ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

ttances are to be made, and all I ag to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to cled (FOST PAID) to the General Agent.

ertisements inserted at the rate of five

If The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Per girnals, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies a chapted to receive subscriptions for The Lieffator. The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the confirm of Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund and WENDELL PHILLIPS."

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Prints

VOL. XXXI. NO. 14.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1581.

United States Constitution is "a with death, and an agreement with

# Refuge of Oppression.

THE DISTRUST OF SOUTH CAROLINIANS.

A writer in the Charleston Mercury, who doubts

A writer in the Charleston Mercury, who doobts cout the evacuation of Fort Sunter, writes —

\*We must be sure that we are in possession before we withdraw a single muzzle of the thirty process of annon that now bear upon, that fortress lay delay in the evacuation—the measure having been readed upon—will be suspicious! It may be that as is only one of the pretty little ruses de guerre, which merely cunning politicians will devise, in order to lall their victims into security. Our Commissioners are to be delayed by such proceedings as been. This game has been so beautifully played with the border States and the Peace Convention—thee were so admirably diddled and deluded with fir seemings and, pleasant plausibilities—even to the last moment—that the cunning regues of Aleage and Washington may reasonably hope, by the une oleaginous and treackly processes, to humbug the States further South. Let us beware! \* We must not let them take us in! We must suspect them most when they profess most; and believe them to be a supported by the connection of the support of the support of the connection of the support of the support of the support of the connection of the support of

### THE SUFFERING OF THE NORTH.

THE SUFFERING OF THE NORTH.

Any troops raised to invade the South would have to march over the dead bodies of at least their own number before they ever set foot on Southern soil, and Greeley and Beecher and Field, and the other truculent Abolition leaders, would be seen some fine morning swinging by the neck from the lamp posts of Broadway. But I fear that even your determination to stand by, your rights, though it has cowed the poliroons whose tongues and types were so brave, will not ultimately prevent insurrections at the North. The whole city of New York, you may rely upon it, is on the verge of bankruptey. Not five dry goods houses will be able to stand.

There is no business being done. The number of hands discharged is immense. The Morrill tariff will bring the commercial crisis here, made from policial causes, to an explosion next month. The greater part of the foreign trade will be diverted sentiment, and in a short time pauperism and general distress will be so great that risings and riots will take place, and the white slaves of commerce and capital, both in New York and is New England, will administer to the lips of their task-masters the poisoned chalice which they have prepared for the planters of the South.

An ignorant proletarian mass, whose condition at leaf is infinitely inferior to that of your negroes, will be sure to "better the instruction" they have recipied from their oracles. Long taught that "property is robberry," they will put the doctrine into practice at last, upon a scale of fearful dimensions. At this moment, there are fifty thousand human being in New York and Brooklyn, who know not where they will be able to get their breakfast tomorrow morning, and every day the number of the destitute will greatly increase. The New York papers conceal or gloss over this terrilet reality.

If the South wants recruits to fight its battles against invading hosts of Abolitionists, and spare the leves of its own citizens, let the Confederacy employ a few agents in New York and other cites of th

a few agents in New York and other cities of the North, and it will soon have as many troops as it requires. There is not an unemployed Irishman who would not gladly enlist in the cause, and there are thousands of native Democrats eager for the same service. And, should the Lincoln administra-tion proceed to make war upon your commerce, you can find at the North any number of ships and men ready for letters of marque from the Southern Con-fletarey.—New York Correspondent of the Charles-ton Mercury.

### EULOGY OF A TRAITOR.

that ex-Secretary Floyd was enabled to accom-for the benefit of the seceding States, is faith-set forth by the Southern Confederacy, pub-dat Atlanta, Ga. Such an overwhelming sense ratitude as is here exhibited, is as uncommon as

We will be a morphology of the street of the property and below the property and the street of the property and the property

### Selections.

THE REIGN OF RUFFIANISM-SOUTHERN CHIVALRY.

A WOMAN'S STORY.

Without claiming any distinction as a martyr, I wish to make a plain statement of the facts respecting my arrest and confinement in the jail at Charleston, S. C., during the months of October and November last, which I feel is due to many friends who have kindly interested themselves in my behalf, and who are desirous of more satisfactory information concerning my case.

I left New York for Charleston on the first day of December, 1859. When I arrived in the latter city, I was not aware of any ill-feeling or prejudice against the Northern people, but I soon learned of cruel outrages and violent threats against strangers from the North, and these called forth the indignation I could not always conceal, as I was quite unprepared for such developments in a civilized community. For this reason, I confined myself quietly and closely to my business, seeking no acquaintances.

I had gone thither with the most peaceable and friendly intentions, harboring no purpose of medding with local institutions, though my sentiments were by no means favorable to slavery. I was very careful to held no conversation with any of the colored people: they knew nothing of me, and I was an utter stranger to them all, and should have remained so had not the persecution I suffered given me notoriety. I never forced my opinions on any once but when asked what I thought of slavery, I always told them the truth in a friendly spirit, disclaiming all intention of interfering with them. I had too much respect for them to suppose they could respect a pandering hypocrite, and I, therefore, told them my sentiments, which were the result of early education. I admitted that their education and habits made it natural for us to differ on the question of slavery; and, on their side, they peared to have no suspicion of me. The Summer passed thus quietly away, and I had no more fear there than if had been living in my Northern home.

It was on the 27th of September that, as I was alone in my room, having hardly recovered from a severe illiness, a large and

beginning it by asking,—

"What does the Mayor want of me?"

"I understand you are an Abolitionist."

"Yes; and what of that?"

"You must come with me, or I will take you by force," he said, angrily.

I considered for a moment, and decided on the whole it was best to go with him quietly. I thought it probable the Mayor had been imposed upon by some idle reports, and that after hearing what I had to say, he would dismiss me, with an apology for being the occasion of this unwonted intrusion. I immediately made myself ready, and went with the man to the Guard House. I was ushered into the common court room, where several idlers were assembled, who seemed to have no other business than to await my coming, but the Mayor was not there. I waited an hour, expecting every moment he would make his appearance, those around me, in the meantime, whispering among themselves, though they said nothing to me. I took no notice of them, but began to get very impatient for my expected interview. A ruffianly-looking man soon came in, carrying a large buich of keys. "Step this way, Madam," said he. I followed him without the least apprehension, supposing the Mayor would be respectful enough to bear me in his own proon, rather

"Yes."
"An admirer of John Brown?"

"Yes."

"Yes."

"Yes."

"You have expressed Abolition sentiments?"

"I have, on a few occasions, when asked. I can
name all I ever conversed with, and what I said to
them I will say here. I have lived here nearly
year, attending closely to my own business; I have
not injured or offended any one, and have been well
treated, until now. I cannot see why I should be
subjected to this outrage."

"You say you have been well treated?"

"Yes, until now."

"Then I think you have been very ungrateful.
You have been well treated, been profitably employed, and have received our money while you
hated us?"

"I have not hated the people: I am no friend to

hated us?"

"I have not hated the people: I am no friend to slavery. I have not seen anything in Charleston to give me a more favorable impression of it: quite otherwise. I have paid for all I have had here. I have received what I have earned. I owe you negratitude."

"I would advise you to go home."

"I shall certainly do so, as soon as I can settle my business. I have no desire to stay a moment longer."

be your bail for three hundred dollars, I can dismiss I you."

I told him I had not been guilty of any bad conduct, and could not get any bail. He then left the room, with one or two more. As I afterward I learned, he was persuaded I was an emissary for some Northern society or publisher. I saw no more of him. He sent the turnkey in: I was ordered to the cell again, and locked up. Some of my friends from the house I left felt alarmed, and had been several times to inquire for me, but could get no satisfactory answer, and were routely driven away. In an hour or so, an officer opened the door, and said I must go with him, as the Mayor had given me over to the State's Attorney. We'crossed the Citardel Park to the office of Magistrate Kanepaux. Twenty or thirty citizens were gathered there, and among them one whom I was acquainted with, and a had conversed with about two weeks before. I spoke to him, and asked him if he was the complainant. He said he was. I indignantly asked him if he was not ashamed of himself; if it was possible he could do anything so contemptible. Without waiting for his reply the Magistrate answered for him: "This man has done perfectly right; I should have done just so myself. Why, if any one wanted my life. No, the Magistrate said; as I was a woman, my life might be spared. But the Mayor had been a man, you would have been hung up on one of the trees in the Park; you would never have got here alive." I asked, very calmly, if any one wanted my life. No, the Magistrate said; as I was a woman, my life might be spared. But the Mayor had been too lenient; he had raised my bail to \$2,000, in default of which I must go to jail. I told him it made no difference about the amount of the bail; I was no criminal, and I needed no bail.

"Are you not an Abolitionist?"

"All these charges are atterly false; I have said nothing to the slaves; they do not know me."

"On you hold correspondence North, and receive papers and letters?"

"Only from my nearest friends a few letters, no papers."

"Only from you n

papers."

"Do you not read the Tribune!"

"No; because I cannot get it here. I should read it if I could get it."

"You need not answer all my questions; you may commit yourself."

"No fear of that, sir; I am perfectly willing to conceal."

who came round and civilly heard what I had to say. He said he would send a messenger, and propose some arrangement with the Mayor. I said I should never reach New York alive; I could not need to be cold and exposure, and hoped he would refuse to take me. He asked me what did I propose to do. "I will go back to jail again, and wait until my friends come for me." Soon the man returned, consulted a moment with the captain, and said to me. "You must go as you are ordered; the Mayor will not pay your passage in the cabin." I indignantly answered, "I have not asked him to pay my passage, or for anything else. I want no favors from him; I shall go on shore; my friends will come for me." I was making my way off the steanier, when the captain stopped me, and offered me comfortable accommodations in the cabin, if I was willing to leave Charleston, which offer I very gladly accepted. It is to Captain Berry of the steaner Columbia, that I am indebted for my safe arrival in New York the last of November.

I trust I shall be able to cancel the debt of gratitude I owe to Mayor Macbeth and his worthy colleagues. I was safely protected in jail for as long as they dared to keep me, although I was "the most audacious and defiant criminal" they had ever dealt with. Others had been tarred and feathered, whipped, and hung, while they asserted their critire innocence of all Abolitionism; yet I was released, sent away, and \$3 was paid for my passage. If I have not returned formal thanks for all these favors, I have by no means forgotten them.

CATHERINE BOTTSFORD,

No. 157 Hudson street, New York.

"Oh, hat's treason, that's sedition, most decidedly," waring his hand, as though it were a foregone conclusion.

"Oh, no." I answered; "it is quite useless to try to persuade me that I have been gully of anything like that; I know what treason and sedition are as well as you. I know what the constitutional laws of our country are; I claim their protection. You are accountable to them; you are not out of the Union yet."

