, have organized corporate Boston, (see our third and fourth pages for their highassociations, with enormous moneyed capital, to ly creditable efforts, which will amply repay the most accomplish the purposes which an overwhelming majority of the Representatives of the nation had determined should not be accomplished. They have perverted the natural current of emigration, and, for the first time in the history of the country, from his colleague,) Mr. Griffin of Charlestown, (a cogent the day that Daniel Boone took his rifle and his and effective speaker,) and Mr. Davis of Fall River. axe into the back-woods of Kentucky, have at- (who spoke right to the point, and in an uncompro tempted to convert the fair prairies on the borders of the Missouri into a second Botany Bay-a receptacle for the sweepings of Eastern cities, and the active tools of Eastern negrosstealers.

This manifesto closes as follows:

Gov. Reeder may be assured that the Legislative Assemblies of Kansas cannot be packed with the emissaries of Abolition societies in Boston and New York. A Chicago in Kansas would not long tion have already pronounced upon its prototype in Illinois. We trust, for the sake of peace and harmony, and for the sake of that Union which fa-naticism has so long threatened, and still threatens, Brooks, G. A. Brown, G. D. Brown, J. S. Brown, Bry harmony, and for the sake of that Union which is naticism has so long threatened, and still threatens, that the President of the United States will withthat the President of the United States will with the President of the United States will be under the President of the United States will be under the President of the United States will be under th toriety of stirring up the dying embers of a strife C. Churchill, C. O. Churchill, G. Clapp, G. P. Clapp settled in our national councils. Does any rationwho are 'bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, will permit the scum of ignorance and vice, shipped by Emigrant Aid Societies, from the over-boilupon their very borders? While no objections are entertained to bona fide emigrants, for whatever opinions they entertain, it can surely be no matter of surprise to the reflecting, that no favor will be shown to THE HESSIAN MERCENARIES OF FANATICISM, who are sent here with the avowed purpose of making war upon the domarie instiing caldrons of Northern fanaticism, to be located ed purpose of making war upon the domestic institutions of a neighboring State. Those institutions must and will be preserved. If Kansas is to be the battle-ground upon which the destiny of Missouri battle-ground upon which the destiny of Missouri settled, Arkansas and Texas will not be slow to perceive that the blow is soon to reach them, slow to perceive that the blow is soon to reach them, and ultimately every Southern and South-western State in the Union is to be effected by the result. Let Governor Reeder and his confederates take heed to these considerations. A fool may light the torch of civil war, in which the Temple of Libstration of the sound of the soun

ing their schemes may be inferred from the lowing correspondence of the St. Louis Republican :

. Kansas is bound to be a slave State. It cannot be otherwise-Gov. Reeder and the Emigrant Aid Society to the contrary, notwithstanding. We have both the numerical and moral strength to make it so; and if, by accident and fraud, we should now be beaten, the geographical, geological and agricultural character of the country will render it necessarily so. It is suited and adapted only to slave labor. Hemp will be the chief product, if not the staple of the country, and all who have any experience know that, in its cultivation, slave labor is indispensable. And besides, the subjects of the experience know that, in its cultivation, slave labor is indispensable. And besides, the subjects of the Emigrant Aid Society can never get a foothold here. It is too expensive for them. Rails and Sawyer, Shute, B. F. Smith, S. Smith, Wm. McK. Smith here. It is too expensive for them. Rails and lumber have to be bought at a large price to build houses and fences with; and to break the virgin soil will require an outlay of from three to four hundred dollars per acre—so that the equipment and cultiwill require an outlay of from three to four hundred dollars per acre—so that the equipment and cultivation of a farm will be beyond their reach. They have not the strength nor the system of laber to do menial work; indeed, they are not suited for anything, in a country like this. Even their appearance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is a correct portrait of them all. From five feet sevance of the strength of them all. From five feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is a correct portrait of them all. From five feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is a correct portrait of them all. From five feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is a correct portrait of them all. From five feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them. Show you a small picture, which is a correct portrait of them all. From five feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is shown the feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them! I will draw you a small picture, which is shown the feet sevance is against them. Have you ever seen any of them. The feet of the fe a correct portrait of them all. From five feet seven inches to six feet high, (or rather of an indefinite height, for they double up and stretch out, to suit occasion,) sallow complexion, lean and stingy, suspicious-looking, nervous movements, presumptuous, inquisitive, cold and hungry; the skirts and sleeves of their coats and the legs of their pantaloons too short, and their whole appearance orbidding; such are the creatures who are being deluded and shipped into this country to suffer; and many of whom would have starved and frozen last winter, but for the humanity and generosity of those people whose institutions they were sent here to destroy.'

Such is the abuse that the 'lords of the soil' pour out upon the hardy sons of New England and their free, labor.

Read the following bestial paragraph from · We would not like to see the Governor dangling

in the air, by the neck—he will soon be dead, dead, dead, without that—merely because we consider him a fair specimen of Eastern chivalry, and a very fair sample of a Free Soiler; but if he is an abolitionist at heart and in action, and would abet in running off darkies into Canada, it might be well enough to place the noose around his neck, by way of experiment, if it were only to hear him cough, and see him make pretty faces.

No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, APRIL 20, 1855.

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Second Public Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the METRO POLITAN THEATRE, (on the site of the late Metropo tan Hall, above Bleecker street,) in the city of Ner York, on WEDNESDAY, May 9th, at 10 o'clock, A M. The meeting will be addressed by some of the most distinguished advocates of the Anti-Slavery Cause whose names will be hereafter announced.

The Society will hold its meetings for business an general discussion, in the FREE-WILL BAPTIST CHURCH in Sullivan st., (West of Broadway, and just below Houston Street,) commencing on WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 9th, and continuing, probably, until

As full an attendance of the members and friends o the Society as practicable, from all parts of the coun

The object of the Society is not merely to make ' Lib erty national, and Slavery sectional'-nor to preven the acquisition of Cuba-nor to restore the Missour Compromise-nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave Billnor to resist the admission of any new slave State into death-dealing revolvers and huge Bowie-knives, the Union-nor to terminate slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the national Territories-but it is primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of slavery wherever it exists on the American soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLIT ICALLY !

In behalf of the Executive Committee, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. EDMUND QUINOY, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, 3 Secretaries.

CASE OF JUDGE LORING.

During the past week, the Massachusetts House Representatives has been occupied chiefly with the cas of Judge Loring, with reference to the address to the Governor and Council for his removal from office, re ported by the Committee on Federal Relations. Mr Devereux, (Webster Whig.) of Salem, and Mr. Huntington, (Free Soiler !?) of Northampton, appeared as the apologists and defenders of the Slave Commissione -the latter bitter and vehement in his language, ar ful in his appeals, adroit in his management, and over bearing in his manner. The friends of freedom, in hi region, will be careful to see that he shall not have another opportunity to misrepresent them in the Legislature. His course has been of a hot partisan charac ter, and deserves the severest censure. Able and elo quent speeches against Judge Loring, and in favor of his removal, were made by Messrs. Swift and Slack, of Northampton, (this gentleman acquitted himself with great ability, and was very successful in his reply to his colleague,) Mr. Griffin of Charlestown, (a cogent mising manner.)

Several amendments were offered, all designed mitigate or wholly avert action upon the particular case of Judge Loring, (one of them giving him three days' grace, during which to resign his office either of Judge of Probate or Slave Commissioner,) but these were all promptly rejected. On Saturday last, the House decided in favor of the removal of the Judge, by

YEAS .- Messrs. Abercrombie, L. Allen, L. S. Aller Andrews, Averill, Bacon, G. Batchelder, Bigelow, Bills Fitch, Flagg, Flint, F. Foster, L. Foster, W. Foste Freeman, A. P. Freuch, W. E. French, Frye, Gale Gardner, George, Gerry, Gifford, Goff, J. P. R. Gould Murdock, Neal, A. B. Noyes, J. Noyes, Page, F. Parke J. W. Parker, Parsons, Perley, Perry, Pettingell, I crty may be destroyed, but a wise man will not cover that infamous immortality which is to be purchased alone by the destruction of our liberties, and the downfall of our glorious Union.

Stone, J. W. Stone, Strickland, Swill, L. U. Jan., Taft, Tarbell, C. H. Temple, Thaxter, D. Thayer, W. M. Taft, Tarbell, C. H. Temple, Thaxter, D. Thayer, Thomas, Twing, Thayer, Thayer, W. M. Taft, Tarbell, C. H. Temple, Thayer, Thomas, Twing, Thayer, Thomas, Thayer, T

man, Webb, Wetherbee, H. B. Wetherell, H. R. Wetherell, Wheelock, Whitcomb, G. F. Williams, F. B. Winder, G. G. Wood, J. E. Wood.

NAYS.—Messrs. Alden, Ames, Baboock, Baldwin, Barker, Belcher, Boughton, Boyden, Bradbury, Brayton, Brown, Carpenter, Carter, Chandler, Chase, Clark, Ciliford, Cole, Conant, Cutler, Cross, Denham, Deve-

Tyler, J. Williams

Yeas 207. Nays 111. As soon as this result was known, the most lively satisfaction was every where manifested, which wil meet with a hearty response in all parts of the fre States ; for this is no more a personal or local matte than was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill or th repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In it was involved the great issue between the North and the South-beween Liberty and the Slave Power-as resistance t he Stamp Act, and the throwing of the tes into Bos on harbor, were most intimately connected with the independence of the Colonies. So well has this beer nod, that almost as much interest has been fei in the settlement of the question far beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, as in the State itself. No slave holder has misapprehended its bearings, or been a pas-

sive spectator of the struggle. Gratifying, however, as is the vote of the House, in smuch as it secures the object aimed at, (so far a that branch of the Legislature is concerned,) it is hu miliating to know that one hundred and eleven me bers were found, so recreant to principle, or so blind t tion, as to record their votes against the proposition for

the removal of Judge Loring ! And this, too, in a body which boasts of having scarcely a sprinkling of hunk

stituents, who will in due time settle the account. It is gratifying to learn that there is no doubt that the action of the House will be endorsed by the Senate, in which case the Governor and Council, it is believed, will add their endorsement, and promptly execute the will of the people. In this case at least, Vox populi, por Dei !

If,, however, either of these co-ordinate brane should defeat the measure, it will only add fresh fuel to the flame of popular excitement, and elicit such an expression of public sentiment as will bear down every thing before it. In such a contest, the anti-slavery spirit of Massachusetts knows nothing of defeat or discouragement, but will persevere till it be crowned with victory. For the sake of the character and repose of the Commonwealth, we trust that this matter will be effectually settled at the present session of the Legisla-ture. Nothing will be gained by delay.

THE BURNS RIOT.

The following from the Boston Transcript of Thursday, last week, respecting the Burns riot trials just concluded in this city, shows the grounds on which the in dictment was quashed :

The Court quashed the indictment, principally on the ground that the first count did not show Commissioner Loring to have been legally qualified to issue the warrant for the arrest of Burns—inasmuch as there are Commissioners of the U. S. Courts who have no power to issue such warrants. The four other counts in the

to issue such warrants. The four other counts in the indictment were not specially passed upon, it not being necessary for the judgment in this case.

The objection raised by the defence, that Marshal Freeman could not legally summon a jury, being a party in interest, was also passed over without an opinion. The further objection, that the jury district was not arranged according to law, the Court overgoed Judge Curtis occupied about half an hour in read

manuscript.

Judge Sprague said he fully concurred with his colleague upon all the points specified in the opinion, and there were others which might have been alluded to, if

A slight discussion now arose between the counse as to whether the decision, to quash, applied to the several indictments, which were all exactly alike in

form.
District Attorney Hallett contended that only the in-District Attorney Hallett contended that only the in-dictment of Martin Stowell was before the court, and should alone be quashed, when he would enter a nolle prosequi in the other cases. The counsel for the defend-ants claimed that it was understood from the outset that the decision of the Court would be upon all the in-dictments, and that the different counsel had accordingly argued the motion to quash.

Judge Curtis said the opinion given was intended for all the indictments, and the District Attorney has power to nolle pros. in most cases before a jury was impanelled.

