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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Refuge of Oppression.

COMPLIMENTARY TO MARSHAL JOHNSON, AND TO CONDUCTOR W. C. CLELAND.

WHEELING, Feb. 15, 1861.

Mathew Johnson, Esq., U. S. Marshal for the Northern District of Ohio:

Sir—By the request of the City Council of Wheeling, I have the honor to transmit you the enclosed copy of a preamble and resolution, adopted unanimously at the last session of that body.

It affords me great pleasure to convey to you an expression of the sentiments of admiration entertained by this community for your prompt, energetic and efficient service in the execution of the laws under the Constitution of the United States, in the case of the fugitive slave Lucy.

The firm support given you by the citizens of Cleveland, in the discharge of your duty in the enforcement of a law objected to by many of the people of the North, is an evidence of a determination to secure to their Southern brethren their just rights under the Constitution, and is worthy of all praise and imitation, and cannot, and will not, fail to go far towards procuring a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the questions now distracting our beloved country, and threatening the destruction of the Union.

Fully coinciding with the sentiment and object of the preamble and resolution,

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A. J. SWEENEY, Mayor.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF WHEELING.

Whereas, in the present unhappy condition of our country, produced by sectional controversies concerning the institution of slavery, the Council deem it proper to make special acknowledgment of an instance of fidelity to the constitutional obligations of the North in the conduct of Northern officers, and to the end that sentiments of harmony among the States may be fostered.

And whereas, the Council is informed that a citizen of Wheeling, in reclaiming a fugitive from his service, has recently, at the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and on his return from that place to Wheeling, through the State of Ohio, received prompt and efficient aid, according to the Constitution and laws, and to the duty of comity between citizens of different States of the Union, and especially that Matthew Johnson, Marshal of the United States for the Northern District of Ohio, and W. C. Cleland, a conductor on the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad, exerted themselves with intelligence, vigilance and courage, to baffle the operations of all opponents, and to secure the return of said fugitive to Virginia,—be it therefore

Resolved, by the Council, That the thanks of the City of Wheeling are hereby tendered to the said Matthew Johnson and W. C. Cleland, and to all other citizens of Ohio who have, in like manner, given proof of their good will towards this State, and their fidelity to the Constitution which binds the States together.

Passed, February 12th, 1861.

A. J. SWEENEY, Mayor.

JACOB BUSKE, Clerk.

[A copy of the above resolutions was also sent to Mr. Cleland, accompanied with a letter as follows:—]

WHEELING, Feb. 15, 1861.

W. C. Cleland, Esq., Conductor C. & P. R. R.: Sir—By the request of the City Council of Wheeling, I have the honor to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a preamble and resolution, adopted unanimously at the last session of that body.

It affords me great pleasure to convey to you an expression of the sentiments of admiration entertained by this community for the promptness and decision manifested by you in protecting your train, having on board citizens of Virginia, securing, under the laws, the return of the fugitive slave Lucy.

Fully coinciding with the sentiment and object of the resolution and preamble,

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A. J. SWEENEY, Mayor.

THE DESIGNS OF REDPATH, JOHN BROWN, JR., FRED. DOUGLASS, & Co.

A Negro Army to be Formed—During Scheme.

There are many facts which go to show that a daring scheme is on foot among the free negro population of the Northern States and the Canadas; that the direction of such turbulent agitators as Redpath, Fred Douglass, and young John Brown, on whose shoulders lay the mantle of his father's blood-thirsty fanaticism, they are proposing to take advantage of the first outbreak of war to consummate a raid upon the South, in which all the horrors contemplated by John Brown, Sr., will find their full realization. A few of the facts leading to this conclusion have been already given by us, and others have been furnished us by a gentleman whose source of information is very near headquarters. The facts already alluded to in this paper from time to time are, some of them, as follows: The presence of Gerrit Smith and other agitators in Canada, and the threatening language reported as held by them there; the movements of the notorious Redpath, who has been fitting like a spirit of evil over the land for the past few months—now in Kansas, now in Canada, now on a mysterious voyage by sea, bound, in the opinion of some, for the coast of Georgia or Florida, and turning up unexpectedly in Hayti; John Brown, Jr., among the negroes in Canada, eating, living and sleeping with them, and using his efforts to persuade them into some scheme, the purpose of which can only be guessed; letters have appeared in various Northern papers intimating that the negroes of Canada were arming with a view to the invasion of the South,—that they only awaited the declaration of war to take up their line of march, and that they feared nothing so much as compromise, and hope for nothing so much as coercion. These, and other facts which have at different times transpired, furnish ground for serious apprehension.

That this apprehension is well founded, we have reason to believe from additional information received by us yesterday. Monmouth, Illinois, is this State, one of the foci of the eccentricity of Abolitionism—it is noted for the almost unanimity of its radical sentiment, and matters which, even in Chicago, would be talked of only in whispers, are here discussed with impunity, it being considered all a family. We are informed by a gentleman, a Democrat of that city, that it is no secret that such a movement as that above intimated is fully determined upon. In fact, many of the details are given with a circumstantiality that leaves little room for doubt. A prominent Abolitionist of that place, who is in correspondence with the plotters all

over the country, says openly that an army of 8,000 Northern negroes, armed, equipped and well drilled, is ready to march at a moment's warning, and can be concentrated in forty-eight hours at any available point on the border; that they are in sympathy and concert with the free negroes of Canada, who will furnish several thousand more; that the men who are at the head of this movement are, ostensibly, Rev. Fred Douglass, and John Brown, Jr., but that the objects is known to and sympathized with by prominent Abolitionists of the North, and particularly of the Northwest, in and out of Congress; that the mission of Redpath to Hayti is for the purpose of obtaining assistance in his scheme from President Geffard, and sending the negroes of that island with a view to raising an army there; that the plan of these gents is to strike the slave line, with their colored cohorts, somewhere in the neighborhood of the Mississippi, march in a body and directly for the Gulf, through the portions of the South most thickly populated with slaves, stir up insurrections among these as they go, force or induce the slaves to join them, pillage, murder and burn,—leaving their track desolate as the desert and black with ruin; reaching the Gulf, they will veer to the Southwest, ravage the Gulf coast, pass through Texas; skirt along the Mexican coast, and make themselves a home in Central America, where they are prospecting for the location of their colony. —Chicago Times, Feb. 21st.

charges, that the day after the battle the Hessan Colonel, upon whom this duty had devolved, applied to exchange his command and go to New York, because he dared not lead his regiment against battle, lest his men should shoot him for having caused them so much loss.

