

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

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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Refuge of Oppression.

WHAT THE ABOLITIONISTS HAVE DONE.

A short time, in the history of nations, gentlemen—thirty years only—when I had no gray hair on my head, but when, like many of you here, in the prime of youth, this incident occurred, and it is an insignificant one. A newspaper made its appearance, called the Liberator, and the Governor of Virginia at that day wrote to a friend of his in Boston to know something of this Liberator newspaper.

NO RECONSTRUCTION.

It must be a great relief to the many Northern people who are willing to make any concessions to bring back the seceding States, to read such articles as the following from the Mobile Tribune:— "There is not a man so bold as to advocate at the hustings the re-creation of the confederacy of the Union by the return of the cotton States to its embrace."

A SLAVE ADVOCATING SLAVERY.

The Savannah Republican of the 28th says:— We have received a pamphlet entitled "Slavery and Abolitionism, as Viewed by a Georgia Slave, Covington, Ga." As we have not had time to examine its contents as closely as we would, we annex the commentary of our cotemporary of the Griffin Union.

Selections.

THE SECEDING STATES.

Statistics are very ugly things. The importance attached to "Secession" diminishes as we look at the ugly figures which authentic documents supply. The bank capital of the seven States of the Southern Confederacy is \$61,349,488.

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SUBMISSIONISTS ADMONISHED.

The conceited, eccentric, stubborn few who oppose secession are warring against Providence, finding fault with the ways of God. They may occasion war and bloodshed by their irritating opposition; but cannot prevent secession. If war does come, the submissionists will be alone to blame for it.

THE OWIIDE DESPERADOES.

A Roman Emperor inaugurated his reign by declaring that he was determined to be hated. A similar ambition may be said to possess the statesmen of our Southern Confederacy.

THE MARCH OF EVENTS.

So rapid and impetuous is the march of events in the United States, so quickly does one scene succeed another, in the great political drama, that news becomes of secondary interest almost before it is breathless interest for the President's inaugural speech.

AN ENGLISH PROTEST AGAINST SOUTHERN RECOGNITION.

Mr. Gregory has given notice that, on an early day, he will call the attention of her majesty's government to the expediency of a prompt recognition of the Southern Confederacy of America.

THE OVERWHELMED.

The overwheeled, under-fed, miserably-clothed, and wretchedly-lodged slaves, have been compelled, as a means of repressing their intelligence, to work in iron collars, to sleep in the stocks, to drag heavy chains at their feet, to wear yokes, bells, and copper horns; to stand naked while their masters or mistresses brand them infamously, to have their teeth drawn, to have red pepper rubbed into their scorched flesh, to be bathed in turpentine, to be thrust into sacks with mad cats, to have their fingers amputated, to be shaved, and to be whipped from neck to heel with red-hot irons.

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NEWS FROM THE CONFERENCE.

The East Baltimore Conference passed the resolutions on the New Chapter, which we gave last week, by a vote of 153 to 10. The Western Virginia Conference, by a series of resolutions, first, regretted the passage of the New Chapter; second, expressed their judgment that the chapter is not law, and that they shall be governed by what they regard the teachings of the Scriptures, amenable only to God and the Annual Conference;

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THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"What order of men under the most absolute monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than 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 owners of one 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 privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights 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 name 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 monster to Maloch was hidden under the mask of this constitution."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

THE REIGN OF BUFFIANISM.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune: Sir.—In January last, the Indian Queen arrived at St. Mark's, Florida, from Aspinwall, for a cargo of cotton...

as a farce and a nullity, and defy those whom it invested with authority. It has, while in power, loudly vaunted its fidelity and devotion to the Federal Constitution...

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Church of the Puritans, (Dr. Cheever's), in the City of New York, on Tuesday, May 7, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. In the evening, another public meeting will be held in the Cooper Institute...

Whether the American Union, therefore, be dissolved or not, so long as a single slave is left in his fetters, this Society will still have its work unfinished, and will still deserve the countenance and aid of all believers in the inalienable rights of man...

FROM ANOTHER STAND-POINT.

The Liberator, in commenting upon Lincoln's inaugural address, says,— The Liberator, in commenting upon Lincoln's inaugural address, says,—

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

Last week, we published a letter, from an anti-slavery correspondent at the West, taking umbrage at our denouncing the Southern secessionists as guilty of robbery, treason, and all those who...

Suppose that, instead of ignoring State sovereignty, we recognize it, and freely admit, what Disunion abolitionists have always contended for—the right of a State to secede. This right being admitted, it is not for Massachusetts or Ohio to authoritatively indicate to South Carolina or Georgia as to how much provocation will justify them in seceding...

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whatever property it can find within its limits belonging to all the States under one general government, then there can be no fixed national policy, no reliable treaty-making power with other nations, no army or navy for the general defence, no sure national existence from one hour to another.

The Boston says—"South Carolina, believing she had a right to secede, seceded." We cannot admit any such thing; for we have no idea that the honestly cherished such a belief. She knows that there is no justification for her conduct—none whatever.

Again the Boston says—"As a sovereign State, it was a duty (1) she owed to herself to obtain possession of all fortifications which she justly possessed, and might be obliged to obstruct her in the exercise of that right."

But, says the Boston, "had Massachusetts seceded, she would probably have done the same thing." Then she would have been equally culpable. Two wrong-doers never yet made the wrong right.

As if anxious to exonerate South Carolina from all blame, the Boston represents her as collecting the revenue, "not for treasonable purposes, but to defend herself against a government that had assumed the right to make her a tributary province."

With marked inconsistency, we think, the Boston concludes its article as follows—"In the eyes of all fair-minded people, we have no more to say as to the cause of secession, than we do as to the cause of the American Revolution."

It seems to us that this refutes all that precedes it, and covers the ground we occupy. Carolina's plea of secession is neither "defensible," nor "reasonable," nor "just"—no more than "the intemperance of a man who spends his wages in liquor."

Respecting the stolen property, the Boston says—"The Confederate States wish to arrange with the old government for an equitable division of property, and for the assumption of their portion of the public debt." What proposition could be fairer than this?

But, says the Boston—"None of these things affect the right of secession—a right for which all Disunion abolitionists have consistently contended, until the Southern States have presumed to exercise it, not for the destruction of slavery, but for its perpetuity."

Our course, we attribute no intention of conniving at Southern villainy on the part of our honored and long-tried coadjutor, whose *Dugle*-notes have hitherto been so clear and spirit-stirring, and whose standard has been so elevated and uncompromising; but we think he has strangely confounded Northern disunionism with Southern treason, by a false view of "State sovereignty."