Mr. Hallett rather abruptly called upon the Court for a decision, and Judge Curtis, with equal promptitude,

'Mr. Clerk, you may file upon the indictment in the case of Martin Stowell, that it is quashed, because it does not appear therein that any offence has been com-

District Attorney- The indictment of Martin Stowell having been quashed by order of Court, I now move that the indictments against Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Thomas W. Higginson, John C. Cluer, John Morrison and Samuel T. Proudman, be severally nolle pros'd.'

ros'd.'
udience instantly manifested considerable ap plause, but it was at once checked by the officers. Messrs. Stowell, Parker, Higginson, and Cluer were present, and ordered to be discharged forthwith, and it

was arranged that the other defendants need not appear personally to obtain their discharges.

Thus endeth a grand legal farce, which has been ad-mirably played for all purposes of agitation and excite-ment, but which in itself has been simply ridiculous from beginning to end Channing's remark, that 'opinion is stronger than

SPIRITUALISM.

Modern Spiritualism : its Facts and Fanaticisms, its Consistencies and Contradictions. With an Appendix. By E. W. CAPRON. Boston : Published by Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin Street. New York : Partridge & Co., 231 Arch Street. pp. 438.

Of the numerous works on this questio rexata, no one possesses more interest, or is more deserving of perusal, tury, Onesimus afterwards became bishop of the important than the present. It gives a succinct account of the tant church of Ephesus, in which office he succeeded various wonderful phenomena which have occurred in many parts of the land for a few many parts of t ny parts of the land, for a few years past, commencing as early as the year 1844, in a small tenement in the town of Arcadia, county of Wayne, and State of Paul was no advocate for the inhuman traffic in New York, and finally spreading all over the country, Epistle to Timothy, the crime of man-stealing has a across the Atlantic, and widely in Europe; to account for which, short of spiritual agencies, all kinds of theories and suppositions have been made, equally absurd and impossible; which are too well authenticated, by ten thousand unimpeachable witnesses, to be classed with tricks of legerdemain ; which puzzle and confound the most scientific as well as the most ignorant ; which are equally extraordinary and multitudinous; and which, we have long since felt compelled to declare, admit of no other than a spiritual solution. It matters this on the Sabbath; for if it is lawful on that day to not that, attending these manifestations, there are many things puerile, some of a contradictory and others of an inexplicable character; or that the credulity of many persons has run to such an excess as to destroy all power of discrimination :- the great truth of the immortality of the soul has been demonstrated, to the satisfaction of an immense number of cautious, intelligent, critical inquirers, whose prejudices and opinions, prior to and at the time of making their investigations, were utterly adverse to the theory of spiritual agency-a truth which mankind, in all ages, have yearned to have clearly confirmed, and which it is neither irrational nor unphilosophical to believe a benevolent Creator has given for the most satisfactory development, in the sub-

lime progress of the human racer To all candid inquirers, who are yet seeking light in regard to Spiritualism, who are wishing to know when, how and where it began-how it has been conductedand what are its just claims to respect, we commend this work of Mr. Capnon, who has had the best opportunities to investigate the subject, and who has ingennously given the facts and fanaticisms, the consistencies and contradictions' connected therewith. He have been absent about eleven months; and during has very properly dedicated his volume to his friend that time, Mr. BARKER has lectured more than one GEORGE WILLETS, of Rochester, N. Y., one of the pi- hundred and fifty times, and held several public discusin the front rank of Truth's defenders when others fal- to a good deal of private business. We hope to be fatered; who has braved the scorn and contumely of vored with some account of his visit, from his own pen friends and kindred, and who has been, in many ways at his earliest leisure. the world knows not of, a martyr to the cause of

CARD FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS. We find the follow ing in the Post : GENTLEMEN-I see by your report of yesterday's de

bate in the House of Representatives, that Gen. Devereux said I applied to the mayor for protection during the w me to say, in your columns, what I have stated elsewhere often, that I never, either during that week or at any other time, asked any magistrate for protec-tion, or authorized any one else to ask it for me. The only individuals who offered to go to the mayor, I for bade to go.

Gen, Devereux thinks that in stating what Mr. Loring

said to me at Cambridge, I violated confidence by re-peating 'private conversation.' Let me inform him that I have no private conversation with slave commis-sioners. My interview with Mr. Loring was an official

APPOINTMENT. The Executive Committee of the

Respectfully, April 11, 1855.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

American Anti-Slavery Society, having learned that Mr. WILLIAM H. FISH, of Hopedale, Mass., designs passing some months in the State of New York, as a lecturer on various subjects of practical reform, have appointed him their agent for so much time as he may be able to devote to Anti-Slavery labors. They cordially commend him to all friends of the cause, and solicit their

From the Boston Telegraph, April 18. LETTER FROM REV. DR. LOWELL.

The Rev. Dr. Lowell, the oldest settled minister of the Gospel in Boston, has sent to us for publication the following remarks on the Epistle to Philemon, together with his protest as a man and a Christian against the pro-slavery book of Dr. Adams, of which a second edition has just appeared. This testimony in behalf of freedom, from so venerable and distinguished a clergy-man, cannot fail to have weight with the public. Dr. Lowell's anti-slavery sentiments are not of recent date. He inherits them from his father, Judge Lowell, who, as one of the committee which drafted the Constitution of Massachusetts, put into the bill of rights the clause which abolished slavery in the Commonwealth.

Judge Lowell, also, as early as 1775, maintained that slavery was not legal in Massachusetts, and publicly offered his services as a lawyer to any person held as a slave, who wished to sue for his freedom.

To the Editor of the Boston Evening Telegraph : Before the publication of Dr. Nehemiah Adams's pro-slavery volume, the 'South-Side View of Slavery,' but after its intended publication had been announced, l wrote to him, urging him to forbear from publishing a vindication of slavery, and giving my reasons for such a

request.

In his reply, he assured me that he should not publish such a work, and begged me to inform him if I was satisfied with that assurance. I did so. He was was satisfied with that assurance. I did so. He was doubtless sincere in what he wrote me, but he changed his mind. The work has appeared; and is a vindication of American slavery. He did not send me a copy, but I purchased one, read as much of it as the weak state of my nerves would allow me to, and laid it aside.

I have recently taken it up again, and having opened upon that most extraordinary passage, the rapturous eulogium upon the Epistle to Philemon, 'that curiosity of inspiration', that trailing in a large sea.

of inspiration, that 'solitary idiom in a language, that 'stonehenge in a country,' that 'warm stream in the sea,' &c. &c., I cannot forbear requesting a small space in your paper for a few remarks upon this part of the volume, which is all that my health will now allow me to do.

I have read little of what has been said about the

book, and may, therefore, have been said about the book, and may, therefore, have been anticipated in my criticisms; but as I do not know that I have, and as 'necessity is laid upon me,' I follow the promptings of my heart, assured that 'it inditeth a good matter,' though very imperfectly.

my heart, assured that 'it inditeth a good matter,' though very imperfectly.

The pro-slavery prejudices imbibed by Dr. Adams, in his short visit to the South, and superficial view of slavery, have diffused their coloring over the Epistle to Philemon, as he has read it, and have led him into several mistakes in respect to it.

He asserts, in so many words, that St. Paul sent back Onesimus 'into slavery,' although the Apostle expressly declares in language which he who runs may read, that he did not send him back as a sereant, but as a brother. His language is this: 'I beseech these there.

brother. His language is this: 'I beseech thee, there-fore, for my son Onesimus, whom I have sent sgain to thee, not now as a servant, but above a serv brother beloved, specially to me, but how much mor unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If yo count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself. Dr. Adams reads it, 'receive him as a slave.'

Of Onesimus, St. Paul had said previously, ' Whom would have retained with me, that, in thy stead, he might have ministered to me in the bonds of the Gos-pel.' Surely Paul would not have received ministrations from his friend Philemon, as from a slave, but as in truth he was, 'a brother beloved.'

Such, as I have quoted, was the language used by St. Paul in this Epistle, an Epistle which I, too, prize most highly, but for a reason just the opposite of that which gives it so much value in the estimation of Dr. Adams. Such is the language which is interpreted by Dr. Adams as showing that the Apostle (notwithstand ing the anti-fugitive slave law clause in the Jewish code and the spirit and precepts of the gospel of Christ, sen back Onesimus to his former master as a slave! Could language have been used more directly opposed to this Let me beg Dr. Adams to read the Epistle to Phile

mon again, to read it attentively, prayerfully, and I caunot doubt that with his intelligent mind and kind heart, he will no longer interpret it as he has done.

Onesimus, when he 'departed for a season' from Philemon, went to Rome, led, as I believe, and as Paul Thus endeth a grand legal farce, which has been addirably played for all purposes of agitation and excitenent, but which in itself has been simply ridiculous rom beginning to end.

This case affords a forcible illustration of the truth of Channing's remark, that opinion is stronger than the Apostle at Rome, he became a convert to Christian-tive, and was sent back by Paul in a new character, bearing to his former master the relation of a Christian bearing to his former master the relation of a Christian bearing to his former master. brother, and, as such, was commended to the love and friendship which Paul himself would claim and receive from his friend

If my memory does not mislead me—and I have no opportunity, in my sick chamber, of referring to authorities to refresh it—the very fact of conversion to thorities to refresh it—the very last to church, render christianity, in the earliest ages of the church, rendered every servant free, who at the time of his converted every servant free, who at the time of his converted to the church of the converted to the church of & Britton. Philadelphia: Sold by Fowler, Wells freeman, and could not be in bondage to a disciple o sion was in the service of a Christian. He was Christ's Christ.

According to the ancient ecclesiastical historian, Eu sebius, who was bishop of Cresarea, in the fourth cenconsent, held as a slave, a chattel, a piece of property,

But I forbear on this topic.

I do not write anonymously, for my animadversions are on a book which has been published to the world, which has doubtless been extensively read, and has been almost universally condemned at the North, and applauded at the South. I have written the most of rescue from destruction a perishing brute, it is surely lawful to write a plea for our down-trodden and oppres-My own idea of slavery, formed long ago from a view

of it under its most favorable aspects, and from the opinion of it expressed to me by Mr. Madison in his own home in Virginia, is very different from that entertained by Dr. Adams.

I value the union of the States as much, perhaps

I value the union of the States as much, perhaps, as Dr. Adams does, though I would not preserve it by a compromise with wickedness, and as 'a partaker of other men's sins.' I differ, however, entirely from Dr. Adams with respect to what endangers the Union. It is the existence of slavery that endangers it. It is the slaveholders, and not the opponents of slavery, who endanger it. Abolish slavery, and the perpetuity of the Union, under God, is secured.

CHARLES LOWELL.

Elmwood, Cambridge, April 10, 1855.

JOSEPH BARKER. The numerous friends of this energetic reformer and warm-hearted philanthropist, on both sides of the Atlantic, will be highly gratified to learn of his safe arrival at this port, in the steam-ship America, from Liverpool, on Saturday last, accompa nied by his wife-both in good health and spirits. They oneers in rational Spiritualism, who stood calm and firm sions in various parts of the kingdom, besides attending

> Rev. Andrew T. Foss. This efficient and untiring laborer in the anti-slavery cause has just returned home, after a long-protracted sojourn at the West, where he has met with cheering success and the most encour aging reception. The last number of the Salem (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Bugle says-

'Mr. Foss lectured on Sunday afternoon and evening last, to interested audiences in Salem. In the evening, he was especially happy in his address. His subject, the relation of the Churches, especially the Baptist Churches, to Slavery. Mr. Foss has now returned to his home in New Hampshire, from which he has been absent nearly seven months, in prosecution of his Anti-Slavery agency in Michigan and Indiana. He leaves behind him in the West, many warm-hearted friends, who will long remember his faithful services in the Anti-Slavery Cause.'

TRIBUTE TO HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. A gentlema was recently in this city, enquiring for a female teacher to go South, but desired she would not bring ' Uncle Tom's Cabin' in her pocket. By the following advertisement, from the Charleston Mercury, of March 15th. 1855, said applicant can find a Northern Doughface adapted to the call

WANTED, by a Northern young lady, (no relation of Mrs. Stowe,) a Situation as Governess in a private family, or Teacher in an academy. She will teach English Branches, French, Music, Drawing, &c. The best of reference given, if required. As to location, &c., address M. Mullin, Orangeburg, S. C., and state terms.

