

TERMS—Two dollars, fifty cents per annum, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for ten dollars, if payment be made in advance.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 17.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SLAVERY A SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND MORAL BLESSING.

There was a time when not a few of the wisest and best men in Virginia concurred in the opinion that negro slavery was an evil, and an incubus upon the interests of the State, when, perhaps, if possible, some immediate means of emancipation would have been eagerly embraced by some of the ablest spirits in our councils.

With Virginia, domestic slavery is not a question of expediency. She goes down deeper into the argument than that. She has addressed herself to the institution on much higher grounds.

PRO-SLAVERY CATHOLICISM.

The Boston Pilot, in its issue of the 4th inst., closes an article on the United States Judiciary as follows:—It is impossible, within our necessarily restricted space, to do full justice to the importance of the national judiciary as an institution, and we shall be satisfied if we have, even to a slight degree, shown its claims to the confidence of the country.

WHO ARE OUR NEIGHBORS.

The Pro-slavery gospel is thus illustrated by the Washington Union, grand organ of the Administration:—Who are those neighbors who are commended to love as ourselves? It is those who partake in our blood and lineage, in whose welfare and property we are joint-partners, who equally contribute their treasure to the support and their blood to the defense of the State, and who are in the daily exchange of benefits with us?

VIRGINIA TAKING THE ALARM.

Just as we expected, Gov. Wise has heard of Mr. Thayer's project for colonizing Virginia with free laborers, and his organs have sounded the alarm. The Richmond Enquirer speaks:—If Dinwiddie, Accomac and Southampton are the elected localities of Mr. Eli Thayer, they have doubtless conceived the plot, but they have not the boldness to attempt execution.

The Richmond Whig is also incredulous, but equally pointed:—As it will probably gratify the curiosity of our readers, we spread before them in conspicuous position to-day, the grand scheme of the Hon. Eli Thayer and the New York Herald, for colonizing and Abolitionizing Virginia by the introduction of a horde of Northern Yankees.

The new paper of Mr. Fryer, The South, treats the matter in a similar strain, and it is evident that the North American Home-aid Company must seek another field for their operations.

SELECTIONS.

LETTER FROM HON. ELI THAYER.

Worcester, Mass., March 12.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your lucid and able analysis of the plans and purposes of the North American Home-aid Company, as given in the Herald of February 23rd and March 10th.

We shall abide by the laws, State and national. We shall adhere with wonderful tenacity to the Constitution and the Union. We shall purchase large tracts of land at Slave State prices; shall give way to actual settlers about one-fourth; shall sell about one-fourth at cost, and the remainder at free State prices—thus probably doubling our money on the speculation.

There is no chance for such speculation except in slave States, and even in them only in proportion to the extent of slavery. For example: There will be no inducement for us to buy land in Hancock, Brooks, Marshall or Ohio counties, in Western Virginia, for in those counties it is worth from \$20 to \$27 per acre.

Missouri, also, has sent a delegation for the purpose of securing a colony of one hundred Yankees to build a town upon a good landing on the Missouri River. These applicants, together with the tone of a large portion of the Southern press, make it manifest that the proposed movement will be admirably sustained, and our colonists treated with kindness and respect.

We have been charged with participating in the Slave Trade, contrary to law, for 'filthy lucre.' If this be so, we should probably participate in making Slave States free for the same 'filthy lucre.'

There is not a kidnapper in the country who will not quit his business of catching negroes in Africa for the open market, when it shall have been demonstrated that he can make ten per cent. more in making Virginia a free State.

The men are no such bigots in their profession as to adhere to it when a lucrative business, protected by law, can be had in exchange for a hazardous, illegal and less profitable traffic.

There is no us, then, in talking about hanging or shooting our colonists, or the members of our company. If half of us were hung or shot, the rest would press on unimpeded, with the shining dollars, even though they should rust.

Into the jaws of death, Into the mouth of hell, Like the "six hundred."

