

make the same appeal to the audience before him to-night.

But the most fearful and fatal consideration is, that with each successive step on the part of the Slave Power, the conscience and courage and manhood and heroism of the North have declined in the same proportion, until, as he had said, there is no such indignation to-day against the admission of Kansas as a slave State as there was, fourteen years ago, against the admission of Texas; and if we lived till 1860, he did not believe that any better man than Senator Douglas would be the candidate of the best political party in the country, or that any higher issue would be made with the Slave Power than the re-opening of the African slave trade, if, indeed, Republicanism did not sink even lower than that before that time.

'For my part,' said Mr. Pillsbury, 'I would as soon have James Buchanan for President as any man in the nation; and I would as soon have Kansas admitted as a slave State under the Lecompton Constitution, as a free State under the Topeka Constitution, for the latter is not a whit better than the former. The Lecompton Constitution, to be sure, provides for slavery, but the Topeka Constitution declares that the Dred Scott decision, in all its letter and spirit, shall be enforced as law in this land, by proscribing the entire colored race. This consideration, I think, ought to be urged in this meeting, and every where, that the Dred Scott decision, vile, unnatural, inhuman, cruel, accursed as it is, has been confirmed in Connecticut, in New York, in Minnesota, in Wisconsin, in Iowa, in Kansas and in Oregon, (all Republican States and territories,) since the Republican party has been formed. That is Republicanism in our country to-day; and I had rather have the publicans and harlots of the Democratic party, than the Republican pharisees who make their boasts of such superiority over them.' (Applause.)

The same logic held true with regard to the Church. Boston would be more hopeful if every minister was just such an one as Dr. Adams. He did as much harm, and no more, as the babbling drunkard, rolling in the gutter, does to the cause of temperance; he is a good illustration of the damning effects of touching the intoxicating poison. The mischief was done by the Dr. Cheevers and the Henry Ward Beechers, who laid one hand on the Anti-Slavery movement, and the other on the heads of the slaveholders of the South at the sacramental table. A single Beecher or Cheever in New York did more harm than all the city papers, with the *Observer* at their head, or a Dr. Adams howling in every pulpit in the State. It is easy to convince the people of proslavery, as we have it in a Dewey, an Adams, a Caleb Cushing, and the like; but when we come to those Laidicans who are neither cold nor hot, and scarcely lukewarm, he knew of no other way but to spew them out of the anti-slavery mouth. 'I know this sounds harsh and unreasonable,' said Mr. Pillsbury, 'but if you will go into the field with us three months, you will convince you that the logic is good, the argument sound and unanswerable.'

In conclusion, Mr. Pillsbury expressed his gratification at seeing so large an audience present, and said he thought the cause of the Anti-Slavery movement was onward; and if the Abolitionists were only wise, and did not stop to make friends of judges and senators and clergymen, and all that sort of thing, they would be more successful. He said, 'I have no doubt, but that we will be more successful than we are now, and that we will be more successful than we are now, and that we will be more successful than we are now.'

Adjourned to Friday, 10 A. M.

FRIDAY.

Met according to adjournment at Mercantile Hall. The President in the chair.

Voted, That the hour of 11 o'clock be assigned for the taking of Donations and Pledges in behalf of the cause.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read a portion of a private letter from Mr. H. R. Helper of North Carolina, author of the 'Impending Crisis of Slavery.' Afterwards, he spoke of the glaring inconsistencies of American morals, which denounce and punished the murderer, the assassin, the pirate on the high seas, but admitted the slaveholder and his apologists and associates to their friendship and society, and helped in placing them in the highest stations. Now, says Mr. Wright, we see that Mr. Helper, simply for writing his book on Slavery, is banished from his home and his native State, and cannot return thither even to see his aged mother, without the risk of losing his life.

I have recently received a letter from an acquaintance and friend of my early days, now a resident in Texas, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and a slaveholder. He invites me to visit him. As to that, I long ago resolved I would never consent for a moment to have any service done for me by a slave, a human chattel; and therefore I cannot go to any slaveholding State. And the religion of this country is all on the side of the villain slaveholder. He takes the name of Christ, and it belongs to him, for the Christ of this country is a slaveholding Christ, no other than a cruel and hard-hearted demon, and I would call on all to unite for his overthrow. I speak not of the Christ of Calvary. He is a pure, a gentle, a loving Being, having no affinity with the Christ of America.

C. L. REMOND rose to ask if Mr. Helper, to whom the last speaker referred, was not himself in alliance with that class of men—the slaveholders—who had just been so severely spoken of by Mr. Wright, and clasped with assassins and pirates. For myself, said Mr. R., I cannot accept the anti-slavery of Mr. Helper, nor of Mrs. Stowe, nor of Miss Griffith, as authors. The two latter send their heroes to live in Liberia. When they will write a tale which shows a colored man living in this country, a free man, when they will boldly demand this right for him in the name of a God who loves impartial liberty, then I can regard them as true and consistent abolitionists. Mr. Remond vindicated the slave's right to shed blood and take life, to obtain his liberty.

MR. WRIGHT replied that, from all he knew of Mr. Helper, he was in no alliance or sympathy with slaveholders; while the effect of his book among the slaveholders would indicate precisely the contrary. He agreed with Mr. Remond in the slave's right to take his master's life, if he could not otherwise get his freedom. [A VOICE.] Would you justify them in doing what you know to be wrong? From their stand-point, said Mr. W., it is right. [Mr. BYRON.] But you judge the slaveholder by your own standard of right; why not judge the slave by the same standard? No! said Mr. W., I try the slaveholder by his own standard. He would call me a villain, should I attempt to make him a slave. Then, he knows that he is a villain, when he attempts to make a slave of another man, or woman. And when the bloody insurrection of the slaves comes, as I think it must come, every sympathy of my nature will be with them in the object they seek, though I can never go a step with them in the means they shall use.

The hour having come assigned for taking up donations and pledges in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Cause, ABNEY KILLALEY FOSTER addressed the meeting. She said it meant little to speak of sacrifices for this cause; that which we gain in education, in enlightenment, in the salvation of our own souls, infinitely more than repays all we could do or give for it. She set forth the work of the Society for the coming year, and entreated every one to come up and help it.

MR. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:—

Whereas, no government has a right to exact allegiance where it refuses to give protection; and

Whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, it is expressly declared that 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States'; and

Whereas, there are ten thousand colored inhabitants in this Commonwealth, who, by the Constitution and laws thereof, are recognized as citizens on an equality with all others, entitled to the same rights and privileges, and eligible to every office in the gift of the people of Massachusetts, and of whom full and true allegiance to the State Constitution is required, and who are therefore to be protected in common with all other citizens against wrong and outrage; and

Whereas, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, the monstrous doctrine has been laid down, that the colored citizens of Massachusetts (as well as of every other State in the Union) are not citizens of the United States, and may not seek redress of injuries in any of its Courts, and to that extent have 'no rights that white men are bound to respect'—a decision in open contempt and flagrant disregard of the 2d section of Art. IV. of the Constitution of the United States, and not only subversive of the rights and liberties of the particular class proscribed, but in the highest degree insulting to all the people, and utterly destructive of State rights; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of the Legislature now in session, to denounce as unconstitutional, tyrannical and insupportable, the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case aforesaid, and to resist it to the same extent as though all the citizens of the Commonwealth had been judicially declared not to be citizens of the United States; and that anything short of this will be perjury to our colored fellow-citizens, slavish subjection to high-handed usurpation, and the extinction of the sovereignty of the State.