Connecticut, too, raised a battalion of black soldiers, and Colonel Humphrey, attached to the military family of Washington, accepted a command in this corps. The heroic defence of the fort on the heights of Groton, by Colonel Ledyard and his brave comrades, is a glorious page in our history. By their side fought and fell men of this hated race. History records that, when the works were stormed, the British officer, exasperated by the heroic resistance, inquired: "Who commands this fort?" "I once did; you do now," answered Ledyard, brandishing the officer his sword, which was instantly run through his body by the officer. Lambert, a black soldier, avenged this murder of his commander by thrusting his bayonet through the body of the British officer, and then fell, pierced by thirty-three bayonet wounds. Sir, in the great struggle for independence, in the war of 1812, on land and sea, the blood of the colored men of New England was freely poured out in vindication of your liberties, rights and honor; and now you ask us to despoil them of their long possessed rights. Never, sir, never by my consent. In addressing the German workmen of Cincinnati the other day, Mr. Lincoln told them that "they were all of the great family of men, and if there is one shackle upon any of them, it would be far better to lift the load from them than to pile additional loads upon them." That was the utterance of a Christian statesman. These men you propose to disfranchise forever; all of the great family of men, and if there are shackles upon them, it would be far better to lift the load from them than to pile additional burdens upon them.

Selections.

ELOQUENT VINDICATION OF COLORED CITIZENSHIP.

Extract from the able and uncompromising speech on the Resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, proposing certain Amendments to the Constitution, delivered in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 21st, 1851, by Hon. HEWAT WILSON, of Massachusetts:—

The Senator from Kentucky, seconded by the Senator from Illinois, proposes to incorporate in the Constitution a provision that "THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE SHALL NOT BE EXERCISED BY ANY PERSONS OF THE AFRICAN RACE, IN WHOLE OR IN PART." Why, sir, is this proposition of disfranchisement now made? Who demands it? What is to be gained by this disfranchisement of men, whose ancestors possessed the right of suffrage before the Constitution of the United States came from the hands of its illustrious framers? "At the time," says Judge Curtis, in the Dred Scott case, "of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors, on equal terms with other citizens." In Maryland and Tennessee, persons of the African race long exercised the right of suffrage. To the casting votes of that class of men, John Bell once owed his election to the House of Representatives.

Massachusetts adopted her Constitution in 1780, during the war of Independence. That Constitution made the slave a freeman—the persons of the African race citizens, entitled to the elective franchise. This right, secured in the troubled days of the Revolution, to persons of the African race by John Adams, Parsons, Lowell, and their noble associates, has been exercised for eighty years. Now, sir, the Senator from Kentucky comes into this chamber, proposes the disfranchisement and degradation of citizens of Massachusetts, made so by her heroic sires, and I blush to confess that there are men in that Commonwealth so false and recreant to human rights, as to petition Congress to sustain this wicked, this monstrous, proposition to disfranchise. I know, sir, it is an indignation task, in these days, and in these chambers, to maintain, even the legal rights of a proscribed race; I am not insensible to the gibes and jeers, the taunts and misrepresentations of a corrupted public opinion; but, I never can—I never will consent, by word or act, to this crime against freedom. The material interests of Massachusetts are dear to me; but the rights of her people are far dearer. Sir, I tell her apostate sons who have put their names to these memorials for the disfranchisement of her colored men, knowing what they did, that the constitutional rights of the humblest man who treats the soil of the old Puritan Commonwealth as dearer, far dearer than all those material interests for which they are ready to sacrifice the rights of their fellow-men.

Sir, in the dark days of our weakness, the ancestors of the men you would now, in the days of your power, trample beneath your feet, freely gave their blood for the liberties and independence of America. The leader and first victim of the Boston Massacre and the 19th of March, 1770, which so fired the hearts and roused the patriotism of the people, was Crispin Attucks, a colored patriot. One of that race, tinged his blood with the fallen patriots of the 19th of 1775, and they stood with our heroic sires on the heights of Bunker Hill, when the storm of battle clung around and beat upon it. They fought side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our fathers; "for the right," says Bancroft, in his narration of the work of that day, "of the free negroes to bear arms in the public defence at that day, was as little regarded in New England as their other rights." When Major Pitcairn—the leader who opened the murderous fire upon the patriots on the green of Lexington common—bounced the works on Bunker Hill, crying "The day is ours," he fell, mortally wounded, by the unerring shot of Salem, a black soldier.

Hundreds of the ancestors of the men upon whose brows the Senator from Kentucky would stamp degradation, entered the army and fought with heroic courage on the stricken fields of the Revolution. Some of the most heroic deeds of the war of Independence were performed by black men. A braver regiment than the colored regiment of Rhode Island, led by the gallant Col. Greene, the hero of Red Bank, trod not the battle-fields of the Revolution. Of this black regiment, Tristram Burgess said in the House of Representatives, in 1828, that "no braver men met the enemy in battle"; and Governor Eustis, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War under Jefferson, said of them, in 1820, "They discharged their duty with zeal and fidelity; the gallant defence of Red Bank, in which the black regiment bore a part, is among the proofs of their valor." Arnold, in his admirable history of Rhode Island, pays this noble tribute to the conduct of this regiment in the battle of Rhode Island—which Lafayette pronounced "the best fought battle of the war."—It was in repelling those furious onsets that the newly raised black regiment, under Colonel Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor. Posted behind a thicket in the valley, they three times drove back the Hessians, who charged repeatedly down the hill to dislodge them; and so determined were the enemy in these successive

with hope and now with fear, admonishes you of the importance of this decision. If you vote for compromise, you sow, on soil now free, the seeds of whips, chains, theft, robbery, and murder. You vote to legalize the forcible separation of families, and the selling of them on the auction-block, to be driven to the rice and cotton fields, there to be worn out in a few years like things. You vote to compromise with a power that regards neither compromise, law, nor the Constitution. You vote for the perpetuity of ignorance, and you vote for the overthrow of the freedom of speech and of the press. You lose the respect of the friends of freedom; you gain the contempt of the Slave Power and the applause of hell. You say to all traitors, go on with your robbery and treason; hereafter, they shall be respectable and at a premium. Whenever you are beaten at the ballot-box, you have only to steal the public property and declare war against the Government, and we will make concessions, even to the sacrifice of our dearest principles, and break the power that defeated you, if you will be quiet and remain in the Union.