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL REJECTED. In the Senate on Monday, the bill relating to the organization of a Metropolitan Police in the city of Boston was discussed at length, and rejected by a vote of 7 to 21. Those who voted right—i. e., in the affirmative—were Messrs. Bates, Boynton, Clark, Day, Walden, Watson, Whiting. In the House, on Tuesday, a similar decision was arrived at. But this is only putting Mayor Wigham and the City Authorities in their good behavior for another year.

THE "SABLE CLOUD."

Dr. South-side Adams has written a new book, of 276 pages, with the above title, designed to enforce the ideas suggested in his "South-Side View of Slavery." It is designed as a book of argument, but the material for argument upon that side being rather scanty, the work is interwoven throughout with those appeals to the feelings which have given this author's devotional books such wide acceptance with his sect.

It opens with a letter—quite probably a real one—from the wife of a slaveholder, showing incidentally a genuine sympathy in some domestic affliction of some of her husband's slaves. It is just such a letter as Mrs. Shelby, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," might have written, though it does not show so intelligent an appreciation as hers of the real welfare of the slave.

The purpose, however, of Dr. Adams, requires that he should misrepresent the abolitionists, and depreciate one of them as honored and so useful as Mrs. Stowe, and this he does with characteristic indirectness and disingenuousness.

In the second chapter, he delineates what he wishes to have understood as the impression received by an abolitionist from the sympathizing letter of the slaveholder's wife. Mr. A. Freeman North, the lay-figure who he has manufactured to stand for an Anti-Slavery man, is sorely puzzled by this letter.

He speculates whether there can possibly be one such woman in the South (although the letter itself indicates no preference for slavery, and might have been written by one who wished her husband to separate himself from it). Then he conjectures forgery, and scrutinizes the post-mark and hand-writing of the letter. Then he elaborately calls up the memories of "the old New York Tabernacle," of "the modern Boston Music Hall," of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and of its "Key," in contrast, as if any of these had assumed such a letter to be impossible or improbable.

Then he begins to doubt whether his abolitionist teachers have been correct, as if this invalid letter's correctness. Then he assumes that, if this letter is believed, the great party of freedom must necessarily go to pieces, and "our Northern excitement against slavery cease," and begins to think if it can be suppressed. Then he falls into raptures over the novel idea that some slaves have actually liberty to select one spot rather than another for the graves of their kindred—which is the portion of Paul's letter touched upon in this letter.

Dr. Adams assumes that the African race is an inferior race; that the slaveholding States present not only a Christian, but "a well-ordered state of society"; that the slaves of *pious* people—a class represented by Frederick Douglass, who has a varied experience in slavery, as the most oppressive class of masters—"are better off than any separate class of laboring people on earth"; that setting the slaves free at once "would be as unjust to them as it originally was to steal them from Africa"; that "ownership in man" is neither wrong in itself, nor likely to come to an end, while this world lasts; that slavery in this land has now "the prospect of being more firmly established than ever by means of our great national commotion on this subject"; that to hire the slaves as free laborers "would make them a far more degraded people than they now are"; that "the South, and their present relation to the white race, are the bounds of their habitation fixed for them by an all-wise God"; that if the slaves were made free, "they would fall into a degraded, serf-like condition—but none each of them partakes of his master's interests, and rises with him"; that "the colored people being here, their being owned is the very best possible thing for their protection"; that "there is no form or condition of service in the world which has more effect than slavery to keep families together"; that those Northern men, who, like himself, belong to a denomination in which many eminent clergymen have fallen into the sin of licentiousness, should never "cast a stone at the South on that subject,"—since "their clergy, their husbands, their young men, if they are not better, are not worse than we"; that the ownership of men and women which he has been defending, is accurately thus defined—it is "a right to use, and to dispose of, the services of another, wholly at my will"; that even the application of the Golden Rule to the blacks does not require that we regard them as "on a level with us"; that "if the South could be relieved of Northern interference, the condition of the colored people would be greatly improved"; that "the only remedy is the entire abandonment by the North, of interference with this subject"; yet that "this cannot take place so long as the Northern people labor under their doctrinal error that it is a sin to hold property in man"; that, considering the prevalence of this error in the North, it is a very remarkable providential arrangement "that one book of the Bible, which was to be made known to all nations by the commandment of the everlasting God, by the obedience of faith, should be exclusively on the subject of slavery, and that the whole burden of the Epistle should be, 'The Rendition of a Fugitive Slave!'" that God "ordains the subjection of one race to another, and makes bondage one of His ordinances as truly as war."

That one beneficial effect of slavery upon the masters is shown in the Southern gentleman's "reverence for the female sex"; and that, as to the slave, his "abounding sustenance" solves the great problem which has always puzzled political economists and publicists ("how to feed the lower classes")—and that he is, moreover, "as thoroughly protected as any laborer in Europe." He is protected from every other man's wrong-doing by the ready interference of his master; he is guarded from the master's abuse by the laws of the land, and a vigilant, earnest public opinion.

The above is only a gleanings from the abundant harvest of thorough and hearty advocacy of slavery contained in this book. Some further expressions of it will be noticed in another article—C. K. W.

What have the Abolitionists done? Answered Secretary Floyd's admissions on our first page.

THE LATEST NEWS FROM ST. DOMINGO

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, BOSTON, April 1st, 1861. To the Editor of the Liberator: Sir—Find in the following dispatches of the associated press, the following paragraph about Hayti and St. Domingo:—

"Great excitement existed in Havana on the subject of the Spanish annexation of St. Domingo. It appears that, during some time past, a proposition of large bodies of emigrants into the island, with the view of promoting the republic, and consequent the exclusion towards the republic of the government, had the first sign of existence on the part of the emigrant population, to invoke the aid of the Spanish government. This was accomplished on the 10th inst., when the Spanish flag was hoisted, much to the consternation of the black and native inhabitants. The Spanish frigate Banca was despatched from Havana on the 23rd, immediately on the receipt of the above news, fully armed and equipped, with a large number of regular troops on board, to assist in this Spanish project, or, in other words, annexation.

The crew steered towards Petreola and Baraguano, in order to follow as soon as possible, with a detachment of the regular army. A large additional number of military force, including some of the largest vessels, and about 10,000 regular troops, is also reported as on the way from Spain to Cuba and the West Indies. By an arrangement with the Spaniards, already concluded, it is said that Hayti is to share the fate of its sister republic."