Resolved, That if this oppressive and atrocious decision be not speedily reversed, it alone will fully justify Massachusetts in seceding from the Federal Union, as no longer included therein by the original terms of the compact, and that she ought to secede at all hazards; otherwise, her claim of sovereignty becomes a mockery, and she has no right any longer to demand allegiance of the class whom she is not willing to protect.

Resolved, That the Supreme Court of the United States, in all matters pertaining to slavery, is the ally of the Slave Power, and the deadly foe of Liberty; and, constituted as it is of those who are either slaveholders or the zealous accomplices of slaveholders, nothing but outrage and usurpation can be expected of it, to whatever extent the South may demand.

Whereas, Edward Greeley Loring continues to hold his office of Judge of Probate, and at the same time to act as Slave Commissioner under the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, in bold defiance of a law of this State, declaring that he will not obey it; and

Whereas, the people of this Commonwealth have twice demanded his removal, through the joint action of the Legislature, and twice have had their wishes denied by the vetoes of a Governor whom they have since declared to be no longer fit to be their Chief Magistrate; and

Whereas, for the third time, the people are requesting of the Legislature, (now in session,) the adoption of an Address to the Governor and Council for the removal of the aforesaid lawless and contemptuous Judge from his office under the State; therefore,

Resolved, That they have a right to expect, and do expect, of this Legislature, a prompt and hearty compliance with their wishes; and that Gov. Banks and his Council will, on the presentation of a proper address, as promptly and heartily concur in the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, and thus vindicate the honor and sovereignty of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the people will not sanction or tolerate any measure whereby this issue shall be evaded, but will hold every Senator and Representative to the strictest accountability in this case, together with the Governor and every member of his Council.

Resolved, That it is among the cheering signs of the times, and indicative of a growing revolutionary sentiment at the North, that the time has gone by for any man, claiming to be guided by the principles of justice and humanity, to come forward on the Anti-Slavery platform, and attempt to defend the Constitution of the United States as it has always been understood, interpreted and enforced, in regard to its slaveholding compromises; thus virtually admitting it to be incapable of justification, and therefore undeserving of respect or countenance.

Resolved, That under the Constitution, the attempt to reconcile the spirit of liberty with that of slavery—free institutions with slave institutions—free labor with slave labor—free speech with a fettered tongue—is worthy of the inmates of a mad-house—wild, outrageous, impossible; and to persist in making it, is an outrage on common sense, and high treason to the cause of freedom universally.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in a speech of some length, replied to various objections which had been made to his plan of an anti-slavery political party; and restated his positions, and insisted upon the necessity and practicability of the movement he had urged.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he was glad to hear Mr. Foster's speech. He was sure that, after the full and uninterrupted opportunity which he had now enjoyed, of saying all he wished to say to this Society, he (Mr. F.) could never again complain of being deprived of a hearing. Mr. Phillips then examined the arguments of Mr. Foster in behalf of a Disunion Political party. He maintained that it did not belong to us, in any respect, to form or inaugurate political parties; and that we are now doing, or may do, whatever we could do, honestly, were such a voting anti-slavery party in existence.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON. The President in the chair.

WILLIAM JENKINS, of Andover, said the whole mass of the people needed to be moved, in the direction of Anti-Slavery principles. But the whole mass cannot be moved alike, nor at the same time.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., said he had just come from the House of Representatives, where he had spent the time since the adjournment of the Society. After a protracted debate, with every kind of opposition in the shape of motions to adjourn, to lay on the table, and to indefinitely postpone the subject, the Yeas and Nays being twice taken, the House of Representatives had granted the use of their hall to this Society for this evening. The announcement was received with general satisfaction.

MR. GARRISON said, he wished to submit to the consideration of the Society, whether, at that late hour, it would be worth while to occupy the hall of the House of Representatives this evening. For one, he felt indignant that the application for it had not been acted upon promptly, on Wednesday, so that due notice of the alteration of the place of meeting (which was now impracticable) might have been given to the public. One object in asking for the Representatives' Hall was to ascertain whether abolitionists were to be excluded therefrom, because of their views of slavery, while all other citizens might have the use of it; and as that point had been settled by granting the request of the Society, it was now optional for us to occupy that hall, or to have our evening session here. It was not a question of any great importance, and he would not therefore press it, but cheerfully submit to the action of the Society.

Messrs. Jenkins, Holden, G. Draper, May, Ford, and others, thought that the Representatives' Hall should be occupied by the Society for this evening; and, on motion of C. L. Remond, it was unanimously

Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet in the House of Representatives this evening, at half-past 7 o'clock.

The Committee on nominating officers of the Society made the following Report:

President—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballo, Milford; Edmond L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; John T. Hilton, Brighton; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Abby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Richard Clark, Dorchester; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lewis Ford, Abington; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminister; Timothy Davis, Framingham.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.

Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.

Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Councillors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quincy, Charles K. Whipple, William L. Bowditch, Charles F. Hovey, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges.

The Report was unanimously accepted, and the officers elected accordingly.

The resolutions before the Society were read a second time.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, in a brief speech, grouped in a striking manner the causes of peril, the facts of pro-slavery usurpation, now spreading and threatening all about us. He urged the necessity of a liberal and generous contribution to the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, that they may again agitate and rock the Northern States, as the times demand, and that a special appeal for funds should immediately be made.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and MARIA W. CHAPMAN were chosen a Committee to prepare and issue said appeal to the people of Massachusetts, calling for pecuniary contributions to the treasury of this Society.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke of the necessity of keeping the great self-evident truths of humanity constantly before the people. He offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That slaveholding necessarily involves a crime and an outrage against man as unnatural and monstrous as robbery, murder, or piracy, and that slaveholders should be regarded as inhuman and monstrous as robbers, murderers, or pirates, and deserving the same treatment from individuals and from society.

Resolved, That to join in a political or religious Union with slaveholders involves no less guilt and immorality, on the part of the confederates, than it does to join with robbers, murderers and pirates.

Resolved, That the American Union having failed to accomplish the ends for which it was created, it is 'the right and duty of the people of the free States to alter or destroy it, and to form a new confederacy on the principle of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

WILLIAM B. EARLE, of Worcester, moved the adoption of the following:

Resolved, That the friends of the slave be requested to ask the Legislature to enact, that any one bringing into this State a person, with intent to hold the same as a slave, even with his consent, shall be subject to a fine of one thousand dollars, and one year's imprisonment in the common jail; and any one bringing into this State a person hitherto held as a slave, with intent to hold the same here in any form of service, shall, within three days after his entrance into the Commonwealth, place on record in the Registry of Deeds for the county in which such person intends to reside, a formal act of emancipation, and total renunciation of all right to slave service; and that the omission to do this shall be punishable with one thousand dollars fine and one year's imprisonment.