Every day accumulating. It is seen in the letters of sympathy from the slave States, and in the numerous applications of colonists from the free, and more than all, in the readiness of capitalists to invest in the stock of the company. This, however, has not unaccountably, millions of acres of Virginia land, owned by the merchants and lawyers of New York and Philadelphia, will be made available, at a profit to the present owners, who have heretofore despaired of selling it at any price.

Dr. Dewey, so far as anti-slavery discussions were concerned, has always been regarded as the most cautious and prudent of men. When a great excitement arose upon the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, he apologized in his lectures before Lyceum for that barbarous enactment.

Dr. Dewey, in doing so, he may have been deceived, and he may have been frightened out of all philosophy and out of all genuine philanthropy. We do not propose to say whether in our opinion he was in the right or in the wrong; but we do declare that there had been nothing in his course, nothing in his doctrines, nothing in his public ministrations, which should not have led the most bigoted slaveholder to regard his remonstrance with the utmost respect.

The manner in which Dr. Dewey's address was received, afforded another and an unique instance of the manner in which men who cooperate in the defence of a bad cause. No sooner was the Doctor's oration sent from the press, than a ready writer in Charleston was commissioned to assault him.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE IN THE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

Your committee submit, that so far as they are able to comprehend the force and effect of said decision, it, among other things, nationalizes Slavery; annihilates the heretofore conceded right of the free States to prohibit the institution; asserts that there is no power in Congress or the people of the United States, or of the Territories, to exclude slavery; sanctions the monstrous proposition that man can hold property in man; shuts the courts of justice to hundreds of thousands of native-born citizens; assumes that the black man has no civil rights; and dooms every foot of soil to the curse of Slavery, and that irrevocably.

Such is now declared, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, to be the mission of the Constitution of the United States.

It is, however, in the history of the world, Verres was content to lay waste a few insignificant provinces; this decision deals with a nation, yea, an entire race.

It imbrutes and dehumanizes the race, and with a sublime touch of Vandalism, it ruthlessly stripes human beings of rights God-given, and hands them over to be devoured by human beasts of prey.

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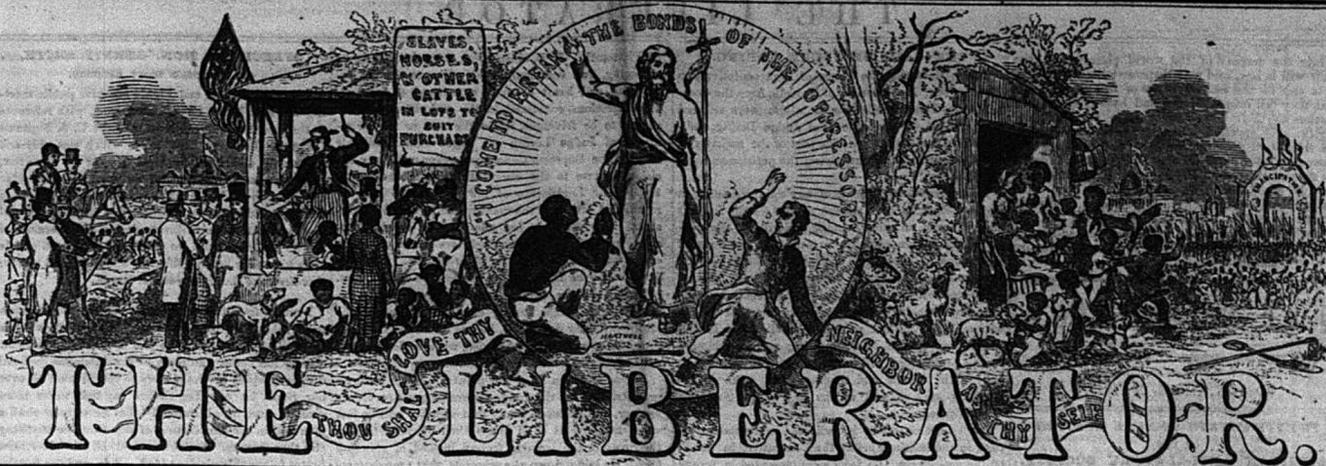
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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. There is some excuse for communism, when, under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men of unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our FATHERS, FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that we can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1372.