This news is capable of an explanation, at once truthful and less alarming than the comments of the New York Daily Times, and the letter of your friend, our correspondent.

As a vast majority of our citizens know nothing about Hayti and the Dominican Republic, excepting that both are inhabited by people of African descent, it may be necessary to state, that the island of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola or Hayti, is held by two independent nationalities; that of the eastern part, being known as the Dominican Republic, or rather St. Domingo, or more frequently the Spanish part, and that of the west, (formerly called the French part, being known as the Republic of Hayti. In the Dominican Republic, which has a population of 120,000, the people, who are chiefly mulattoes, talk Spanish, and were formerly subjects of Spain. Their ruler is President SANTANA, a man nearly white, whose sympathies, ideas and tendencies have all, and always, favored the reunion of his country to the unmortally glorious empire of Spain. In Hayti, which has a population, variously estimated at from 100,000 to 120,000, the people speak French; they are the descendants of slaves, and of free colored people, who succeeded in throwing off the French domination. Their ruler is President GEYRAUD, who represents in his blood the three original races—Indian, black and white—and whose earnest aim is to establish a powerful independent nation, to be exclusively composed of men of African descent.

The Eastern part, or the Dominican Republic, was conquered by Toussaint L'Ouverture, having been previously ceded to France by Spain, under the treaty of Basle, but never formally delivered over to that power. Toussaint had not quite completed its emancipation, when Le Clerc's expedition arrived, and recalled him to the West. During the war between the Haytiens and the French, which followed the disembarkment of these troops of Napoleon, (who were sent to reënslave the blacks, and were ignominiously defeated in the attempt), the Eastern part was again put under the power of Spain, and was then held till 1821, when a revolution overthrew its authority.

In 1822, the Eastern part was united to Hayti, then governed by President Boyer. For twenty-two years the whole island acknowledged his authority. On his overthrow, in 1844, the Dominicans seceded, and no reconstruction with either Spain or Hayti has as yet been effected.

Since the independence of the Dominican Republic, two parties have divided and alternately governed, whose representative men are Santana and Boyer, the words reunion and independence indicate their respective policies.

Unlike Cassa, Santana would rather be a little man in a great country, than a great man in a little country. Twice he has formally offered to place the Dominican Republic under the Spanish crown; and, failing in these attempts, he courted for a similar purpose with France, and then for a confederate union with Venezuela. But none of the powers would accept his proposals. France and Spain had been his once, and were satisfied with that experience; and Venezuela did not want to induce a white emigration from the United States; but, although seconded by our Consul there, (whose longer continuance in office will be disgraceful to our Republican Administration,) he signally failed to interest either our capitalists or laborers in the project.

Some years ago—what I say now is drawn from Haytian official sources—Santana borrowed a million of dollars from France. Failing to repay it according to the terms of the loan, he offered to give a mortgage on the Custom House. Last summer, accordingly, a small band of Spaniards—not more than eighty in all—arrived at St. Domingo, and three officials among them immediately entered on their duties as collectors at the ports. The rest were mechanics. That is of the "emigration" that has been sent to the Dominican Republic by Spain. There has been a small emigration from South America; but this (like, with the Spaniards, is as old as the independence of the Spanish colonies; for, whenever there is a revolution in Venezuela, or the adjoining countries, numbers of the banished seek a home in the Dominican Republic. This policy of Santana furnished the material for creating an effective union among the opposition to his government. "See 'Is selling the country in white!'" Even as early as last December, revolutionary circulars and proclamations were in type at St. Domingo; and a copy of the proofs, I know, was shown to a distinguished ambassador at Paris. But this project was nipped in the bud; and there is still an exile. The intrigues of the opposition continued increasing, Santana has called for aid—first, in order to secure the perpetuity of his own government, and secondly, to enable him to repay the loan.

This, I venture to say, is "the sum total of the whole" hubbub that we hear from Hayti. These facts being unknown to the reporters of the Associated Press and the Cuba correspondents, it is not astonishing that they should assume, (it is given only as a supposition), that France would wish Hayti, as they think that Spain has seized the Dominican Republic. The notion that Haytiens would desire to be reënslaved would be quite pathetic, if it was not quite absurd. There are various reasons why France will never threaten Hayti—among them, these— She has recognized the independence of Hayti. She draws a large revenue from Hayti, as her present for recognizing that independence. She is bound by treaty to defend Hayti against all foreign attacks; and, lastly, She could not attack Hayti without first declaring war against England.

I might add to these reasons two others—First, the experience of Napoleon, called the Great, who vainly strove that France could not conquer Hayti, and who saw that Napoleon could not be so successful as she were to try; and, secondly, that a statement by Voltaire the Little, is too shrewd a statement to voluntarily attempt to defy the moral sentiment of Christian civilization, and the physical power of England combined, when even if he were successful in conquering both the possession of Hayti would not begin to balance the expenses of governing it. Algiers, near at hand, Madagascar, easy of conquest, are more tempting fields for his ambition than Hayti, the cemetery of all flowers of his uncle's greatest army. I have also official authority for stating that last January, England and France offered to be the guarantors of a treaty of alliance and of defence between Hayti and the Dominican Republic, by which the integrity of the Territory of both countries against all foreign powers is guaranteed. The proposition was accepted; Commissioners

WALTER D. MADDOCKS.

First Officer of bark Union, New York, March 16, 1861.

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF SOUTHERN HUMILITY—FOURTEEN WEEKS IN JAIL.

William H. Turner, of Manchester, New Hampshire, by profession an engineer and machinist, had for four years been in the habit of spending his winters on the plantation of Woodworth & Son, at Clintonville, South Carolina, about seventeen miles from Charleston. Before the Presidential election, in reply to a question of one of his fellow-workmen, he said that if he had the casting vote, he would give it for Mr. Lincoln. About two weeks after the election, he was visited by a party of two men, probably disunion committee men, who asked him if he had said what is reported above. He replied that he had. They then exhibited a warrant for his arrest, and informed him that he must go with them. The charge was of expressing abolition sentiments. Mr. Turner accompanied the men to Charleston, and was taken to the jail, where he was received by the turnkey, and immediately locked up. As he passed through the streets, the bystanders hissed, hooted, and assailed him with threats of hanging, and whipping, following after to the jail, and there collecting in a large mob. The morning the Sheriff, whose name he thinks was Snodgrass, called at the jail, and the prisoner asked him if he would be pleased to give him a drink of water. The Sheriff replied, "Go to—h—ll, and get water if you want it!" Some hours later, the turnkey was also asked for a cup of cold water. His reply was, "Send down East and get it!" In the afternoon he was taken before the "Vigilant Committee Tribunal," over which he thinks Judge Jeffers presided. He asked his name, and whether he had said what was charged against him. He replied that he had said it. The men then tore up the original warrant, saying that another Court must take cognizance of the case, and ordered the prisoner back to jail, using the foulest language and declaring that he ought to be hanged.