After a few remarks from Mr. Earle, and a general expression from the audience in favor of immediate action, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

MR. GARRISON spoke of the *perfidious* manner in which this State, and other Northern States, treated their colored citizens, allowing their rights to be invaded, trampled on, and taken away, and all with scarce so much as a word of remonstrance. The people of Massachusetts, said Mr. Garrison, hold a treacherous position toward the free colored population. We are bound, as citizens of a Commonwealth, to stand by each other on all occasions. But these few and poor fellow-citizens of ours are seized and enslaved, and sold for their jail-fees, and when we remonstrated, our agent Mr. Hubbard was kicked out of Louisiana, and Mr. Hoar out of South Carolina; and those States passed laws imposing shameful penalties on future ambassadors. These men made no protest, and Massachusetts made none. She ought to have sent them back, but had not life and energy sufficient. Again we should have resisted the Dred Scott decision. The negro is made a dog, a beast, before that decree of that pro-slavery court. Yet there is no excitement about it. What has Governor Banks said? This decision ought to be regarded by the people of Massachusetts as disfranchising every citizen of the State.

Mr. Garrison then spoke of the petitions now before the Legislature for the removal of Judge Edward Greeley Loring. He said—

Of a favorable answer to these petitions there ought to be the most confident expectation. Twice had the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, demanded the removal of this contemptuous Judge; twice had the Legislature, by overwhelming majorities, voted for his removal; twice had his will, thus strongly and clearly expressed, been defeated by the interposing vetoes of Gov. Gardner, whom they had since 'sent to Coventry'; and now, for a third time, they are asking the Legislature to renew its address to the Governor for the enforcement of their wishes. They will tolerate no evasion of this issue, whether by the abolition of the courts of probate and inolvency, or by any other process. It would subject Massachusetts to the fresh contempt and scorn of the South, if the Legislature now in session should, in a cowardly spirit, refuse to act promptly in this matter, in accordance with the popular voice; and it would assuredly work disastrously for the party now in the ascendant in this Commonwealth to pursue such a truckling policy.

Rev. Mr. KARCHER of Western New York, addressed the meeting in a brief but earnest speech.

SCARLE B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, N. Y., arose to urge continued and energetic agitation of the subject. No better way of accomplishing this could be found, she thought, than by subscribing to, reading, and circulating the Anti-Slavery papers. And by Anti-Slavery papers, she did not mean the *New York Tribune*, nor the *Independent*, nor the *Northern Independent*, but the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and the LIBERATOR, papers 'without concealment and without compromise,' which have no sect to build up, no party ends to promote, no personal advantages to secure; but which proclaim the whole truth, and demand that Righteousness and Justice be done.

SAMUEL P. REMOND, of Salem, came forward to say a few words—first to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause; and these were modestly and touchingly said; full of gratitude to the men and women who founded and had sustained this Society, and carried on its unfinished war upon slavery, and the bitter hostility to the colored people. Next she spoke to the pro-slavery and indifferent part of the audience. She appealed to them, in the light of Justice and of Conscience, to consider their position, and by what kind of arguments

it could be justified in the sight of God and good men. She spoke of the omnipresent Slave Power. She had recently visited Pennsylvania, Ohio and other portions of the country. She had been afflicted and made sick at heart by the evidences which every where surrounded her, of servile submission to the despotism which overthrews the land, and of base complicity with it. Miss Remond spoke with well chosen language, with good taste, and natural eloquence. Her maiden speech on the platform of the State Society was most favorably received. Adjourned.

EVENING. The Society met in the Representatives' Chamber in the State House, according to adjournment. The Chair was taken by EDWARD QUINCY, one of its Vice Presidents, at 7 o'clock.

The spacious Hall was thronged in every part. Every seat was occupied, and every aisle and standing-place was filled. It was a fine and most encouraging sight.

MR. GARRISON prefaced the reading of the resolutions, which had been under consideration at the previous sessions, with the following brief remarks:—

MR. President.—We are not engaged in any child's play, but grappling with Leviathan; and we endeavor to make our means and measures commensurate with the end we have in view. We use words like cannon-balls, when we storm the Bastille of Slavery in our country. Hence, our resolutions will be seen to concentrate, in strong and emphatic language, the principles and doctrines which we every where feel called upon to proclaim, and to apply with the strictest impartiality to all persons and parties found in a position adverse to the sacred cause of universal emancipation.

The reading of the resolutions was listened to with great attention, and without even a murmur of disapprobation. Mr. Garrison also reported, from the Business Committee, the following additional resolutions:—

Resolved, That in the Democratic party of this country, we see powerfully concentrated the demagoguism and depravity of the North, in conjunction with the ruffianism and villany of the South, for the one overmastering purpose of strengthening, extending and perpetuating the bloody and soul-bruising system of slavery, and overthrowing all the free institutions of the country—a party which, with the boldest audacity and the most shameless profligacy, makes use of a noble term and a sublime idea, DEMOCRACY, as a veil behind which to perpetrate the most shocking outrages upon humanity, the blackest acts of perfidy, and the most diabolical atrocities—a party whose appropriate symbols are the slave-fetter, the yoke, the whip, the branding-iron, and the blood-hound, and whose guiding spirit is thoroughly infernal.

Resolved, That while, in the Republican party, we see, in many cases, an honest and sincere sympathy with the oppressed, and a desire to break their fetters; still, its aim is simply geographical, its policy a shifting sand-bar, its spirit weak and cowardly, its course downward, its issue impotent against the designs of the Slave Power; and its awful responsibility through its allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, with reference to the four millions of fettered slaves at the South, and through its support of this blood-stained Union, is exactly equal to that of the Democratic party.

Resolved, That there is but one great, vital, all-comprehensive issue to be pressed upon the understanding and consciences of the people of the North, and that is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically.'

At precisely 8 o'clock, the floor was taken by Rev. THEODORE PARKER, who delivered a well-reasoned and most powerful speech, occupying one hour.

CHARLES L. REMOND was the next speaker, and was thought never to have spoken more effectively than during the half hour that he occupied the speaker's stand that evening.

WENDELL PHILLIPS occupied the remainder of the time, holding the audience in 'the closest attention while he uttered one of his boldest, most searching, and most eloquent addresses.

[These addresses were all reported phonographically by Mr. Yerrinton. That of Mr. Phillips is given below, and those of Messrs. Remond and Parker will be given in a future number.]

During the whole evening, not a word or sound of opposition came from any quarter, although the Democratic party and its leaders in this State were not suffered to escape the scorn and rebuke they deserve so richly, and the Republican party, including Gov. Banks himself, was sharply criticised for its timidity, and for its evasion of the subjects which chiefly demand its attention.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., moved that the thanks of this Society and its friends be given to the House of Representatives for the use of their Hall on this occasion.

The question being put, there was a general and hearty vote in the affirmative; one person only voting in the negative, for the reason, as given by him, that the people had a right to the hall for public meetings, and no thanks therefore were due.