"Well, we have slaves, and we mean to keep them; I own them myself. We are irresponsible despots, you must know; we have laws here that strictly forbid any such expressions as you have sade."

"Such laws are nothing to me; let those obey them that choose to. I am no slave, if you claim to be despots. I have my rights, and mean to have them respected."

The minister advised me to send any petition, as I had suffered, and had been most shamefully wronged. I would not consent to be smuggled off in disgrace. I would not consent to be smuggled off in disgrace. I would not consent to be sunggled off in disgrace. I would not consent

if he did, it would be a hanging me the slave went away.

Up to this time no one had inti-band that he was in the least pers any cause, or that he was suspected of Abolitionist. He knew there was a stre dice against people from the Northern 8 when on errands to the stores, he was drawn into discussing the comparative

sons could but detend the North against misrepresentation. Several times he came home to his books for authority to support his arguments. At all these times, he was careful to avoid saying anything concerning slavery, and he never had anything to say or do with slaves, more than his business made necessary. In politice, he was, and always had been, a Domocrat. We were much disappointed with both the country and society there. The wealthiest and most intelligent people were principally slaveholders, and they held but little intercourse with the others, who were generally the poorest, most ignorant and degraded whites. Men went about wearing pistols and bowie-knives openly, and it was a common thing to hear of a man being shot without any notice being taken of it by the authorities.

On the morning of the 17th of July, my husband, with our two boys, one seven and the other five years of age, took his team, and went about half a mile from town for a load of sand. About 124 o'clock, the boys came back, and told me they were afraid their father had been shot. They said that just as they were ready to start for home, three men—Mr. Turner, his overseer, and another—came up, with revolvers under their arms. Their father spoke to Turner, chaling him by mane, when immediately Turner charged him with promising to help one of his slaves to run away. Their father denied it, saying he did not think that of him (Turner)—accusing him of such a thing. They then wanted him to go with them, saying they wished to talk more about if, or something to that effect, and telling the boys to take care of the team until they came back. He went with them at one, to try the went back, and the running toward them, then turn and run in another direction, until sgain out of sight. In a few moments they heard the report of a gun or pistol. They than went back to the wagon, and waited an hour or more, but no one appearing, they came hour. I started on with them at one, to try the winted and they was not brought to me until night, agif only then

Max Hivo. On the 17th inst. was found the body of a man by the name of Wm. H. Crawford, suspended to a pecan tree, about three-quarters of a mile from town. A large number of persons visited the body during the day. At a meeting of the clitzens the same evening strong evidence was adduced, proving him to have been an Abolitionist. The meeting indorsed the action of the party who hung him. Below we give the verdict of the jury of inquest:—

was that he had sent for revolvers to dist among the slaves. That sentence in the letter Independence gave rise to this story. For th ter, together with the one from Guillium, had opened in the post-office before we received rether with the considerable before we receive the mailed cause Guillium's letter happened to be mailed one of the adjoining towns, and the writing so hey could not make it all out, they charged it was from a conspirator. But the principal was that he had promised to help the negro way who had come to sell us the bacon; that shown him the north star, and told him if he and come there the next the way. away who had come to

run away who had come to sell us the bacen; that he had shown him the north star, and told him if he would steal two horses and come there the next night, he would go with him, and show him the way off. Capt. Dagget afterwards told Dr. Williams that, at first, the negro told the same story that my husband told me, but that upon being charged by his master with lying, and whipped severely, he made the other statement. Furthermore, Capt. Dagget said that he had been sent there to try my husband, and that if he had gone to Turner the next morning, and told him of the slave's being there, he would not have been harmed.

I feel sure that Turner was the chief murderer, for my boys had seen him often in town, and described him to me perfectly. I sent for him to come and see me; I wished to confront him with my boys, and if he showed signs of gailit to shoot him down. I had a pistol loaded for the purpose. But he woulf not come near me. I went to his store to see him, but when he saw me enter, he skulked into an adjoining room, and did not show himself again. I was told if I wished to get away safely, I must keep my tongue still. But I should not have come away without an attempt on the livea of those three fiends, had it not been for the consideration of the welfare of my four children, the youngest of whom was less than a year old. I remained there a week, stopping with Mr. York's family. The house we had lived in was rented to another tenant, and as I did not get ready to leave the town within a day or two of the time I expected to go, my things were put out of doors, and left so one night, or until I came away. Capt. Dagget found a man, belonging in Kansas, to drive my team for me as far as Independent and the surface and heave an came away. Capt. Dagget found a man, in Kansas, to drive my team for me as far pendence, which place we reached, after a t, but for our meeting with occasional help freams along the road; as it was, they were so fuced that I could not sell them, and was obliged

direct that I could not sell them, and was obliged to leave them at Independence.

Capt. Dagget gave me \$20, which, with what I had, enabled me to reach Minnesota once more, where I felt sure I should find both friends and safety. I have not been disappointed. Mr. York and Mr. Williams have both been obliged to leave Texas with their families. The former is in lowa, the latter in Missouri. Upon arriving at Wilton, I learned that my husband's cousin, the editor of the Citizen, had mailed his paper to us regularly all the spring and summer, but we only received the first number; the others must have been detained at the post-office. It being a Republican paper was, perhaps, what first directed suspicion against my husband. A few days before I left Fort Worth, I got two letters from the post-office, both open.

Since I arrived at Wilton, I have been treated

band. A few days before I left Fort Worth, I got two letters from the post-office, both open. Since I arrived at Wilton, I have been treated with much kindness and generosity by the people of this vicinity, for which I pray that Heaven may bless them, and preserve them from afflictions so bitter as mine.

MARY CRAWFORD.

#### SOUTHERN RUFFIANISM TOWARD NORTH-ERN CITIZENS.

A very elaborate Remonstrance against the repea of the Personal Liberty Law,—signed by David Lee Child, L. Maria Child, S. E. Sewall, Geo. L. Stearns, and others,—was recently presented to the Massachu-setts Legislature, and by that body ordered to be printed. It occupies 36 octavo pages, and exhibits much legal ability and carnestness of feeling. We give below the concluding portion of it:—

printed. It occupies 36 octavo pages, and exhibits much legal ability and carnestness of feeling. We give below the concluding portion of it:—

Besides seeking instant redress and future security for the colored citizens of Massachusetts, there is another thing, if possible, still more urgent to be done by Northern men, who maintain the authority of Congress to pass fugitive slave bills. They must demand jumediate and stringent legislation, backed, if nocessary, by steamers and armies, to protect from Iprehing, robbery and murder, their white fellow-citizens, who visit the South on business or otherwise. Indeed, they ought to feel deep sorrow and remorse for not having done their utmost long before this, to arrest the horrid and systematic crimes, committed in that quarter, against Northern and other strangers, not only guiltless of offence, but unaccused of any—crimes, which, if fully developed by a narrator on the spot, would shock and disgust, even more than did the enormities of the Thugs the reading public of Europe and America. The plundering and murderous savages composing Southern mobs and vigilance committees, have rendered the greatest part of the slaveholding region more formulable to travellers and strangers, than the ranges of the Beloweens, Curds, and Comanches. Clamorous, merciless, blood-thirsty rabblements start up instantaneously at the mad-dog cry of abolitionist, or even Northerner, and further infuriated by whiskey, an auxiliary institution, they are wielded by vigilance committees, demagogue-attorneys, quaek-doctors, and by politicians of every stripe, seeking to acquire power, or desiring to use brute force for any unhallowed purpose of pitiless deed. Under this dynasty, society has reached that condition of ancient barbarism, in which stranger was synonymous with enemy. Prudence and silence are no security. If a man holds any shade of opinion, adverse to slavery, however moderate or profoundly buried in his own bosom, he may find himself, at any moment, perhaps when sleeping in his bed a

of this has appeared; on the contrary, there have been repeated contradictions of it, and the fact that the fire took place on Sanday, a little after dinner, affords a strong presumption that such was not the case. Men, moreover, select night and darkness for such deeds! But a vigilance committee proceeded to put slaves to the torture to extort confessions. The rule of this practice, universal in the South, and shocking to us, when we read of it in the histories of the Inquisition and the dark ages, is to tie up or tie down, and whip till the desired confession is obtained, even if it be unto death. Many a poor slave has nobly died a martyr, rather than bear false witness. Of course, fictitious tales will be invented in the pauses of probation to meet the demand, as has happened in all ages, and with men of high character and culture. It is no peculiar repreach of the ignorant and degraded slave. On this occasion, a number of slaves confessed to firing the town, with the aid of other slaves, and at the instigation of whites. Although it was represented that the entire town was swept by the flames, it must have remained rather populous to do and suffer all the hanging that was done. Confessions were also made, that poison had been given out by whites, to be put in the wells and in the food of families by the slaves. According to newspaper reports, and private letters published in newspapers, sarry persons were hung at this place. Among them were a number of whites, mostly from the Western States, but there is no information how many. In one batch of twenty sufferers, it was stated that face were white. Fires occurred in rapid succession in other localities and counties of the same section. Henderson, another county town, was said, and probably believed, to have been fired in several places; but this was subsequently and most positively denied. The executions were on fired in several places; but this was subsequently and most positively denied. The executions were on fired in several places; but these massacres p

slaves showed as strychnine, to make good their confessions on the rack, was found, on chemica analysis, to combain no trace of poison; that the fires were generally accidental, catching by reason of the purched condition of that whole region; that there were a good many thieves and robbers about, as there always are, who probably set some fires to facilitate or cover their depredations; that all the ordinary causes, and all the extraordinary causes, and all the extraordinary causes to abolitionists. were imputed to Methodists, chiefly ministers, as to abolitionists, and these all lumped with Bla Republicans, to make political capital! Notwit standing these exposures, of whose general correctness there cannot be a reasonable doubt, seee law or repeated the exploded calumny, placing among the justifications of secession.

among the justifications of secession. No wonder; for never was fraudulent bankrupt more put to it to make a decent schedule.

It is believed that not less than trenty to twenty-five Northern men, generally sojourners in the State, perished in this persecution. During the last year, ending Dec. 31, 1860, sizten Northern eitizens were murdered in other slave States. Their inventive genius, which had not in the past shed much brilliancy on our national annals, has been taxed to devise new and ingenious methods of torture and death. It was the favorite study of some of the most celebrated tyrants of antiquity; but when the people recovered their rights, and "God made inquisition for blood," they perished by their own cruel devices. Two white men were headed up alive in barrels, and rolled into the Mississippione at Memphis, Tenn., and one at Friar's Point, Miss., and one in like manner into the Alabama river. Seven hundred and twenty-three Northern men, during the same year, were violently expelled, or on their arrival by the steamers, turned back, and not permitted to land. Of the latter, there were one hundred and twenty. A large proportion of the whole were lynched by bloody stripes, shaving or half-shaving the head, whiskers and mustaches; tarring, feathering, and riding on, rails, nearly drowning or hanging, and repeating the operation after resuscitation. One man was hung five times till the agony was over, and then let down. There is no probability that we have had accounts of all the cases, and especially of the worst. It is well known that the Southern presses, to whom we must be chiefly indebted for this kind of information, often observe on these subjects a severe retirence. Very recently, a Massuchusetts pedlar has returned, who declares that two Northern men, to his knowledge, were hung, of whom not the slightest public mention has been made.