Mr. Turner was then taken back to his cell, a bare stone apartment, 27 inches wide, and about eight feet long, dark, except when the full blaze of the sun fell on a skylight, which reflected some feeble rays. He passed that night, and every day and night of his imprisonment, in this hole, without a shred of bedding, or a piece of furniture of any sort, excepting a pallet. The next morning, thirty-six hours after he was first taken, a small tub of hard bread and a pint of impure water were put into the cell, and this was the allowance for each day during his confinement. He was kept in jail till Monday, the 11th ult. During the period of this imprisonment—more than fourteen weeks—he saw no one but the attendants at the jail; his employer did not come to him, or communicate with him in any way. On the morning of the 11th of March, young Mr. Woodworth called on Mr. Turner, and said he would do the best he could to have him sent away; and that the wages due, \$245, would be paid to him before he went. He then disappeared, and Mr. Turner saw him no more. The prisoner was shortly taken to the court-room, and asked by the Judge if he would leave the city in six hours if he could get away. He replied that he would leave if he could get away. He was then sent, in charge of the Sheriff, to the steamer, on which he worked his passage to this city. The mob howled after him on his way to the wharf, and endeavored to get him out of the officer's hands to lynch him, but were unsuccessful. As one of his minor experiences it may be said that, before his arrest, he had left his watch and chain, and that he was required to repair to the former. When he called for it, on his way to the vessel which was to take him home, the watchmaker refused to give either up, telling the owner to "go to—h—ll"—a favorite manner of discharging obligations with the South Carolinians.—New York Tribune.

WAR AT HAND!

The last dispatch of our Secessionist friend at Montgomery leaves no room for hope of a peaceable adjustment of our country's intestine troubles. The Jeff. Davis Confederacy has resolved to wage offensive war on the Government of the United States, and will assault or open fire on Fort Pickens forthwith. Meantime, the limited daily supply of fresh provisions hitherto allowed by Gov. Pickens to be furnished to Fort Sumter has been stopped, and we may hear at any moment that this Fort, too, has been carried by storm, and its garrison forced to surrender. Within a few days at farthest, the cannon of the insurgents will be battering down the defences and slaughtering the defenders of the American Union.

Let us pause a moment and consider. Slavery makes open war upon that Union which has so long been its protection and security. For thirty years, the opponents of slavery have borne the imputation—which not one in a hundred of them has deserved—of seeking their end through the dissolution of the Union.

In all this time, not only has no charge, not a platoon has been fired, on the National flag and forces, under the inspiration of Anti-Slavery. Its advocates have been beaten at elections, hunted out of halls which they had hired and paid for, mobbed and maimed in the slave States, and generally proscribed and stigmatized in the free, without being graded into hostilities. Only in Kansas, when compelled to choose between resistance and annihilation, have they been moved to rebel force by force. The Slave Power, after enjoying undisturbed sway for half a century, has at length lost an election. Hereupon, it proceeds to treat that election

named to conclude the treaty; and, when it is signed, France and England stand pledged to enforce it.

But, even if France did not stand thus pledged, is it likely that England would permit her to seize Hayti, in violation of the laws of nations, and of her own treaty stipulations? Never! For Hayti, in her own right, is a first class power, would command the Gulf, and the Mole St. Nicholas, by the expenditure of a few thousands of dollars, could easily be made a second Gibraltar. England would not permit her trade with Jamaica to be thus imperilled.

Again: Napoleon, although a traitor and a perjurer, is a far-sighted ruler. He knows the American people, and does not care to rouse them. He knows, too, that events are far stronger than articles, and that, although our President's hands may now be tied by the Constitution, and treason flourish in consequence thereof, yet circumstances may compel him to appeal to the North, which, once unshackled, would sweep with the besom of destruction all the Cotton States into the Gulf, as a quicker rate than Christ drove the devils (who succeeded into swine) into the sea.

Respectfully, JAMES REDPATH.

SOUTHERN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT.

It is curious to notice the many attempts made by prominent men in the South to argue to the divinity which is alleged, gives impetus to slavery. Fancies as numerous as winged insects in mid-summer seem to play about the Southern brain. The defence of slavery at the South is no less an institution than slavery itself, and Southern wit has taxed its utmost energies to shield the conscience against the exasme of frowning humanity.

Once slavery was but a bud which the best honesty believed would drop from the parent stock ere it could mature. Contrary to expectation, it bloomed and ripened into bitter fruit. Once it was only to be tolerated even by its supporters; now it is to be made essential to the existence of the highest form of society. Once a hateful hag, hell-born; now a seraph noted in light. Once but the harsh clash of capital and labor; now the strong arm of friend and benefactor, stretching over the unfortunate; majestic strength sweeping over ill-proportioned weakness; Christian and heathen, superior and inferior, as ordained of God, European and African, master and slave, in beautiful juxtaposition!

In the attempt to convince themselves and the world that this delightful conclusion comes legitimately of reason, all disturbing forces in the process must be removed. Democracy must be carefully eliminated. Ideas of popular sovereignty must be cast out, that the relation so natural between white and black shall be more completely harmonized. Mr. Spratt, in his plea for the legalization of the slave trade of South Carolina, says one white master answers to one African slave, and cancels the democratic element which conflicts so mercilessly with the best form of society. One million of white, and half this number of black men, will not do. The first approach to perfection is equality in number. The next step is to increase the proportion of blacks to pleasure, till at length the great and glorious Southern Confederacy, suitably to be established somewhere under a tropical sun, may amount to forty millions. This number of African slaves, with only a million of masters, would be a model community, once freed from a disorganizing democracy. The proposition is simply, that there shall be as many or more slaves than masters.

Having settled upon this for a social system—a result of the efforts of nature—the next step is to erect the political system. Based as the State is on this new adjustment, so fruitful of good economy and so productive of wealth, circumstances are, of course, favorable to the birth and growth of a model class of men. Wealth and leisure insure the high culture of the best-born, and hence come a legitimate aristocracy, out of which are to flow elegance, fashion, refinement, and the governing power. The less fortunate of birth and rank, though none the less masters and protectors of the unfortunate slaves within their own precincts, are naturally doomed to be governed; and thus, in this glorious confederacy, we get a reproduction of the patrician, plebeian and slave.