The resolutions before the meeting, as read by Mr. Garrison at the beginning of the evening, were adopted unanimously.

The Society then adjourned, sine die.

The contributions and donations, as taken by the Finance Committee, together with the entrance-fee one evening, amounted to \$380 44. Pledges were given, redeemable in course of the year, to the amount of \$1086 00.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., } Secretary.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, }

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, DELIVERED IN THE MASSACHUSETTS REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 29, 1858. (Phonographically reported by J. M. YERRINTON.)

MR. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society:—

Mr. Remond, in looking down on this audience, spoke of it as composed of the representatives of Massachusetts. He did Massachusetts too much honor. I wish that it were indeed a fair representation of Massachusetts. Unfortunately, it is not. It is our work and our purpose in this, and in all our meetings, to raise Massachusetts to that level of intelligence and moral purpose that shall make such a meeting as this a fair representation of the old Commonwealth. It is the fairest representation of what ought to be the Legislature of the Commonwealth, in that it has just listened to the voice of a worthy representative of a race never permitted to speak in the Legislature that usually meets in this hall. It is an honor to us, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, that when we came into our Capitol—into our Capitol—the colored man comes with us. (Applause.) I understand that a gallant and learned member of the Legislature that meets in this hall sometimes undertook to say to-day, that he did not like to have Disunionists come here. With due submission, Mr. President, to the gallant and learned member of the body that usually meets here, he does not own the State House. (Cheers.) It belongs to me as well as to him. It belongs to the citizens of the State; it belongs to all worthy and law-abiding citizens, for their proper and ordinary purposes; and the Legislature that grants us this hall is no more than the guardian constable who keeps Faneuil Hall and opens its doors. I came here in virtue of no conditions of forbearance; I came here as a citizen of Massachusetts, just as much entitled to make these walls echo with the cry of Disunion as any other cry that can be raised by the craven spirit of an officeholder or a Democrat. (Loud applause.) I address, indeed, what ought to be the representative body of Massachusetts; and I hope, when we have met a few

years longer, that we shall make this properly a legislative body.

I remember, or, rather, I have heard, for it was before I came upon the anti-slavery platform,—what brought us first into this hall. It was the insult of Gov. Everett's recommendation that we should be sent to the State Prison; and the Commonwealth brought us here. (Applause.) It was George Lunt's recommendation, from your Senate Chamber, that we should be indicted; and the result was, we occupied the Speaker's chair. (Renewed applause.) It is the way in which anti-slavery has always taken its upward step,—some inordinate manifestation of pro-slavery servility, that stirred for a while the dormant and sluggish courage of Massachusetts into an effort to open her eyes and recognize her true children.

My friend, Theodore Parker, ventured to fancy what would have been the emotions of a person standing in this desk on the 29th of January, 1850, and foreseeing, or prophesying, the existence of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Kansas outrages, and the other enormities which he detailed. But, sir, suppose the Genius of Prophecy had lifted up the curtain of the future, and pointed out a sadder sight than that which she had said to some young, enthusiastic admirer of Massachusetts, some boy, who had been baptized in Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall patriotism—'Young man! you shall live five or seven years, and you shall see a Fugitive Slave Bill passed,—the most hideous statute ever placed on the law book of a so-called Christian State; you shall see it executed in forms the most insulting to the capital that spreads about you. You shall live to January 29, 1858, and you shall see seated in the Governor's chair of your Commonwealth, a man who had the heartless attorney to say to the merchants of New York (Republican as he was) that he had no quarrel with that very Fugitive Slave Bill! You shall see worse than that. You shall see that very Republican party, that claims to bear up most honorably the banner of the Commonwealth, afraid either to repudiate the sentiment or to acknowledge it,—smothering it, when the speech came to be printed in Massachusetts, by lumping it as a general assertion, that he 'had no quarrel with the Compromise Measures of 1850!' It is a favorite project, this of concealing enormities by lumping them, especially with the Republican party, that undertakes to represent the anti-slavery of Massachusetts. My friend who occupied this desk so ably and worthily at first, told you the character of Fugitive-Slave-Bill Mason. Do you know (at least, I have Senatorial authority for saying) that the very Legislature that meets in this hall, afraid to pass his bill at the Revere House for the wine on whose 'Dutch courage' he insulted Massachusetts, lumped it, and paid it in the gross? Do you know that that very uninvited guest, who came to cram Virginia down the throat of Massachusetts on Bunker Hill, was paid for his visit by the State—paid by men who dared not set it down in the records of the Commonwealth, as they dared not set down Mr. Speaker Banks's admission with regard to the Fugitive Slave Bill in so many words, but lumped it in the mass,—a favorite measure of this Republican body that owns Massachusetts!

The gallant and learned member from Newburyport undertook to say that we should soil this hall by discussing Disunion here. I think it would not be soiled by discussing a mere question of dollars and cents, when it touches so important a point of State self-respect as that. The two friends who have preceded me have exhausted, and very worthily and properly, their indignation upon South Carolina for the blow which was aimed at Charles Sumner. South Carolina did not strike Charles Sumner. This very State House struck him. It is an old maxim, as old as Machiavelli, that 'power, safely defied, touches its downfall.' When South Carolina took Samuel Hoar, the representative of Massachusetts, and mobbed him out of Charleston, and then, by legislative enactment, shut her door against a sister State, and has not heard so much as a hiss against such an atrocity, it was a fitting sequel to such an act, that she should strike your Senator in his chair. If Massachusetts does not know how to protect every one of her citizens, she must not expect any one of her citizens to be safe. The difficulty in Massachusetts has never had any anti-slavery method; she has never listened, as she ought, to the recommendation of this anti-slavery society, which has always, as we think, offered her the true method.

The gallant and learned member was pleased to say that this Society dragged Massachusetts at its heels. I thank him for the compliment; it is very true. I am familiar with these heels when occupied by a very different body from ours; and I know we have never come here, except the last time, on a bootless errand. Every thing we have ever asked of this body, but one, is now on its statute-book. Men say that this Anti-Slavery Society is not a practical body, that it is an abstract, fanatical, dreamy, mystical body. Mr. President, the statute-book tells a different story. The history of this Society is best written on the statute-book of Massachusetts, and that record is this. The first thing that this Society asked of Massachusetts was, that she should acknowledge that slavery is a sin and a national weakness, and ought to be abolished. Massachusetts recorded her assent to that proposition, the groundwork of all anti-slavery effort. The next thing that this Society asked of Massachusetts was, that she should take from the colored race the stigma of that law, which had rested on them for a century and a half, prohibiting intermarriage between the races,—a law which resulted, in numberless cases, in the most atrocious wrong, as every lawyer at the bar knew. The next piece of advice written on your statute-book to Massachusetts was, 'Open your cars, your public highways, to all races that inhabit the Commonwealth! Compel these State constituted corporations to do justice to the black man!' Every man that has travelled, as all of us have, in other States, and seen colored men driven with contempt and violence from the railroad cars, will remember that, to the remonstrances of the radical Abolitionists, the 'fanatics' of the State, it is due that the cars of Massachusetts are free equally to all her citizens. (Applause.) The next thing that this practical Society asked of the Massachusetts Legislature was, that they would open the schools to the children of colored parents; and that, too, was granted. The Personal Liberty Bill grew out of the Latimer statute, passed on our petition.