Mr. Speaker, this is probably my last appeal on this floor. I should be willing to do anything that might lead to the restoration of national tranquility and social harmony which would not compromise the honor and dignity of the nation; but I fail to discover, in any proposition now before the House, anything that will lead to these results. And before I would leave a word or a vote on record that might be construed into favoring the extension or perpetuity of slavery, I would perish on the steps of my country's Capitol, or be lost in the general wreck that would follow revolution. If I thought the preservation of the Union would be the means of furnishing factors for those who are yet to be born on soil now free, I would be the first to break the chain that has so long bound us together, and let the slave States swing out from the protection of the National Government, to contend alone against servile insurrections, famine and civil war. But, sir, I trust and believe that no such calamity will befall the hopeful and prosperous millions of the American States; and when this crisis shall have passed away, and the dark horizon shall be lighted up with the rainbow of hope, peace, new glories, and a happy future, the people will decide who were right—those who would strike hands with wrong, or those who would subdue it by universal liberty and Union, if we can; but liberty rather than Union without liberty. The country will occasionally receive the assaults of traitors, and the shocks of political earthquakes. Popular outbreaks will disturb the harmony of society, and whirlwinds will plow through the forests of our vast domain, breaking down the old, decayed trees, and testing the strength of the young and vigorous. But, when the storms shall have cleared away, we shall find, instead of destroying the temple of civil liberty, they will have secured its foundation, and that these disturbing elements were as necessary for the purification of parties and society, and as essential for the healthful growth of our new system, as the agitation of the atmosphere is for the health and life of man.

WHAT THE SOUTH HAS SAID AND DONE.

It said it would never endure a Republican President, and it has not endured him. It threatened secession and war, and it has acted up to its threats. It talked of captures and attacks, and then it made them. The Southern men have no more cause to be accused of wrong than the whole nation; for the people have done more wrong; and but for some providential occurrences, they would now in all human probability be in possession of the capital and nominal Government of the country. However history may view their fool-hardy and suicidal effort to overthrow their Government, it will at least say that they acted like brave and determined men, who went straight to their objects, and risked everything on the cast.

But the North! History will relate that she had the Government, the navy, and the army, both of money and men; and yet, in a few weeks she suffered almost the whole maritime commerce of the Southern coast, consisting of fourteen hundred vessels, valued at \$8,000,000, to be captured by rebels. Her ships were fired upon; her officers were driven out in disgrace; the old flag, which had waved in triumph over so many bloody battle-fields, was hauled down and trampled on; her mints were plundered, and even the sick in her hospitals were turned out with more than barbarian cruelty; her officers deserted their posts or surrendered them, and even before the ratification of the Fugitive Slave Law, more than all this, peaceable mariners, engaged in commercial pursuits, or travellers in the South, were arrested, imprisoned, beaten, without form or trial, or were lynched, or murdered, or hung. Offences—the smallest of which inflicted on one of our citizens in Europe would once have fired the whole nation, and to avenge which we would have defied the world in arms—were detailed in all their horrors week after week by the scores in our papers.

And what was the Northern reply to all this? What did either House of Congress do? What our Courts? What our Legislatures, our statesmen? During the two months, was there even an effort made to force the President to his duty? Was a single proposal for impeachment ever offered, so that such traitors as Floyd might at least be punished for the future? What availed was ever breathed against Tooucy, until it came so late, that it sounded more like an infantile burst of rage, when the use for it had passed? Why was the Volunteer bill put off, until it seemed likely to remain in the President's pocket? What are the North seen to be doing? Has a single manly word been uttered at the foul wrongs perpetrated daily on free citizens, engaged in their own business in the Southern States? At the moment we hear of another respectable Massachusetts merchant or Illinois trader, whose head has been shaved, or who has been ornamented with tar and feathers, or hooted out of town, or hanged on a tree, we are at once set about considering whether we have been sufficiently active in hunting back runaway negroes for their masters! At every fresh kick from our Southern brethren, we carefully examine whether we have furnished sufficiently fresh portions of our persons for this exhibition. In all our Conventions, our Peace Conferences, our Legislatures, we hear a plenty of Northern Personal Liberty Bills, and of the rights of Southern masters to hunt their slaves in other States, and on Southern Personal Lynching Bills! We should like to know how long our Southern brethren would bear it, if our Yankee villages occasionally tarred and feathered a Southern gentleman! The slightest injury of that sort would set a fire which would blaze from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

NO CONCESSION TO TRAITORS.

Extract from a manly and eloquent speech delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, Feb. 19th, 1861, by Hon. DANIEL E. SOMES, of Maine:—

I would have the honor of the free States from a disgrace so humiliating as would be involved in the cowardly surrender of the great principles for which they have so valiantly contended and honorably gained. And before this scheme of bartering away a nation's honor, and exposing the wrath of a few traitors, talents and position necessarily given them great influence in the nation, to reflect upon the awful responsibility which rests upon them. If you "sow the wind, you will reap the whirlwind." You may imagine you are sowing the seeds of promised peace and future hope; but they will spring up thorns of disappointment and civil discord. Other men have gained position and the affections of the people by their brilliant talents, and their eloquent and luring words of patriotism, and they have scaled all the heights of humanity; and when they have scaled all the barriers that lay between obscurity and the temple of fame, this same devil, the Slave Power, that is now whispering in your ears, stealthily crept up behind, and promised them the highest national honors if they would fall down and worship at his shrine. They listened, they consented, and fell; and as they tumbled from their giddy heights, the whole cried aloud as with an earthquake, and humanity cried before you. I beseech you, who have a brilliant before you take the first step. A nation's fate is in your hands; the friends of liberty are waiting to catch your decision; down-trodden humanity, that has clanked its chains for centuries, and fed its soul from the sands of the desert, is now turning its agonizing look to the throne of Heaven, and with its fettered hands uplifted, and its heart throbbing now

in silence before contumely, were for principle's sake, the matter would be very different. Every one knows it is not. We all see it is sheer and simple cowardice. The last two months would lead a disinterested observer to believe that the Northern liberties would never be preserved because they were not worth preserving; for he would say, what are all liberties for except for manhood? If the nation is a nation of cowards and time-servers, it had better die. Yes, it has been a disgrace of late to be an American citizen. We seem to have come to "the talking age."