It is to be observed that no thought of freedom to the slave is ever to be indulged for a moment. Master and slave—this is Heaven-ordained. This we are to take for granted, as the basis on which the whole structure is to rest. Not so much as a hint of the lack of a support of capital, or the possibility that labor can exist in any other form than that of slave. One is tempted to demand proof of the premises, before proceeding to read the argument.

Of course, it does not lie within the province of this school of political economists and philosophers to consider the moral aspect of this state of things; the simple assumption is, that Africans are inevitably and essentially slaves, and the great mass of white men, though masters of slaves, must be ruled by a governing class, who enjoy the prerogative of holding and dispensing rights at will. It is not even hinted that there is any possibility that the status of the slave can ever be changed. His office, like a foundation-wall, consists in perpetually imbedding himself, and all his natural rights, to form a support to the political structure which is ever to rest on it. Slavery is the hand: the mass of white men the directing head. The governing class, high up and aloof, uses the latter as means to its own princely support.

Golden visions like this float over the imaginations of prominent secessionists, and shape their action. Not, as they say, to be practically carried out till they not only dissolve their connection with the North by the present revolution, but by the expulsion of democracy from among themselves by still another revolution—a necessary labor to be performed before this model society can stand erect.

The difficulty with this school of politicians is, that they start an assumption and fallacy. They have never dreamed of proving their premises. They proceed to logic and philosophy; but, the truth is, they are only special pleaders. They have trained their intellects so long in the service of Southern statute law, and the peculiar property which it protects, and self-will has become so strong by possession of irresponsible power—to dominate is so fixed a habit—it is impossible that the possessors should be able to form any just view of either a social or political system that shall not owe its excellence to the degradation of the mass of the people. Born and brought up under a system which tolerates an unbounded exercise of mere selfish power over the weak, must surely unfit the mind for a rational investigation of the principles of social and political science. By aid of such perverted mental vision, facts as they exist cannot, in the first place, be properly perceived, much less can any theories arising from such a source be worthy the attention of thinkers. Such a cast of habit and thought must necessarily culminate in a tyrannical nature, and any government conceived in such a spirit must necessarily be despotic. They give us fancies for facts. So well trained are they to the art of convincing an opponent, that, having secured your assent to the first position, they will reason you with lightning speed to every point of the compass, and make you stick fast in the mire. These are the men who, by every disgraceful means, plot the overthrow of the United States Government, because they can no longer manage it; and demand its complete humiliation, that they and their insane theories may rise above its ruins. How far they will succeed remains to be seen.

With such divergent views between the two sections of the country, how can any national man indulge the hope that there can, by any possibility, be anything like a union among us! Between the Free and Slave States, there are two essentially opposite and conflicting ideas, and all the powers in earth and hell cannot reconcile them. One or the other must finally triumph. Which shall it be?

We conclude, this week, the very able dissertation of Karl Heinzen, entitled "The People and the State"; or, the Unitarian State and the Federalist State." Read it carefully. [See our last page.]

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Taking it for granted that the District of Columbia is forever abandoned as the capital of the nation, allowing that several of the States have seceded from the Union, two questions will arise in the public mind. First—Shall the remaining States be loyal to the Constitution, and shall they enter into negotiations with the seceded States, and recognize under certain stipulations their withdrawal from the Union? Or, Second—Shall the old confederation make war upon and force the new republic, monarchy, or whatever it may be, to submit to its terms, and acknowledge the superiority of its national power?

To answer these questions concisely, it must be borne in mind that there is no natural basis of union between the two sections. One is interested in the maintenance of free labor, and the other must, for a season at least, use forced or slave labor. These must war with one another—both cannot exist together. One belongs to the South, the other to the North. The interests of the employers are, and forever must be, diverse; and as one lives, thrives, and comes into power, the other is weakened, languishes, and dies. It is clear to every intelligent political economist what the fate of the slave institution is. Heaven cannot smile upon them. "God has no attribute which can take sides with the slaveholder."

No doubt the defenders of the slave system expect to perpetuate it by secession; but all efforts in that direction must fail to meet the end aimed at. The dissolution of the American Union is the destruction of the slave system. This being so, every lover of his kind must rejoice that an event so desirable is at the door. Let it come—the sooner the better. It should be urged on, rather than retarded, by all who have the welfare of the poor and oppressed at heart. True union is desirable. Peace should be sought; but these great blessings must not be placed above eternal justice. Justice must be done, let the cost be what it may. "Let the Union slide," then, without anxiety, without a tear. It is an event that must come. Better now than at a later day. The fathers should not leave this work to their children. They will have enough to do in their time, for the question of peaceable secession is to start other political, moral and religious questions. Disunion has come in the best time, and in Heaven's appointed way. The North does not leave the South, but the latter withdraws from the former. But the South does not choose to go out of the Union poor. She seizes upon the national forts, arsenals, navy yards, ships of war; and the Southern mind does not escape her notice. What shall be done? Shall the North fight for these, and drench American soil with blood? By no means. Let the South have what she has seized, and let her bear all the ignominy which shall be heaped upon her by all the nations of the earth. From this hour, let it be seen that she is not only guilty of piracy, but that she has seized upon property held in common by the family of States; and, in time, she will see herself as others see her. If the nations of the earth make war upon her in her weak, distracted state, she cannot reasonably expect assistance from those she has robbed; and it is quite certain that the North would be in no haste to return the slave to his master, even though a case were sustained on the plea that "labor or service was due."

But if the South has left the Union, where is the Federal Government? Has it an existence? Where are its courts? Where its navigable rivers? Where its custom houses? Where its capital? Where its post office? And of what use can the patent laws hereafter be? The whole thing has virtually fallen to pieces. There is no Constitution, and there is no geographical union of the nation; it is but a rope of sand. National chaos has come. Lincoln cannot be regarded as the President of the United States. Congress cannot act, and the Capital must be forever forsaken. But what if these things are so? Are there not skill, wisdom, and a deep love of union sufficient to construct a new and a better government than any that now exists on this earth? Let the trial be made. The President elect is without power, without a dollar to sustain his government. The American treasury is at this moment bankrupt. The Union, so called, cannot pay its honest debts. Sherman may seek to replenish it, but who cares to advance money now? Seward, Hale, Crittenden, Adams and Sumner would be paupers to-day, had they not private resources on which to draw. There is nothing, then, to expect from the old Union. The work to be done is to construct a new and a NORTHERN REPUBLIC; and that Republic must omit, in all its basis papers, both the words *made* and *slave*, else it will be a weak, rickety thing, and will "fall asunder like flax at the touch of fire." Neither women nor negroes will much longer submit to laws that they do not frame; neither will they consent to pay taxes while they are shut out from the ballot-box.