Are not all these practical points,—practical anti-slavery points? This Society gained its purpose on the whole of them. The last thing this Society, in a State capacity, has asked of this Legislature, is to respect its own statutes, and make them respected by contemptuous Judges of Probate. It is yet to be seen whether this Legislature has self-respect enough to take the advice of the 'dreamers' of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and place its State sovereignty on a proper basis.

But I claim,—yes, I claim it as the merit of the 'dreamy,' 'unpractical,' 'abstract' Abolitionists of the State, that every practical measure which glides your statute-book to-day, originated in the wish and was bolstered up by the petitions of the Abolitionists of the State. I met a Republican leader in these very streets of Boston, after the election of Mr. Banks was proclaimed as certain, and asked him what he supposed would be the effect of the vote on Judge Loring. 'We want to know what you want us to do,' he replied. Yes, we, the triumphant, palpable, State body, having just counted our votes, certain we shall sit in the Governor's chair in a month, we wait to know what you want us to do. That is, we, the State, organized, practical, successful politicians, who, if this judge be toppled out, as he deserves to be, mean to take a piece of laurel peculiarly green, put it in our caps, and go to Washington,—we mean to place on the shoulders of the Massachusetts Anti-

Slavery Society the burden of bolstering them up with ten or fifteen thousand petitioners. The labor, the drudgery, the toll, is to come upon us to give them a pretence, a reason, an excuse, for doing their duty; and they never begin to do it until this outside pressure is brought to bear upon them.

I claim, therefore, that in respect to State sovereignty, this very body has been the practical Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and I claim, further, that if our wishes had been heeded, if the demands of these 'unpractical' Abolitionists had been stereotyped into statutes, Charles Sumner would not walk, an invalid, in the streets of Boston to-day. We said, when Charleston mobbed our representative out of the city—Mr. Hoar ought to be sent back to Charleston, and Massachusetts ought to claim of the General Government that her citizens shall be protected in every State of the Union. The answer of the politicians of that day was, 'We don't know how it is to be done.' We replied—'When your fathers did not know what was to be done in the quarrel between them and the British Government, they went up Bunker Hill, and found out!' (Applause.) Until Massachusetts comes to some decision, until she comes to the decision that she will make a point somewhere, and refuse to submit, she will never do anything against the Slave Power. Suppose she had taken her stand then. Suppose she had said—'We send no Senator or Representative to Congress, we admit no custom-house officer to our ports, until the rights of Massachusetts citizens are protected in the port of Charleston, South Carolina, as the Constitution guarantees them protection,—do you suppose the Slave Power would have gone any further? Suppose Massachusetts had done as John Quincy Adams advised when Texas was annexed,—suppose she had said, 'We will never come into that Senate-House as long as a Texan Senator sits there,—do you suppose the Slave Power would have gone on with the Compromise Measures, and the outrages in Kansas? Never! Suppose she should say now, 'We do not recognize the Dred Scott decision as law, and we mean to place on the bench of this State such men as will trample it under foot, Union or no Union,—do you suppose the Lecomton case would go on, and be decided in the same tone? Never! As long as the North is of her present temper, and our says, 'Gentlemen, we will resist you, but when you carry your point, we will submit,' of course, they will carry every point they can. Where they cannot bully, they will buy. You know that, instead of eighty-seven thousand dollars, of which we hear so much just now, the Government at Washington has eighty-seven millions, and it can buy up Speakers ad infinitum. Of course, such a Government can. The only policy that will ever checkmate it is the policy that says, 'Thus far, and no farther; here we stop! There is a story told down on the Cape of a mate quarrelling with his captain, who said to him,—'Go forward, sir, and take care of your part of the brig, and I'll take care of mine.' The mate went forward, let go both anchors, then walked aft, touched his hat, and said he, 'Captain Spooner, my part of this brig is anchored.' (Laughter and applause.) When Massachusetts says, with regard to this constant drifting towards pro-slavery submission, 'My part of the Union is anchored!' Buchanan will stop—not till then.

We propose, by the resolutions on our table, to ask of this Legislature something more than that they turn out Judge Loring; for we are not a body curious only about past events, we mean to be up to the level of the present hour. The policy of the South is to force a point, and when the fever-heat indignation of the North has reached 212 Fahrenheit, let loose some new atrocity, to make them forget the other. The reason why the exceedingly weak memory of Mr. Speaker Banks forgot the Fugitive Slave Bill, and his quarrel with it, was because his vision was clouded and confused by the greater and fresher atrocities in Kansas. And even now, men's memories are so weak, I venture to predict, that in three years, the seizure of Cuba, or the re-opening of the African slave trade, will make Kansas an old story; and when we come together in 1860, if any speaker ventures to treat of Kansas, he will be thought trite and tedious, for he ought to be discussing the fresher atrocities of the day. We propose, therefore, to act upon the aggressive; and we call upon the Legislature to pass an act, that any one who comes into this State, bringing here a person with intent to hold him as a slave, even with his consent,—and such he will bring, the moment the Supreme Court has passed its judgment in the Lecomton case,—shall be subject to a thousand dollars fine, and imprisonment at least one year in the common jail. (Loud applause.) And we propose to add, in order to meet such a case as that which recently transpired at Lawrence, we mean to ask (we 'unpractical dreamers') that the Legislature will be kind enough to say, that when a man brings into this Commonwealth a person hitherto held as a slave, he shall, before entering the State, record upon the records of the County Court of his place of residence, or, upon arriving here, in the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth, a certified deed of emancipation, to inure to the benefit of such person, whenever such a one chooses to claim it. We will not only make the six of Massachusetts too pure for a slave to breathe, but having once breathed it, it shall be on record in the Supreme Court, as evidence of his freedom. (Loud cheers.)

Now, that is very practical legislation. No man can deny that it is within the recognized constitutional duty of the nation. If the decision in the Lecomton case shall upset it, wait until it does; and when it does, let us have a Supreme Court that will, for once, undertake to assert Massachusetts law against it; and if the case goes against us, place it on record, as Abolitionists of his countrymen, that if Massachusetts is a slave, she is at least a rebellious slave to the very last. I want the history of unconstitutional aggression written on the records of the Supreme Court; and the last, the toughest, the most obstinate protest against such aggression ought always to be a Massachusetts man. (Applause.) Mr. Parker well said that the most obstinate of the most obstinate Senators was John Bull. Well, we are the nearest of blood to John Bull; we have got Bunker Hill in our very hands. (Cheers.)