LETTER FROM PLORIDA MANATSE, (Florida,) March 26th, 1855. DEAR LIBERATOR :

I have been six months in what they call the sunny South. In some respects, it deserves the title; for the south. In south leavens has kept away the sor and ice, and thus has permitted the trees to look gree, and the flowers to bloom, all the time. But were it named from the circumstance of its moral but sal named from the called the sunless South; for anima light, it would be cauty of the natural scenery, then all the enchanting the perpetual gloon of a is no moral substitute and the whole land. No sea of moral minings; sayet risen upon it, to melt the in hearts of men. It is true, they are devout, but the hearts of men. A god of Slavery, and fillibertering They are very religious; but their religion sanctions the wickedest piracy the world ever saw. 'Might nata right,' is their acknowledged rule of action, and the higher law."

How I have longed to look upon your good fact, Mr. LIBERATOR! I sent for you some months ago; bat my prudent friends, through whom I sent, concluded as to let you come; and it has been for the best, per haps, for no man can be openly friendly to you, and n. main here in peace or safety. There is no other nation on earth, however wicked and barbarous,-no tribe however savage, -in which I should have been deprived of holding my wonted communion with you; but here, in free, proud America, this land of religion and Blag -this model 'land of the free,'-it is unsafe to red the only truly religious paper in the country! There was a time when I expected to live to see a differ. ent order of things; but now, I fear, the time is afar

When I first became a convert to the Anti-Slavery faith, I was very sanguine in my expectations of its success. I thought that in ten years, or twenty at the very farthest, all our man-markets would be broken to and all laws probibiting the spread of intelligence would be repealed, or become a dead letter. Ten years of the time have passed away, and now that event seems farther off than ever before. I very naturally supposed that Christianity would have the effect to loses the bonds of the oppressed ; but I did not then foreset the twistings and contortions that were to be wrought from the teachings of Him who came to break every boal No prophet had foretold that the hills and mountains of my native Granite State were to be covered with bludes of shame for the recreancy of her religious teacher. who should kneel down and worship Beelzebub, and h. bor to prove from their Bible, that diabolism is Christianity, that hell is heaven, that slavery is no sin !

Once I hoped to see this wicked Union brekm m. But what room for such a hope is left, now that we northern doughfaces are servilely crouching before the monster Slavery; and not only permitting, but en inviting him to fatten in the green fields once set spart for liberty ! No ! there can be no dissolution, no diri sion of such a Union ; it must remain undivided, and go to destruction en masse.

And we have not seen the worst of it yet. Cuba will be wrested from Spain ; the slight offence of freings emigration from the coast of Africa to this country vil be winked at by our legislators; and from catching, our friends will turn to keeping slaves. And men whe, in the name of justice, will go through the mocker of a trial-for treason,-thus condemning, and making triminal, the noblest acts of the age, -will not heinte u the commission of any crime. So do not be surprised if you see the picture of the slave auction, on your fast page, become a representation of an every day affair is

I am convinced, Bro. LIBERATOR, that the slave has nothing to hope from our Bible, our religion, our jutice, or our mercy; and that Slavery must go down is blood. Those will be troublous times, and I am not particular about being here to witness them. Our pesple are not satisfied with their atrocities heaped on the African race ; they must hunt down the innocent ladian population. The few remaining warriors, the remnant of Osceola's brave band, now numbering less than one hundred, are in peaceable possession, by treaty, of the Southern extremity of this peninsula of swamps. The portion of country they inhabit is entirely worthless to civilized men, it being covered with water a part of the year. The government is making rapid preparations for the hunt. More than a thousand soldiers, I understand, are on the ground ready for action. It is generally believed that amoffer will be made to the ladians for their lands : and, in case they refuse it, the will be shot down without mercy !

This is the most peaceable, and the most unrieling of any tribe of American Indians. Since the Flath war, they have committed but two murders; and is both instances, the offenders have been delivered up the whites, and murdered by them to square the so count. So the black veil that overshadows the South, shuts out the light of the moral sun from the North also-and the nation is, in deed and in truth, leaged with death, and covenanted with hell.

WOMAN'S LEGAL RIGHTS.

WORCESTER, April 2, 1855. MR. GARRISON, -As the appearance, in your paper one week since, of a statement, that there is no hy is this State, authorizing a man to claim his wife's earsings,-and the next week, of a bill proposing to care on a married woman the right to collect the same, is case of neglect or wilful desertion by the husband for one year,-places the subject in a contradictory light before the public, I wish to say that the statement was made to me by a lawyer; and although disposed at first to doubt its correctness, I finally accepted it as being

what it should be, reliable authority.

With all due respect for every change proposing to ameliorate the condition of woman, and perhaps such changes are being made as rapidly as we can reasonably expect from the nature of society, yet, when we conside the rank Massachusetts has so long held as the piecer in moral and intellectual progress, she is certainly very much in the background concerning this movement She, who, for so many years, has been the pride of the scholar, and the boast of the statesman, instead of demanding the unqualified right of a married woman is the wages of her own labor, is now discussing, through her Legislature, the expediency of granting her that right, on condition that her husband shall wilfully desert or neglect her from drunkenness, profigacy of other like cause; that is, when he shall have ferfeited the claim to be husband at all! Tell it not in the streets of Carolinas! publish it not beneath the shadow of the Capitol! lest ye become a mockery and a bye-world among your sister Slave States, for your own inconsistency in holding one half your population in a state of legal thraidom, which, so far as justice and equality are concerned, is far more nearly allied to the slate code of the South, than to the free, enlightened legisla tion of the North.

The following little item, which appeared in the daily papers of this city not long since, furnishes its or comments on the protection the law affords the viz. when delivered to the custody of her husband. To say nothing of the personal injury inflicted, the catrage upon the affections, and the insult to the marriage reation, committed by such occurrences as these, demand something more than a fine of three dollars and costs; after which, the offender is at liberty to repeat the offence the first time another fit of passion comes over

POLICE COURT-Monday, Feb. 26th. BEFORE JUSTICE GREEN.

William Day, for committing an assault and batter
william Day, for committing an assault and batter
on his wife, was fined \$2 and costs, taxed at \$5 21,
which he paid, and didn't want his case reported.

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. The eleventh tract in series for gratuitous distribution, publishing by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, is issued. It is titled, DISUNION OUR WISDON AND OUR DUTT, and is from the pen of Rev. CHARLES E. Honges, of Water

REMARKS OF Mr. CHARLES W. SLACK of Boston, In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, April 12, 1855.

[Espected for the Evening Telegraph.]

Reported for the Evening Telegraph.]

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centry.

So far as Mr. Parker is concerned in this statement, everyhedy who knows him knows that meat, everyhedy who knows him is in no such conduct as is here attributed to him is in no respect characteristic of the man or in consistently with his usual course of action. If he had surred up any public indignation, he would be the sirred up any public indignation, he would be the faltering limidity, to escape from the full measure of its responsibility upon himself. But the statement is not correct. The whole circumstances, so ment is not correct. The whole circumstances, so far as I am authorized to express them are these. most is not correct. The whole circumstances, so far as I am authorized to express them are these. I earning by public rumor, on the day following the meeting at Fancul Hall, that there was some fear that his friend's, Mr. Phillips', house was to the object of attack, not his own, he communicated with a friend of his, a truckman, a powerful man who had several men in his employ mention. the meeting at Fancuir s, Mr. Phillips', house was to fear that his friend's, Mr. Phillips', house was to fear that his friend's, at ruckman, a powerful cated with a friend of his, a truckman, a powerful man, who had several men in his employ, mentioning what he had heard, and asking him if, when he day's work was concluded, he would have the hindaes to pass through Essex street and by Mr. Phillips' house, and see if all was quiet, it being welk-hown that that gentleman had an invalid wife, and quietude in the neighborhood might be essential to her bealth if not her' life. He also communicated with a market-man in Boylston market, a friend from whom his wife was accustomed to perchase the meat for his family, to the same parport, saying that if he would pass through Essex street when he closed his business, about ten ecock, in 'the evening, he would confer a great fiver. The latter readily consented, but said he thought it would be well to visit the Police Station adjoining the market-house, and inform the Captain there of the rumor he had heard, so that possibly any outherak, if any such should occur, might be suppressed. Mr. Parker said he had no objection to doing so, and in company with his friend visited the Station-house, was introduced to Capt. Eaton, and there learned by reference to the officer's kook, that the Mayor of the city had previously essential the residences of Mr. Phillips, Mr. Parker, Mr. Francis Jackson, or Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Capt. Eaton suggested to Mr. Phillips, Mr. Parker, Mr. Francis Jackson, or Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Capt. Eaton suggested to Mr. Parker that he should think he would have enough to do to look after his own house, without being solicitous for that of Mr. Phillips; that was the first thought he bestowed upon the subject, and he said,—"True, why not mine, as well as my friendis, Mr. Phillips."
Returning to his own residence, Mr. Parker caused one of wo a fit he revolutionary musket of his ancestor, the forbade to go. And this in view of alt the Police, I feel authori

was the partner of his bosom, an invaled for years, whose every wish for peace and quietude he could not but feelingly consult.

The order of precaution taken by the Mayor was doubtless upon learning the same rumor that came to the ears of Mr. Parker, and was no doubt dictated by a desire, as far as in him lay, to preserve the reputation and quiet of the city over which he presided.

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presided.

But the gentleman from Salem, in noticing the But the gentleman from Salem, in noticing the interview of Mr. Phillips with Mr. Loring, at the Law School, in Cambridge, says: Mr. Phillips had no right to detail private conversation with Mr. Loring. Sir, I take it upon myself to say, that a gentleman of Mr. Phillips' standing and views has no private conversation with Slave Commissioners. What he says, and what he hears, on such occasions is milker property to be invasted to all men. sons is public property, to be imparted to all men; and the freedom with which he communicated the substance of that conversation to Mr. Charles Gratton, in the hall of the Law School, immediately after its occurrence, as testified to in a letter over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Charles over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Charles over the signature of Mr. Grafton to the Committee over the signature of Mr. Charles over the signa mittee on this subject, testifies that it was no private matter in his opinion, but something in which every citizen in the State had a deep and

But the gentleman from Salem could not get Bat the gentleman from Salem could not get through with his argument without dragging in un friend the new Senator in Congress, Mr. Henry Wilson, to make him bear some portion of his obloquy. In discussing the point that even As recognized the constitutional obligations imposed upon Massachusetts to carry out the Fugitive Slave bill, he quoted the reply of Senator Wilson, in part, tis question propounded on the floor of the Senate by Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana, to the effect, if I receiled rightly, that "if the Fugitive Slave bill should be repealed, the Commonwealth of Massaghusetts senald fulfil her constitutional obligations." Perhaps improperly, I immediately asked the gentleman if he would read the continuation of the answer, the next paragraph. The gentleman replied he had it not. Well, if it is of any consequence in this connection what Mr. Wilson did say, I am happy in having before me a full report of that speech, taken from the official organ of Congress, the Globe of Washington city, and the language is as follows. Mr. Benjamin asks:

"I will ask that Semtor it, frankly and conscientions," he believe there it.

I will sak that Semator if, frankly and conscientionsly, he believes that, in the event of the repeal of the fugitive slave law, the State and people of Massachusetts would adopt effective measures by which fugitive slaves from the South would be captured and returned to their owners?

Mr. Wilson at once as frankly replies: "I believe that if the figitive since act should be re-pealed, the Commonwealth of Massanchusetts will fulfal are constitutional obligations, but she will do it in her onen way, so at to protect fully the rights of every man within her paradicing."

Yes, sir, that is the reply—Massachusetts will falsh her constitutional obligations, but she will be it is what I believe she ought to do, and will do in time. And this "own way" does not imply solely the passage of a Personal Liberty bill, as my friend from Northampton [Mr. Huntington] suggested resterday afternoon, but by every possible means that can be brought to bear—by an aroused public sentiment declaring that when a slave touches Massachusetts soil he shall be free, as well as by the interance of the doctrine, which cannot be too often repeated, that there is no power given to Congress in the Constitution to pass extradition laws, but is a matter guaranteed and reserved to the several States. This is the decirine of Mr. Rantoul, so well enunciated; of Mr. Samner, and of every member of the Free Soil party, so far as I know, who ever gave any attention to the subject.