Men of all colors being admitted to an equality of right, it being agreed that woman shall take her place in the councils of the nation, there may be procedure to issue a declaration of sentiments. That work could be better done by WM. LLOYD GARRISON than by any other American writer. When a Declaration is agreed on, it will not be difficult to frame a Constitution. Charles Sumner, Wm. H. Seward, assisted by Bates of Missouri, could do that work in less than a month from the time it was committed to their hands. As for the post office, the Government need take no trouble about that. Adams, with his vast express machinery, would take due care of that. He now runs his express in less than four days from New Orleans to New York, while the United States mail covers seven days. There is no good reason why the American people should not send all their packages and letters to suit themselves, without let or hindrance from the Government. As for the patent office, it has become a most oppressive monopoly, and should be abolished; and the shrewd inventor will manage his own affairs without protection from the nation. The custom-house will not be wanted—trade will be free—taxation will be direct—and the harbors requiring light-houses or light-boats will be supplied by the States which need them. In short, much of the machinery that was needful of the old confederation will not be called for by the new. In a future number, I shall take opportunity to speak of the structure of a government, such as the world now needs.

S. M. J.

THE WESTERN FIELD.

BOURBON, (Ind.) March 27, 1861.

To the Editor: Marshall and Kosciusko counties, where I have spent the last month, were, thirty years ago, an unbroken wilderness, inhabited by a remnant of the tribe of Miami, who have disappeared before the white man's civilization, with the exception of one neighborhood, seven or eight miles in extent, now under the culture of the Baptist Home Mission Society. These Indians are sober, honest and kind. They are thirty, but I am told have no interest in American politics.

The soil of this part of the State of Indiana is superior to any I have seen, supporting, in great abundance, large and healthy timber, mostly oak, walnut and poplar. It is not uncommon to see poplars sixty feet high, without limbs. The railroad (Chicago, Fort Wayne and Pittsburg) gives these new settlers an advantage over their neighbors, as they can sell, instead of burning, all their timber. The oak is carried at full length, for ship timber, and the walnut goes east, for furniture. I am told that Warsaw, the county seat of Kosciusko, ships on the road more lumber than any other town between Chicago and Pittsburg.

The farmers already raise cattle and grain in abundance, have tolerable fencing and passable roads, but few good houses and orchards. The school system, if indeed there is such a system here, is wretchedly incomplete; owing in part to the bankrupt condition of the State treasury, and, in other respects, to the inappreciation of education among the people. The State of Indiana has recorded a striking lesson of the dominance of a few ignorant, jobbing politicians, who, to carry on "Internal improvements"—internal to the pockets of the few, but improving to the purses of the many—involved the State in heavy liabilities, from which, though she has sold part of those improvements, as she had before disposed of most of her credit, she is not yet able to extricate herself, and will remain tethered to the ground, until the energies of the people develop from their own hidden resources a system of politics in which common honesty is not wholly ignored.

In these counties they have common schools six or eight months in the year, and the loss of the high school is in part made up by literary and lyceum associations, in which manhood as well as mind receives culture. Among the young men of these associations are minds that would be creditable to a much older country, before whom superstition and error will ere long lose its authority. Already the hungry herds of ministers besetting this new country—a questionable exchange for those other beasts of prey that feed before the face of man—tremble at the personal independence asserted by these associations.

But when you get beyond the lyceum, the only free institution in our country, you have seen the sunset of civilization. Within five miles of Warsaw, the capital of the county where I last week held a meeting, before inviting me to her hospitality, the hostess inquired, aside, whether or not I was a woman. "They say," said she, "no woman ever talked as she talks, and I never knew one talk at all." She was terribly religious.

In discussing the question of amending the Constitution, to authorize the abolition of slavery, at Etms Green, a Jack-at-a-pinch Justice refused to vote in its favor, because, he said, he had "taken his stand on the Chicago platform, the platform of the Fathers, and the platform of non-interference." I was told that, in view of his ponderous public functions, he practised elocution, previous to his election, in the old Demosthenean style. Standing upon the bank of a deserted mill-pond, he challenged the ancestral knights of Frologod in this wise: "Fellow-Citizens, Frogs of both sexes—in the name of the Constitution and of the Chicago platform, I have a right to be heard." My informant says it was a dreadful encounter, but the deed was won, and the loyal knights have not yet peeped.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Majority and Minority Reports on Amending the Federal Constitution.

A RESOLVE FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION. The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom were referred the resolutions of the General Assembly of this State, passed on the 27th of February, 1861, and reported the following resolve:— Resolved, That while we regard the Constitution of the United States, if properly interpreted and duly enforced, as amply sufficient to secure the just rights of the people of all the States of the Union, still, as dissatisfaction and misunderstanding have arisen, respecting the proper interpretation of that instrument, the Congress of the United States is hereby requested to call a Convention of the several States, in accordance with the 5th article of the Constitution thereof, to take into consideration the propriety of amending the same, so that its meaning may be definitely understood, in all sections of the Union.

The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred a resolve of the Congress of the United States, approved on the 27th of February, 1861, and reported as follows:— The proposed amendment is as follows:—"No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service, by the laws of said State."

The principles upon which the General Government was established are well understood. It was intended for the general purposes of the several States within its jurisdiction, leaving to the individual States all powers of sovereignty and rights of legislation not necessary to the objects for which that Government was instituted. Included in the rights thus reserved to the States, is the control over all their domestic institutions. This is evident from the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It is universally admitted that the several States have exclusive jurisdiction over the system of involuntary servitude within their respective limits. Under the Constitution of the United States, the General Government has no authority over, or responsibility for, the maintenance of slavery in the United States, and no State has the right, in any manner, to interfere with the system in any other State. The States upon this subject are as much independent of each other as they would have been had the power of sovereignty and the right of legislation to the General Government. Massachusetts has no more authority over slavery in South Carolina than she has over any domestic institution of any nation in Europe, and consequently has no responsibility for its continued existence. The Committee believe that the proposed amendment is a gross violation of the principles upon which the Constitution was framed, and that it is a gross violation of the rights of the people of the several States, and that it is a gross violation of the rights of the States within its jurisdiction. It is a gross violation of the rights of the States within its jurisdiction, and it is a gross violation of the rights of the people of the several States. It is a gross violation of the rights of the States within its jurisdiction, and it is a gross violation of the rights of the people of the several States.