Oratory on the one side, and Trade on the other, have sucked out our courage. There is no mistake that commercial interests do usually weaken the manhood of a people. Our representatives now are rhetoricians and lawyers, or they are the deputies of the great trading cities, and they are not usually men of pluck, and, thank Heaven! do not represent the courage of the country.

INHERENT SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY.

The inherent sinfulness of slavery is in the fact that it is possession without ownership. We know, indeed, that slaveholders claim to own their slaves; but we know that the claim is founded on physical force, and not moral right. We are not now speaking of certain rights that men may have to one another in the social relations of life, such as that of husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants. These are relations that God has appointed, and to the extent of his laws regulating the relations, rights in them may be held. But here is a relation for which those with whom we argue do not claim divine institution; a relation constituted by the forcible taking possession of that to which there is no ownership. The man has not yielded it himself; God has not given it, and there is no other power that can take it from him.

Let us now, for a moment, look at the sentiment of the Princeton Review, in the article headed "The State of the Country," in the January number. We give a few extracts:—"We admit that the obligation to restore fugitive slaves is a constitutional and moral obligation, and consequently that any law designed to prevent such restoration is unconstitutional and criminal." Page 19.

"We regard, therefore, all opposition to the restoration of fugitive slaves, whether by Legislatures, or individuals, or by mobs, as morally a crime, deserving legal penalties, and the condemnation of good men. If, therefore, any State has passed laws to prevent the full and efficient operation of that provision of the Constitution, we hold that they are bound by their allegiance to God, as well as to the country, at once to repeal them." Page 20.

"We heartily join, therefore, in the condemnation of all assistance to the restoration of fugitive slaves. All laws designed to interfere with the full and efficient operation of the constitutional compact on this subject are criminal."—26.

OUTRAGES UPON A METHODIST MINISTER IN MISSOURI.

The Central Christian Advocate publishes a communication from Mrs. Amanda Gardner, giving an account of an attack made upon her husband, Rev. J. E. Gardner, a Methodist minister of Union, Missouri, by a furious pro-slavery mob, of which the following is the substance:—"I was engaged with my household, when one of our friends hastened to inform us that the mob was then collected, and would be on us in five minutes. We could scarcely credit the report; but he had hardly got out of sight when I, from my window, saw the rabble coming. They were armed with rifles, shot-guns, revolvers and knives. I called to Mr. Gardner; he hastened into the house, bolted the door, and chose a position where he could defend himself and family. They surrounded the house, some rushing to the doors and others to the windows. Jack Stone (constant) rapped at the door. I asked, 'Who is there?' He answered, 'A friend,' and said that he wished to speak to Mr. Gardner. I told him they could not see him until they came in a different manner, and asked, as a favor, that they would withdraw, and not disturb our peace. At this they shouted like demons. Some cried: 'Burst the door!' others, 'Break

in the windows!' One Cooper, a notorious villain, gave ten minutes, by his watch, for Mr. Gardner to promise to leave the country within twenty-four hours, or have the house burned down over our heads, and ordered a bunch of hay to be brought to kindle the fire. They declared they had given us ten days to leave the country, and the time was up, and now they were determined that Mr. Gardner should give them a pledge to that effect, or they would hang him.

I endeavored to reason with them from my window, and told them that, according to their own arrangement, they were one day before their time, which would not expire until Friday, January 4th, at 6 o'clock, P. M. and that we intended going to the country; at that time, as Mr. Gardner had an appointment, and the friends would be in for us; but I only received curses in reply. They appeared, however, to be somewhat confused; some declaring that they were before their time, while others thought not. At length they agreed to leave, and give us until the next day, noon, for our exit, declaring with the most horrid oaths, that if we were not gone at that time, they would accept of no compromise.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Gardner ventured out of his house and into a store, to attend to some business, when Mr. Austin, a South Methodist, slipped out, and informed the rabble how he was. They came with drawn revolvers, seized him, put him on a cart, they called a "Lincoln rail," and with shouts of "North proacher," "Nigger thief," &c., rode him through the town, some calling for tar and feathers, and some for a rope. The description of the scene given by Mrs. Gardner is as follows:—

"Mr. Gardner led no opportunity slip, but as they carried him through the streets, he exerted the rable and those who thronged him, to face the wrath to come. Above the clamor of the mob was heard his voice, as he held up the cross of Christ and his sufferings for a world of sinners, and that his servants should not be ashamed to suffer reproach for his name's sake. After he had finished his exhortation, he sung:—"Children of the heavenly King, As we journey let us sing, &c."

Some tried to mock: One fiend in human form, by the name of Shaffer, swore "he would make him shut his mouth," at the same time striking him with a large ball of ice on the shoulder-blade, crippling him for the time being. They shortly called a halt, and let Mr. Gardner consider what further measures to take. By this time I had got out little Alvie (who was taken sick that morning) in the care of a lady friend, and made my way through the snow, which was about eight inches deep, to where they had him in custody. Never shall I forget the appearance of innocence and many courage that was depicted upon his countenance, while endeavoring to reason with his persecutors. I walked boldly into their midst, amid a multiplicity of the most horrid oaths that ever escaped the lips of men, and demanded the deliverance of my husband, informing them that I would die with him or have him released.

Through the interposition of Mr. John Harper and Mr. William Wells, Mr. Gardner was permitted to go home, accompanied by them, who advised us to leave as soon as possible, as we would not be safe. We assured them we would go if possible; not because it was just, but as the only hope of saving our lives. They told us that unless they could take a pledge to that effect to the rabble, we would not be safe until the morning; we gave it, and were then left to ourselves. Friday, January 4th, we were taken to the country by Bro. P. Badolph, where we were kindly treated. We have been received into the home with brother and sister Dalton, and have once more got through with the labors of another month.