Such tragedies, though of late more frequent and more bloody, are not new. They happened in the South, with eatastrophes more or less shocking, seventy years ag

camor for new concessions, new guarante very and its crimes, and humble atonement breath and self-abasing acts breath and self-abasing acts, for giving our vote for a President and Vice-President of the Unite States, as the Constitution reconst States, as the Constitution requires, is not of the most melancholy circumstance attending present troubles. That a headlong hurry of Massachusetts to unconditional surrender and degradation, a blind and insensate furor, intole of pause or reason, trampling down with heel hired ruffans the most precious of constitution of God-given liberties, "the liberty to know utter, and to argue freely according to conscient utter, and to argue freely according to conscience,—should have derived their origin and greates pressure from a class of men in our midst, for whose gain many, and through whose criminal indifference in the past and in power, all these innocent victim have been immolated—is an inexpressible aggravavation of our grief. It impresses us with fear that absorbing selfishness, forgetfulness or contempt of cternal principles which

become so inveterate and presonant in the third of the American and starting upon a line in the presentation of the American and starting upon with that of personal liberty and safety!

That the Personal Liberty Law is such a mode of resistance, and just as legal as resistance in a judicial conduction. There has no caps the cost of the present and the property and the caps and property and the caps and property and the property and safety!

That the Personal Liberty Law is such a mode of resistance, and just as legal as resistance in a judicial content of the property and safety!

resistance, and just as legal as resistance in a cial court, we do not doubt. Indeed, it propotance in a judi-

resistance, and just as legal as resistance in a judicial court, we do not doubt. Indeed, it proposes no other. The Fugitive Slave Bill precludes such resistance, robbing us of the common right of appeal. Among its deadly sins is the crowing one, that it does not permit its sins to be inquired into, and brought to the test of reason and the Constitution. They are to be sacred and inviolable, exempted from scrutiny and discussion, like the Holy Inquisition and "the peculiar institution."

The bill forbids us to go into a respectable court, like James Otis on the writs of assistance, and slow the rights of free-born Englishmen, as we then were, and extort even from a Hutchinson the content of the rights of free-born Englishmen, as we than the rights of free-born Englishmen, as we then were, and extort even from a Hutchinson the content of the rights of free-born Englishmen, as we then were, and extort even from a Hutchinson the content of the rights of free-born Englishmen, as we then were, and extort even from a Hutchinson the content of the writes; in other words, that the whole thing is founded in usurpation and despotic power. What the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutionally restore; and it does not betray conscious guilt by the free from the superior of the standard propers of the stan

### The Liberator. No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1861.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF

THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of th
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held i
the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's,) in th
city of New York, on Tuesday, May I, commencin
at 10 o'clock, A. M. In the evening, another publ
meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute, cor mencing at half-past 7 o'clock.

The object of this Society is still, tion,—the immediate and total aboutton or saw wherever existing on the American soil, because of inherent sinfulness, immorality, oppression, and barity, and its utter repugnance to all the precept the Gospel, and all the principles of genuine De-racy; its measures are still the same,—peacmoral, rational, legal, constitution power claimed, possessed and exercised by sholders, the actual condition of their miserable North, religiously, politically, governmentally, with those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men" general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty nothing just, honest, noble and Christian in sen

or not, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters, t Society will still have its work unfinished, and will man can hold property in man?? Four millions yet remain to be delivered from the galling yoke of a worse than brutal servitude. Christians and patriots! can we do a nobler work, one more acceptable to God or more serviceable to our country and the world, than to "remember those in bonds as bound with them,"

friends of the Society to be present at the approaching anniversary, that there may be no lack of wise counsel and efficient cooperation with reference to the consummation of its great purpose

In behalf of the Exec WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Secretaries.

### THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In his replication to us, last week, Rev. Mr. Haven, referring to the anti-slavery action of the Methodist Episcopal Church with which he is con

"That Church has contended conselessly and mightily for the great reform. In 1844, after ten years of faithful labor by a portion of her ministry and hirty, she stayed the proud march of the Slave Power, sacrificing her, at that time, most influential section, rather than allow one, whose wife held slaves, to preside in her Conferences. It was a great victory, and resulted in the secession of the slavery-loving section"—&c.

We are not only greatly perplexed, but fairly stag mightily for the great reform,"—the abolition of sla-very,—it has relentlessly and actively stood in the way to prevent its consummation. No General Con-ference has ever given the slightest countenance to the Church. There has never been any un

whose wife beld slaves, to preside in her Conferences, the Church was willing to "sacrifice her, at that tim most influential section." Is that a correct statement Let us see.

The case here referred to was that of Bishop A

"Whereas, the Discipline of our Church forbids the

the Black River (N. Y.) Conference, truthfully says "No complaint is here made on moral grounds against episcopal slavcholding. It is solely on the ground that a slaveholding Bishop would not be well received in New England and other Northern States. Besides, the Bishop was left a Bishop still—aye, and a slaveholding Bishop, with his name in the Discipline and Hymn-book, and drawing his salary the same as other Bishops."

It is true, there was a secession on the part of th great body of the Southern delegates, in consequence of this decision; but it was as uncalled for, in fact, as was the recent secession of the Confederated State, on account of the election of Abraham Lincoln to the who voted in the amrimative. To boast of this as "staying the march of the Slave Power,"—to claim it as "a great victory, resulting in the secession of the slavery-loving section,"—is certainly quite ridiculous. But this is not all. "In 1886," asys Mr. Haven, "she [the Methodist Church North] refused to recognize this seceding body as a Christian Church, and has a refused to this day, simply because of its submission of the submission.

so refused to this day, simply because of its subm est, A man should not steal, dost thou steal !" wonder that the editor of the Nashville Christian Advocate was emboldened to address Bishop Morris [of the Northern Church] in the following exceriating

"You have this day many large slaveholders in your division of the Church. You know that in Maryland and Virginia, you have hundreds, yea, thousands of members who hold slaves; that you have ordained deacons and elders in the ministry of your Church who are slaveholders. You yourself have ordained to the office and work of the ministry many a slavehold er. Why, then, in the name of our common Christianity, should the Southern Church be persecuted and denounced, because site does that goar own brunch of the Church constantly practises? Let us see. The Methodist bejiecopal Church South has in her communical saveholders. So has the Methodist Episcopal Church North. The Methodist Episcopal Church South has in the ministry ordained deacons and elders who are slaveholders. So has the Methodist Episcopal Church South has in the ministry ordained deacons and elders who are slaveholders. So has the Methodist Episcopal Church South has in the ministry ordained deacons and elders who are slaveholders. So has the Methodist Episcopal Church

The difference, truly, is not at all in principle, but

slavery, it voted to secode, two to one. It could have renained without emancipating a single stare, if it chose Its action was voluntary, not disciplinary.

To screen the Church, as a whole, from condemna

"Each local society and its basic has an each conference on the first and expel its members; each conference on the first and expel its member. Now, if the local society and its pastor refuse to e force the discipline, and the conference of which the minister is a member will not punish him for it, ho can the Church, as a whole, help if 17".

ment or reproof, but acceptably as those of "the house-hold of faith"! Or,—doctrinal heresies aside,—what if they freely admitted to membership blacklegs, coun-terfeiters, pickpockets, and plunderers of hen-roosts, would Mr. Haven ask the question, "How can the Church, as a whole, help it?" Would it not quickly find a way to help it?

He inquires of us whether he shall leave the Church for the world? Who presents to him any such alternative? Let him abandon both, and, if need be, stand alone with God and right! "In my judgment," he replies, "the world is far more identified with this iniquity, as well as every other, than any branch of he reputes, the works at most than any branch of the real Church of Christ." That is precisely our opinion—only we beg to be understood as declaring our ion—only we beg to be understood as declaring our belief, that no "branch of the real Church of Christ" is stained with the blood of the slave, or takes to its communion those who traffic in human flesh. More-over, we differ from Mr. Haven in regard to what con-stitutes "the real Church of Christ"—he manifestly is stained with the blood of the slave, or takes to its communion those who traffic in human flesh. Moreover, we differ from Mr. Haven in regard to what constitutes "the real Church of Christ"—be manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes "the real Church of Christ"—be manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes the real Church of Christ"—be manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes the real Church of Christ "—be manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes the real Church of Christ the manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes the real Church of Christ the manifestly experienced to take the one-stitutes the real Church of Christ the chief the climate and institutions of the South as "the climate and forth to take the one-stitutes there can afford to take the one-stitutes there can afford to take the one-stitutes there can afford to take the one-stitutes the real Church of the Methodist and the state of the columns; and we therefore forbear.

Such, then, is the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, on the tremendous question of American slavery. Our arraignment of her proceeds from no sectarian feeling, but only from a deep sense "possing by on the other side"; our Priests and

"TREASON."

RURAL, (III.) March 18, 1861

of being "a truitor at heart," and to your "double de-testation," be it so.

Though you are my accuser, thank God you are not my ludge, either in this world, or in that which is to come. Yours for humanity,

W. L. GARRISON. B. G. WRIGHT.

REMARKS. This letter indicates a heated state of mind on the part of the writer which greatly surprises us, and for which we are sure there is no justification. Let us quote the exact language we used, and not as Let us quote the exact language we used, and not as disjointed and quoted by our indignant correspondent

disjointed and quoted by our indignant correspondent:

"His [the President's] argument against Southern secessionists is compact and conclusive; for as they have no wrongs to complain of under the Constitution, and as they presend to no conscientious scruptas in regard to any of its provisions, they find no justification for their course, either on patroici grounds, or in the marrys spirit which soill not consent to surrighteousness. ALL THEIR TERM SONABLE ACTS HAVE BEEN CONSUMMATED UNDER THE ADMINIATED ACTS HAVE BEEN CONSUMMATED UNDER THE ADMINIATED AND THEIR OWN CHOICE! This is undeniable. Such was not the renotitioners grangle of 1770. It has not been possible for the Republican party to do any wrong against the South, even if it had any disposition to do so, because the reins of government have but just passed into its hands. To break up the Union on a pretence or a suspicion of four play, perfidiently seize fortifications, arsenais, and million other property belonging to the United States.—obstruct the collection of revenue, or use it for treason-ship curposes.—fire upon a national steam-ship, and

Secessionists are not guilty of high-handed usurpation, the blackest perfidy, the most daring robbery, and the vilest treason, then we believe it impossible for any on earth to commit those crimes. If our correspond-ent chooses to transmute them into justifiable deeds, by his peculiar theory of government, we can gret his confusion of mind in so plain a case.