Passing from the remarks of the centleman

Mr. Summer, and of svery member of the Free Soil party, so far as I know, who ever gave any attending to the subject.

Passing from the remarks of the gentleman from Salem, i trust I may be permitted to casually notice some of the points presented by the venarial of the subject.

Passing from the remarks of the gentleman from Sortham to the points presented by the venarial control of the case of the points presented by the venarial control of the case of the points presented by the venarial control of the case of the points presented in making compicuous so wide a contrast between that emineral member and myself. We all listened with pleasure and high gratification to his able, earnest, and yet oftentines humorous discussion of the time of time

Next, "we have this man on trial," says the sentleman. I think not. We may remove a man for incapacity or insanity. That is no question of guilty or not guilty. The consideration alone for as is—is the gann for for the office?—to answer which involves and implies no guilt of any kind.

Again, the gentleman is reported in an evening paper, (and as I understood him.) as saying, "This question would not have come up had it

not been for the Nebraska measure; those who urge it most are those who are recent converts to the anti-slavery movement, and new converts are always the most zealous." This may be the gentleman's opinion, but I think he is very much mistaken. Why, sir, take the old Free Soil party as an illustration in the first place—a party ranging from twenty-seven to thirty thousand members. Does he think that that large number of men, to say nothing of numerous others from other parties, are not generally desirous of this removal? If he does, I think he mistakes the sentiment of those men. Why, sir, if their number be thirty thousand, I venture the assertion that twenty-nine thousand five hundred are at this moment desirous of this removal. And, surely, they are not new converts, as a long and vigorous contest for their idea and principles through the last six or seven years testifies.

idea and principles through the last six or seven years testifies.

Mr. Huxiisotox of Northampton—If the gentleman will allow me I will state that I did not say those who were most zealous awere new converts., I said those gentlemen with whom I had conversed, who were most zealous, were new converts. I did not pretend to say that the Free Soil party were not originally in favor of this measure. The gentleman will recollect that Theodore Parker was at an excited meeting, at the bottom of all this movement.

all this movement.

Mr. SLACK (continuing.)—Certainly, I am glad Mr. Slack (continuing.)—Certainly, I am giad the gentleman has thus corrected the report, and I trust the press will give the correction as it gave the erroneous remark. But I will say, gentlemen with whom I have conversed entertained the same view as myself, gathered doubtless from the same report in the evening paper, and thought the re-mark a very singular one to be made by a gentle-man, like myself, once associated in the Free Soil party.

party.
Well, sir, I will finish what I was about saying, Well, sir, I will finish what I was about saying, as it is pertinent to the interest felt in this question. Take the press of the State, which should be the embodiment of the popular sentiment, as another illustration. How does that stand? Why, very one of the old anti-slavery or Free Soil papers is openly in favor of it, and many that never professed any sympathy with anti-slavery men or measures. Why, sir, I need only allude to that influential old Whig press published in the valley in which the gentleman resides, the Springfield Republican.

Mr. HUNTINGTON-That is one of the recent con-

Mr. SLACK .- Yes, sir, and I accept it as such,

Mr. Slack.—Yes, sir, and I accept it as such, and am happy in knowing that a paper of so much ability, character and influence in Westerm Massachusetts, in its repeated editorials, is doing so much to promote this object and bring about a healthy tone of political action in the State.

But, says the gentleman, we are to pass upon "a sworn officer," or an idea to that effect. We are giving an opinion, I believe, upon his acts as a Commissioner, not as a Judge of Probate. We are making a distinction in his positions. We want to condemn his doings as a Slave-bill Commissioner, acting under United States laws, while holding the Massachusetts office of a Judge of Probate, in the conduct of the duties of which we have no charge to make. We are passing therefore upon a Commissioner is yeason of his relation to another office. No Commissioner is sworn; hence, we do not, properly, pass upon the acts committed by any "sworn officer" of the State. But let me here say it, to the additional infamy of the infernal Fugitive Slave bill, that it recognises officers to execute it who in no manner are sworn to the honest and conscientious discharge of the soul-revolting duties it imposes.

But "two have not the testimony" addiced in

honest and conscientious discharge of the sour-revolting duties it imposes.

But, "we have not the testimony" adduced in this matter, says the gentleman. True, we have not, and need not have, as it must always be when the House is acting "by address" for removal, as it is now doing. This very fact shows what I have before said that this is not a trial, and was not intended to be one. tended to be one.

The gentleman further said the Probate Court is

not a court of record, and hence the law of 1843 does not apply to such officers as Mr. Loring, be-cause their offices are not courts of record. This seems to me merely a technical point. But, by a recent decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State, in a case of naturalization, it was laid down that that is a "court of record" which employs a clerk. Taking the decision to be correct, as we must, then is the Probate Court a court of record, for the safe Probate Court is the project of the property of the property of the project of t for it has its Register, who is its principal clerk, not to mention sometimes one or two additional

for it has its Register, who is its principal clerk, not to mention sometimes one or two additional clerks.

Another point of the gentleman was, that the State law of 1843 applies to the act of 1753 alone, and not to the act of 1850, and hence that Judge Loring was not affected by the provisions of the unrepealed State law for his acts as a Commissioner. My friend and colleague who so eloquently opened this debate, [Mr. Swift of Boston.] well answered this objection, and I need not dwell uponit. I will enly say, in passing, that the act of 1850 is entitled, if, my memory serves me. "an act supplementary to and amendatory of" the act of 1793, and being such, of course any State law applying to the first, must in its spirit and intent apply to the second.

But further objection was made by the gentleman that the "bill of sale" of Anthony Burns, about which so much has been said, having been procured by the friends of the fragicies to aid in his release, is now, after it had failed to accomplish its purposes, put in to show the incompetency of the Judge to conduct a fair examination. Here, sir, I wish to say distinctly, this is a mistake. That bill of sale emanated from a very different quarter. It came from the junior slavecatcher's counsel, the younger Mr. Parker connected with the affair, suggested to him, I have no doubt, by members of a family somewhat noted for its connection with this and similar rendition trials. Yes, sir, neither Mr. Barns, Mr. Grimes, nor any of the active friends of the fugitive, asked for this bill of sale, or proposed this transfer of a human chattel, till it was suggested, and they solicited to aid the subscription, by the slave-catcher's counsel, who had begun to feel, as the gentleman from Charlestown ion, by the slave-catcher's co begun to feel, as the gentleman from Charlestown begin to feet, as the gentleman from Charlestown [Mr. Griffin] yesterday afternoon so well expressed it, the "leprosy of contempt" crawling over him for his participancy in the affair—suggested, sir, as I think I have authority for saying by members of a family, which, however shameless before, seemed then to begin to feel that an aroused public indignation was concentrating upon their heads—an indignation which, since that hour, has

seemed then to begin to feel that an aroused public indignation was concentrating upon their heads—an indignation which, since that hour, has gone on increasing in momentum, like the incoming waves of the sea, till to-day, but just now, another member of the family, sitting as a Judge, in the Burns riot cases, has been compelled, it would seem—and here I think I am proclaiming good news—to quash one of the indictments, and the District Attorney has entered a nolle prosequation all the rest! (Sensation.)

Allusion was made by the gentleman, also, to a certain speech by Mr. Wendell Phillips, at the Melodeon, in this city, immediately after his return from the visit to Mr. Loring at the Law School, and before the final termination of the trial,—in which he uses sundry complimentary words towards Mr. Loring, who had commenced the case, such as "the Commissioner, being a man of fair character hitherto," "a Commissioner perhaps the very best you could select in the United States,"—seemingly to prove that Mr. Loring had conducted the trial in a perfectly honorable manner, and that Mr. Phillips had no right to complain, when he had borne such testimony to the character of the Commissioner. Now, sir, I respectfully submit whether this speech, with its complimentary allusions, made before the result of the trial was known, before even the evidence for the fugitive was presented, and the doubts raised by which he should have been decreed his freedom, can in any fair sense be here presented to show that Mr. Phillips or anybody else ought to be satisfied with the final result. Why, sir, Mr. Phillips presented that speech before the committee to show that he had no undue bias against Mr. Loring, when the trial commenced, and had even proceeded one day. It is not pertinent at all as expressing his opinion, four or five days after, of the result of the trial, or the manner in which it was conducted.

In allusion to some of the incidents of the trial,

ceeded one day. It is not pertinent at all as expressing his opinion, four or five days after, of the result of the trial, or the manner in which it was conducted.

In allusion to some of the incidents of the trial, the gentleman from Northampton says the soldiers about the court-house were ordered there by a United States District Judge, Mr. Sprague, and therefore Mr. Loring could not be held responsible for their presence. True, sir; we know it; and in this the gentleman tells us nothing of which we were not before possessed. We will admit, at once, that Judge Loring had nothing to do with the men or the measures outside of his courtroom. But how was it, sir, within that courtroom, where he did, as all admit, have control, where his will was imperative, and he alone was sovereign? It was my professional duty, sir, as a reporter, to be in attendance in that court-room, almost from the incipient stage of that sad case, to its dreadful close, to hear that most appalling decision, and then, sir, rushing out, to mark the track of that infamous cortage as it passed down the street to the end of the wharf, with its victim in its bollow square, and on that bright June day, over the placid waters of Boston harbor and Massachusetts bay, in a national vessel, see him borne off to, as then appeared, an endless servitude. I know it all, sir,—and I ask who it was, in that court-room, in the public building owned by one of the counties of the State, suffered a so-called "hall of justice" to be prostituted by the presence of armed ruffins the victual to the fact, and allowed the prisoner at the bar pleading for more than life to remain a portion of the time with irons on his arms?

Yes, sir, that muley crew, familiarly known as the "Marshal's guard," there they were, with revolvers protruding from their persons, even after attention was called to the fact, and allowed the prisoner at the bar pleading for more than life to remain a portion of the time with irons on his arms?

Yes, sir, that muley crew, familiarly known as the

words strong enough to express the utter abborrence and contempt with which I looked upon
them—the vilest, darkest, most despicable blackguards that the purlicus of the city can bring
forth. Even now, every time I think of that miserable gang, "my blood boils"—to quote the language of the gentleman from Northampton, on a
recent occasion. Let me use the language of
others, and read first a portion of the contents of
a handbill publicly posted about the city during
that eventful week:

"There is Levis Carle who fought lack Smith who

that eventful week:

"There is Lewis Clark, who fought Jack Smith, who was arrested charged with murdering his own mistress by throwing her overboard, (in the canal which ran up where now stands the depot of the Boston and Maine Railroad, and who now keeps a brothel in this city; Jack Steneart and his brother, two "three card monte' robbers; Charles Scott, known to the police as "thieff Scott," who is 'kept' by a prostitute, and escaped from Leverett street jail about two years since, where he was incarcerated for rubbery; Bully Maud and his brothers, who are engaged in keeping gambling asloons and houses of prostitution; and some fifty other similar characters, all of whom are known as villains in the criminal records of Massachusetta!"

But these prilings are better described in the

But these ruffians are better described in the scathing words of another, which let me read to

But these ruffians are better described in the scathing words of another, which let me read to you for a faithful portraiture:

"I never saw such a motley crew as this kidnappers' gang collected together, save in the darkest p'aces of London and Paris, whither I went to see how low humanity might go, and yet bear the semblance of man. He raked the kennels of Boston. He dispossessed the stews. He gathered the spoils of brothels; prodigals not penitent, who upon harlots had wasted their substance in riotous siving; pimps gambiers, the succeiva of slavery; men that the gorged jails had cast out into the streets; men scarred with infamy; fighters, drunkards, public brawlers, convicts that had served out their time, waiting for a second conviction; men whom the subtlety of counsel, or the charity of the gallows, had left unhanged. No eye hath seen such scarecrows. The youngest of the Police Judges [whose pleasant face I just saw beaming upon us from the sizar found ten of his constituents there. Jailor Andrews, it is said, recognized forty of his customers among them. The publican who fed these locusts of Southern tyramy said that out of the sixty-five, there was but one respectable man, and he kept aloof from all the rest. I have seen courts of justice in England, Holland, Belgium. Germany, France, Italy and Switzeriand, and I have seen just such men. But they were always in the dock, not the servants of the court."