As Mr. Gardner is necessarily much from home, many duties devolve upon me; and while I write for the Central under the excitement peculiar to the occasion, I have also a sick child upon my hands. Oh, when will the ways of the wicked come to an end? When will the wicked cease to trouble, and the weary be at rest? But my soul doth magnify the Lord, and I can say: "Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly; but the proud he knoweth afar off. Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou shalt revive me; thou shalt stretch forth thy right hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me."

AN ENGLISH GARDENER HURRIED OUT.

To the Editor of The New York Tribune.

Sir: I am to be sent off from this place to-morrow for being suspected of being a party to the emancipation of the slaves; and, as I have been farming on slaves with a man who I expect raised the report, I lose all my time since last August, beside upwards of \$60 worth of seeds had from Thorburn's—seed oats and rye—ruta-bagas, &c., in addition. Without any notice whatever, I was arrested and placed in prison, because the man who owned the plantation said he was afraid I should injure him, or his property, and, though he could not bring any kind of proof that I had done him any harm, yet I had to find bail, which I did; but, next day, these Englishmen were threatened with the loss of all their customers unless they gave me up; and I was obliged to remain in jail, and my wife and three little ones suffering, or go out of the slave States. My wife and children are put into the Sailor's Home, my household effects scattered without any care, and put on the "John" schooner, where I am to be guarded by a policeman, and meet my wife and family to-morrow, to land at New York next week without ought to recompense me for the loss of my crop and other expectations. My object in telling you these particulars is that I have not heretofore taken a room to put my furniture in, and if you could put an advertisement in your paper in such a way as to draw immediate attention, I could come to your office on landing, and perhaps meet with some one who wants a "farming manager," and then my goods could be fetched off the schooner, and be taken direct to my destination. I am an Englishman by birth, and farmed extensively in England, and was engaged North in agriculture previous to coming here in 1858. My passage is paid by the wretch who reaps the advantage of my exertions for the past five months. G. GARDNER.

Wilmington, N. C., Feb. 15, 1861.

Another British subject, W. Morrow, has been abused at Savannah, Ga. He lent a negro to a negro, which had cost of \$200, and he was arrested, and the mob caught him and threatened hangings, but let him off for \$50, on condition he should stay on the next steamer, which he did, and has arrived safely at Toronto.

Benjamin F. Winter, a blacksmith by trade, has been ordered to leave the town of Hamilton, Harris county, Georgia, by a meeting of citizens, for uttering abolition sentiments.

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

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE HELP OF STATE.

Extract from an unpublished poem, entitled—"The Burning Ship"—founded on the burning of the "Leaving-ton" steamer, Jan. 13, 1840, in Long Island Sound.

By EDWARD B. PLACE.

So have we seen the ship of state—
Bearing its rich, immortal freight—
Not sail with breeze and sky so fair,
Not scud for tempest to prepare.
We see the laboring stevedores
Pack down between confining floors—
(Between their feet and their heads—)
Those mortal loads of latent fire.
They know the hazard—know the bale
Full packed with human souls and wails;
Yet fear to heed Truth's warning rays.
On Freedom's part to strike their choice.
The Virgin, whose fair soul of Truth
Has won the ardor of their youth.
Betray they now!—from craven fear
Of men who her sworn foes appear!
They do not fear the coming storm—
Yell dare not trust God's arm of Right,
And calmly rest in Freedom's Might!

The Liberator.

THE SLAVEHOLDER'S PRAYER.