The editor of the Republican paper here was requested to publish J. R. Giddings' article on "The Fugitive in Cleveland"; and though he is prodigious anti-slavery, no notice of this, or of the anti-slavery meeting, has yet appeared. His column of "Local News" shows, however, that he has an acute eye to small things. At a meeting in the Methodist Church at Bourbon, the circuit minister uttered his solemn protest against political meetings on the Lord's day, and in the house of God, and declared himself shocked and amazed at the mixing up of the names of Jesus and Seward in the pulpit. A vote to amend the Constitution so as to authorize Congress to abolish slavery passed unanimously over the head of this pious Democrat, supported by his brothers in the ministry, several of whom were present, and his church generally, including class leaders and new converts. The itinerant system is, to this minister, his only forlorn hope.

The local preacher of Franklin refused the use of the Methodist church, last evening, as he said, several of the members "believe slavery is right"; and the minister declared he would take up arms sooner than abolish slavery, and allow the "wipers" to come to Indiana. The large school-house was opened, and many who could not come in, heard through the open windows. The state of the weather and of the roads has nothing to do with audiences here. The Government and the Church are in a siege against humanity, and the people, who know it, are invulnerable. The flying visit of that able and faithful advocate of unconditional emancipation, Marius B. Robinson, has left an indelible impression upon this community. The doctrine of Disunion, which he taught as a means to abolish slavery, has with this people so little terror, that scarcely a man can be found to deny the right of the South to secede, while I hear many declare that they would shoulder a musket to prevent her return.

I have thrown together these few incidents of a month to give you a just idea of an average aspect of the great Northwest. But, most important for your notice is the fact, that in nearly every meeting that has been held in these two counties, the people have given almost unanimous and enthusiastic votes in favor of abolishing slavery in the States as well as in the Territories—and have largely signed the petition to amend the Constitution accordingly. Agents are here, receiving generous contributions for suffering Kansas. There is a great mania here for building churches, and funds are being raised for a College in Marshall county. The people in this new country own their money, and have but little of it. In view of all these difficulties, my collections are small. A few have been induced to take anti-slavery papers, and I am sure a month here has not been misapplied, and so thinks Elisha Erwin, the standard-bearer here.

Truly, JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING.

TWELVE SERMONS, delivered at Antioch College, by HORACE MANN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1861.

The sermons constituting this neatly printed volume were written and delivered while Mr. Mann was President of Antioch College. They embrace the following topics:—1. God's Being, the Foundation of Human Duty. 2. God's Character, the Law of Human Duty. 3. God's Law, the Principle of Spiritual Liberty. 4. Sin, the Transgression of the Law. 5. Testimony against Evil Duty. 6. and 7. The Prodigal Son. 8. Temptation. 9. Retribution. 10. The Kingdom of Heaven. 11. Immortality. 12. Miracles. They are all highly instructive, and exhibit that copiousness and felicity of illustration, that closeness of reasoning, and that power of expression, which characterized nearly all that came from the pen of Mr. Mann, whether occupying the arena of political life, or his office of Secretary of the Board of Education, or his last position as President of Antioch College. This publication is a solid service rendered to the cause of religion and morality.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HOUR: A Discourse delivered at the Paine Celebration in Cincinnati, January 29, 1861. By Orson S. Murray. This Discourse, with an Appendix, occupies 68 octavo pages. It relates mainly to the tremendous conflict between Freedom and Slavery now going on in the land, and deals with men and institutions in a bold and scathing manner. Particular attention is paid to William H. Seward and his whiffling policy since the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the lash applied with merited severity. For a long time we have read nothing more racy or pungent. We shall find room for some extracts hereafter. In the earliest and most trying period of the Anti-Slavery cause, Mr. Murray—first as a Baptist minister, next as an editor of a Baptist journal—was for several years conspicuous in it, doing it "yeoman service," both with his pen and voice. Since then, he has passed through various "dispensations"; but, however eccentric or divergent his course, or conflicting or startling his abstract speculations, he has always exhibited manly independence, a disposition fearlessly to "prove all things," and a humane and liberty-loving spirit. It is a long time since he has spoken so directly and strongly upon this subject, the abolition of all "goods" having occupied his attention more than the abolition of chattel slavery. He is always earnest and sincere.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Majority and Minority Reports on Amending the Federal Constitution.

The undersigned feel that there are serious objections to the adoption of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, a few of which they beg leave briefly to state:— First. It introduces a new feature into the Constitution. Our fathers believed the human race to be progressive, and hence left every part of the Constitution open to amendment. The proposed amendment, if adopted, makes the Constitution unalterable in one of its provisions, at least. Second. The term "domestic institutions" is very broad in its meaning, embracing institutions educational, reformatory, and retrogressive. Suppose, for instance, some State should fall so far back into barbarism as to adopt a system of cannibalism or polygamy, would a Christian nation bind itself never to interfere with such "domestic institutions"? Third. This is no time to initiate constitutional amendments, when several of the States stand in the attitude of rebellion to the Constitution itself. Fourth. Massachusetts has ever been faithful to the Constitution of the United States, and intends to be faithful to all its provisions. Her self-respect forbids her to believe that the Constitution under the threats of her sister States. Fifth. If this amendment grants nothing, except what is already in the Constitution, as some of its friends affirm, then it is superfluous, and ought not to be adopted. Sixth. If this amendment gives new guarantees to slavery, it is a gross violation of the rights of the people of Massachusetts, as embodied in her heroic deeds for freedom, as embodied on her monumental battle-fields, demands of this Legislature its rejection. Seventh. The amendment should be adopted by three-fourths of all the States of this Union, and thus become a substantive part of the Constitution. What then? Does any one suppose the recalcitrant States will thus be drawn back into brotherly union? The undersigned fully believe that such a course will be the result of the proposed amendment. Will the Border States be pacified by this amendment? What evidence is there to this effect? The lowest claim presented as satisfactory to them is, so far as the undersigned know, the Crittenden Compromise, with the understanding that the States annexed to the amendment should be adopted by three-fourths of all the States of this Union, and thus become a substantive part of the Constitution. What then? Does any one suppose the recalcitrant States will thus be drawn back into brotherly union? The undersigned fully believe that such a course will be the result of the proposed amendment. Will the Border States be pacified by this amendment? What evidence is there to this effect? 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Poetry.