IMMORALITY OF THE DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP ON ACCOUNT OF COLOR.

The Supreme Judicial Court has no more power or right to affirm or enact a disability concerning negroes, than it has concerning Chinese, or Dutchmen, or Italians, or Japanese, or Malays. The constitution has no article or phrase, that either by letter or implication brings, or can be construed to bring, any race under its power for oppression, or limits the question of the right of freedom. The affirmation of such power by the Supreme Court is as groundless and absolute a forgery and lie against humanity and justice, as if they had interpreted, from concession of the power of government over the territories, the right and power to sell and convey to the Cham of Tartary all persons born in said territories with red hair, all with blue eyes.

Bill to prevent slaveholding in Ohio. Sec. 1 Provides that any person attempting to hold another as a slave, directly or indirectly, shall be fined and imprisoned. Sec. 2 Provides that if any person shall seize or arrest, or use any force or fraud for the purpose of detaining any other person, upon pretence that such person is a fugitive from service, shall be punished by fine and imprisonment.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE IN THE OHIO LEGISLATURE. The action of the Legislature of this State, in regard to the Dred Scott case, will attract the attention of our readers. The committee speak brave words and true, and their action, in regard to the recently-attempted usurpations of the Supreme Court, is well, so far as it goes; but it falls altogether short of measures necessary to successful resistance.

It becomes us then, as citizens of Ohio, calmly yet firmly to take our position, and abide the consequences. If we ride out the storm, well; if we go down, better thus than tame submission to such unconstitutional wrongs. Three times—once by the ordinance of '87, once by the Constitution of A. D. 1802, and once by our present Constitution—has the territory of our State been forever consecrated to freedom. Now, however, we learn that those instruments were a cheat, a delusion, and a mere rope of sand.

Sternly to the South and their Northern abettors, we say in all kindness, that it will take more than one decision fluninated by a Jesuitical Catholic Judge, to conquer a free Protestant people. We may be deprived of the ability and power to prevent the clanking of the bondsmen's chains about our shores, our houses and our fires; but thank God, no human power can prevent our dying in the attempt. We may be unable to protect thousands of our own citizens in the enjoyment of their civil rights, but long, fierce, and desperate will be the struggle before we yield the point. We have now seen every department of the General Government subsidized to the support, spread, maintenance, and eternalization of slavery. In this mad career against our dearest, most sacred and most cherished rights, we have interposed our most earnest remonstrances, and uttered our most solemn warnings. All unheeded and uncared for, have been that remonstrance and that warning.

WHERE LIES THE GUILTY. Rev. Dr. Cheever says:—If the Church and the ministry had spoken and acted according to the light and power given to them for God's world's good, then the mountain waves of this iniquity [slavery] had not rolled over us.

ely do this themselves, but teach and require...

We speak for God, not for party; at his command...

While the despots of the world plainly say that their will is law...

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, APRIL 24, 1857.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will commence in the CITY ASSEMBLY ROOMS...

The Society will meet at the same place on TUESDAY EVENING, at 7 1/2 o'clock, admittance 10 cts., and again on WEDNESDAY, at 10 A.M. and 3 P.M., admittance free.

It is much to be desired that the friends of the Society should come together in large numbers...

We reiterate our former declaration, that the object of the Society is not merely to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba...

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Secretary.

COLORED CITIZENSHIP.

In the Senate of Massachusetts, last week, Hon. O. W. Albee, as Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations...

Whereas, the State Department of the United States has refused passports to colored citizens...