MR. PARKER said that Mr. Sumner was a nobler and more cultured spirit than either of the Adamses who preceded him in the Senate. [MR. PARKER.—As noble.] I care not to weigh carefully, to so detest and honor a friend as the Senator from Massachusetts. No! But still, I cannot but remember that the political party with which he is connected has never, to my knowledge, begun to attack the slave system on the floor of Congress. This Anti-Slavery Society,—it is not an Anti-Kansas Society; it is not a Territory Society; but an Anti-Slavery Society. We have clung with unintermittent tenacity to our original purpose—THE SLAVE. The Scotch hunsman, you know, when the dogs, too earnest, follow the hot chase, and cannot be drawn off, drag a red herring across the field, and the whole pack lose the scent. So when the anti-slavery struggle began, we set out to reach the slave of the Carolinas. The Slave Power flung the red herring of the right of petition across our path. John Quincy Adams lost his scent; we did not, but still pointed to the slave in the District and in the Carolinas. Other men,—the Liberty party, the Republican party,—went off, first on the Territory, then on Kansas; we have clung to the slave. Outside of the State, we have clung to the great issue, the slave system; and inside the State, we have clung to the purpose of protecting our own colored citizens. Why, no longer ago than when Anson Burlingame was a member of this very body, in the other wing, five citizens of Massachusetts were sold for their jail fees in one of the ports of Texas. On the petition of the Abolitionists of the State, the Senate raised a

committee to investigate the matter. What did they do? Nothing! Five citizens of Massachusetts have been sold for their jail fees in a part of Texas, and the State has not even protested against it. Caleb Cushing says that Massachusetts is despised by the other States of the Union. The other States of the Union have better reason to despise her than because her barren soil gave birth to Caleb Cushing! (Enthusiastic applause.) They have reason to despise us, when we see that we do not protect our own citizens. We see that Massachusetts may be safely despised, and that she dares not strike back. The Commonwealth that finds one of its own citizens, the meekest, sold in a part of a sister State, ought to wear sackcloth till it sends down its most honored sons to bring him back, and place him on Bunker Hill; for in the meanest citizen of the Commonwealth, I see John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and every man who loves Massachusetts ought to see as good a name in the blackest and humblest man who takes the sacred protection of Massachusetts citizenship into a foreign port. I mean to deride, and rebuke, and criticize, and trample under foot, the gallant and learned members who insult Massachusetts by pretending to legislate for her, until they send a deputation down to Texas to bring back (if they can bring back nothing else) the boxes, as repentant Florence tried to do for Dante, of those five citizens who she left to be sold in Texas for their jail fees.

Mr. Chairman, I despise the Republican party. (Applause.) I despise the Legislature; I would not sit in it. I would go back to those old times when the only honest party that ever illustrated the Commonwealth, the Federalists, shook the thunderbolt of Massachusetts' threats in the face of the Union, and compelled it to make peace. The day will come, if we are true to our function, when Massachusetts will show herself worthy of her ancient fame. That old [pointing to the venerable representative from the Grand Banks that hangs pendant opposite the Speaker's desk]—you ought to have a whipped scapula here as the emblem of Massachusetts. (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Hoar driven out of Charleston, Mr. Hubbard out of New Orleans, five men sold by the young, contemptible border-ruffians, that have too decent a name when you call them the State of Texas; and this is Massachusetts' blood, Massachusetts' rights, and this is Massachusetts' blood, Massachusetts' rights, and this is Massachusetts' blood, Massachusetts' rights, and when I had leisure to read history, that when the Long Parliament and its predecessor, met in the presence of the first Charles, the first thing they did on assembling was to vindicate the rights of citizenship; and when the Stuart recommended them to waive their abstract questions, and proceed to the consideration of matters relating to finance and trade, they told the monarch that there was nothing for Parliament to do until they had protected the rights of the subject. I wish Massachusetts would take a leaf out of English history, and remember, that until a black man can stand in the streets of Charleston, and claim protection as a citizen of Massachusetts, as well as N. P. Banks, it is a shame for any man to live in the old Commonwealth, and not be an Abolitionist, a fanatic, crying out, at the top of his lungs, until he wakens up from the dust of Bunker Hill, or the old Granary Burial Ground, somebody who is worthy of 1776. (Applause.)

It is possible that some of the echoes of our voices may last until to-morrow, and start the dormant Legislature that goes to sleep here day after day. (Cheers.) Talk of Disunion!—we have not yet got to that. I want somebody on the floor of Congress to stand up and refuse to pay Judge McLean his salary for returning MARGARET GARNER, the noblest American woman that this generation has produced. (Loud applause.) I want somebody to stand up, and instead of declaiming against governmental interference in Kansas, refuse to pay the bills. That is constitutional, and Yankee. (Laughter.) I want Republicanism to begin its resistance to slavery by refusing to furnish it with the seven regiments it asks for, and when the bills come in, refuse to pay them, if they are voted over their heads. I don't care whether they succeed in checking the wheels of government or not; they may be in the minority, and be outvoted on every ballot; but I want them to begin! You remember Balle Nicol Jarvie tells MacGregor, when they meet in the prison, that had it not been himself, he would have seized the best man in the Highlands. 'You would have tried, cousin,' replies the chieftain. I want the Republican party to try. I want to see the pluck of the bloodhound that at least tries to spring at the throat, and if it fails, I will give it credit for the attempt. Here is a party, with its representatives in both houses of Congress, and only once have they stopped the supplies, and then backed out of it. Even Governor Chase, of Ohio, proclaimed that act of stopping the supplies, the boldest and most effectual act ever attempted in the history of the government. Then, again, I want them to be led astray by the 'red herring' of Kansas border-ruffianism; I want them always to keep in their debt the proposition for the abolition of slavery in the District. Yes, and if they believe the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instrument, (as they say they do,) then let them bring in a bill to abolish slavery in the Carolinas. Why don't they begin? Suppose you should elect Stephen A. Douglas as the candidate of the Republican party in 1860.—and I suppose he will be their candidate, for it is out of such timber they are made. Douglas is elected—where does the Republican party stand, as an anti-slavery instrument? Just where Clarkson and Wilberforce stood in 1787. The question will then begin to be discussed, 'Shall we inaugurate an effort for the abolition of slavery?' and they will go on twenty, thirty, perhaps fifty years, to discuss the slave question. The Republican party will have triumphed—triumphed for what? To defend a Territory that does not exist. Triumphed for what? For some political purpose. We are an Anti-Slavery Society. We have two objects to live in. One is to make Massachusetts a decent State to live in, and to be buried in; and she never will be, until Charles Remond shall be just as much protected as the most popular Mayor in the city of Boston. What are laws worth? They are only nuisances for popular men; they are only in their way. Government is a necessary nuisance—nothing else; and the more you can put it out of the way, the better. The only thing that justifies its existence is not the protection of the rich. Abbot Lawrence, honored, respected, with troops of friends, his coffers running over with gold, he could protect himself. The white men you meet in churches do not need your protection. The men who need it are the hated, the despised, the trembling fugitives in the interest of government; the men whom it is the ambition of every body to oppress. The law that protects them justifies its existence; the law that does not protect them is an unmitigated nuisance. The statute-book of Massachusetts that does not protect the rights of the colored man is an unmitigated nuisance. The government that undertakes to exist, and does not mete out protection to every one of those from whom it claims allegiance, does not justify its existence in the sight of Heaven. I mean just what I say. I am using language justified by the severest and closest logic. I mean, with your cooperation, and that of the friends who gather in this hall, to make it possible for the blackest and newest fugitive from Carolina to walk up and down the streets of Boston, and write his name on his forehead! (Loud applause.)