### "AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE PROMO-TION OF NATIONAL UNITY."

A pamphlet of sixteen pages, issued from the "So lety Rooms, Bible House, Astor Place, New York," as us of the organization, on the 6th ult., of the

The Journal of Commerce regrets that such a Socie In the Journal of the Abolition heresy, employing talented lecturers to precede or follow Abolition lecturers, and prevent or lo their work. No time should be lost in puttin d to request op en confuted : but, generally, the opposers of Abolibeen contuted; but, generally, the opposers of Acou-tion carefully avoid meeting its advocates in argu-ment. They find it a losing game. They find that, for their statements to retain even the appearance of plausibility, it is necessary to have a force of rioters at hand, to clamor down the replies of the Abolition-ists, and prevent the influence of free and orderly dis-consistent of the miles of the andience. It is certainly their Secretaries, Rev. Hubb Seth Bliss, discuss the merits of the question with Burleigh and Pillsbury, Phillips and Garrison. If the latter speakers could be quietly heard by the class of tion must continue while its members ' ligion merely, instead of practising it, pasters who use "reform" and "philant ious wickedness with the dialect of piety.

Here are a few of the falsities pat forth as truth it his pamphlet, which bears as the motto on its title

"God is our Refuse and Strength"!

page, "God is our Refuge and Strength"!

It represents the slaves as "incapable of self-care,"
as "indisposed to industry and foresight," and as
"providentially committed to the hands of our South-

rn friends."

It represents emancipation as "rebellion as "destruction to the color

n our land." It represents the North as doing wrong ing an attitude of hostility to Slavery."

It represents the position of the North as

week, would delegation in two facts of directly opposite bearing, namely; that hout arraign- the Northern people are almost a unit in desiring the cessions and sacrifices to that end, and that it is the Southern States which have formally severed the bond, and which triumph in its rupture. It represents the slaves as "under a providential

sation, lifting them up from the degradation and dispensation, liftin miseries of indoler

miseries of indolence and vice."

It represents their masters as "treating their slaves as humanity and religion demand," and as furnishing some of the brightest ornaments "of the church of It represents that the slaveholders "freely or

to us our conscientious consictions, OUR RIGHTS, and ALL OUR PRIVILEGES," and asks why we should not concede freedom of slaveholding to them; and, condensing mendacious impudence into three lines, as with a "forty-parson-power," it asks—"If the climate and institutions of the South are such that

opening a subject which we do not wish to discuss in our columns; and we therefore forbear.

Such, then, is the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, on the tremendous question of American slavery. Our arraignment of her proceeds from no sectarian feeling, but only from a deep sense of justice. We cheerfully admit that there is an earnest minority of ministers and lay members connected with her, zealously laboring to make her wholly and actively on the side of the oppressed; and we are not insensible to what they have done, or propose to do. To this extent we hall them as co-workers, and shall greatly rejoice to be able to aanounce their entire success. "Credit to whom credit is due." But let us all be uncompromising in the cause of liberty.

An appendix to this pamphlet contain of names of persons "proposed" as Vi Honorary Members and Corresponding The list of (intended) Vice-Presidents with the names of Rev. Doctors Gardin New York, Thornton Stringfellow of Cult Virginia, and Nathan Lord of Hangar of its Episcopal Church; the Most Rev. Hughes, D. D., and many Catholic clergymen Hughes, D. D., and many Catholic clergymmany other names eminent in the defence of such as Cass, Crittenden, Bell, Breckinst Douglas, Drs. South-side Adams of Bloston Humphrey of Pittsfield, Thornwell of South and Fuller of Baltimore. Hon. Edward Err the list of (intended) Honorary Members.

We wait with great interest for the distribution of the promised tracts, and the solder the promised tracts, and the solder the promised tracts, and the solder the solder tracts.

the promised tracts, and the addresses of the runs ed lecturers, willingly accepting the compliment in plied by the Society's imitation of our accusance methods of operation.—C. K. W.

### POLITICS.

ATHOL, March 28, 1861 Of the body politic, in our country, its way well is said, "The whole head is sick, and the whole head faint. From the sole of the foot even une to head thereof, there is no soundness in it?" b. undergoing a strong convulsion indeed, with publications of the heart and limbs. Dissolution has menced; the fair structure is crumbling and faing away piece-meal. Its head has been bedopded and wavering; its right arm paralyzed; in virus has gone out of it; its soul has departed, leaving it a torted and unsightly thing: and unless the vital resoies shall be speedily restored: unless pervading soul, it must soon drop its present form

and disappear from the lace of the carts. His en-tainly in a transition state.

The Union is virtually dissolved—torn assets by conflicting interests, and by the potency of saturnistic and irreconcilable ideas. Secession is a matter

The Meas of art. Canada at length developing thement in national affairs, are at length developing themselves in action—bearing their legitimate fruits in the turnulis and commotion of civil and domestic trife. for a quarter of a century, at least, "the present tion, extension and perpetuation of slav onstituted the prevail nation. To this end, especially during the last tra addinistrations, the powers of the governmentar in a great measure been wielded. To this sol a efforts of our "distinguished public functionies turn, has been drifting towards disunion; for, the me ment slavery is likely to receive a chec a new administration, with a change of policy, is as-ticipated, a dissolution of the Union is threatend; and before it has fairly assumed the national central

olved from all allegiance to the general govern and assuming an attitude of defia lute independence, with no purpose or desire to unite with the Northern States, on any terms; while the border States, with the same right of second demand fresh concessions and further guaranties remaining in the Union.

The dissatisfaction of the "slaveholding lords a

the South" was to be expected. They feel that the are making a desperate struggle to regain and fa their hold poon it. With them, as I have said, "the preservation, extension and perpetuation of slaver is an end, paramount to everything else; in Union, if they can-out of it, if they must.

Secession, therefore, was, in my judgment, ap-concerted scheme—a foregone conclusion; at less among the ambitions, designing and desperate follow-ers of Mr. Calhoun. They had been brooking ser and preparing for it. Sag years; and their fallus h the late Presidential efection was only the occasion

and the pretext for it.

Assuming secession to be a Cor tre ready to defend their positions by force of arms. To this end, they have deliberately taken possess of the forts and arsenals along their coasts, hope and perhaps expecting, that N yield to their unblushing and insolent demands,

Such is the danger now; and what power shall it such is the danger now; and what power same is repose to save us from so disastrons a result! Whit sufficient for these things? Politicians are apparent Senate, a little more than a year a ed to intimidate and scare the North; yet in the pro-ent attitude of affairs, he indicates as much alarm anybody. Now he counsels the surrender of all pe-forms, and, I think, all sentiments of humanity at religion, for the sake of the Union. Doubless here ceives that the experiment of Constitutional liber and self-government by the people are wrapped apand self-government by the people are suppose the Union—and if that vase fall apart, the experime falls, hope is extinguished, and the sun of ihert per down in darkness forever. Has not the experime failed, failed utterly, "to establish justice, to instru-

gruous and discordant elements, and and wrought up to ten-fold virulence

by this shaking and quaking of the politic, it may be purified; that the cere extravagances of the government may away, and that the nation (or at least part set forth upon a career which shall comman spect and admiration, instead of the certent ecration of the civilized world? Libert, law will rise again, and, shaking hersel clear of their and rubbish by which she has been temperally en-borne, she will reüppear, and, assuming higher, and more glorious forms, leaning upon justes, lart forms, and more glorious forms, leaning upon justes, lart and more giorious forms, teaning users infalling ally, moving with fresh majesty and she shall find a "dwelling place in all gees are not ready, therefore, and, with my present I mever would consent, to make further consents of the harden Motor o to offer fresh sacrifices to the heathen Moloch & very, though the Union were shattered, and is is ments could not be gathered up. Wert I de-politician, which I do not profess to be the arpolitician, which I do not profess to be, the me, would say to the people of the South would be the Constitution as it is, with its acknowledged guaranties of slavery, with chances and uncertainties of construction wild has ever been subject, and trust the administrated has ever been subject, and trust the administra to the intelligence and virtue, limited as the

of the whole people.

The people,—the thirty millions of people star stitute this nation,—have a right to be, and usually must be, consulted in this matter. They came ty, and therefore they cannot safely, by training the same type of the same t

THE CUEE FOE SOUTHERN SECIESION.

It is hardly time yet to get at the real intentions of the President and Cabinet of the United States with regard to accession. However, all the movements dus for unde force the equinion that peace for the country is to be obtained by the Government, by bringing tack the seeded States either through a treatment composite with their leaders, or through a reaction in the minds of the people thereof by reason of abetinesee from all controversy with them is speech or writers; or by permitting them quietly to retire, and mintain friendly relations with them.

It is evident that the Border Slave States will be remained in the Union, if possible; and to this end the largest concessions are being made to the Slave Power thew, by President Seward and Secretary Lincoln. The grand object is, peace, and there the North, through the Administration, submit to treason, robery, issualt, and loss of honor by the South.

But it is peace for the white man that is sought, and ealy through the efforts of the white man; while the reg element—the black—that lies at the bottom of all our country's troubles, is designedly lost sight of.

Bat it is peak to the white man; while the eight chough the efforts of the white man; while the erry element—the black—that lies at the bottom of all our country's troubles, is designedly lost sight of. The black man is not considered in this crisis at all except to rispt his chains closer and firmer. He must have no voice in the settlement of national affairs, but must arbuilt to his life of slavery, and forget that he last rights, or that he has the power to save this country. Our national politics keep him down; disregard his claims for a hearing; and behind the "Constitution" run away from them. Only return to the befored Union, says Mr. Soward to the South, and all your "constitutional rights shall be guaranteed." Come back to us once more, and we will love you, caress you, and you may kick us just as much as you Come tack to us once more, and we will love you, caress you, and you may kick us just as much as you please. Slavery is nothing. It is your institution, not ours; and who cares for a mere black man? You mistake, good sirs! se have no irrepressible conflict with you. Only return to the Union; we do not want do quarrel, for we lave you. Let not brothers fight for

amere abstraction.

These remarks will apply to the Border States; for if they remain, and the Cotton States will not return, then the policy will be to submit gracefully, and study how to avoid civil war with the extreme South, and retain the friendship of the Slave Power in the Border

But people may think peace will eturn and har-most prevail, after the independence of the Confed-erate States is acknowledged by the North, and the Border Slave States consent to remain on "guarantee" of their "rights." This would be downright folly; for there would be that black element again in the new Union, the same conflict between the two sys-

to be acted upon by the country. Circumstances have forced it upon us, and we should not fail to recognize, in the present complication of affairs, that Providence which now requires us to emancipate from slavery 4,000,000 of our brothers, by virtue of the splendid opportunities that now exist.