Yearly Committee respectfully recommend the passage of the accompanying Act.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Sec. 1. The Secretary of State is hereby authorized to issue to any citizen of this Commonwealth who may apply for the same, a passport or certificate under the seal of the Commonwealth...

CONCLUSIVE TESTIMONY.

That the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is beyond all defence or palliation is seen in the fact, that Orestes A. Brownson, in his Catholic Quarterly Review...

We have no more disposition to interfere with slavery where it legally exists than have our Southern friends...

THE CASE OF JUDGE LORING.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Monday last, Mr. Merrick, of Norfolk, from the Committee on Federal Relations...

This report is as destitute of any solid reasoning as Judge Loring is of a decent respect for the feelings and wishes of an overwhelming majority of the people...

Its evasive character is indicated in the statement, that, in the hearings before the Committee, in behalf of the petitioners, no facts were presented in regard to the official conduct of Mr. Loring...

Although the State did consider him notified by the spirit of liberty in her Constitution, and by her legislative acts and resolves, yet at the suggestion of the Judge himself, strengthened by the additional suggestions of Gov. Gardner...

Two years and a month afterwards, Judge Loring is found to have reversed his position, and to have become a defier of law, and to have set at naught his own advice and repudiated his own principles.

To sustain this charge against the Judge, lengthy extracts are given from his two protests, and these are followed by comments.

Second—Because he prejudged the case of Anthony Burns, and drew the bill of sale of the man before he had publicly declared him to be a chattel.

Third—Because, whilst holding the office of Judge of Probate under the commission of Massachusetts, in defiance of the spirit of the Massachusetts law of 1845, he made a man a slave on the soil of Massachusetts.

Fourth—Because, setting aside the usual practice of Courts in Massachusetts, he suffered the alleged slave to sit unmanacled in open court.

Fifth—Because he permitted the claimant of Anthony Burns to change the ground of his claim, when he had failed to substantiate his claim on his first position.

Sixth—Because, disregarding the ordinary and established rules of evidence, he decided Anthony Burns to be a slave, which decision, in the words of Mr. Dana, was wrong on the law and the facts before him.

Seventh—Because, in consequence of having done these things, he has lost the confidence of the people of this Commonwealth, as is shown from the thousands who petitioned for his removal in 1855...

And finally and more especially—Eighth—Because, in defiance of the provisions contained in Sec. 13 of Chap. 489 of the Acts of 1855, Edward Greely Loring continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate...

The undersigned further recommend, that a Joint Special Committee, consisting of two on the part of the Senate and five on the part of the House, be appointed to present said Address to His Excellency HENRY J. GARDNER.

of Plymouth. It is clear, lucid, unanswerable in its reasoning, and commands itself alike to the understanding and heart of every true friend of freedom.

Notice is taken of a few points in Judge Loring's protest, and declared that 'that security will be lost when magistrates shall shape their official action by their own or the popular feeling, instead of standing laws.'

From such language, the fair inference is, that if Judge Loring had been notified that the two offices were incompatible, he would have obeyed the notification.

Address to His Excellency HENRY J. GARDNER, GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The two branches of the Legislature, in General Court assembled, respectfully request that your Excellency would be pleased, by and with the advice of the Council, to remove Edward Greely Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk...

First—Because he consented to sit as United States Slave Commissioner, in defiance of the moral sentiments of Massachusetts, as expressed in the Legislative Resolutions of 1855.

Second—Because he prejudged the case of Anthony Burns, and drew the bill of sale of the man before he had publicly declared him to be a chattel.

Third—Because, whilst holding the office of Judge of Probate under the commission of Massachusetts, in defiance of the spirit of the Massachusetts law of 1845, he made a man a slave on the soil of Massachusetts.

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And finally and more especially—Eighth—Because, in defiance of the provisions contained in Sec. 13 of Chap. 489 of the Acts of 1855, Edward Greely Loring continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate...