Of this expressive, faithful, scathing description,

Of this expressive, faithful, scathing description, of this expressive ration, scatting description, I endorse every word, so far as the public reputa-tion of these myrmidons of vice and wrong was known to me. And these were the sort of men over which our Massachusetts Judge of Probate had control, and he did not purify the court room

over which our Massachusetts Judge of Probate had control, and he did not purify the court room of their hateful presence.

But the gentleman makes another point that there was no anti-slavery feeling expressed by the people, through the forms of legislation, from the year 1850, when the Fugitive Slave bill passed, down to the year 1854, when Mr. Loring acted in the Burns case, that indicated any dissatisfaction with such conduct in similar cases. The Legislature, he says, refused to pass any measure that shadowed disapproval of Massachusetts men acting as Commissioners. So far as the forms of legislation are concerned, the statement is correct, perhaps; but if he means to imply that the people had not convictions and earnest desires on that matter, I think the gentleman labors under a very great mistake. It is not always that the people can readily act when hampered around by the iron clasps of party discipline; and these they were, I think, that prevented legislation during those years. But, sir, I think neither the gentleman, nor any one else, will deny that public sentiment was making a most rapid stride all this time. The election of Charles Summar, even though,—as a coalition measure offset, as the gentleman says it was, by the clevation of George S. Boutwell to the gubernatorial chair,—it were viewed in that poor light, was a most significant indication of the progress of sentiment. Think of it! Charles Summer, an uncompromising, life-long almost, antislavery man, sent imfiediately after the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill, to fill the seat but just previously vacated by Daniel Webster, who breathed into that bill the breath of life! A most remarkable advance in public opinion!

What have become of the different State admin-

the Fugitive Slave bill, to fill the seat but just previously vacated by Daniel Webster, who breathed into that bill the breath of life! A most remarkable advance in public opinion!

What have become of the different State administrations since that time? Mr. Boutwell's was then in power. No other anti-slavery action, of any consequence, was taken by it, and it passed away. Mr. Clifford's followed—the Executive one of the most popular and courtly of the many popular and courtly men of a strong and victorious party. One year alone sufficed for that, and he who had come into position so honored and esteemed, went from it most unpopular and mocked, lacking that progressive element which the people demanded, and with dissatisfaction openly expressed throughout the but recently self-congratulatory party. True, he declined a renomination; but these and other causes, lacking the confidence of his party friends, led to that decision. Then came Mr. Emory Washburn's—it was the last. We all know how that ended. Whirling into power upon the defeat of the new Constitution, one short twelvemonth only sufficed to hurl him by an overwhelming majority from his proud station. He it was who, more than the others, falled to recognize the demiands of the people as expressed in the anti-slavery enterprise—whose timid, faltering course during the week of the Burns rendition did more to bring about his defeat than all other causes combined. I always desire to speak respectfully and well of any man who has attained the honored position which these men attained, but I must say in truth, that Mr. Emory Washburn's hesitating, halting, almost cowardly conduct in failing to assert the sovereignty of Massachusetts, through fear of a collision with the national government, during that terrible week, brought upon him, in my judgment, the overwhelming indignation which found expression in November last, when, by an unprecedented triumph, new men and new measures were inaugurated in the policy and places of the State. Yes, sir, there has been a those which have preceded it as it will deserve to be swept away. But, sir, I have no fears that it will not heed it. I believe that in the act we are about to do, as I think we shall, it will receive new confidence from the people, and be retained in the position it has gained.

the people, and be retained in the position it has gained.

The gentleman took occasion to allude to the head of the present government, as one who in the House of Bepresentatives, in 1852, made the motion to lay upon the table certain "milk and wafter" resolutious, as he called them, of an antislavery character, and intimated that because he did that, as it was alleged, it would be somewhat inconsistent now to ask him to remove Mr. Loring. Mr. Speaker, I think I may say I believe in sudden conversions, after the experience of the last year or two—(laughter)—of death-bed conversions, even—especially when a raging epidemic is about, whether political or otherwise, and he who walks abroad at the noon-day of partizan success is liable, if not brought unto death, to waste away in lingering and exerutiating disease. (Renewed laughter.) I am willing to accept even Mr. Gardner as a remarkable subject of sudden conversion, if it be so; but before saying why, let me intimate to the gentleman that it was very singular he should have had such influence in a House with forty coalition majority as to lay upen the table—if he did make that motion, of which I believe there is some doubt—the aforesaid "milk and and water" resolutions. It is admitting that the gentleman, the present Executive, had some power thus to lead in a body which was so strongly opposed to him and his party.

That gentleman, however, was before the people, last fall, as a candidade for office. He had occasion to define his position. He did it in a manner which won for him at once the respect and confidence of the people, prompting them to say to themselves spontaneously—That is the man! He expressed himself in clear and unmistakable language, bright as the dazzling shafts which anon light up the darkness of the horizon. I like to read, occasionally, that terse and vigorous letter—a paragraph or two, in particular, which defined his position in regard to one issue involved in the canvass. May I be pardoned for again reading it, and this time aloud:

"The The gentleman took occasion to allude to the

Sir, when a public man in Massachusetts uses such language as that, over a signature clear and well-defined as the author's of this letter, I feel proud to recognise him as belonging to the party to which I belong, and when he needs it, to say a few words, feeble though they be, in his defence.

Yes, sir, the anti-slavery sentiment of the State had been increasing steadily during those years, and I am willing to acknowledge that letter of Gov. Gardner's as a most significant indication of it. It may be true that Boston was less affected by that sentiment than other places—that a majority of the clizens were in favor of the rendition of fugitives. But how about other places? Were the people of Plymouth, where I am told there are some eighteen or twenty fugitives, in favor of it? Was New Bedford, with its two hundred or more? Was Worcester, the heart of the Commonwealth?—where, but recently, an emissary of the slave-catching crew, on the comparatively harmless and peaceful mission of summoning witnesses in the Burns riot cases, gave occasion, by his presence only, for the almost making of that beautiful city the Christians of Massachu setts soil, and was protected in his life seemingly by the men whose feelings he had ourraged, of whom I have since heard it said that it was "a great oversight" that they allowed him to depart alive—such was the intensity of their indignation against the pottroon. No advance in all this, sir? Aye! most significant progress.

But, in further justification of the opinion that the public was not prepared for action on this matter of the rendition of fugitives, the gentleman frem Northampton directs attention to the position of Mr. Bummer in Congress, the first session of his service, and intimated that he had no constituency to back and sustain him, and hence he

did not speak; that letters and appeals were sent to him urging him to say something; but so conscious was he that public sentiment at home was not with him, that he hesitated long before he gave utterance to his sentiments. Is all this so? I must say, with all respect, that I differ with the gentleman; I do not so understand Mr. Samner's course during that first session. The gentleman surely has been misinformed in regard to this matter. "No constituency "! Why, sir, he had the warm sympathies of the honest masses of the whole State- no man ever more so. True he did not at once fall to making speeches; he was not ready in debate; but he pursued a course of which time shew its prudence and its wisdom. He marked well his men; he measured their strength; he noted keenly their powers of argument; like the course of the gentleman himself in the house, he did not often participate in the contests of the session, but calmly watching the proceedings and words of those about him, saying little himself, he knew the exact moment when to speak, and the better effect it had upon the assembly. But when he did speak, and his glowing words were spread over this State and throughout the nation, how the hearts of all the liberty-loving people yearned towards him, and he was made conscious that his constituency embraced the great bulk of the honest masses of the North. Hesitatel to speak! No, sir! It was rather the keen, skilful observation of the military engineer, who calmly, discreetly going about the citadel of his enemy, noted its every bastion, marked well its battlements, detected its weak defences; so that, when his science and skill had done their perfect work, and the heavy artillery of attack was poured upon the doomed city, not a shot missed its aim, not a blow was misspent, and the well-directed energy of successful assault beat down the walls of the stronghold, wrested the prize from its possessors, and upon the highest point of the captured citadel floated out upon the air the proud banner of entire and glorious v

and glorious victory!

Turning from Mr. Sumner, the gentleman from Northampton had some comments to offer respecting the junior Senator in Congress from this State, Mr. Henry Wilson, a personal and political friend of mine, I am happy to say. His course was not altogether to the liking of the gentleman. Well, this Senator has been but recently chosen, and by this House. I did all I could to secure his election, I am free to acknowledge, (though I fear my efforts in that respect were feeble,) and if it becomes this House to defend its choice, I know of no one more willing to try to do it in their name than myself.

Doubt Mr. Wilson's anti-slavery convictions or his anti-slavery integrity! Why, sir, the thing is preposterous. The history of the past six or eight years, in which many of us have politically toiled almost hopelessly, should teach better than that. The Senator's whole career, from his youth upwards, gives no sanction to such an idea. I know full well this lack of confidence has been expressed before towards this gentleman. But I never could learn why, with good cause. I could only surmise that it was because of his humble origin, because he was not liberally educated at a neighboring university, because he seemed more than others to possess the sympathies of the pwisating, living masses of the community. I know that so-called "Free-Soilers from the start," who should ever have been "on the start for success of great principles rather than to find cause for complaint against devoted, earnest men, have cought to the wat and oppose him; but I know, also that have been "on the start" for success of great prin-ciples rather than to find cause for complaint against devoted, earnest men, have rought to thwart and oppose him; but I know, also, that they have falled, and that he to-day stands firmer in the affections of the people of the State than ever before,—as he will stand. Only a week ago, sir, in Tremont Temple, before a large audience that through that spacious hall, warning the anti-slavery men of the country of the dangers, seduc-tions and blandishments of power, he boldly said: "If we voice could be beard by the Anti-Slavery

tions and blandishments of power, he boldly said:

"If my voice could be heard by the Anti-Slavery
men of all parties, in the nation, I would say to them:

'Resolve it—write it over your door-posts—engrave it
on the lids of your Bibles—proclaim it at the rising of the
sun, at the going down of the same, in the broad light of
noon, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light,
—that the day any party—be it Whig. Democratic or
American—raises a finger to arrest the Anti-Slavery
movement, to repress Anti-Slavery sentiment, or proscribe Anti-Slavery men, resiall squart Receive or DIR!

And so I say, sir!—IT DESERVES TO DIR! But
the departure of Mr. Wilson, and other FreeSoilers into the American movement, seems to be

And so I say, sir!—IT DESERVES TO DIE! But the departure of Mr. Wilson, and other Free-Soilers into the American movement, seems to be an unpardonable offence. Well, sir, I went with others into that movement. I joined it, and—I left it; though I suppose I am a sort of hybrid member,—belonging still to the "American party," as such—my name not now enrolled on the books of the "inner circle,"—while I possess, I fear, many of my old Free Soil predilections. I can say a good word for that organization, however. I think its origin was a necessity of our political condition—that the movement was an exigency which the people recognised and which they answered. One reason why it gathered such remarkable strength and stocess in this State I will tell the gentleman. He doubtless remembers that at the Presidential election of 1852, almost the entire foreign vote of the country was cast for one Franklin Pierce for President. He may remember also, that in the summer ensuing, there sat in this Franklin Pierce for President. He may remember also, that in the summer ensuing, there sat in this hall, for three long months, some of the best men of the State—among which number, for his eminent services and abilities, I am glad to class himself—for the purpose of forming a new Constitution of the State; that, their disinterested and long-protracted work ended, it was submitted to the people for their decision upon it at the following November election; that on that day, the same foreign vote, with scarcely an exception, that a twelvemonth before had voted with the Democrats, deserted their allies and went with the Whig party in opposition to that new Constitution, and by their votes insured the defeat of that instrument which the people demanded, the work in part of the gentleman's own hands—for what Simply because, in that instrument, was one single little clause that thereafter no sectarian school in the Commonwealth should receive the public bounty. And the gentleman may know, that on bounty. And the gentleman may know, that on the Sunday afternoon previous to that election, up in his own beautiful town on the Connecticut, from the pulpit of the Catholic church, was read a let-ter by the priest, said, I believe, to have been received from the Bishop of the Diocese of Boston, instructing, or requesting, or urging that flock, on the following day, to vote against that Constitu-

the following day, to the same tion.