The second States will not, on any account what

ever, voluntarily return to the Union. Why should they! They have been twenty-five years maturing their plans to leave the North, and have assumed the risks and dangers incident to treason and open rebel-lion. By the help of traitors to the Union, and their own sublime audacity, they have—for the present crippled the physical powers of the government, and defied it into submission to their will. The Southern defied it into submission to their will. The Southern leaders are men of determination—some honest, more dishonest, but all inspired by hatred of free institutions, and by an indexible purpose to found an aristocracy upon African slavery. Even so cool a man as Alexander H. Stevens, in his speech at Savannah, confesses it,—to say nothing of the dispassionate utterances of other men who at first disapproved of secession. The South is insane on this matter, and will carsy the experiment to the bitter end. Will she now retrace her steps! No! Power she has had, power she will have, cost what it may, and if only for a day; and now that she stands at the dawn of the day that is to realize her dream of empire, will she consent to to realize her dream of empire, will she consent to the humiliation which she would incur by reuniting a government that would deprive her do mischief in the future! Will she, in presence of the fact of seven States already out, fore go her intent to dismember what remains of the old Union, and gradually bring each State therefrom to herself, and form a new confederacy, founded on the express idea of slavery extension and expansion The trial she more than ever feels must be made. With every thing to gain, power, position, wealth and territory, she will never give up until all human means

are exhausted in the attempt.

It is strange that our men in power at Washington do not, or will not, or fear to, see things as they are.

They have had enough of compromise in the past, and they should know that, even if the Cotton States States, the evil would not be craiming.

Only renewed compromises and strongest guarantees would satisfy the slave States remaining, and thus men may cry peace, peace," but there will be no peace while slavery and freedom try to subsist under one

tions, has declared war upon the United States; therefore should she be subjected to all the rigors which warfare can suggest and create. The more deadly the weapons brought against her, the more speedily will the battle close. What, then, in the name of suffering numanity, and the highest interest of our commo country, and the fair fame of this nineteeth century sures to terminate the struggle!

measures to terminate the struggle!

What is to prevent the government from placing the country, within a few months, in a position for appressive war! If necessary, give up Fort Sumfer tow; but when we shall be again strong, retake it, and all the other forts that have been surrendered; then collect the revenues at every second port with cannon balls; then, finally, and lastly, proclaim liberty to the slaves, and put arms into their hands.

METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL.

controlling power; and that the power to regulate and control the police should therefore be taken out of the lands of the city authorities, and transferred to the State authorities.

The unajority of the Committee do not find that the State authorities.

The unajority of the Committee do not find that the first of the above charge is snatzined by the evidence before them. It is andoubtedly true that the laws in relation to the off intoxicating liquors are very imperfectly excited in many parts of the Common wealth; that it is andoubtedly true that the laws in relation to the cities than in the agricultural towns; and that in Roston, as the largest city, these laws are more frequently and openly riolated than elsewhere. But the evidence before the Committee went to show that the difficulty lies in parts of the system entirely beyond the sphere of the police; that the police have been more ready to arrest, than juries to convict; and that a change merely in the appointing and controlling power of the police would not have any appreciable effect upon the evil complained of.

The second charge made by the epitieners appears to the Committee to be sustained by the evidence. On the third of December last, a meeting was called in the Tremont Temple to "mark the nuniversary of the martyrolm of John Brown." On the 28th of January last, a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was called at the same place. Both these meetings were interrupting succeeded in breaking up the meetings. Upon the evidence produced before us, we are satisfied that the police force of Boston was competent to the protection of the meetings against any disturbing force actually exhibited at them; and we are also satisfied that there was failure on the part of the city authorities to give such protection as those who called the meetings had a right to demand. This failure cannot be excused by the sugestion that the decrines expected to be promulgated at these meetings were disorganizing, or destructive, or dangerous to the well-being of

as the organized suppression of utterance by self constituted judges. If at this moment minorities were fully protected in every State of this Union in the expression of their dissent from the prevailing opinions, it is probable that many of she national dangers which threaten us might still be averted.

The fact, however, that the city authorities of Boton have, in the instances referred to, failed to do their duty, by no means brings us necessarily to the conclusion that the city of Boston ought therefore to be deprived of one of the most important features of self-government. The majority of the Committee cannot bring themselves to believe that in the long run the people of Berkshire or Cape Cod will be likely to manage the local affairs of Boston more honestly or more intelligently than they can be managed by Boston herself.) The tendency of popular opinion has been to diminished rather than increased centralization. We have curtailed the executive power of appointment; we have within a few years caused clerks of courts, sheriffs, district attornies, and county commissioners to be chosen by the vote of their localities, instead of holding their offices from the Executive. We have sought from time to time to bring power nearer and nearer to the people through and for whom it is to be exercised, rather than to remove it from direct responsibility to them. Nothing short of the presence of some great public exigency should induce us to reverse this course of policy. A feeting public impulse, finding vent in isolated acts of violence, does not constitute such an exigency.

Whenever it shall appear that in this city property, liberty, and life have become generally insecure; that freedom of, speech within legal limits is habitually and systematically refused; that an intelligent and upright minority has lost all reasonable hope of maintaining its rights against a brutal or corrupt majority—then, but not till then, will it be expedient and proper that Massachusetts should apply to its metropolis the legislation wh

A. H. BULLOCH,
D. G. LITTLEFIELD,
E. F. BROWN,

MINORITY REPORT.

The undersigned, members of the committee appointed under the order of January 21, to consider the expediency of amending the charter of the city of Boston, so that its police shall be appointed by the State, and to whom was referred the petition of Samuel Rodman and 412 other citizens of Massachusetts for the same object, have not been able to agree with the majority, and ask leave, to present some of the reasons which have brought them to a different conclusion.

the "most respectable people of Deacon and Vernon streets."

It has appeared in evidence before the Committee, that no time during the day was the mob, in numbers or force of any kind, so formidable but that the police force present could have quelled it at once, if they had been so ordered; and Mr. Ham (long Deputy Chief, and an officer of experience and energy) testified distinctly, that even if Mayor Wightman's apocryphal organization of two thousand, which was to "tear down the Temple, and kill Mr. Phillips," had come in the evening, he could, with fifty or sixty men, have kept them out, maintained the peace of the city and the order of the meeting.

and encourage virtue, may not be essentially indeed with impunity. We have the utmost faith, that with a brief trial of the system, provided for in this bill, will receive the hearty support of every honest holder of property in the city, and of all who have at heart the highest good of the whole people.

N. H. WHITING, of the Senate.

SAML S. DREW, of the House.

tion, mentions the following as a local peculiarity:—
"The Rev. W. P. Newman, formerly of Dresden, in this country, has resided in Hayti for some time past, and has made himself very busy in gathering facts concerning emigration to that quarter.

In prosecuting his inquiries, he was very successful. But we are informed that in consequence of a difficulty arising between Mr. Newman and a large class of Haytians, he has concluded to return again to Canada.

Hox. John G. Palerry. The vexed question of the Postmastership of Boston has been judiciously settled by the appointment of John G. Palfrey, of Cambridge, to the office. No man has a higher personal reputation than Mr. Palfrey, and the appointment to so influential a position is a proper recognition of his devotion to the cause of Freedom in the days when it cost something to be an Anti-Slavery man. As a Free-Soil Whig, and as the leader of the Free-Soilers of New England, Mr. Palfrey was honorably compicutions for many years. He was a member of Congress MARIE E. ZARKEEWSKA, M. D.,

the district was placed by the mind of the street of the s

In Memphis, Tenn., last week, a man me David Banks abot a negro woman's note off, verying to kill a white woman. His punishment asted in depositing \$50 with a magistrate as see for his appearance at court. The woman he trickill was fined \$10 for being disorderly, and the negets not a dime nor even a flogging for having her blown off.

DEATH OF REV. THOMAS WHITTEMOI Rev. Thomas Whittemore, long known a leading ministers of the Universalist And and editor of the Trumpet, died at his a Cambridgeport on Thursday night, 28th u

The Sanitarium is the title of a new journal o

Hon. John Sherman has been elected Senator for six years from the 4th ilt, by the Ohio Legislature, in the place of Hon. Salmon P. Chase, who resigned to take a seat in the Cabinet.

More or John Brown. The Alexandria (Va.) Scatinel speaks of the discovery of two hundred hatchets which had been buried in Fairfax County, and explains as follows:—
"A soldier who served at Harper's Ferry, and became familiar with the weapons captured at John Brown's mountain depot, says that the appearance and the finish of these battle-axes, and of the handles to them, are precisely similar to those of Brown's pikes. Like them also, these do not contain the name of the atroclous manufacturer."

The Charleston Mercury boasts that all the Southern forts have fallen, whereupon Prentice adds. 'Yes, fallen among thieves, like the poor man in the Rible."

TE CIRCULAR.—Through my connection with the NEW YORK INFIRMARY and the Clinical Department of the NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLIGE, as well as in the course of my private practice, I have been con-vinced of the fact that there are many invalid Ladies, who

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Fall River, Collected by Mrs. K. E. Farman, of Blackstone Mrs. Nancy Hill, \$3; Mrs. Williams, 2; Laban Bates, 1; Edward Harris, 2; Mrs. denhs. 1; Edward Harris, 2; Mrs. Senhser, 1; Laban Fallet, 50c; friend, 50c; Dr. Wilder, 50c. Mrs. S. H. Young, pieges, Mrs. S. H. Young, pieges, 4 January, 1881, J. O. Dodge, 4 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1861, 900 1871 No. 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1861, 900 1871 No. 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1861, 900 1871 No. 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1861, 900 1871 No. 1860, Mrs. Geo. Vining, 9 1861, 900 1871 No. 1861, 900 1871

Mrs. Geo. Vining, " " 1.0

E. W. Twing, 3; Joseph Merrill, 1; J. O. Levett, 2;
Marie Page, 1; Mosse Phipps, 2.00; S. H. Cowing, 2; Francis H. Cowing, 1; Capt. Zehina
Small, 5; Mrs. Small, 1; friend in Portland, 1.

Collected by A. T. Foss.

Bellingham, 1.24; West Wrentham, 4.85; Worcoster, 8; Haverhill, 9.02; Milford, 4.

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

FOR KANSAS SUFFERERS.