The undersigned further recommend, that a Joint Special Committee, consisting of two on the part of the Senate and five on the part of the House, be appointed to present said Address to His Excellency HENRY J. GARDNER.

Let us have the year and nays on these two reports. Let us know who, of the Senators and Representatives, are disposed to give 'aid and comfort' to the enemies of constitutional freedom, and to condemn the wishes of the people of Massachusetts.

Let us believe that this Republican Legislature (with scarcely a Whig or a Democrat in it on the old party issues) will be so besotted or so cowardly as to adopt the majority report; and yet, in its sanguinary repeal of the law allowing one year to intervene before the infliction of the murderous death penalty—in its sneaking treatment of the political rights of the women of the Commonwealth—in its want of spirit, such as the times demand, in view of the insupportable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and the avowed purpose of the slave oligarchy to make slavery lawful in every part of the country—woe be little ground of encouragement.

Already, the Daily Advertiser, the Journal, the Transcript, &c., are all still more or less controlled by a local aristocratic influence, and exerting themselves to secure the adoption of this report, that this may be put at rest the useless agitation of a subject altogether foreign to the legitimate business of legislation!

Let this city influence be promptly met by a commanding expression on the part of the country towns! Let the constituent keep a sharp eye upon his representative, and nerve him up (if necessary) to the performance of his duty! Let not ruffian Carolina exult over humbled Massachusetts! If we cannot save our dear native State to freedom, what else in the land can be saved? If we are too cowardly to vindicate our own rights, how shall we deliver those who are spelt out of the hand of the oppressor?

Gray Plymouth Rock hath yet a tongue, and Concord is not dumb. And voices from our fathers' graves, and from the future come; They call on us to stand our ground—they charge us still to be Not only free from chains ourselves, but foremost to make free!

RHODE ISLAND.

Our Rhode Island friends will notice the Call for their Annual Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held in the city of Providence on Saturday evening and Sunday next. At this eventful time, no friend of freedom should withhold the aid of his presence and co-operation.

Significant. The Memphis Eagle and Inquirer says it is informed by a slaveholder of Tishemago county, Miss., that there are many persons in that county who are avowed anti-slavery men, and that some of them are in the habit of declaring that they are for a dissolution of the Union.

SPEECH OF HON. GERRIT SMITH, ON THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Last week a large and highly effective public meeting was held in the Capitol at Albany, with reference to the recent tyrannical decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, which was ably and eloquently addressed by Hon. HENRY B. STANTON, Gen. N.Y., and Hon. GERRIT SMITH. Below we give that portion of Mr. SMITH'S speech which relates to the aforesaid decision, omitting his introductory remarks about the anti-slavery design and character of the U. S. Constitution, to which the American people have given the lie ever since its adoption, and which, therefore, are simply a waste of breath.

I return from this examination of the Constitution to say, that the time for the great State of New York to strike a death-blow to the system of American slavery has come. In reply to the infamous judicial decision, which invites slavery to spread itself all over our State, let our Legislature say that never more shall a slave tread our soil—that never more shall a man within the jurisdiction of our State be anything else than a man.

But the timid legislator will say, 'We must not rebel.' I admit that we must not rebel against truth and law and honor. To rebel, however, against the Supreme Court of the United States and other servants of the above power, is but to rebel against rebels. For who are rebels, if it be not they who rebel against human nature, and class it with cattle? For so the rebels, if it be not they who fling the grosser insults into the face of God by reducing to mere merchandise the beings made in His own image? To treat man as vile is to treat his Maker as vile.

Democratic legislators! Nothing better do I expect from you than that you will go on from worse to worse, until you shall have filled up the measure of your iniquity, and folly, and madness, and ruin. The infatuation of a Democrat is amazing. He continues to talk and vote against liberty; and he flatters himself that because he did so, years ago, without losing his hold on the public confidence, he can continue to do so with the same impunity.