Mr. Huntington.—I do not know it.

Mr. Slack.—It may have been without the gentleman's knowing it?

Mr. Huntington.—I think not—I should have been likely to have heard of it.

Ms. Slack.—Well, sir, perhaps it was not; I hope it was not; but my authority for the statement is a letter written from the town of Northampton immediately after that election, by a responsible person, I suppose, whose name—

Mr. Huntington (interrupting).—Will the gendleman give it.

ment is a letter written from the town of Northampton immediately after that election, by a responsible person, I suppose, whose name—

Mr. Huntington (interrupting).—Will the gengleman give it.

Mr. SLACK.—I do not know it; I say a responsible person, I suppose, whose name was with the editor, and published in a Boston daily newspaper, in which the fact was set forth at length. But, be it so or not, in regard to the letter from Northampton, I suppose there is no doubt that the foreign vote went on that side throughout the State. It was an outrage upon the intelligence and fair-dealing of voters in such a manner to defeat a measure,—and hundreds joined the new movement, which followed immediately after, to redress that insult. I am frank to say here, what I have said as frankly elsewhere, that but for the defeat of that constitution, I should not, in all human probability, have joined the American party.

Nor do I forget another cause that gave the new movement strength and speed in this State. We all remember the overtures made by the Free Soilers, last fall, to the twelvemonth before victorious Whig party, for a "fusion movement" in this State, similar to that in the other States, whereby all the people could avenge the passage of the Nebraska and kindred measures. We all remember, too, their reducal at their State convention, to accept the proffered union, preferring as they did to retain the paltry "spoils of office" which they held by virtue of their success the year before over the rains of the new Constitution, rather than commingle in that generous-uprising of the whole people of the State saw that selfahness, that neglect of the greater interests of freedom for the mere retention of place and power, they looked about them for the means to break down the party that was thus false to liberty and humanlty. They found the new organzation. It was a weapon ready to their hands; they scized it, and with it they dashed into pieces the just before proud and victorious Whig party—how well, let the eighty-one tho

the House.

The SPERKER.—I understand the gentleman is illustrating his position by reference solely. Other speakers having referred to the American party, in a wide latitude of debate, the gentleman probably feels authorised to follow them. He will, however, confine himself as near the main question as possible.

however, confine himself as near the main tion as possible.

Mr. Slack—Thank you, sit, I will. I should not have touched upon the American party and its acts, had not the gentleman from Northampton led in that way.

Mr. Huntingvon.—I made no attack upon the American party; I alluded to it merely as an existing fact in our politics, and that it held no position on the clavery question.

Mr. Slack.—True; I do not mean to imply, in any thing which I have said, that the gentleman made an attack on the American party—I know he did not. But he will admit, I suppose, that he commented rather freely upon Free Soilers going into that party; that he intimated that "a certain Dr. upon this floor," whose name he would not mention, was "the bell-wether of the flock from the Republican fold," who, with Senator Wilson, had "slid into, or slid up to." the American party, &c. I have been trying to show why they went there, and what they have been doing while there. Yes, sir, the American party has made some mistakes, and probably will make some more; but in this State, at least, it has got the anti-lavery sentiment within it, and will give utterance to that sentiment, or cease to be an organization. I repeat, the American movement was a necessity of the times, and as such, and for its action thus far, in this State, I am ready now, as I trust I ever shall be, to defend it with perfect good will.

But the American party, generally, throughout the country—what of that? what has it done? I will speak solely or what I know, and that is of the party in the Northern section of the Union. Does the gentleman know that the American party was a very material force in nearly all, the "fusion movements" of the different States the past fall and present spring?—that in the great Northwest and elsewhere it was in a great measure a component part of the "Republican" organization? If he does not, he will allow me to tell him that he is as uninformed of the facts, as he certainly has been of the philosophy, of the American movement. Why, in Maine, it gave us Governor Morrill; in Pennsylvania, Governor Pollock; in Iowa, Senator Trumbull, descentiant of Trumbull of Connecticut Revolutionary memory; in Wisconsin, the Congressional delegation, save one; in Milnois, Senator Trumbull, descentiant of Trumbull of Connecticut Revolutionary memory; in Wisconsin, the Congressional delegation, save one; in Michigan, again the Congression

ess condition.

I desire to refer to the fifth article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, to show my and your rela-tion to the man who has done this great deed of shame—though the point was well presented by my friend and colleague [Mr. Swift, of Boston] in his eloquent opening remarks. That article is as

"All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them."

Yes! all judicial officers are our "substitutes and agents"—are my "substitutes and agents."
Then do I, for one, hold this substitute and agent to strict account for what he has done. I may not, like the proud monarch of Europe, exclaim, "I am the State!!"—but I can say, without excess of assumption, "I am a sovereign—I am your principal; you are my agent, servant—the public's agent, servant—to it and me, give an account of thy stewardship!" Has he done my wish in this transaction, for which he is arraigned in common before this tribunal of the people? I answer—he has not! The manner of his action was highly objection

The manner of his action was highly objectionable. He pursued his examination, on the first morning, with unbecoming haste. I firmly believe that but for the earnest pleadings of Messrs, Dana and Ellis, the poor fugitive's counsel, with the efforts of other friends, he would have been consigned to slavery before meridian of that day. That haste is not compatible with the idea of justice in this free Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The butted fugitive proved an albis, that should

That haste is not compatible with the idea of justice in this free Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The hunted fugitive proved an alioi, that should have secured his release. Everybody knows from testimony educed at the examination—evidence from men of unimpeached integrity living in this community, one of them a member of the lower branch of our city government, another at one time my next door neighbor, and a host of others as worthy—that at the time his alleged master, Buttl-, and his chief condemning witness, Brent, as well as the record which they bore from the court of Virginia, testified that he was in the streets of Richmond, he was humbly yet honestly cleaning the windows of a machine shop in South Boston. I say everybody here knows that this was a fact not to be gainsayed. And this alibi, so well proven, so momentous to this man standing before a Massachusetts Judge for that which was dearer to him than life itself—his liberty!—so fatal to the record which those men bore with them from Virginia—an alibs, which in the pettiest court of the State would have been effective in releasing culprits on trial for robbing a hen-roost—could not be received to give this man his liter ty, his right to his body, aye! the sweet communings of his own soul!

The prisoner was allowed to sit in that court room, while the trial for his liberty was going on

ings of his own soul!

The prisoner was allowed to sit in that court room, while the trial for his liberty was going on with his shackles on—his wrists encircled by steel handcuffs—the question of freedom or slavery undecided, and when by all the forms and admissions of law, as we know it, the accused is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. This was before a Massachusetts Judge, mind you; in a courthouse owned by the county of Suffolk; with all the outward semblance of a hall of justice! Was such conduct becoming? And in testimony of this fact, there is now in or about this House, an affidavit or certificate from Mr. Burns himself, over his own signature and sign-manual, written with his own hand, which any member can see who desires, corroborating in every particular the assersires, corroborating in every particular the asser-tions of Mr. Ellis, his counsel, that while that trial was proceeding he was there sitting with his ir

sires, corroborating in every particular the assertions of Mr. Ellis, his counsel, that while that trial was proceeding he was there sitting with his irons on!

In the common belief that the decision to be rendered was known to certain parties before it was announced in court, I fully concur; and a single circumstance impels me to it. I well recollect that awful morning. It was a bright, sheerful, summer's day. I carly passed into that square about the court-house with a hoping heart, believing that the man must be freed. But how my heart fell as I saw the preparations made. There was the building surrounded by the police force of the city, but a few paces distant from each other; there were the lines of iron and rope stretched across the streets; drawn up by the main entrance on the easterly side of the court-house, so that in entering every person passed across the range of its gaping muzile, was a brass field-piece,—six, ten, or twelve pounder, I know not which, apparently loaded and ready for dreadful use; thronging the halls, staircases, and every aperture leading to the court-room, were the hired soldiery of the government; there was the rapid hurrying to and fro that denoted arrangements fully completed and rapidly consummating. But nowhere were the slave-owner and his chief witness. Why their absence? That morning, about seven o'clock, there dropped down from her moorings at the many pard, the revenue cutter 'Morris,' he stayade her way off one of our wharves till she took on board Stattle and Brent, and then quietly glided a little further down the stream. The court opened at nine o'clock, and the decision was then publicly given. How came that national vessel to be preriously engaged, why left she her moorings, why tarried abreast that wharf which stretches its long pier into the sea, if no one knew of all the infernal atrocties that were to follow? The decision came; the trembling fugitive went into the hands of the marshal; that hollow-square of reaking how have high and have the party of the strend In the common belief that the decision to be

had not lent his aid to the enslavement of those who are in deeper distress than the widow or the orphan. There are those who reluctantly acknowledging that the majority of this community are ready for the regidition of the hunted, flying fugitive, would have that Commissioner, who had already covered himself all over with infamy by his participation in these slave-catching atroctities, retain his monopoly of the debasing servitude, claiming that he who was the Judge of Probus should be the friend of the poor and friendless, the forsaken and alone,—the representative and advocate, if such were possible, of the minority of this community on this great a natiment of the Christian heart. Of that number I profess to be one. I claim that Judge Loring, by virine of his beneficent office, should have been for us. Let the Curtis act for the majority!—he has earned his reputation!

of his beneficent office, should have been for as. Let the Curtis act for the majority!—he has earned his reputation!

But he whom we claimed, failed us. He lacks our confidence, as well as that of the "few colored citizens." He lacks my confidence, and that it is why I shall give my vote in proper time for his removal from the place which I feel he has dishonored. I bear no ill will towards him; his smile is as genial to me as to any one else, for ought that I know; I doubt not his integrity; I revere his abilities; I only would that he had not done the deed! I am a native of Boston; I was reared and fostered in her common schools; for all that I am or may be, I am indebted to her, who kindly took me in her arms, and gives me of her enterprise and good-will. I am mindful of her good name, and dear to me is her untarnished reputation. It is a city of pleasant memories,—of a Revolutionary history illustrious in every page of its annals. I expect always to live here; and when I come to pass away, to be placed within her bosom or laid to rest in one of the neighboring cemeteries just without the city's gates. I have a wife and child, in whose happiness I have an abiding interest. Should this Judge be retained, in the vicissitudes of life as of death he may be called upon to pass upon my limited estate and feeble effects. If so, I have only to say, let no instrument that passes from that office to my widow and child, ever be pressed by the hand, or bear the signature—that reduced a Massacurusayrs Freeman to the condition of a Southern Slave!

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the new series of Tracts. David Mack, Belmont, Mass, Rufus Wyman, Salem, do. Sarah Hunter, New Bedford, do. 5 00 1 00 0 50

Mrs. P. B., Plymouth, do.

Geo. W. Wilson, Malden, do.

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James Griffin, Rockport. Mass., The following contributions have been received from

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ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN DOVER, N. H. An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in DOVER.

N. H., on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY next, April 24th and 25th, which all in that region who 'despise oppression and abhor blood' are earnestly invited to attend. Among the speakers who will be present are WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER.

The first meeting will commence on Tuesday, at 21 o'clock, P. M.

It is hoped there will be a full and prompt attendance of the friends of the cause.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture at the Town Hall, in HOLDEN, on Sunday next, April 22, (afternoon and evening,) at the usual time of religious service, on the subject of Slavery.

> ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN CINCINNATI, OHIO.

To be held on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY and FRIDAY, the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of April, 1855.

Distinguished advocates of this great movement, from Distinguished advocates of this great movement, from various parts of the country, are expected to take part in the Convention. Honest differences of opinion, as to the best means accomplishing the great object, may exist; but in this we perceive no sufficient reason to hinder Anti-Slavery people of every grade, sex, or color, from acting zealously together against the common evil; and we earnestly invite the hearty co-operation

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Cincinnati, C. DONALDSON, Chairman. Cincinnati, April 3, 1855.

AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows, in Clinton Co., N. Y.: Saturday. Plattsburgh, April 21.

Sunday, Tuesday, Beckman, 24. West Chazy, East Chazy, Wednesday, Friday, Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, May 27. Champlain, Mooer's Village, Thursday,

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows :-Nashua, N. H., Tuesday, April 24. Thursday, " 20. Amherst, do. Milford, do.