For the Liberator.

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY TO LIBERTY.

Oh, noble land of mountain, river, lake,
Have more magnificent than our old world,
Of mines of untold wealth, of fertile soils,

Yet these great States of old, whose rocks yet show
Remnants of gorgeous splendor, never heard
Thou, holy, blessed earth, that Law of Love

As yet so blind, America's proud eyes,
Are yet to see slavery and mob-misrule
Are bringing on you Europe's cold disdain?

Why should the strong North cover before the South,
As if she held the reins of Destiny?
Oh, Northern freedom, do you truly love

YANKEE LAND.

A PARODY.
Air—"Dixie's Land."

The Yankee's love for man is rotten;
The Yankee land is ruled by Cotton;
Look around! look around! look around in Yankee land!

Yet I'm glad that I'm a Yankee—hooray! hooray!
In Yankee land I'll take my stand,
To live on honest Yankee.

Each day, as I around am walking,
I see vain men and women strolling,
Strutting round, &c.

Yet when their Southern lord and master,
Strut upon his whip, they'll travel faster,
Strutting round, &c.

At such his slaves, in different stations,
As those at home on his plantation,
Strutting round, &c.

Though they may dress a little better,
They just as truly wear the fetter,
Strutting round, &c.

They'll never be true men and women,
Till they leave off this wholesale sinning:
Looking round, to give the suffering slave their hand.

WHAT I HAVE SEEN.

I have seen Vice a good stand forth;
Before his altar thousands bow'd;
Seen modest Virtue crush'd to earth,

While falsehood has spoke out with pride,
Has listened to his cunning speech;
From honest Truth they turn'd aside,

I've seen the Right borne down by Wrong;
Seen men enslaved by tyrant Might;
Not one of all the cringing throng

I've seen, while palaced Knavery fed,
On luxuries brought from every clime,
Good honest Worth go by for bread,

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

Ye friends of freedom, falter not;
No victory you have bravely won;
Till liberty, so dearly bought,

A faltering foe will ever yield,
While shining bribes allure their eyes—
Rise, friends of freedom! take the field,

A universal cause is ours,
Our motives reach to all mankind,
Defend in love with all your powers,

Our Southern lords place all at stake;
Make way for liberty! they cry;
The pillars now begin to shake,

And when we gain fair Freedom's soil,
We'll rest secure from all our foes,
From strife and sin and anxious toil.

The Liberator.

(From the pamphlet "The People," by Karl Heinsen, 1863.)

THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE;

OR

The Unitarian State and the Federative State.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.)

(Concluded.)

If we realize the question correctly, it will be seen
That federation is a question about which, by which States,
That can no longer singly reach their destination

Another circumstance that has hitherto blinded us,
In regard to the federative system, has been the form
And bad effects of centralization in other States,

As yet so blind, America's proud eyes,
Are yet to see slavery and mob-misrule
Are bringing on you Europe's cold disdain?

Why should the strong North cover before the South,
As if she held the reins of Destiny?
Oh, Northern freedom, do you truly love

The Yankee's love for man is rotten;
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Yet I'm glad that I'm a Yankee—hooray! hooray!
In Yankee land I'll take my stand,
To live on honest Yankee.

Each day, as I around am walking,
I see vain men and women strolling,
Strutting round, &c.

Yet when their Southern lord and master,
Strut upon his whip, they'll travel faster,
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At such his slaves, in different stations,
As those at home on his plantation,
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From honest Truth they turn'd aside,

I've seen the Right borne down by Wrong;
Seen men enslaved by tyrant Might;
Not one of all the cringing throng

I've seen, while palaced Knavery fed,
On luxuries brought from every clime,
Good honest Worth go by for bread,

I've seen, ay, while the rich rogue had
His splendid robes for grand display,
The faithful laborer meekly said:

I've seen—see it every day,
And see it every day,
And see it every day.

may have been the only practicable way to form the
Union, as the permanent, perpetual and unimprovable
frame of the State, it does not, of course, occur, to
politicians to trace the necessary evils of such a pol-

The Whigs, on the other hand, are contending for
the opposite, that is, for strengthening the central
power, and for accumulating, as far as possible, all
sorts of general business in Washington. Of course
they are; for they want dismembering power and res-

In America, we may learn that theory without
practice is impotent, but likewise, that practice without
theory is foolish. We may learn that North America,
albeit the asylum of republicans, is not the ideal of
the Republic. We may learn, here, how the Republic

It is now time that we should make a useful applica-
tion of what we have explained, to North America.
After the people in this country have come to regard
the federative form, which, it is true, in the outset,

LETTER FROM REV. BERIAH GREEN.

DEAR GARRISON.—Some of my Church neighbors
may make large eyes at "the news," told in the last
number of the Liberator, that Beriah Green is to be
classified with the orthodox. I am a little surprised

The American slave has for the last thirty years had
very few friends, at all superior in wisdom, strength
and enterprise—in zeal, activity and courage, to Wil-

Well, I did not see that Unitarians generally, so far
as I was acquainted with their history, were more intent
on reducing their professed principles to practice. In
opposition to what they described as the inculcations

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bern (N.C. Press) free and slave, feel that they are
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IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN.

however, at a session meeting in New Orleans, a
list of the names of residents hostile to slavery was
made up, and among them. Spies were set upon
his track, and means most cowardly and lawless were

It is required by the laws of Louisiana that, before
any case shall be submitted to the Grand Jury, the
prisoner shall be examined before a County Re-

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MR. LEWIS FORD'S LECTURE.

Mr. Ford delivered his lecture as per appointment,
at the Everett School House on Thursday evening,
subject, "Immediate and Unconditional Emancipa-

He assumed that slaveholding must be either right
or wrong. If right, then there is no ground for the
Republican desire to limit it, for if right, why not
extend and perpetuate it to the utmost of our ability?

Every man has a right to his own body and soul,
to the reward of his own labor; and those who talk
either from him by violence do, in very deed, rob
him.

Slaveholders live by appropriating to their own
use that which belongs to others, i. e. by theft. If
there were a common thief in this community, who
would think strange of a reformer who would urge

Spain, since his last elevation to power, has sold the
Republic. The price of the Yankees did not suit him.
To-day he has adjudged it to Spain, and is preparing
to crush the Dominican people under the colonial

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the tyrant will be forever annihilated. Let the fire
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