1861.
Feb. 12. From Isaac Austin, Nantucket, Mass.,
Mar. 5. Friends in Lincoln, Mass., by Mr. Leon
Webster, Webster, 44.00
Mar. 14. Miss Abby Goodwin, Tuckerton, N. J., 5.00

Mar. 29. Sent to Dr. J. C. Weibly, El Dorado, Kan-sas, by C. H. Brainard, April 2. Pd. to Dr. Thos. S. Webb, Sec. Kansas Aid Soc,

HENRY C. WRIGHT will speak at Valley Falls, R. I., Manchester, N. H.,

A. T. FO3S, Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. So

MRS. E. L. ROSE will speak in lford, Sunday, ston, (Mercantile Hall,) Wednesday w Bedford, Sunday, New Bedford,

EN A LECTURE BY MRS. ERNESTINE L. ROSE.— On Wednesday evening, April 10th, Mrs. ERNESTISE L. Rosz will deliver a Lecture in this oity, at Mercantille Hal's No. 16 Sammer Street, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. Tickets—10 cents—to defray expenses, to be had at the estigator office, and at the door on the evening of the ecture. These who are disposed to assist in the sale of ickets, will please make early application at that office. Boston, April 4, 1861.

[EF In point of rhetorical ability, logical power of mind, and mental independence, Mrs. Rose has few equals. We hope she will have a full house.]—Ed. Lib.

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DIED-In Worcester, Mass., March 29, Mr. Gr PUTNAM, aged 65, formerly of Boston.

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All kinds of Sewing Machine work done at short notice
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The British Reviews,

# Bortep.

TO THE MOB-DEFYING ABOLITIONISTS.

O, noble men and women,
With hearts as brave as true,
Ye qualled not at the tunuit
Of the rude, misguided erew! Warm hearts in our old England, And eyes that shed glad lears, lead how dear but unbeheld one And friends unseen for years,—

Trusting in God and duty, Disciples like their Master,
Met in his name to show
A brother's tender pity
For the slave's helpless wee.

"It was sublime," dear cousin, To see, like thee, the young, The aged, like thy father, The learned, the wise, the str

Sir calmly through the tamult Of that base, yelling crowd;— We honor such in every land; Their courage makes as proud. sterden, Eng.

## RABBI RAPHALL.

[The following lines were elicited by the discours lewish Rabbi, Raphall, of New York, on the Pre last Day, which the learned Doctor improved as a occasion for advocating the system of American slav Oh, son of Jacob ! pleadest thou for this?

Oh, son of Jacob : pleadest thou for this?

Heat thou forgot the sorrows of thy race?

The greans and sighs that from the deep abyss

Of bondage echoed to God's holy place?

Upon thine abject sires, with lofty scorn,
Looked down prood Egypt's sons, sage, warrior, priest

Who were they then, despised, enslayed, forlorn,

That God should hear their cries and give them rest? He that unto thy fathers freedom gave— Hath He not taught thee pity for the slave? To His command, in years of jubiles, Did not thy land respond, "The slave is free!" When Israel, rebelling, spurned His sway, When Israel, rebelling, spurned 'llis sway,
And from His holy temple turned away—
Passing through fire, and groveiling in the dust,
To gods obseene, offspring of human lust;
When they who by his cloud and fire were led,
And by his manns in the desert fed,
Revelled at feasts profane, with perverse will—
With smoking altars upon every hill,
And lurid firer redd'ning the midnight sky,
Made the land reek with their idolatry,—
Offended Heaven withdrew its shielding arm,
And, io 'fftheir plains with foes like locants swant
Swift as the furious winds, destructions come

Swift as the furious winds, destructions come On field and vineyard, tower and wall and dome Then when their groans had rung through sorrowing

And Eabel's streams were bitter with the Again he heard their penitential cry, And ended all their long captivity. Child of a thrice-delivered r No tears for these who still in bondage bow? Bendage foretold! Tyrant's convenient Was there no misery foretold for thee? etold! Tyrant's convenient plea! Bendage Garcesses: Ayrants convenient pies: Was there no minery foretold for thee? Ecorned and despised, to every land dispersed; From all distinguished, and by all accursed; Spurned like a dog, and spit on in the mart; Branded a wretch without a soul or heart; Branded a wretch without a soul or near; Knave, usurer, to gold's insaliate lust An abject slave, a thing whom all distrust; From many lands expelled, in most denied The rights that make a freeman's boast and pride Is not thy shame the theme of prophecy? Yet doth Jehovah bid me hiss at thee !

No-for so sure as Palestine is trod By Salem's foes, the enemies of God, Shall retribution dire descend on all Who spurn her dust, and triumph in her fall; For, like as scourging locusts in their flight,— By instinct led,—on fruitful lands alight; By instinct led,—on fruitful lands alight; So the proud conqueror, urged by lust of power, Swoops on the nations only to devour; Nor thinks, in working his imperial will, The mandates of th' Eternal to fulfill.

And in that day when days shall cease to roll Earth's spanged entrain repir from pose to pose.

The sun grown dim, the moon like dusky fire—
All nations quaking at their portents dire!—
The day of judgment!—will thy conscience the Excuse this tampering with the rights of men?
May not the Judge demand—"What ediet gave
To thee the right to make or hold a slave?"

### STAND FAST!

AN ENGLISH APPEAL TO PRESDOM'S PRI O, brother freemen o'er the ses,
Our English pride—our boast—
You whom, when here we name the fre
We love and honor most—
To-day, with eager ears and hearts,
With natures strangely stirred,
We hush to hear what from your marks,

day the war of hell and heaven Is waged by each of you;
To-day to each of you 'tis given
To either to be true; Our English hearts well may we still,
While we this issue bide;
God's hopes and ours will you fulfill,
Or blench from Freedom's side?

In many a cause it well may be Good inen their way may miss But right and justice now can see ay but one in this :

No way but one in the life in or you way but one in the least to its cost,
Weigh well the doom that conscience of
Who wayers here is lost!

Guides of the present—hopes of earth— The nations look to you, Even as their freedom springs to birth, To learn what freemen do. To learn what freem Show them By your free fathers' graves, heir sons this hour dare not the shame Of faster fettering slaves.

Draw not one foot back in this strife!

To you is God's voice damb?
On you depends the more than life
Or death of all to come!
Let the South rage—the devil plead
For merey—arx be ye!
But God—but right—but conssience heed,
And stamp the future free!
Greenwich, Jan. 18, 1861.

W. C. Bernery.

### THE BLIND KING.

Dedicates as Southern Sections,
A blind king eat on a barning throne,
His brow was red with Ire,
And he fancied a fly was before his eye,
But felt not the growing fire.

He seized a billows, and wildly blew,
Oursing the fly he would blow;
But the tube was bent, and each puff he bent
Was fanning the flames below.

The finnes curied up with a ruddy wrath, Around his beard they came; But with face awry he would curse the fly, Still fanning the greedy flame.

And there he sits on his burning thrope, His faces brow knik with Ire, And he groans and blows, and never kno He's fanning his feared pyrs. I. A.

# The Diberator.

[From the pumphist "The People," by Karl Heinzen,
THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE;

The Unitarian State and the Federative State.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.]

Who form the State! You answer, the people.
You will be further obliged to answer, the side people; and, finally, you must add, the "one and indivi-sible" people.

ple; and, finally, you must add, the "one and indivisible" people.

We intend, to-day, to examine the question, whether the people, who cannot be thought divided from the State; ought to be divided by and for the good of the State; or, in other words, whether a people or nation can better reach its common ends in a Unitarian, consolidated State, or in a Federative State. If the State is the people, we have to ask if one people should not also be one State, and whether the people is not divided if it divides the State. Contracted in aborter terms, the question, then, will be: Ought the State to be founded on Centralization or Confederation!

We should be honest enough not only to cast off errors perceived, but also to avow them; for errors openly avowed promote truth, while those covered up deprive it of the right and effect of its triumph.

These remarks premised may defend me from the repreach of inconsistency, when I mention that form.

openly avowed premote truth, while those covered up deprive it of the right and effect of its triumph.

These remarks premised may defend me from the reproach of inconsistency, when I mention that formerly I was a decided advocate of the Federative System, (especially in regard to Germany,) and had ever treated that question as a fixed and vital question of principle and liberty. Confirmed observation and maturer meditation on points discussed farther below have, however, convinced me that said question is only a practical one, a question of time and place; in short, one depending on circumstances. I have been satisfied that, according to principle, only certalization, not federation, must be retained as the foundation of the proper formation of States, and as the true means of realizing the will of an anlightened, united and free nation. Federation, on the other hand, I have learned to regard as a product of acciunited and free nation. Federation, on the other hand, I have learned to regard as a product of accimaintaining in different State-multinuals, on the one one hand, a certain measure of freedom without sepa-ration, and, on the other, a certain unity without dea-potism through a period of transition. The value of the Federal System is strictly relative, conditioned by external relations, and all Federal States have, from the day of their union, within themselves, the necessity either of being converted into a Unitarian State, or crumbling again anunder; then to see the severed parts become different States, or swallowed up by adjoining States. To explain this, we subjoin the following reflec-

First. In order to put our position to the theoretica proof, let us abstract from all historical complications fancy away all existing State-formations, and suppose the case that in some territory,—for instance, the pres ent United States of North America,-a politicia ent United States of North America,—a politician should have to form a State from entirely new elements, out of a people recently immigrated, hence without regard to existing conditions, divisions, traditions and separate interests. Would it occur to him to cause that new State first to spring up in different, sovereign little States, in order to combine these different State individuals into a federal State at a later itime 1 Surely not. On the contrary, he would first establish the outlines of the whole State as he would the outer walls of a house, and then articulate it into the outer walls of a house, and then articulate it into divisions and sub-divisions,—say provinces, counties and townships. But for what purpose! Not in order to form independent organisms of these several limbs, but in order to make, by means of such articulation, the good order and administration of the whole practically possible, and to assign to each single part its proper place and function in the general organism; that is, from mere repard for the State mechanism. So he would not establish the State New York, the State ne would not establish the State New York, the State Pennsylvania, &c., but at most the province New York, the province Pennsylvania, &c. He would think he heard the spirit of discord or narrowness speaking, if somebody should advise him to divide the people that trusted him with the formula. trusted him with the formation of its new polity, into different nations, calling themselves New Yorkers Pennsylvanians, &c. He would say: We have com

Pennsylvanians, &c. He would say: We nave come over as one people, we must also form one State.

One might oppose to this abstraction, that the States do not arise at once, as realized theories or ideals, but gradually, as products of historical conjunctures. This is quite correct, but it is no less correct that the further development of these products of history should always adhere to the original idea, theory, reason, and strive for its realization. Theory, then, will always remain right; and what its standard, the standard of remain right; and what its standard, must reject, will not have duration in his-tory; hence cannot be set up as normal. States are no more rational from the outset than men; reason, tory; hence cannot be set up are no more rational from the outset than men; are no more rational from the outset than men; nevertheless, we demand of every man that he should try to approximate that ideal of man should try to approximate that ideal of man handless and imperfection as which reason shows up to him; and it does not oc-cur to us to regard his rudeness and imperfection as his destination, because it exists as the product of his education, (or history.) Shall we, then, put the de-mand of reason only to the individual, but recommend the irrationality of an accidental situation as a stand-ard to a society of men?

Let us now consider how far the abstraction set forth by we find it is instifferation in history.