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Worcester, April 18.

ter

SPEECH OF JOHN L. SWIFT, Esq. of BOSTON BEFORE THE MASS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Tuesday, April 10, 1855.

PRONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. TERRINTON, EXPRESEL POR THE BOSTON DAILY BEE. Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House:

I open this discassion with no little hesitancy— for I fully appreciate the magnitude of the duty we are requested this day to perform. I am also aware that no new matter can be revealed—no new suggestion can be made—up new ideas advanced, which will add information or interest to this subject. The argument submitted to the Committee on Federal Relations by one of the most eloquent of

rederal Relations by one of the most eloquent of living men (Wexdell Phillips,) covers se entirely the side of the question with which I sympathies, that I shall be forced to repeat some of the ideas and occupy some of the grounds that were taken by that gentlemas.

The argument for the remonstrants was made by Richard H. Dans, Jr., Eq., and has been printed, circulated, and generally read. For that gentleman, I, with most of our fellow-citizens, entertain the highest respect. Few men in this State surpass him in argumentative powers, or in general knowledge; but truth compels me to say, that few men in the Commonwealth are so conservative in their views and opinions as Mr. Dans. The people could never sanction his views of religion, or government, without, in a great measure, abandoning their own.—He regards the Priesthood and the Judiciary as sacred institutions. He sees on the wig of the Judge He regards the Priesthood and the Judiciary as sacred institutions. He sees on the wig of the Judge and the robe of the Priest, the stamp of divinity; and, soarch the Commonwealth through, perhaps you could not find a man from whom the people would so often differ as from Mr. Dana. If Benj. F. Hallett, or one of the remarkable family of Curtises, bad made that argument, it would have fallen dead to the ground, for we should have exclaimed —"what good thing can come out of Nazareth?"—Coming from a man with an anti-slavery reputation, and made in the name of liberty, the argument has and made in the name of liberty, the argument has had more weight than it otherwise would. Although that argument can receive no sanction from me either with regard to its opinions of constitutiona law, or its theory of our duty on this occasion, ye law, or its theory of our duty on this occasion, yet I acknowledge myself wholly insalequate to contend against the master-skill and ability which he brought to the discussion. I shall not, then, attempt a reply to that argument. My purpose is only to present, and rely upon, the simple justice of the case.

The reports which have come from the Committee to whom the subject was referred represent all the facts of the case, as well as the different views which men hold with regard to the removal of Judge Loring.

Loring.

The conservative side of the question could not also conservative side of the question could not be conservately stated.

The conservative side of the question could not be better, if it could be more elaborately stated, than it has been in the report signed by the gentleman from Salem (G. H. Deverreux.)

The intermediate opinions, lying between those, on the one side, who demand the removal, and those, on the other, who sanction the conduct of the Suffolk Judge of Probate, are ably expressed by the report which condemns the law of 1850, and the report which condemns the law of 1850, and the course of Judge Loring, who acted under it in the Burns case, but fears to put into operation this im-portant and reserved constitutional power of ad-dress.

dress.

Then we have the majority report, remarkable for its exposition of the case—its clear and unanswerable arguments—its admirable enunciation of the law—and, in my opinion, its just and proper If these reports have been read by the members of this House with attention, I have no doubt of the of this House with attention, I have no doubt of the final result of the action of the Legislature.

I do not rise now with the hope of altering any man's views, of changing any man's vote, who has deliberated upon this matter. I am liere only in accordance with my convictions of duty, as one who makes and uphelds the laws of this Commonwealth, to state the reasons why I shall vote for the removal of Edward Greek Laving from the office of Index of

of Edward Greely Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk.

Thave noticed that while the preliminary steps were being taken to bring this matter before the House, some of my conservative friends induged in wholesale flings at the subject, and were inclined to draw upon their powers of sarcam at inclined to draw upon their powers of sarcasm, at the expense of the petitioners. It was once said by a member of the United States Senate, that wit had two purposes, one to adorn and embellish an ar-gument,—and the other, to cover up, or supply the want of one; and I am compelled to believe that the latter is the reason why some of the members have resorted to ridicule;—they have been obliged to make up in satire what they lacked in argument

and common sense.

It has also been intimated, that as so much of the time of the House has been occupied in this matter, there should not be any prolonged discussion upon it. Some have even gone so far as to express a wish to take the question without any debate. I trust that, out of regard to the honor of this House, out of respect to ourselves no such undignified and in of respect to carselves, no such undignified and un-parliamentary course will be pursued. Why, gen-tlemen, there has been no measure, of any consider-able importance, before us, which has taken less the legitimate time and attention of this body than this case; and shall a subject of this grave char-acter receive no deliberation at our hands? I trust no attempt will be made to abridge the freedom of debate, or bring this investigation pre-maturely to a close. Let us, by all means, gen-tlemen, proceed with caution, with calinness, with careful consideration, in this serious and unusual

I am free to say, that if the able gentlemen are to follow me on the other side, present any "great reasons of State," convincing me that duty does not require my approval of the majority report, I shall readily and cheerfully vote against it. Let us have, then the most ample and unrestricted de-

liberation.

Remember, that it is no slight or trivial affair to Remember, that it is no slight or trivial affair to exercise this power of address, or to pass upon the conduct of any Judicial officer, charged as is Mr. Loring with such wide departure from his duty, both to the State and the unfortunate man whom he consigned to the unknown and untold miseries of American slavery; and let no fears of a long session, no mercenary consideration with regard to the treasury of the Commonwealth, fetter or control this controversy. Twelve thousand petitioners come here to ask you to remove the Suffolk Judge of Probate. It is no sille recourse on their part. It is an unusual

ask you to remove the Suffolk Judge of Probate. It is no idle request on their part. It is an unusual petition, both in respect to its numbers and its purpose, and they do not ask you either to slur over, to stifle, or to oramp this discussion.

These petitioners ask us to put into operation a constitutional power which we possess—one that has slumbered unexercised for many years, but one which they maintain never has been, never can be, which they maintain never has been, never can be, more appropriately or consistently put into opera-tion than at the present time. No one, as I understand it, denies our absolute

power of removal by address. The reports,—all of them,—admit it. The question is not, then, so much whether we can, as whether we should, grant the This power, then, so wisely established, so zeal-ously and carefully preserved, after slumbering for half a century undisturbed, we are now asked to

or this demand? We shall see. I remember well that eventful week from which all this trouble has sprung. The sorrew and surprise is fresh in my mind now, with which I heard, early one morning, in Boston, that another man had been arrested as a fugitive slave. The news spread like wildfire, and fugitive slave. The news spread like wildfre, and the city, in a few hours, was in an uprear. The hammer dropped from the hand of the mechanic—the farmer forgot it was seed-time, and for a moment thought not of the coming harvest—the lawyer put by his ellent for a day, and crowds of men collected about that building in Court Square, known both as a temple of justice and a barracoon of the slave-hunter. Sir, novel scenes were witnessed during that week. Go to the worst haunts of sin in this city—go where debaushers and collution hold. city—go where debauchery and pollution hold un divided empire—go where crime riots unchecked— and you will find the minions who filled the United States Court room at that time, and stood forth the champions of "law and order." That nondescript tribunal sat in the United States Court room for the District of Massachusetts; yet no son of Massachusetts, without receiving a password from the U.S. Marshal, could gain admission to the room. A Virginian—any citizen of the South,—could pass into that room any time of the day unimpeded; but one who claimed eltizenship in this Commonwealth one who claimed eltizenship in this Commonwealth of und the bayonets of a miserable soldiery at his breast if he undertook to proceed. How will these facts read in history—that a court in Massachusetts, like a secret and midnight conclave, was accessible only with whispered passwords; that soldiers guarded its entrance, that bullies, and pests, and assassing were the strong right arm of justice; and that Massachusetts men were refused admittance to their own courts? These things will read strangely, but they happened less than a year ago in the capital of this Commonwealth. District of Massachusetts; yet no son of Massachu-

The details of that week I shall pass by, (of the remarkable conduct of the Judge I shall speak again)—of the meeting of the five thousand at Faneuil Hall—of the assault upon the Court House—of the death of Batchelder—of the warlike sounds of fife and drum in one steep warlike sounds of fife of Batcheder—of the warlike sounds of fife and drum in our streets—of the conduct of that city official who trembled at every noise, and paled with fear if a man but used a red bandsona handkerchief, thinking he saw in it the sign as well as the color of blood—of the illegal call upon the troops—of the martial law which prevailed—of the blockaded avenues to trade, the suspension of business, the disregard of citizens' rights—of the streets hung with mourning—of the soldiers on horseback and the soldiers on foot, with the sabred rowdies between, who formed the unhallowed escort—of the cannon loaded to the muszle with the implements of d ath—of the twenty thousand men, women and children who looked with shame and humiliation upon that scene—of these things, I cannot speak at

contable, jailor, or other oficer of this Commonwealth, or to any county, city or town thereof, of any person, for the reason that he is claimed as a fagitire slare.

That Staints says that no Justice of the Peace shall sign a certificate for the resolution of a figitive from slavery, does it not! Mr. Loring is a Justice of the Peace, and has signed such a certificate. It says no Judge of any court of record shall sign as certificate for the resolution of a figitive from slavery, does it not! Mr. Loring is a Justice of the Peace, and has signed such a certificate. It says no Judge of any court of record, and has signed such a document. It says no offer such a Judge of a court of record, and has signed such a document. It says no offer such a Judge of a court of record, and has signed such a document. It says no offer shall hereafter arrest, or detain, or add in the arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any building belonging to this Commonwealth, and violated his cath, has he not! "Oh. no," any Mr. Dana in his argument, and my friends of the opposition will any the same bling when the law of 1853 applied to the law of 1803, but the law of 1853 applied to the law of 1803, the work of the opposition will any the same bling when have done,—"not at all. The law of 1853 applied to the law of 1803, but the law of 1850. True, the law of 1843 near under the sum of the opposition will any the same bling when the law of 1850. True, the law of 1843 near under the sum of the opposition will any the same bling when the law of 1850. True, the law of 1843 near under the sum of 1844 near under the sum of 1845 near under the sum the amendment. I ask you, gentlemen, if that is a consistent, a logical argument? Is it possible that this House can be bewildered and deluded by that legal legerdermain or special pleading which asserts that Judge Loring, who signed an instrument and accomplished the object which the law of 1841 sought to prevent, avoids the Statute, because he did it under an amendment to the act for which the prohibitory law was framed! Judge Loring is the last man in the world to come up here (or his friend for him) with any such plea as that. He decided in the Burns case, that it was not his province to pass upon the constitutionality of the act of 1850 because the Supreme Court of the State had declared it constitutional. How came that court to declare it constitutional! Why, they say it is constitutional, because the law of 1793 is so, of which this is an amendment! He sent Anthony Burns into the

ingth. It was a weak, Mr. Spraker, in which years, and I and all of se, offi degree—a weak in the decay.

Bappend can be by presset when the ones in the second of the commonweals was made in the control of the contro

he colleged to do this unholy thing? Was it an ecessity on his part? I say not; for no man is compelled to be U. S. Commissioner, no man is other pelled to be U. S. Commissioner, no man is other pelled to be U. S. Commissioner, no man is other than the control of the control

moment's notice; and I wish, for the sake of my native town of Falmouth, that he had signed the majority report.

The gentlemen cannot make up their minds to remove this man, because, if he had not sent Anthony Burns hads, the petitioners would not have come up here asking for the exercise of this power of address. That, sir, it seems to me, is a style of reasoning which comes under the name of enop-logic. It is worthy of that system of reasoning which proves that every cat has three tails, by starting off with the premise that no cat has two tails—and draws the conclusion that every cat must have one tail more than no cat,—srgo, every cat has three tails. I do not know that there is any special similarity between the report and that style of logic, except the absurditty of the conclusion.