Mr. Remond has told us that he knows a man in Salem, who did not dare to write 'Salem' after his name in a Southern city. I am ashamed to write 'Boston' after mine, when I recall the past ten years of her history. I mean to labor until, when I make my tour through the States, I shall be proud to write the name of my city as large as John Hancock's, so that it can be read from Boston to New Orleans; but it will only be when the most hated, the most despised, the newest fugitive from an oppressed race shall no sooner set his foot on Boston streets, than he will see the very pavements that insure him protection. (Loud cheers.) I do not think that much. The old Quakers who had a special and secret cellar at New Bedford in which to conceal the fugitive slaves who went there, were very good men in their way. I honor them; they did a noble work; but I think they did a half way work. I want Massachusetts to send a message all over the Union, that she is not that sort of refuge. If she sits in that Congress, she sits there only to checkmate the Slave Power. She shall not be bribed by any tariff on cotton, by any increased duties on woollen; she shall not be bribed by any sort of trade or barter. She shall go there for one great purpose,—to checkmate the Federal Government on this question, and advocate this with the mad, one-idea energy that becomes the State. Refuse every dollar to the Government; refuse every appointment to office, whether the man is a Clifford, knowing no law, or a Curtis, who has exhausted the learning of the law; vote nobody into office; let the machinery go to pieces; checkmate the Government; poverty is much more honest than wealth. This is what I claim as duty of the Anti-Slavery party. That is no right to strengthen the Slave Power, that is holding with one hand the newly grasped territory of Mexico, and balancing the other to seize Cuba, and holding in its heart to re-instate the African slave trade. Every body knows it. What is building up the Government? The politics of the Northern States. Now, our policy outside the State, I claim, is a practical, a constitutional policy,—a policy this side of Disunion. It is, to use all constitutional measures to check the Government in its career; and it can be done. The South has no majority, and, the example once set in a critical moment, it can be done. We want to educate the public mind up to this. There is my friend Parker's catalogue which he drew two years ago, and told us it would be made history ere long;—it is done. He has given us another to-night;—it will be history two years hence. But three years will run on, and this same party that is building up public opinion, will be waiting for that opinion to grow. In the mean time, slavery has got Cuba and St. Domingo, it has put its hand on the whole territory of Mexico, it has girdled the Gulf with slave States, and, seated in the centre of the continent, it may laugh us to scorn. Why not say now, before she gets this power—'Gentlemen, you may admit Kansas, if you please, but we will not be admitted with her!' To-day, the New York Tribune is not discussing the question, 'Shall Kansas be a slave State?' but whether she wants to be admitted as a slave State. The Republican party commenced (in the form of the Liberty party) with a single principle—No new slave States. Where is it now? It is discussing the question whether Kansas wants to be admitted as a slave State. There has not been a line in the Tribune, (the acknowledged representative of the Republican party) for a twelvemonth, intimating a purpose to keep Kansas out, if she wants to come in as a slave State. A 'red herring' with a vengeance! (Laughter.)

I want a voice from the Republican party, saying to the 'Captain Spooner' on board the ship of State, 'We have anchored our part of the ship.' (Applause.) The North writes 'Tariff'—Internal Improvements—'Woolen Trade'—'Senatorships'—'Office'—this, that, and the other; and the South scrawls 'SLAVERY' over the whole. The South comes to us with one thing after another, and says, 'If you don't do this thing, we will call you Disunionists.' O, for the pluck of somebody to say, 'Suppose you do!' (Loud cheers.)—An old member from Bridgewater District, who, some thirty years ago, made an anti-slavery speech of extraordinary bitterness, was told by his neighbor, 'If that sort of doctrine is preached to our slaves, they will rise and cut our throats.' Lately turning his head, he replied—'Why in Heaven's name shouldn't they?' (Laughter and applause.) I wish I knew the name of that man; I should like to vote for his son for Governor. (Laughter.) This is exactly the spirit we want. The spirit that says—'I won't vote you a dollar.' 'You are a Disunionist!' 'Very likely I am; but you shall not have the dollar.' 'I won't pay that Judge's salary.' 'You will dissolve the Union!' 'Perhaps we shall; and of that? We stop just here! We have anchored our part of the brig; if you don't like it, try sailing with the other.' (Cheers.) Only let somebody stop!

The following mainly article, which we copy from the Boston Bee (American Republican) of Saturday last, only contrasts with the mean and despicable paragraph, on the same subject, which we have copied from the Boston Journal, and which may be found on our first page in its proper place, the 'Refuge of Oppression.' The Journal is laboring under the delusion, that its slang against the uncompromising friends of freedom will prove as acceptable to public feeling and sentiment now, as it did twenty years ago. But while, during that period, the pro-slavery spirit of the Journal has abated none of its cowardly malignity towards genuine abolitionism, there has taken place a marked change in the views of the people of Massachusetts in relation to our cause; and hence, its present policy is ill-advised.

MORE TROUBLE IN THE CAMP.
Yesterday, a curious scene or succession of scenes occurred in the House of Representatives, upon the reception and disposition of a report from the committee on Public Buildings, relating to the use of the Hall of Representatives by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. This Society has, for many years past, under the old Whig rule, had the privilege of meeting in the Hall when it petitioned for it. The present Committee, however, reported against granting leave, and thereupon Mr. J. A. Andrew having moved to amend so as to grant the use of the Hall, an interesting debate arose, and some curious developments were made. Hon. Caleb Cushing, of all the Democrats in the House, except Mr. Gre. Morton, voted against granting the Society the use of the Hall, and with them a number of American Republicans also voted, making the number of eighty-one in all.

Among these last, we find the names of Hon. James H. Duncan, Charles Hale, J. W. Foster, Marcus Morton, Jr., J. E. Morrill, and a few other well known members of the American Republican party. Three attempts were made to do away with the question by Mr. Vose of Springfield, who moved to lay it upon the table, and this prevailed for a while; another by Mr. Foster of Monson, to adjourn, which did not succeed, and a third by Mr. Sprague of Boston, also for an adjournment. This did not take; so the members had to come up to the scratch at last, at least so many of them as were present. Mr. Andrew's amendment finally prevailed on a ye and nay vote—85 American Republicans, one Democrat, and one Gardner man voting for it, and 81 Democrats, Gardner men except Mr. Shaw of Weymouth, voted against granting the Society the use of the Hall, after all, notwithstanding the report of the Committee, and the terror which Mr. Cushing induced in the minds of some eminent Republicans, in regard to a dissolution of the Union!

We cannot regard the action of those Republicans, who voted with the Union savers and the 'crusher out' of free speech, with any respect. Their excesses and arguments, in attempting to justify themselves, were paltry specious reasoning, and a display of considerable show and show, which he has been so long and so ably wounding in behalf of the slave-drivers. The House should have, as usual, granted the use of the hall; and then, if they chose, after fair notice, have out off all such applications in future. The most pitiful thing about the whole affair was the repeated attempt made by leading men of the Banks party to evade the responsibility, by laying the subject on the table, and by trying to adjourn in the midst of the debate. Such things evince some want of pluck, and decision in this most fatal facility of getting into awkward scrapes just when they should not.