Let us now consider now are the assistation set forth by us finds its justification in history.

The original States, as might be supposed, were all of them small, being formed by the union of a few persons or families at first, in the shape of a commune, by whose narrow circuit everybody was always ena-bled to share in the actions of the whole. Most of ted into stronger tribes, or by conquerors. Oth-however, mostly favored by geographical situarors. But the isolated position of such can never be maintained but for a certain time. They will soon be threatened by more power In the legishors, and then feel the necessity of external alliances. It was thus that the system of federation area. History also points out, in the first place, that one with the subject of the place ful neighbors, and then feel the necessity of externo inces. It was thus that the system of feder

pens that the greater had at first is so k ment of the State. If the single States are sovereign, they will hinder an internal deep in conformity with general principles; but if sufficiently dependent on the federal governme will lose their object as single States. That diction must, somer or later, produce either lute centralization,—hence an abandonment or viduality of the single States;—or a secessic latter from the Union;—and hence in the or as in the other, an annihilation of the federal in the control of the federal o

The future of the federative system may already foreseen from the symptoms in Switzerland and No America. In Switzerland, before the inauguration the new federal Constitution, the cantons were so reign as far as possible. That cantonal sovereign had always proved, in external as well as internal fairs, the most stubborn obstacle to the promotion the general interests. It was the means of security when and where it seemed expedient, harassing to or duties, a troublesome difference of coins, religiquarrels, traitorous machinations with foreign pers antiquated principles.—In short, the research quarrels, trailorous machinations with foreign powers, antiquated injustice,—in short, the preservation
of every kind of irrationality and local or class egoism. While one canton was making judicious laws,
the next canton prided itself on the conservation of
mediaval barbarities; while one was building fine
roads, the next one left them quite impassable; while
one suppressed the rule of priestcraft, it was the more
firmly established in the next adjoining. Thus progress in one section was always interrupted or checked by reaction in the other. At length, it was seen
that these cvils could not be removed without a
stronger centralization. So the powerless "Vorort"
(foreplace,—that is, the alternately leading city or
canton) was replaced by the Federal Council, which,
no longer a single canton, dares resist in the principal canton) was replaced by the Federal Council, which, no longer a single canton, dares resist in the principal affairs of the general administration, among whose prerogalities are the management of the general post, ax and police departments, &c., and whose power must necessarily grow larger and larger, unless abolished again by a revolution, and consequent drill war between the cantons. But if the single cantons, not only for the sake of the whole, but for their own sake, only for the sake of the whole, but for their own sake, are constrained to surrender the most important political powers, the question forces itself upon us, why they should any longer act the part of distinct States! In North America, the development of things must take the same course. Here, the Central Power would long ago have obtained a more controlling influence, and the necessity of greater centralization would have been more keenly felt, if the Union was not almost expent from the first of foreign accession. been more keenly felt, if the Union was not almost exempt from the fear of foreign aggression, when a more extensive power of the general government over the general forces ard means would become indispensable. That necessity, however, which no foreign enemy could impress upon the people, will be inculcated by the enemy within. The slave question merely will suffice gradually to induce the necessity of a compulsory central power, or a dissolution of the Union. Do we not, therefore, see, on frequent occasions, the central government in the alternative of either looking on powerless at the reckless doings of single States, (for instance, of the Secessionists in the South,) or contemplating an expansion of its power, (as was the case with Mr. Fillmore's attempt to get the two millions of militia soldiers at his disposal for the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law?

We admit that in the Vent

We admit that, in the North American Union, the "Model Republic," the sovergignty of the single States serves as a bulwark against the encroachments of the Central Power; but it is simultaneously the perpetua Central Power; but it is simulaneously ine perpetual source of jealousy, and the conservator of evils which must ruin the best republic. Without the sovereignty of the single States, slavery would have been abolished long ago, and the slaveholders would not rule the republic. The preservation of the Union would not be the eternal care or pretext to which politicians sectifies all principles and progress; the needest of sacrifice all principles and progress; the neglect of "internal improvements," the betterment of rivers and harbors, building of roads, &c., would have be-come a "democratic" expedient, to preserve the adcome a "democratic" expedient, to preserve the administration from undemocratic application of the pullic funds; the bill for the donation of the nations lands to actual settlers would have been long ago made a national law; the government of the country, which, at present, requires the expenses for thirty-flive Legislatures besides the Central Government, would members of Congress in economical questions; the general rights would have been secured everywhere; while now, for instance in the Southern States, there is neither freedom of the press, nor security of peris neutrar freedom of the press, hor security to per-sons, as far as manifestations against the institution o slavery are concerned. In short, in North America still more than in Switzerland, the dualism of the Union and the single States is the sheet-anchor o wrong and the brake of progress; and we see here power, or of strengthening the central for the carrying out of general measures.

But if the confederacy is seen more and n tend towards centralization, it is not to be con

GROWTH OF INTEREST IN THE CAUSE.

those already convinced of all the truths he uttered it and our Mr. Furness, too, in Philadelphia—have I not heard him breathe out his earnest pleadings in the cause of liberty, and relief to the oppressed, to empty seats and bare walls, because ears polite could not brook 'anti-slavery preaching'!

How have I longed to have the men and women in the chief places of the earth, and all even in the highways and hedges, compelled to come in, that they might partake of even more than a wedding feast! But the day has come when these things are cared for. The people are awake and astir to hear the truth for themselves. The tide cannot now be rolled back, whatever may come of it. If the nation be split and shivered between the rock and the whirlpool, Truth and Righteousness must outride the storm."

From Weldon's London Register of Facts and Oc

# WENDELL PHILLIPS, THE ABOLITIONIST

ORATOR.

The present days are joyful times of triumph for American Abolitionists; a great revolution is accomplishing itself on the American continent. The cotton States have sees led from the great Republic, avowedly because the Northern people are at length leavened with a slight leaven of anti-slavery principles. President Buchanan, in tracing the cause of this revolution to its source, fixes it in that obscure printing office in a back attic of a house in some purifier of the city of Boston, whence, thirty years ago. William Lloyd Garrison issued the early numbers of the Liberator. It is not often that he who emits the ideas which afterwards become the parents of revolutions, is permitted to witness their realization. The Rousseau, the Montesquieu, the Voltaire, who produced the change in opinion which afterwards led to the re-organization of institutions, died while the old regime was still externally unimpaired. In America, however, the connexion between the idea and the actual is more intimate than in Europe; and it has been vouchsafed to the early champion of the Afric-American slave to witness the growth of the grain of mustard-seed which he planted, into a mighty over-shadowing tree. A few words on the American Abolitionists, and the relations they bear to the society in which they live, will not be inopportune at a moment when the fruits of their handlowork have suddenly become so apparent on the face of public events.

Europe is familiar with that form of heroism which, ORATOR.

ciety in which they live, will not be inopportune at a moment when the fruits of their handwork have suddenly become so apparent on the face of public events.

Europe is familiar with that form of heroism which, stimulated and cheered by the strong sympathy of masses of one's fellow-countrymen, counts the dungeon or the scaffold, and all the punishment which despotic or objarchic power can inflict. She is less familiar with that other and almost opposite phase of heroism which, in the name of justice and humanity, boldly opposes itself to the most deep-seated passions and prejudices, and the vested interests, of one's own fellow-culzens, in behalf of a degraded and uterly alien race, who know nothing of what their champions are suffering in their cause. The first marks the patriot, the second the humanitarian. Kossuth and Garibaldi are illustrious examples furnished by the present generation to the long roll of historic patriots; William Lloyd Garrison, the chief of the American Abolitionsts, is perhaps the most conspicuous living type of the humanitarian milliant. Age is stealing over the intrepid old man (1) now. He gradually retires into the background, while the vigorous form and somorous voice of a younger but middle-aged man, Mr. Wendell Phillips, is seen and heard in the foreground of the Abolition phalanx. The honorary leadership remains, and, during his lifetime, will ever remain, with Mr. Garrison; but the acting leadership is now transferred to the gentleman whose name heads this article.

Mr. Phillips is a scion of an old Boston family of Purian stock. He inherited from his father a sofficient amount of property to render him independent. He was educated at Harvard College, the foremost institution of the kind in America, and afterwards mastered the law. But he was not destined to give up to the management of private interests talents so admirably adapted for the discussion of public affairs. In 1837, some outrage on the right of free speech committed by the municipal authorities of Boston against a threw himself into the breach, in defence of the unpopular minority, and soon became a convert to their
doctrines. Since then, trenty-four "years of public odium," to which he alludes with sardonic pride,
have been his lot. He has drunk deeply of the bitter cup which is ever pressed to the lips of the advanced Reformer who will make no compromises.
Many a time has he faced a howling mob in Boston,
in New York, in Philadelphia. It is a fine sight to
see him conduct an unbroken chain of argument in
the face of a running fire of insults and interruptions, hurled at him by half the audience. His eye
never qualls before the angry multitude. His powerful, penetrating, well-modulated voice never grows tions, hurled at him by half the audience. His eye never qualls before the angry multitude. His power ful, penetrating, well-modulated voice never grows husky with emotion. Epigram follows epigram; never does his bright intellect shine more brillantly. Stinging, trenchant, unsparing, defiant, scornful, Wendell Phillips is the very orator for a storm. In fine weather you would say, he was not sufficiently soft, sunny, and genial. How different his compressed and bitterly satirical sentences from the rounded periods of Mr. Seward, who obstinately refuses to see anything but the bright side of things, or from the finished artistic rhotoric of the patriotic Mr. Everett. Yet. Seward, who obstinately refuses to see anything but the bright side of things, or from the finished artistic rhotoric of the patriotic Mr. Everett. Yet. Seward, Everett, and Phillips are the most highly esteemed public speakers in America; and of the three, in the opinion of many competent judges, the Abolitionis is untilled to the palm of superiority. He certainly has the finest voice. In the matter of his speeches, stere is some thing which reminds you of Disraeli, with much that recalls the bluff humor of the Latter Day Pamphiet. His wealth of illustration, drawn alike from physical science and the literature of many ages and languages, is Emersonian in its copiousness, and more than Emersonian in its readiness.

If you wish to see an iconoclast, here is one who has made image-breaking a profession. "We are nothing if not critical," has been his motto. No sooner does a free soil politician acquire popularity with the people of New England and New York, than Wendell Phillips sets to work to expose the slender basis of anti-slavery principle on which the popular favorite stands. In this way, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. Horace Mann and Edward Everett, William H. Seward and Governor Banks, Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond, Judge Mr. Lan and Abraham Lincoln, have in turn been publicly weighed in his balance of abstract principles, and, of c

(1) "Touch us gently, Time!" Mr. Andre is laboring under a misapprehension in regard to the age of the parties here described. The difference between 55 and 49 years is not a very spec one... [26]. ERREATOR.

ment of the present troubles,—he had to be guarded on the platform by friends armed with revolvers. He was escorted home by the same friends and a strong posse of police, amidst the hootings of a mob literally eager to tear him to pieces, and it was found necessary to protect his house from attack for several days afterwards.