He is entirely unaware of the changed attitude toward each other of liberty and slavery. He knows not but liberty is forever to keep on receding before slavery. He knows not that at last they are meeting in direct conflict and in a death-grapple with each other. That utter blindness and deep delusion, in which he fancies things are to remain as they were, remind me of the old milestone, dug up in the city of New York several years ago, on which was inscribed, 'Three miles to New York.' The city has grown up all around it.

But the milestone was as unconscious of change as is the Democrat. The old Foggy still kept crying, 'Three miles to New York!' 'Three miles to New York!' Poor Democrat!—poor robber of a name, with which your every thought and word and deed is in the widest contrast!

Republican legislator! I turn to you. Can you hesitate to vote for a Personal Liberty Bill, which shall know no slavery, and which shall protect every innocent man within the limits of your State? I trust you will not. The mission of the Republican party is either to abolish human slavery, and save the nation, and be the most useful, honored, and beloved political party that ever existed—or its mission is to make a little noise, do no good, disappoint the hopes entertained of it, and perish quickly and disgracefully.

I cannot take my seat until I have called your attention to the Report made a day or two since by the Joint Legislative Committee on the Dred Scott Decision. The Report is brave. The Resolutions which follow it are brave. The heading of the Act it recommends is brave. That heading is, 'An Act to Secure Freedom to all Persons in this State.' How well that sounds! What a pity, that such a promise to the ear should be so broken to the hope!

What says the Act? Why, that a man may be a citizen of this State, notwithstanding he is black. Surely, this is no news. What man of common sense among us doubts that a black man may be such a citizen? Just as needless is it for the Act to say this, as it would be for it to say that a white man may be a citizen of our State. To enact that a white man may be a citizen would be to insult him. It seems little else than insulting to enact that a black man may be a citizen. If you will only protect the person of the black man within your jurisdiction—if you will only protect him from the pursuit of the slaveholder, he will himself be able to take care of this matter of citizenship.

What next does the Act say? It says that if the slaveholder shall bring his slaves into this State, they shall be free; and that if he shall hold or attempt to hold them as slaves, he shall be imprisoned. It was of very little consequence to declare this. We shall have no more power nor will to enforce this declaration than the ample power and will which we had before. Moreover, what would the slaveholder ordinarily care about being compelled to recognize as mere servants the slaves he brings here? He brings such as will return with him—such as have left dear ones behind them, for whom they would rather forfeit their personal liberty than forsake them.

So much the Act says. But what does it fail to say? Ah, it fails to say just the one thing which it should say; and compared with which, all it does say is utterly insignificant. It fails to say that the great State of New York shall no longer be a hunting-ground for human prey. It fails to say that the Government of the State shall extend its protection over the poor bruised and bleeding man, who has come up out of the hell of slavery to find mercy at its hands. Our Government boasts that its arms are open to every other man, who is flying from oppression. But this Act fails to say that this most oppressed of all men—this most cruelly wronged and deeply wretched of all men—after his scores of years of unrequited toil and lacerations of body and spirit, find rest upon our soil. This Act gives him up to the tender mercies of his worse than murderous pursuers.

What else does this Act fail to say? Why it fails to say that this State shall, at last, have a Government. For surely it can never be said to have one, so long as it shall not aim to protect every innocent person upon its soil. Is there a black baby anywhere within the limits of this State, that our government will not protect? Then it is not a government. I care not so much to have it protect the strong. They can protect themselves. I ask it to protect that black baby, or confess itself unworthy of the name of Government.

Can it be that a Republican Legislature will pass this Bill, which the Committee have recommended? Not for all this world would I vote for this Bill on which it is written, 'No pity, no justice, no humanity, no God.' Freedom is shrieking in the ears of this Legislature for help—and the proposed response is an endorsement of the lawfulness of slavery. Cruellest of all responses! We ask for bread, and a stone is to be given us!—for a fish, and behold the most venomous of serpents! Oh, it is infinitely better that you should be silent than that you should recognize the lawfulness of slavery, as this Bill by irresistible implication does. Not all the cunning, which characterizes the

Bill, can hide that palpable, that damnable implication. I beseech you, if you will not help Liberty, do not harm her. If you will not heal her wounds, do not multiply them.