O Lord God of Israel, the Almighty, in covenant
with Abraham thy friend and the father of the faith-
ful; we acknowledge thee as "our Father, who art in
heaven."
First of all, we adore thee as a Being of infinite
greatness and excellence. Thou art not respecter of
persons; thou art supremely just; thou art good and
doest good; and thy tender mercies are over all thy
works. We are hence the recipients of thy mercy
continually, in all our domestic relations and inter-
ests; especially in that "peculiar, patriarchal in-
stitution, which thou hast ordained and vouchsafed to
us, for our own advantage and comfort, and to be
perpetuated from generation to generation.
We thank thee, that in thy holy sovereignty, thou
hast distinguished us from the beasts of the field and
fowls of the air; and from all those "goods and chat-
tels personal," which we are permitted and feel it our
duty to hold in servitude. We thank thee, that thou
hast "made of one blood all nations of men," for the
very purpose that a part might obtain the absolute mas-
tery and ownership of the rest. Thus we have, O
God, in thy kindness, equity, and impartial, disinter-
ested love, secured to us the holy and blessed institu-
tion of Master and Slave. It is meet, O kind Parent,
that thou shouldst ordain this distinction in thy fam-
ily, and in our favor; for thou art the common Father
of the human race. In this great brotherhood thou
hast displayed thy wisdom and universal benevolence,
not by creating all men equal, but that some are born
to rule, and others to serve. Hence thou hast estab-
lished, upon a foundation as immutable as "the ever-
lasting hills," the right of man to hold property in man,
and "let the oppressed go free." Just as if any of
African descent could have been included in this in-
junction; or any one born of a slave mother, though
our own blood flow in his veins, can be oppressed by
reduction to a brute and a chattel! In addition to
this, such pestilential fellow throw in our teeth the
"theoretical flourish" that "all men are created equal,
and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable
rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit
of happiness."
Such arguments, our Heavenly Father, do not, in-
deed, greatly perplex strong-minded and stable Chris-
tians; but they do disturb our feeble brethren, whose
"conscience, being weak, is defiled." We pray thee,
therefore, to give us wisdom, skill, and logical ac-
curacy to answer and for ever to silence all such soph-
ists, and to vindicate the holy institution of slavery
and concubinage against gainsayers and blasphemers.
Some things, O God, we do not so clearly un-
derstand as we desire. Wilt thou enlighten our minds.
If it could not have been right, but a sin in itself, for
Shem and Japheth to enslave their brother Ham,
we beseech thee to instruct us when it became right,
and no sin in itself, for the descendants of Shem and
Japheth to enslave Ham's posterity? Wilt thou also
aid us to discriminate between the wrong and the
right of enslaving Hebrews in "the land of Ham," and
of the Jews by the Romans, after the destruction of Jeru-
salem, and the right, justice and benevolence for Jews
and Gentiles to enslave Africans? Wilt thou, more-
over, cause our "weak brethren" to understand
why thou didst say to the Hebrews, "He that steal-
eth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his
hand, he shall surely be put to death"; while our
"peculiar, patriarchal" institution renders it all
right, just, benevolent for us to buy, sell, steal, catch
and enslave as many as we can of the one hundred
and forty million of the earth's present population.
We gratefully acknowledge, Parent of all good, that
our excellent Chief Justice has made these distinctions
plainly plain by affirming that "the African has no
rights which the white man is bound to respect"; but
thou knowest, O God, that some are not exactly satis-
fied with his decision. We pray thee, therefore, to en-
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this great principle.
We thank thee, O thou sovereign Ruler of heaven
and earth, that thou hast raised up some of the most
learned, able and popular Divines in our country, to
defend our "God-given right" to hold slaves and per-
petuate slavery. Wilt thou reward them ten thousand
fold in this life, for their "labors of love," and "recom-
pense them in the resurrection of the just." Wilt
thou also abundantly bless the Editors and Proprietors
of that veteran, religious periodical,* which, for a
long series of years, has done more to make money, and
strengthen the holy institution of slavery, than per-
haps all other weekly papers in the land. We pray
thee, continue to the conductors of that journal all
wordly wisdom, prudence, "cunning craftiness" and
sleight of mind, necessary to increase its circulation
and influence among slaveholders of the South and pro-
slavery men of the North.
We live, O God, as thou knowest, in "perilous
times." A party has sprung into power, and wrested
from us our right to rule the nation. That right we
have enjoyed for more than sixty years, and to it we
are perpetually entitled by virtue of our property in
slaves. This usurpation of the now dominant party
has stirred up our holy indignation; and it has endan-
gered, if not practically dissolved, the confederacy.
Wilt the Lord interpose, and disperse these threatening
clouds. We pray thee, cause the actual secession of
several States to accomplish what bare menaces were,
formerly, sufficient to effect. Then wilt leading poli-
ticians of other States be disposed to yield and "com-
promise." We rejoice and thank thee that this yield-
ing spirit is already being developed; and that even
the Premier of the incoming Administration, notwith-
standing his speeches upon the "higher law" and
the "irrepressible conflict," is leaning toward
an acknowledgment of our rights and demands: Let
us not, O our God, be disappointed. May those men,
who now have the power and influence, be so far dis-
posed to yield and abandon their "platform," for
the sake of the Union, as to amend the Constitution
by an unalterable guaranty for the perpetuity and
universality of our heaven-born institution. Then,
surely, O God, throughout this great country, "the
wrath of man shall praise thee; the remainder of
wrath shall thou restrain," until it break out anew, to
be pacified only by additional concessions.
We also beseech thee, O thou Ruler of nations, to
bless our late venerable President, just retired from
office. Although, officially, he can serve our cause no
longer, may he live in the hearts of all slaveholders and
pro-slavery Democrats. Like a woman mentioned in
ancient history, he hath "done what" he "could." To
the extent of his ability, without exposing himself to
impairment or harm—which we could not ask—he
has, for the sake of our holy institution, complicated
with those who have risen up in rebellion against the
Federal Government. While we "take the will for the
deed," wilt thou, O God, richly reward him for what
he earnestly desired to do, but was too imbecile to
accomplish. When will prove true the divine maxim,
"If there be first a willing mind, it is acceptable, ac-
cording to that a man hath, and not according to
that he hath not."
Moreover, do we most earnestly beseech thee, our
Father and our God, to interpose and prevent, what
we have reason to fear, servile insurrections. Wilt thou
immediately quench those sparks, which, from the
anvil and hammer of truth and free discussion, expose
our magazines to explosion. Always, says our be-
loved, retired President, "do the slaves begin to cherish
false ideas of freedom." From the overwhelming cal-
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"good Lord, deliver us!" We thank thee for the
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assistance of a mob, recently to break up a meeting of
fanatics; and close the dangerous free discussions in
which they were engaged. May the name of that il-
lustrious and brave civic officer descend, on the page
* New York Observer.

fruits of which our servants and fugitives are so easi-
ly described. Wilt thou circumvent them in all their
aspirations, and defeat all their evil designs.
But, our Heavenly Father, we have to confess our
multiplied and aggravated sins! It is no merit of
ours that we are enriched with herds of human
cattle, while others are deprived, even by law, of the
blessings abounding with slavery. We have nothing
that we did not receive. Thus hast loaded us with
riches; but we have required thee evil for good.
We have not valued our blessings, especially those of
slavery and concubinage, as we ought. We have,
until a very few years, been so very wicked as not
duly to apprehend that slavery is a divine institution!
Instead of feeling and acknowledging, as we ought to
have done, that the whole system is ordained of
God, and ever superior to the marriage relation; we
have practically admitted that it is a mere overture of
statute and police-regulation! In a great many in-
stances, we have heretofore allowed that slavery is a
great evil; and some of our weak brethren have thought
that it is even a sin! Thus have we given to its ene-
mies, and even infidels, great advantage; and we are
now deservedly reaping the fruits of our folly. We
thank thee that more enlightened and orthodox views
are now prevailing. May they become universal!
Wilt the Lord forgive our past sin and incredulity!
Produce, in all our minds, the firm, unwavering con-
viction, that Slavery and Concubinage are indeed a
Divine Institution. 'Lord, we believe; help thou our
unbelief!'
Some of us, O God, are troubled with the argu-
ments of Fanatics. They insist that, because thou
hast "made of one blood all nations of men," we have
no right to reduce any part of them to vassalage.
Those troublesome sophists also urge upon us our Sa-
vioe's "golden rule"; and are constantly prating that
thou, O Lord, hast required us to "break every yoke,"
and "let the oppressed go free." Just as if any of
African descent could have been included in this in-
junction; or any one born of a slave mother, though
our own blood flow in his veins, can be oppressed by
reduction to a brute and a chattel! In addition to
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assistance of a mob, recently to break up a meeting of
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which they were engaged. May the name of that il-
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* New York Observer.

of truthful and impartial history, in Roman capitals
and German black letters, as worthy to be enrolled
with the "five thousand" of "property and standing."
who, some years since, succeeded in dispersing a score
of females, engaged in a prayer-meeting!
Finally, O God—for we are not heard for our
much speaking—"we entreat thee to hasten the mil-
lennium of our patriarchal, patriotic, philanthropic and
heavenly system of Slavery and Concubinage! Let
it soon be extended throughout our land, and through-
out the earth! Then shall come to pass that for which
we have so often and so devoutly prayed, and for
which many of our Divines have earnestly plead-
ed. There will be no North, no South, no East, no
West. There will be neither free labor nor free la-
borers, "bleached or unbleached"; for capital shall
swallow up the whole, and all the "mud-sills" of our
political edifice will be forever removed. Then shall
the blessing of the Patriarch come upon all nations;
and Thine shall be the glory and praise, so long as
heaven and earth and slavery and concubinage shall
endure. AMEN!