Grant that if Judge Loring had not signed the slave certificate, the petitioners would not have saked for his removal; grant that the public, in the joy of their hearts at the liberation of Anthony Burns, might have overlooked the trespass of the Judge; allow that the fact of his not having signed the certificate of return would have counterbalanced, in some minds, the detention of an alleged fugitive against the laws of the Commonwealth; admit all this, and what does it amount to Simply to this: that the illegal arrest and detention end in his enslavement; that is the whole substance of the symment. The illegality would have been the same; and if the question came before us, even under such circumstances, on my oath here, is hould be obliged to say he had violative against the same; and if the question came before us, even under such circumstances, on my oath here, is hould be obliged to say he had violative the continuately for us, Anthony Burns went from that court-house a slave and not a free man—and we need not query what would or would not be our conduct under a different state of affairs. This is no time to speculate upon what might have been done. We have got to ask ourselves solemly the conduction to prove that they

And now I come to the consideration of the report signed by the member from Salem.

Here, sir, I will ask the indulgence of the House while I relate an incident which happened, a few days since, to the member from Cambridge, who usually sits directly in front of me, but whom I do usuary sits directly in front of me, but whom I do not see in his sear today. He met, in company with I have not yet qute done with the "independent a friend of mine, the other day, Mr. Burns, who as the House well knows, has been purchased—and of Mr. Dean without disgrace, a Judiciary without blemish.

I have not yet qute done with the "independent judge." I have marked something in the remarks causetts can do what its laws cannot, give a man causetts can do what its laws cannot, give a man has freedom. He met Burns, and said to him, "Now you are free, I suppose you forgive Mr. Lorieg, do you not?" Burns replied, "Yes; I forgive him." He is a christian man, and believes in "loving those who hate him, and praying for those who death is too use and persecute him." Said my friend, "It is too bad to ask the man such a question. It is foreing a man to say too much—be can't forgive him—the de cision was not just." "Justice," said the member from Cambridge; "justice had no thing whatever to do with it!" As we are now holding this judicial agent of ours accountable for his conduct on that occasion, I should like to refer the member to the like had also at the Bill of Rights, which says— 18th Article of the Bill of Rights, which says—

"A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and a constant adherance to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government. The people ought, consequently, to have a particular regard to all those principles, in the choice of their large to require of their largivers and magistrates, an exact and constant observance of the same man and magistrates, an exact and constant observance of the same man and proposentatives; and they have a right to require of their largivers and magistrates, an exact and constant observance of the same man and those of the largivers and magistrates, an exact instincts."

persons, incurry, and traggary are accurately post to try that a free gereation or the property of the consequently, to have a principle property of the consequently, to have a principle property of the constant observance of them in the formation administration of the Commonwealth."

I tell the member, if "justice" had nothing to do with hit case, one of our judge had soughting to do with it; and as a recurrence to fundamental principles, such as justice and prety, is shearly principles, and the prety maintenance of a free government, and as we have a right to require of our magistrates an observance of these principles, I trust the gentleman will govern himself accordingly. He never made a truer remark that when he sale 'justice' had nothing to do momit a greater error, than when he will be a such as a purpose of the second prety is shown to be a such as a list to make a little to ment to have independent justices to a judge who presided in a case to which that remark justly applier. That gentleman is a very exhaustatic temperance man; and if Judge Loring or any other Judge, hence the such as a little to make a a little to

only. I draw this conclusion from the fact, that stray preparation was used to carry that man off. The namon were in Court Square; the ammunition was frushed; the military under arms; the police of the removal of Judge Loring, again the prevailed; the military under arms; the police with prevailed and overlything done with just that prevailed the military under arms; the police with the prevailed of the prevail

went from that court-house a slave and not a free man—and we need not query what would or would not be our conduct under a different state of affairs. This is no time to speculate upon what might have been done. We have got to ask ourselves solemnly the question, whether we shall remove this man, who has not only broken the laws of the State by acting under the Fugitive Slave Law, but has acted in such a manner as to excite the surprise and indignation of the whole community.

there is not such a man in the State. It is an insuch a mult to the Judges of this Commonwealth to enter-tain such an idea for a single moment. The burden is upon the opposition to prove that they have reason for this fear. Judge Vinal was removed, in 1803, from the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and distinct capacity, he made an overcharge of the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and individual the court of Common Pleas, because, in another and its court of Common Pleas, because, in another another another another another and capacity and capacity and capacity and capacity and capacit And now I come to the consideration of the report signed by the member from Salem.

Here, sir, I will ask the indulgence of the House law just as much equity, after this man is removed. as at the present time; and, what is more, we shall have a Bench without disgrace, a Judiciary without

"This was a case admitting of, and, to some ex "Inis was a case admitting of, and, to some ex-tent, requiring new applications or developments of fundamental principles, and Judge Loring has none of those strong instincts in favor of justice and hu-manity, which, followed by judges at intervals, in leading cases, have gradually changed the jurispru-dence of England from a system of tyramy to a system of liberty; and the habits and associations of years, as well as his matural character, have led him to look chiefs at the interval. him to look chiefly at the interests of property, and the preservation of quiet and ease." * * * * "Judge Loring had grown up under the shadow of Mr. Webster and Judge Shaw; he held their opin-

we have seargly contributed to fill, empired to purchase whole States to add to the smpire of slavery, and furnish the sinews of the slaveholder's warafare we have seen our religion mocked, our conscience derided, our rights outraged in our capital, that we might reader up to the slave-hunter his prey—and after we have seen all America made one vest hunting-field, so that the sun, as he rices from out the eastern waves, and journeys through the long hours of the day to his rest in the waters of the Pacific, toke not down upon a single inch of soil, between the land of the Mexican and the land of the Britton, where the slave is free from the bay of the bloodhound or the clutch of the puruing master—and, as if that were not enough, one year ago, we saw the mighty region of Nebraska, that stumbers so peacefully between the Rocky Monntains and the Mississippl—rich in all that makes the earth grand and beautiful—beneath whose mystic mounds lie buried and mouldering the remains of unknown ranses—Nebraska and Kannas, containing four hundred and elighty-five thousand square miles of earth, we saw, with one dash of the executive pen, transferred from freedom to slavery;—all this we have seen and mouraed over. We have borned in the state of the petition to all this, are we, by our our own members with the scare-crow of nullification, from doing our duty to our recreant Judges! I cannot believe that our fathers smote the power of Britain that their children might wear the yoks imposed by an oligarchy of slaveholders. I tell the House frankly what I Ubink on this matter. Encroachments on the State may increase to that extent that it will be impossible to erdure thou; its overeignty and independence of the petitioners or the solvent and independence of the petitioners or the solvent and independence of the petition of the surface of the petition of the state of the petition. I am pet the state of the petition of the surface of the petition of the state of the petition. I am pet the state of the petition of the state of the

magnanimity, sir! that is the last word that the defenders of E. G. Loring should use. It comes with ill grace from that side of the House. I wonder what Anthony Burns—a stranger, in a strange city—seized at eight o'clock in the evening—confined all night in the Suffolk County Court House—hurried, the next morning, twelve hours after his arrest.—Ref. — Ref. fined all night in the Suffolk County Court House—hurried, the next morning, twelve hours after his arrest,—unfit, and unprepared,—before a tribunal where there was no jury to try, and no counsel to defend him—before a Commissioner who prejudges the case before the evidence has been given or an argument made—a Commissioner who is so sure that he is a piece of property, that he draws a bill of sale for his owner—a Commissioner who is so peculiar in his dispensation of justice, that he gives weight only to that portion of the evidence which goes against him—consigned to his claimant, and escorted by villains through the public streets, where stand two thousand armed soldiers,—I wonder, sir, what Anthony Burns thought of the justice or the magnanismity of a Massachusetts Judge of Probate! If these gentlemen have a surplus of benevolence, if they are pre-eminently magnanismous, I trust they

will occasionally think of that chained slave, passing down State street, within a stone's throw of Fancuil Hall, and not waste it all on Edward Greely Loring—the chief agent in that unboly transaction.

I would now, sir, allude, very briefly, to some of I would now, sir, allude, very briefly, to some of

I would now, sir, allude, very briefly, to some of the general objections which have been offered to the removal of this Judge.

It was said by Mr. Dans, that Mr. Loring had no intimation that his acting under the law of 1850 would meet with the disapprobation of the people—that he had a right to infer that he was performing his duty to the State, by serving as Commissioner; and therefore Mr. Dana concludes that it would be undignified on the part of the Commonwealth, "to strike down a powerless man, who followed out but too closely her own lead." Will this excuse stand examination? Id 1843, the State enacted the law which I have so often quoted in this discussion, which expressed her abhorrence of returning fugitives at that time. In 1850, anticipating the slave statute of that year, she statute of that year, she

slaves, remain unchanged; and inasmuch as the count for the use of them."

Sad as that day was which my the Constitution, relative to this subject, is within burried through the streets of Bates, it is the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, we hold it to be a sadder day still which sees Massimum be the duty of that body to pass such laws only, in refuse to remove this Judge. Her, I at regard thereto, as will be asstained by the public where in this world, we should loke for life. regard thereto, as will be sustained by the public where in this world, we should lack for low sentiment of the free States, where such laws are to be enforced, and which shall especially secure to all persons whose surrender may be claimed as having escaped from labor and service in other States, the right of having the validity of such claim determined by a jury in the State where such claim it made."

where in this world, we should lack for low minded and honorable actions. Across the ter we see Europe waging a warfar for the right of Christianity has no prayer and for the right of the client of unfortunate. Africa in abject and hones have the right of the client of unfortunate Africa in abject and hones have the right of the client of unfortunate Africa in abject and hones."

assisted by our officers and judges; and when, in open defiance of that command, a man has preferred to serve the Federal Government to serving us, we only say, "Depart, ye slave commissioner, from the pale of our Judiciary!" It is a slight punishment for so grievous an offence.

I see by the report, sir, to what point this discussion will drift. I think I can discorn the character of the gentleman's reply—if reply he makes; and, Sir, I wish to state, that after we have seen the majesty of this State insulted in the streets of Charleston—after we have seen our citizens sold at public auction in the cities of Texas—after we have seen slave state after slave state come into this Union, in order to give slavery equal rein with freedom—after we have seen the treasury of this country, which we have so largely contributed to fill, emptied to purchase whole States to add to the empire of slavery, and farmish the sinews of the slaveholder's wars—after we have seen our religion mocked, our contributed days for the slaveholder's wars—after we have seen our religion mocked, our contributed days for the slaveholder's wars—after we have seen our religion mocked, our contributed days for the slaveholder's wars—after we have seen our religion mocked, our contributed days for the slaveholder's wars—after we have seen our religion mocked, our contributed days and contended against the removed because he did not send the station of Judge Units and the same of Judge Units

misdemeanors."

From no motives of personal spite errors ment, from no feelings of party most a animosity, am I before you saking the removal of this Judge. Never by my sat his, officially or otherwise, have I been input. I fear no event of this kind in the fairs. In these gentlemen have a surplus of benevolence, if these gentlemen have a surplus of benevolence, if they are pra-eminently magnanimous, I trust they will occasionally think of that chained slave, passing down State street, within a stone's throw of who are." Though neither you be I have

"Resolved, That the sentiments of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed in their legal enact-

persons whose surrender may be claimed as a waiving escaped from labor and service in other States, the right of having the validity of such claim is made."

In 1851, she elected Charles Sumer to the Sea sto of the United States. No stronger expression of the State where the sending of that man, for six years, to be a living remonstrant against that iniquation sensors. He was elected just after his eloquent speech, other than any protein the Fugitive Slave Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infany, at there are belonged to the Fugitive Slave Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infany, at there are belonged to the Fugitive Slave Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infany, at there are belonged to the Fugitive Slave Bill can never be forgotten. There are depths of infany, at there are belonged to the Season of the States. In 1851. He was a cleated by the states of the states of the Season of the States, in 1851. He was elected, because these weeks he seatiments, these and principle or depth of the Commonwealth. Seads Ignorance or that Judge Loring id the other was the state of the Season of the Season of the Commonwealth. Seads Ignorance or that Judge Loring id the other was the superplace if he followed the sead of the Season of the Season of the Commonwealth. Seads Ignorance or that Judge Loring id the other was the superplace of the Commonwealth. Seads Ignorance or that Judge Loring id the other was the superplace of the Season of the community. The one argued the superplace is the season of the season of the season of the community. The one argued the season of the commonwealth is an artificial to the season of the commonwealth is a superplace of the Season of the commonwealth is an artificial to the season of the commonwealth is a superplace of the Season of the commonwealth is a superplace of the Season of the commonwealth is a superpl