Pretty Bill that for Republicans to pass! A Bill which talks of 'master' and 'mistress'—a Bill which has to go down to the vocabulary of slavery to find words in which to express itself! Pretty business for Republicans to be recognizing the most atrocious and atrocious form of piracy as law; and to be making the essential and elevating rights of men to turn on the consent of slave-masters and slave-mistresses—on the consent of the pirates and pirates! Oh for shame, Republicans!

But I have not quite done with this Bill. How shameless is its inconsistency with the accompanying Resolutions and Report! The Report, which I take pleasure in admitting contains a lucid, able, and sound argument, denounces the Supreme Court of the United States for its denial of citizenship to the black man. But on what ground does the Court deny it? Why, on the ground that the black man is not property, and has not the rights of manhood. And yet, forsooth, this very Bill, in its shrinking before the assumed lawfulness of slavery, admits the doctrine of property in man. I defend the logic of the Court; and I deny that there is any logic at all in the Committee. The Court and the Committee both admit that black men may be the subject of property. The Court logically infers that he hence cannot be a citizen of the United States. But the Committee, in total contempt of its own premises, and therefore in total defiance of all logic, maintains that he can be. Now, I insist that if the black man may, from his nature, be lawfully reduced to slavery, he can no more be a citizen of the United States—no, nor of this State—than can a horse.

I am quite sick of hearing men, who defer to slavery as law, denounce this Dred Scott Decision. It is only by praising the Decision, or by avowing themselves to be Abolitionists, that they can be entitled to a reputation for consistency—not to say honesty.

But the Committee will perhaps say, that the black man is property in Virginia, but not in New York. They are stopped by their Bill from saying so. Their Bill admits that the fugitive slave in New York is property, else why does it deny him protection? Alas! whether needless, gratuitously wicked, and without the least show of excuse, would be the denial, if they did not regard him as still property. But I affirm, that if a man is property anywhere, he is property every-where. It is the nature of the thing, and not statutes or constitutions that determine whether it is property. We would not submit to have Virginia deny its property in the oats and butter which our Northern farmers might take to her markets. They are property here; and therefore we would maintain that they are property there. On the other hand, if we admit that men are property in Virginia, then are we shamefully inconsistent, when we deny that they are property here also. Then, too, are we guilty of injustice in refusing to do by her in the matter of her property, as we would compel her to do by us in the matter of our property.

There never was but one question in all this discussion about slavery, and that is the question whether man can be the subject of property. God be praised, that in the eyes of all of us, this discussion is fast coming to be narrowed down to this one question! God be praised for the mighty effect in this direction of the Dred Scott Decision!

The Democratic party is committing itself entirely to the position, that man can be the subject of property. Therefore must the Democratic party die—unless, indeed, the lights of civilization shall be blown out, and the progress of all moral and economical truth arrested, and the nation shall fall back into utter barbarism. Let the Republican party commit itself to this position, (and the Bill now before the Legislature calls on it to do so,) and it too will surely die. But the Republican party will do no such foolish, wicked thing. This Republican Legislature will not say, either implicitly or expressly, that man is property—that slavery is law. I know not what the lawyers in the Legislature may be disposed to say. In such a crisis as this, I am always distrustful of lawyers. In cases presenting the grandest and deepest questions of law—questions involving fundamental human rights—I find that lawyers are the last class of men to go to, to learn what is law. Lawyers can tell us the words of statutes and constitutions; but it is only here and there one of them, who can tell us what is the essence and the soul of law—only here and there one of them, who like 'the judicious Hosker' has found the seat of law to be in the bosom of God, and its voice to be the harmony of the worlds. Especially unfit for such a service is your lawyer who has spent a long life in mousing after precedents and fitting cases to Procrustean beds. He has so dwarfed his mind, and so shrivelled his soul, as to be incapable of entertaining the large and sublime idea of law. Depend upon it, that if there shall be any Republican votes, next week, against a sound Personal Liberty Bill, they will be chiefly the votes of lawyers. I cannot, whilst upon this topic, forbear to say that it is a great mistake to suppose, that to study law, we must, first of all, study law books. First of all, we must study our own nature. Far down in the depths of our own consciousness, is the place to go to learn what are the elements and fundamental principles of law. There shall we learn and love the right; and to learn and love the right is all one with learning and loving law.