NEW DEMANDS FROM THE SOUTH.
Freemen of the North! Slaveholders demand of
you that they shall be allowed to carry their property
into all the Territories of the United States. We,
the Slaves, demand that we be allowed to carry our
property into all the Territories of the United States.
Slaveholders demand of the General Government con-
stant and complete protection in the use and enjoy-
ment of their property. We demand as constant and
complete protection in the use and enjoyment of our
property as shall be allowed to them. Slaveholders
demand that government officers, and you, shall stand
guard over their property, to keep it from running
away. We will not insult government, or people by
asking that for ours. Slaveholders demand to be per-
mitted to take their colored servants wherever they
please, in Northern States, cities, towns, villages,
hotels, or churches, without objection or interference.
We demand permission to take our colored selves
wherever the slaveholder can take his servant or him-
self, or we may choose to go. Slaveholders demand
that they shall be allowed to import as many negroes
from Africa as may be convenient for them to hold as
property. We demand to be allowed to export as
many white men-stealers to the China islands as may
be necessary to rid the country of tyrants, and to
enable us to establish here justice and liberty. Slave-
holders demand to be allowed to manage their own
personal and domestic affairs in their own way. We
demand to be allowed to manage our own domestic
and personal affairs as independently as they. They de-
mand that the General Government shall assist them
to maintain their despotism against all who may at-
tempt its overthrow. We demand that the govern-
ment shall assist us to maintain our rights in defiance
of all who may combine against us. Four hundred
thousand tyrants demand of Christians and Republi-
cans new concessions to crime and despotism. Forty
hundred thousand slaves claim the right to life and
liberty. If the right to life and liberty is from Heaven,
the demands of enslaving despots are from hell.
"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to de-
cide!"
Freemen of the North—choose! Christians, for
you there can be but one side! May the watchword
of freemen be, "No Concessions to Tyranny!"—the
Christian's shibboleth, "No Compliance with Crime!"
We have "fallen among thieves." Brothers, we
call upon you to assist us. We will be to all who as-
sist the robbers, and condemnation to those who "pass
by on the other side." We have waited long: our suf-
ferings are beyond endurance.
Know ye, O Christians and brothers, that in this
land of the oppressor, the number of our dead equals
every seven years the number of the living! O, terri-
ble are the crimes of those who despoil us and murder
us! But so insatiate is the avarice of our tormentors,
and so hardened and brutal have their souls be-
come, that even all this robbery and murder will not
suffice them. They cause the dead bodies of their
victims, men, women, and children of our race, to lie
thick on the African sands; and they strew with
corpses the depths of the sea.
Men and brothers! you know these things to be
true; and yet you choose to honor those robbers and
murderers as Christians, and desire a union with them,
as brothers, even while they persist in their crimes.
You know that some of these men are so hardened
in wickedness as to sell their own children. You know
that others are so villanous as to buy, and sell, and en-
slave the children of others. You know that they are
all thieves and robbers in the sight of God, and ac-
cording to all just and equal laws among men. Will
you, for the sake of power or pelf, or for any other
earthly interest, unite with the perpetrators of these
crimes? Will you, men of the North, join with us,
or with the oppressors! The choice is before you, and
you can no longer evade it.
In mercy to your children, as well as to us who suf-
fer now, may you choose the right. "Wilt what secure
ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." While
you join hands with the wicked and the spoiler, the
prayers of the aggrieved ones shall rise up to Heaven
against you.
You have agreed together to keep us in bondage.
You have joined with the wicked to insult the weak.
Together you betray us—you abuse us—you rob us!
Many long years have you denied to us all privileges
as citizens; but now, in the name of the Almighty
Judge and Father of us all, we demand our rights as
MEN!
FOUR MILLION VOICES.
THE MOB AT THE TREMONT TEMPLE.
NORTH BROOKFIELD, March 1, 1861.
I have been much dissatisfied at the tone assumed
by the press, and by the legislative committee, in re-
gard to the affair at Tremont Temple, Dec. 3d.
Although spoken of as an outrage on the principle
of free speech, it has been too generally conceded to
have been cloaked under legal forms, and with a
show of parliamentary proceeding. On the con-
trary, the evidence is, to me, strong and clear, that
it was at once a violation of personal liberty and
personal property; in fact, a riot, under the jurisdic-
tion of the criminal and civil courts. Indulge me
with your space for a few remarks. It appears to
me that it may be asserted as a principle of law,
that every meeting must be conducted under the
call of the meeting—within the scope, towards the
objects, and in line of that call. Surely this is law,
if there is any sacredness in property rights. Nor
is it possible to divert the meeting from that course.
For any other purpose, there is no meeting, no re-
cognized voters, no legal authority. Who could
direct the proceedings of the meeting? What can
franchise the voters at the meeting, beside the call?
What other basis is there for representation? No
man, unless recognized in the call, unless applying
himself to the principles of that call, can have a
legal, parliamentary existence in such assembly.
What is there to determine who has the power to
vote aside the objects of a legally called meeting?
Have a hundred boys? Is mere manhood suffi-
cient? Suppose a thousand North street roughs
should attend the meeting of the Historical Society,
vote to burn the records, and appropriate the funds
to a good time. Would it be right? But you say,
that society is incorporated, has a constitution, and
elected members. But every assembly of men, for
a legal purpose, is as truly organized, though not
as extensively or formally, as the closest corporation
in Massachusetts, and has as thorough and complete
legal rights. The right of self-preservation, to pro-
tect itself from outside influence, is the simplest right
of anybody. The man who would interfere against
the purposes of a society has no legal ground to
stand upon, no legal weapon to lift, and no legal ex-
istence himself.
In fact, the secessionists have acted only on this
Boston principle of property rights, as controlled by
the majority of a mob. They have merely intro-
duced large bodies of voting men into the forts and
arsenals of the federal government, and then, you
see, by the popular voice, by the will of the major-
ity, they legally took possession of the thing in ques-
tion. Suppose the possession of that little citadel in
Charleston harbor were submitted to a popular vote.
But Fort Sumter as much belongs to the
mob of Charleston as did Tremont Temple to the
Boston mob on Dec. 3d. Would to God the right of
possession had been as bravely defended in the one
case as it will be in the other!
But further, a fortiori, a meeting, for any purpose,
must be organized under the call of the meeting.
On a principle so simple and strong as this, the af-
fair at Tremont Temple was clearly a riot, having
no other legal name. The mock organization by the
rioters was in open defiance and outrage of every
parliamentary law. A committee of the meeting had
already reported a list of officers. Without a recon-
sideration of the appointment and authority of such
committee, without a vote to reject their report, any
motion for any election of officers was impertinent
and illegal. Nay, as a motion, it was impossible.
Such an attempt was made by a person not recog-
nized by the Chairman, and was put by himself.
Was ever a farce more gross, ever an outrage on
popular rights more infamous? But the rioters say
we were not acting under Cushing's manual, or
strict parliamentary forms, only taking the general
sense of the assembly. But why allow the general
sense of an assembly to be law in that assembly?
That is as strictly arbitrary as a vote for reconser-