Let the eatholic liberality of the opinions of this remarkable man make amends for an occasional excessive virulence in dealing with his antagonists. Mr. Douglas, representing the dominant sentiment of the American people, lays it down as a cardinal article of faith, that North America and the American Republic were made for white men, for the European race only, and that the words of the Declaration of Independence, "all men are born free and equal," were used with reference to white men only; for, he argues, it is impossible that a convention which numbered so many slave-owners could have intended to mean literally that all men are entitled to equal rights, when, after having made this declaration, they continued to hold numbers of their fellowcreatures in bondage. Wendell Phillips would be the last to dispute the logic of this reasoning, as a piece of historical criticism; but his theory of what is the true destiny of the American continent is very different from that of Judge Douglas. He welcomes all races to America; the African, the Asiatie, the Red man, the Polynesian, are to him all welcome contingents. He is willing to treat with all on a footing of equality, to give to one and all liberty of development, to allow each race to retain its individuality so long as it desires to do so; believing that in this way the temple of American civilization will be reared on a grander plan than if founded on the principle of the dominancy of the white race. This is the last dogma of American democracy, and to Mr. Phillips belongs the honor of having formularized it. The colored and mixed races in whose behalf he speaks know nothing yet either of the cause or the advocate, but the time will co

of the pioneer who laid the first foundations of their freedom.

Although Mr. Phillips is best known as an Abolitionist leader, he has taken a part in other public movements. He is a warm friend of the cause of Temperance, and is also a prominent champion of the Women's Rights movement, for sex with him is no more a good reason for civil disabilities than color. Like a preux cheedier, he has waged many a battle in behalf of the ladies who head this movement in America; for the same city rabble who would turn an anti-slavery meeting out of doors, are always at hand to hiss down and insult with rude outcries the courageous, yet tender and cultivated women who venture upon the rostrum to plead for their sex's equality before the law.

P. F. Andre.

### WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WENDELL PHILILIPS.

Wendell Phillips has made another of his peculiar orations in Boston on "The Hour."

He goes into Seward, with what somebody has happily called a vengeance; he salutes South Carolina with the kiss of fraternity; he makes a mock of this well-meaning Union, or the remaining fragment of it; and utters the usual number of abstract truths. Phillips takes premises which we all grant to be true, and weaves upon them an enchantment of logic from which there is no escape.

He talks altogether too finally. Those simple, brief sentences of which his speeches are made up, form him a coat of mail, so cunningly and closely wrought, that no lance can pierce it. He says:—

"Disumion is Abolitionism. That is all I care for it.

"Disunion is Abolitionism. That is all I care for it. I care not for forms of government, but for its essence. The music of disunion to me is, that at its touch the slave breaks forth in jubilee. Disunion leaves God's natural laws to work out their own solution. Insurrection is the tyrant's check. Let us stand out of God's way, and his divine laws will have free course."

You are hurried along by reasoning like this, and cannot make a ready answer. The more you consider it, the more mercilesely logical it appears. It strikes deep, and pervades the ideas which you have cherished. Put in other words, the argument is this: Liberty is the essence of our government. When our government is no longer animated by liberty, it is time that the dead corruption of its forms should be swent away.

be swept away.

Wendell Phillips is thus the subtlest and stubb

be swept away.

Wendell Phillips is thus the subtlest and stubbornest fact of the time. He cannot be denounced without denouncing the principle of liberty, which he represents in its absolute form. He cannot be approved without the adoption of the anarchical idea.

Altogether, the best way is not to meet him at all, but always to go round him.

He is shrewd, practical, direct, and yet he constantly reverts to the primal truths of his inspiration, as the nation did in the beginning. His culture is deep and generous, and all his knowledge close at hand for instant use. As an orator he is unsurpassed; his eloquence has a diamond glitter. For the present generation, he is a most dangerous agitator.—Ohio State Journal.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE BALTIMORE CON-FERENCE.

3. Anything in the Discipline that would justify an administrator in arraigning a slaveholder? Ansecr—No.

4. Is there any process authorized in the Discipline by which a member can be brought to trial who holds slaves for gain? Ansecr—I know of no such process.

5. In the New Chapter to be regarded as containing the doctrine and belief of our church on slavery? Ansecr—The Chapter contains an admonition, and from its position in the Discipline claims to be regarded as expressing the doctrine of the church on slavery.

6. Is not every man a sinner against God, and the laws of nature, and the procepts of the Bible, who holds a slave in the sense of the New Chapter? Ansecr—He is, in the sense of the Discipline, whatever that sense is.

7. Is it not, under the Discipline, the duty of every member of the church to engage in active efforts for the abolition of slavery? Ansecr—Not more under the present than under the former Discipline.

tations of doctrine by our Certainly not. Ha

10. Does not the action of the General Coate, care relate to alavery as it exists in the territory nor embraced in this Conference? Ansect 1 as as aware that it does.

last General Conference, addressed the Co-carnestly against precipitate action. He is wish to accept and adopt the Memorial which sever the Baltimore Conference from the old-dist Episcopal Church. He spoke with gre-ing. Norval Wilson followed on the other is demounced the New Chapter, and opposed for with the Northern Conferences. The New O is a rod over our heads. The literature of the The Baltimore Conference mass, week and maintained that the Charles week and maintained that the Charles Could stand it, as a Charles Charles

the undivided church.

On the third day the subject was resumed Ber.

J. W. Bull propounded the following question to the Episcopal Chair:—"Does not the aguestion of the last ter, relate to slavery as existing in the Meebate Episcopal Church?"

Answer, by Bishop Scott—"I am not sue that understand the question. The action of the list General Conference relates, I suppose, to share a popularly understand the cuestion. The action of the list General Conference relates, I suppose, to share a popularly understand the exist in the M. E. Chech that the New Chapter assumes that slaver, a defined in that Chapter, does not exist at all in the M. E. Church."

Rev. A. W. Wilson addressed the following question to the Chair:—"Has the Presiding Bislop is thority to ordain any local or traveling preacher he says he cannot subscribe to all the doctmen of the church?"

Answer—"The Presiding Bislop must called the church."

ays be cannot subscribe to all the doctrine of the church?"

Ansicer—"The Presiding Bishop must ordin all who are duly elected, and who take upon themshe the ordination vows of the ordination service.

Rev. Elisha P. Phelps opposed secssion. He sid not feel compelled by the church to circulate anislavery matter. He would not vote for withdrawl, because, therefore, the people would give the mineral single states. His salary would not influence his yote. Father Griffith spoke again, wrang the the Chapter is not law, and they must ask for in peal. The Conference must not tear away from in mother.

sus vote. Father Griffith spoke again, urgue the Chapter is not law, and they must ask for us, peal. The Conference must not tear aray from in mother.

At 11 o'clock Saturday, the subject was resmed. Mr. Gilbert spoke, claiming that the Chapter without doubt pronounced slavery wrong, but slave; yright, therefore they should separate from thee with "teach other doctrines." W. O. Lumsden is all by the Baltimore Advocate to have made a speet, apostrophising the American Eagle and opposing immediate separation; but Foushee Tebbs said a who wish to hug the General Conference with bing Abolitionism, of which it is the embodiment.

On Monday, the fifth day, the subject was resmed at 10 o'clock. George W. Israel made a strange sid a strong speech. His positions were that the Bulmore Conference, and any other repudinting the New Chapter, are the only true M. E. Clurch. The act of the last General Conference was broaden at 10 orchorence, and any other repudinting the New Chapter, are the only true M. E. Clurch. The act of the last General Conference has no power to change the doctrines. He believed the non-careying Conferences to be the M. E. Church providence, and the subject was resonable to the subject that the word of God does condemn the mere bedding of slaves. He believed also that all slavebolden in the church are censured by the Chapter. Manage slabon followed with a speech, thing the sa

### BALTIMORE CONFERENCE LAYMEN'S CON-VENTION.

VENTION.

A Laymen's Convention was held at Steamtra, Va., at the same time with the Baltimore Conference. It was composed of delegates of Quaterly Conference, elected generally to oppose the New Chapter in the Discipline, and to exert an influence upon the Conference. It met in the lecture-room, while the Conference met in the audience-room of the church. J. Corson, Esq., presided, Dr. Morman was Vice President, and J. A. Morgan, Scertary. Mr. Grant, of Severn, Md., moved the following:—

"Resolved, That whether the action of the reen General Conference, commonly known as the Net Chapter," he regarded as masolicited advice or a authorized mandate, we, in the name of the membrahip of our Conference, without any reservation, is unanimously, distinctly, and utterly repudiate it."

ship of our Conference, without any reservance, unanimously, distinctly, and utterly repudiate it.

Mr. Davis, of Washington City, objected, unlessomething was substituted. The Discipline mat feapprove shavery. The resolution was regarded a premature, tabled, and a Business Committee of promitted. A motion was discussed to request as Conference to appoint a Committee to meet with Committee of this body, but it was tabled. Or Thursday the Convention met in the Baptist Chard, and in the afternoon their Business Committee and a report, and the minority of the Committee aim and the afternoon their Business Committee aim made a report, and the minority of the Committee aim made a report.

The Majority Report condemns the Baffaloxist, requests the Baltimore Conference to exercise at the poscers of the Methodist Episcopal Clark, to small the present connection, and advises other Border Conference to follow. The Minority Report disappear the New Chapter, prefers the Old Chapter, asis fan extra General Conference to repeal the New Chapter, and make provisions against any fatter change. The Convention sat four days, and faste change. The Convention sat four days, and fast a Memorial to the Baltimore Conference was saled of which the following is the substance:

"Whereas, the late General Conference which is sembled at Buffalo substituted, without people is at hority, an entirely New Chapter on the start slaveholding, making, in the opinion of many of people, a new rule of doctrine, namely: That improve the sain, contrary to the first restrictive rule, anthoris is a sin, contrary to the first restrictive rule, and the people applied in the people against the preaches of curried the people against the preachers of our Conference, they endorse or submit to it."

They endorse or submit to it."

Following the above are four resolution. If first declares that the General Conference by its tion sundered the Baltimore Conference from the church. The second declares that the General Conference windsted the first Restrictire Rule, and the ference violated the first Restrictire Rule, and the ference violated the first Restrictire Rule, and thus the Baltimore Conference and other agrees, with it are now the only M. E. Charch. The lift says that, nevertheless, if the Annual Conference berr 14., 1861, and undo all they have done, so for love ber 14., 1861, and undo all they have done, as for a fair share of the periodicals under the during the mention of the periodicals under the during them, will we reunite with them." The forther them, will we reunite with them." The forther lution simply appoints a Committee to conference.

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