Nor can I leave this topic of law, without adding, that no man has learned so much as the first letter in the alphabet of real law, who, knowing not that slavery is a mere pirate and outlaw, still believes that man is property, and slavery is law. Hence, poor Tanev, although Chief Justice of the United States, knows less of true law than an unsophisticated boy twelve years old. For, in the first place, the boy is honest, and Tanev is not; and whilst honesty is a great teacher of wisdom, dishonesty is foolish. In the second place, true law is an all-natural thing, and the boy discovers it because he is best with an all-natural boy. But to the eye of such a miserable conventionist, as Tanev, what is law but a bundle of conventionalisms, the most monstrous absurdities of conventionalisms, the most monstrous absurdities of conventionalisms, which may, and, as we find in the late Decision, which may, and, as we find in the late Decision, do, obtain his endorsement. The boy in question knows a man from a horse, but Tanev confounds one with the other. Indeed, in a very essential respect, Tanev knows less than a horse. For whilst the horse knows his own brother, and neighs after him, Tanev does not know his, but mistakes him for a chattel.

In conclusion, I repeat that this Republican Legislature will pass no Personal Liberty Bill which will recognize the lawfulness of slavery. It will pass an honest, thorough one. But if I shall find myself mistaken, then will I be prepared to say to the Republican party, in much the words of Lord to Webster: 'If you fail at this time: if you are too unwarily to meet the demands of this crisis; too cowardly to seize slavery by the throat, and strangle it—then shall your enlargement and deliverance arise from another place—but you and yours shall be destroyed. Your place—a party that will suddenly grow into millions, and that will speedily do the work which you will have so basely refused to do.'

GRATIFYING MEETINGS. The meetings of the Worcester County North Division Anti-Slavery Society, on Sunday last, were exceedingly gratifying on the score of numbers, intelligence, and general interest. On Sunday evening, the beautiful and capacious Mechanics' Hall, at Worcester, (which has no equal that we have seen in the United States,) was crowded by a highly respectable assembly, on which occasion Mr. PHILLIPS made one of his most stirring speeches.

POETRY.

The Liberator.

For the Liberator. DESIRE. BY BERNARD LLOYD. Not for a wealth of gold...

For the Liberator. SLAVES, REJOICE! Slaves, rejoice! the day is dawning...

For the Liberator. LILLIAN. Our Lillian—oh, she was so fair, With her bright blue eyes, and sunny hair...

A HYMN. FOR THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. Judges, who rule the world by laws...

TEMPERANCE REMINISCENCES.

Extract from the Diary of the late Hon. WILLIAM JACKSON, of Newton, relative to his early Experiences in the Temperance Reformation.

A ballot was called for. Whole number of votes, 33; necessary a choice, 17. C. A. Hall had 25, Mr. Wolcott 8. Mr. Hall was declared chosen...

LYCEUM LECTURES. We have had not a little to do in getting lecturers for literary institutes. And we have come to one conclusion...

OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS. MR. GARRISON. DEAR SIR—For its fearless exposure of wickedness, in high and low places, I have always respected THE LIBERATOR...

CATHARTIC PILLS. PREPARED BY J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass. THEODORE METCALF & CO., BROWN & PRICE, Salem.