tion, as to truly a parliamentary fiction. But I will
not trouble you further.
F. A. W.
—Daily Atlas and Bee.
ETHAN SPIKE'S PLAN OF COMPROMISE.
Ethan Spike, the regular correspondent to Major Draw-
ing, has issued his plan of compromise, which he pro-
poses to send to Washington by the hands of George
Lunt, of the Boston Courier. The essential features
of the plan are: "The removal of the Missouri line
as far north as the St. Lawrence river, all north of
that to be devoted to slavery; a declaration by all
Republicans that they are sorry they elected Lincoln,
and are willing to be forgiven; the publication of the
Bible as second-class mail matter; the removal of
Banker Hill Monument to South Carolina; the removal
of the immediate massacre of all free negroes in the North-
ern States; the perpetual banishment of Garrison,
Phillips, Abby Foster, Daniel Pratt, Mrs. Bloomer,
and Caleb Cushing, to Liberia; E. P. Church's name
to be amended so as to read E. P. Church, Carolina;
the turkey bizzard to be substituted for the American
eagle; Major Anderson to be hung; the name of
cotton to be substituted; Howell Cobb to be presi-
dential candidate; and Gov. Floyd Secretary of the
Treasury; only two newspapers to be allowed in the
free States—the New York Daily Book and the East-
ern Argus; the New England pulpit to be controlled
by Uncons appointed by Governor Wigfall; the old
hats of Iverson, Jeff. Davis, and A. Sneyer shall be set
up in the market places of the new rebellious North
and every person refusing to wear them shall be
sent into slavery. If after this liberal offer, the South-
ern brethren shall continue contumacious and imperi-
ous, cutting our throats, then, in the spirit of '76, let us
muster in our strength and—run away."
CONDITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.
True to its pro-slavery spirit and purpose, the New
York Observer, last week, gives the following malicious
and insidious, but perfectly characteristic threat to the
Anti-Slavery movement:—
"Disguise it as we will, shut our eyes to the truth
of it as we may, the cruel fact strikes us as with a
knife, that the anti-slavery agitation of the last quar-
ter of a century has not elevated, but has lowered
the colored people of this country. It is a fact, known
to foreign admirers of free and enlightened
America, that while States have shut their gates
against the admission of the race as residents among
them, and that in every state, section, and com-
munity, they hold a social position that annihilates their
hopes of enjoying the privileges of citizens, as if
they had been born without brains. And more wor-
thless, still, the spirit of modern philanthropy is re-
sisting all measures of amicable adjustment of our
national troubles, at the risk of rendering the Union,
making slavery perpetual, reopening the sore trails
with all its horrors, and without the slightest pros-
pect of reason to suppose that disunion will be of less
advantage to the African race, bond or free! This
is overlooking the greater result for the sake of the
prodigious camel. This is setting fire to the barn
to expel the rat. This is the policy that makes the
Louisville negro cry out in despair, 'Save me from
my friends!'"
A truthful and triumphant refutation of these de-
famatory charges is, by a singular coincidence, fur-
nished us in the following extract of a letter from our
colored fellow-citizen, Mr. GEORGE T. DOWNS, pub-
lished in the New York Anglo-African of last week:—
"Who that can run back, say twenty years, can
fail to observe the most hopeful changes. The
country, before then, was the time to get the
country. Then a colored man had to take the
gutter-side of the pike, and dared not show his face in
a concert, lecture, or library-room; schools, colleges,
and literary associations closed their doors against
him; he had to peep the deck all night amidst howling
storms, with his wife and little ones, while going
up or down the rough, tempestuous Sound; being
among drunkards and lewd, dirty persons in Jay-
Crow cars, while passing from city to city; spit
upon the highway, his presence everywhere being
regarded as an insult, and finally, even into houses,
enjoyed by the poor, educational privileges, the
teachers teaching the children 'no hope in this
country,' instructing them to be good meek, and
whipping scholars for calling a decent-looking or-
dinary parent visiting the school, a gentleman. All
of this was then the tamely submitted to. Now col-
leges and schools are alike open to all on equal
terms, as are also the lecture, the concert, and the
library-room; railroads and steamboats are free to
him; see him in legislative halls, in person or by
petition, standing erect and boldly demanding the
every right; see him elected by the suffrage of the
people to respectable offices, and participating in
the duties of the office of the peace, in the work-shop,
in the studio, occupying professorships, and then
say, if you can, there is no hope in the future. I
give an incident that came under my notice a few
days ago. A little colored boy attending one of the
public schools in this city had done some mischiev-
ous act provoking the ire of the white man, who re-
proved him, and threatened to arrest him. The
little fellow, in a manner evincing dignity and
courage, replied, 'I have never seen a white man
reproving a colored man, and I have never seen a
white man threaten to arrest a colored man. I
spected, responded, 'Show me your authority.' I
very much question if the fitting words, spoken in
that fitting manner, could have been heard in the
streets of Boston, or in any other city, twenty-
five years ago. It is the infusion of this spirit
into the rising generation that strengthens my hope."