We have no sympathy with the ultra and radical ideas and doctrines of Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, and their associates; but we respect their manliness in contrast with the weakness of men of our own party, who seem to be afraid of granting the fullest liberty of speech to all classes of our citizens. We do not fear the effect of any such decision on Massachusetts, and we do not believe that we shall be ever harmed by any Society, or by any measure of freedom of debate that may be asked or granted. We trust that the next time Mr. Cushing applies the screws to the members of the Banks party in the House, they will exhibit more common sense and courage.—Boston Bee, of Saturday.

SINGULAR DEBATE IN THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.
In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Thursday last—
Mr. HOADLEY of Lawrence, from the Committee on Public Buildings, to whom was referred the petition of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for the use of the Hall of Representatives, submitted a report granting the petitioners leave to withdraw.

Mr. HOADLEY stated the reasons which had induced the Committee to come to this conclusion, viz: that it was contrary to the precedents of the present session, and contrary to good policy, to grant the use of the Hall of Representatives to a body which was in some way connected with the Legislature or its members. It has been granted to the Legislative Agricultural Society, and the Legislative Temperance Society, and for the exhibition of the pupils in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford, an institution connected with the State. It was proper to be decided officially by the House. It was proper to be decided in some way connected with the Legislature or its members. It has been granted to the Legislative Agricultural Society, and the Legislative Temperance Society, and for the exhibition of the pupils in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford, an institution connected with the State. It was proper to be decided officially by the House. It was proper to be decided in some way connected with the Legislature or its members.

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IT IS NOT A DYE!
MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S
WORLD'S
HAIR RESTORER
AND
WORLD'S
Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!
THE Restorer, used with the Zylabolamum or Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL COLOR!
The Zylabolamum or Dressing alone is the best hair dressing extant for young or old. We take pleasure in presenting the following undeniable proof that these are the best preparations either in Europe or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything.

GREAT BRITAIN.
REV. W. B. THORNTON, *Prescot, Lancashire*, says—'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dye.'

HAVTI.
REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, *for many years Missionary to Haiti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y.* The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp, says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefited me, as has Mrs. S. A. Allen's.'

J. H. BATES, *Pres. Union Univ., Tenn.* 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original color.'

REV. H. V. DEGAN, *Ed. "Guide to Holiness," Boston, Mass.* 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes.'

REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, *Cor. Sec. of Educ'n N. Y. City.* 'I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylabolamum for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful black.'

REV. JNO. E. ROBBIE, *Ed. "Chr. Adv.," Buffalo, N. Y.* 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original color.'

REV. J. WEST, *Brooklyn, N. Y.* 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my greyness and baldness.'

REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, *Ag. Rep. Penn. Pub. Sec.* 'We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum.'

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, *Washington, N. H.* 'Please inform Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, *Middleton, N. Y.* 'My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of another of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened, and has a handsome appearance since using Mrs. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum.'

REV. MOSES THACHER, *60 years of age, Pitcher, N. Y.* 'Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylabolamum, my hair ceases to fall, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied "is nothing like a dye."

REV. S. W. MORLEY, *Attleboro, Mass.* 'The effect of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum has been to change the "crown of glory" belonging to old men, to the original hue of youth. The same is true of others of my acquaintance.'

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, *Ed. "South Baptist," etc., Charleston, S. C.* 'The white hair, becoming obviated by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum.'

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, *Treas. Am. Bible Union, N. Y.* 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of numerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used.'

REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, *Meriden, Ct.* 'We think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum.'

REV. C. M. KLINCK, *Lewistown, Pa.* 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth.'

REV. WM. PORTEUS, *Stamwich, Ct.* 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had fallen.'

REV. D. MORRIS, *Cross River, N. Y.* 'I know of a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum.'

REV. JOS. MCKEE, *N. Y. City.* 'Recommends them.'

REV. E. EVANS, *Delhi, O.* 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabolamum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off.'

REV. WM. R. DOWNS, *Howard, N. Y.* 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes harshness and dryness, and always produces the softness, silkiness and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair.'

We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the above sufficient to convince the most skeptical that we have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office, lawsons and manufacture, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures. These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe. We also would call attention to the fact that we have always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations are the highest price we ever sold for; the expense, in the end, less than others. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will last nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 3/4 cents per bottle.

GENUINE
has Mrs. S. A. Allen's signed in Red Ink on outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions posted on bottles. Restorer bottles are of dark purple glass, with the words, Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. Balsam bottles are of green glass, with Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. None other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offense. Some dealers try to sell other preparations on which they make more profit, instead of those; insist on these. Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer. Address all letters for information to

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S
World's Hair Restorer Depot,
No. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.
Dec 11 2m

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POETRY.

SHUN THE WINE-CUP!
'Last I make my brother to offend'
Shun the wine-cup! See the tears
Of wives, mothers, children, flowing
O'er the gulf, the strife, the fears
To the selfish drunkard owing!

The Liberator.

A NEW SOCIETY PROPOSED.
At the special request of the worthy friend
whose name is appended to it, we publish the following
proposition for the formation of a new society,
having a very unique and comprehensive object.

A FAITHFUL TESTIMONY.

Rev. Beriah Green, of Whitesboro', N. Y.,
assigns the following cogent reasons for declining to
be a candidate for office in the Radical Abolition
party of that State: There is truth in Mr. Green's
statements, and force in his reasons for declining to
join in conspiracy with our wicked National Govern-

A MANLY AND CHRISTIAN LETTER.

The Rev. Dr. Cheever, having been invited to at-
tend a social gathering of the New York Young
Men's Christian Association, one evening last week,
sent the following truly noble letter:

THE CLERGY AND TOBACCO.

The N. Y. Evening
Post remarks:
'Hall's Journal of Health mentions what it calls
an 'instructive and alarming fact,' in reference to
the 'Wall Street' forger recently sent to the Penitenti-

Ayer's Pills

Are particularly adapted to
the treatment of the digestive
apparatus, and disease arising
from impurity of the blood.

THE OLD BURYING-GROUND.

Our vales are sweet with fern and rose,
Our hills are maple-crowned;
But not from them our fathers chose
The village burying-ground.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

I fear I have misled your readers who are inter-
ested in the Anti-Slavery movements herabouts, by
representing our Legislature as moving in the mat-

WHAT CAN SAVE US?

'In our perilous destiny, what shall, what can
save us? What can give a right direction to
the advancing forces of our country, and our age?

THE RELIGION OF EPTAPHI.

I spent some time in the church-yard, spelling
out the names of some of the old inhabitants of our
early days, and beholding with pleased surprise,

HAIR DRESSING.

A Washington paper in its account of the New
Year's celebration, furnishes the following, which
will doubtless interest the fair sex:

PHRENOLOGICAL ROOMS.

THE Subscriber, late with FOWLER, WELLS & Co.,
announces to his friends and the public generally,
that he has opened the above establishment expressly
for the purpose of giving