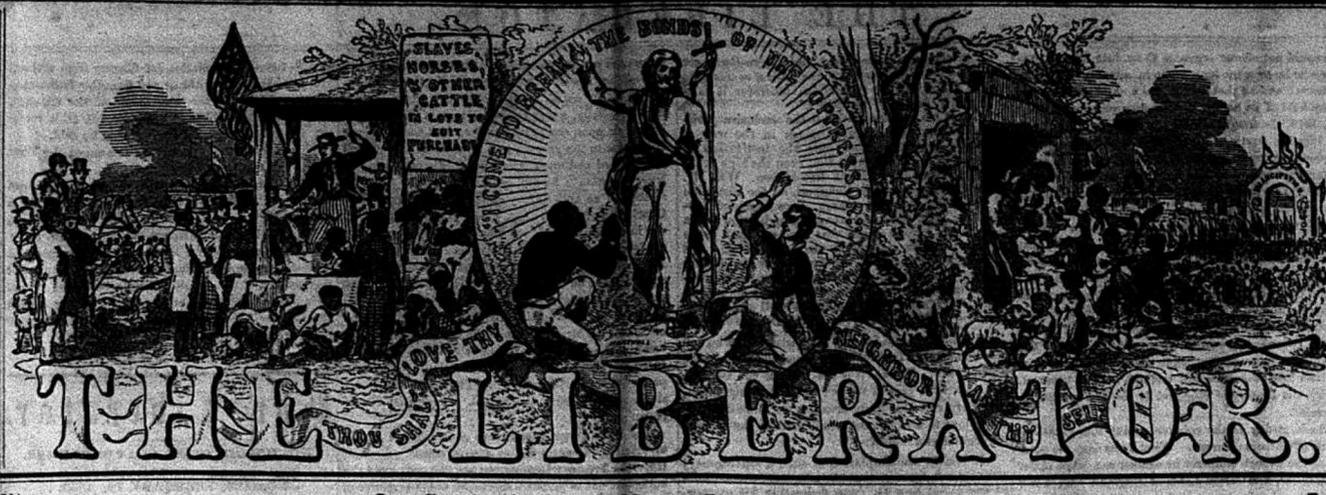


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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.  
The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.  
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.  
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### REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SPEECH OF 'HON.' CALEB CUSHING — REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Feb. 21, the Order offered the day previous by Mr. Cushing, of Newburyport, was taken up, viz: —

Ordered, further, that the committee, to which other petitions of the same tenor have been heretofore referred, be discharged from the further consideration thereof, and that the same be reported back to the House, with leave to withdraw, in conformity with the standing order of the House.

Mr. CUSHING spoke as follows: —

I rise, sir, to speak on a question both specific and general, which in my judgment is one of great importance to the members of this House, and of deep interest to the people of this Commonwealth. The specific question is of the form and spirit of the action which the House shall take regarding the Judge of Probate of the county of Suffolk. That is the precise, definite and specific question to which my order relates. It involves, however, in some portions of the preamble, the action of this House in relation to what has been in common parlance called the removal of Judge Loring, which is now deservedly regarded as a term of opprobrium — and of the Lobby, Mr. Speaker, that most peculiar relation, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Or, to re-state the general question in other terms, I might say that that general question, as comprehending a special question, is, whether the members of this House are free men, who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain; or whether they are, as they have been characterized on this floor, the whipped spaniel crouching at the feet of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

I humbly beg pardon of the House in using that phrase, and applying it to the House and its action. It is not my phrase. I do but catch up and repeat the yet unexpired echo of one of those terms of opprobrium, menace, dictation and insult applied to this House in its Hall last Friday. These, I say, are questions of importance to the members of this House, and of interest to the people of this Commonwealth. It is of importance to the members of this House, whether we are to legislate upon our own unbiased judgments of the truth and justice of the cause, or whether we are to legislate under the influence, secretly applied, or the menace, publicly applied, of avowed enemies of the Constitution and the Union; and it is of deep interest to the people of this Commonwealth to know whether the Commonwealth is to continue to be, either in appearance or in fact, controlled by the House of Representatives, the Constitution and the Union, and to be dragged along as a conquered victim, tied to the chariot wheels of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The present position of this House, in the face of the petitions on the table, and in the face of the events of the last three days, is that of acting under the menace and insults of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I will proceed, in the first place, to prove that the House is acting under the influence and terror of these menaces and insults. I give that as the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the afternoon, it was notified of the vote of the House, granting the use of the Hall. The acceptance of it was opposed by Mr. Garrison, and it was declared that the Society did not intend to use the Hall when it made application — that the request was made only to see if the right of the Society would be recognized. It is a question of the power of the Society in this House, upon Mr. Garrison's declaration.

I have collected the reports of the debate, so as to gather some idea of its temper. For I hardly think I should have been much edified had I been present. I see that my name was used more than once. Whatever epithets were applied to me were but as a drop of rose water compared to the terms of opprobrium applied to this House, and especially to the Republican party. If they can bear up under it, I think I shall be able still to stagger along. Mr. Phillips said that he understood that a gentleman of the Legislature had presented a bill to the House to give the use of the hall to disunionists. With all respect to that gentleman, Mr. Phillips would suggest that that gentleman did not own the State House. Well, now, that is a very profound and eloquent thought, and that is the sort of reason and eloquence which is applauded by the Anti-Slavery Society. So do not own the treasury; but, if a bargainer should be breaking in as I passed, am I not to interfere? The people own it, and the Legislature are but as the constables that keep the door. We begin with finding constables keeping the door. You are not members of the Legislature; you are not vested with a constitutional function as an element of the government; you are but constables, keeping the door for the Anti-Slavery Society. Is not that a proud position for the wisdom and genius and eloquence which control the Commonwealth? We begin by finding that you are constables. But we undergo transgressions. And I have got to touch a party question, and I raise it, but it is represented that Mr. Wendell Phillips attacked the Republican party, characterizing it as cowardly, afraid to acknowledge great truths, but if forced to swallow them, it lumps them. He maintained that the State Anti-Slavery Society was practical; every thing but one (the dismissal of Judge Loring) that it has asked of the State, it had obtained.

Mr. SPEAKER of Boston: You need not defend the Republican party.

Mr. CUSHING: I am defending the House of the Commonwealth against the attacks of the disunionists. Everything that the disunion society has asked, except one, I have granted. I have granted the branch of the Lobby that can boast of such success. It is testimony of triumphant power over this Legislature, if the boast be true. The one thing yet unaccomplished is the removal of Judge Loring, and I find that Mr. Phillips promised that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would yet write the epitaph of a Suffolk Judge of Probate. Now comes a passage which I hesitate to read, but, after all, it is the exhibition of the mode in which the Society is to succeed in this remaining object, not yet accomplished, therefore I must read it. Mr. Phillips says — 'The South has other reasons for hating Massachusetts than because her barren soil bred Caleb Cushing;' (I do not see the logic of this, although I do see the logic of the succeeding clause,) 'it hates her for her cowardice.' The South hates Massachusetts for her cowardice! This, our Commonwealth of Massachusetts, founded by the Pilgrims of Salem and Plymouth, this, the conqueror of Louisiana; this, the State of Massachusetts which has never been found hindmost when a battle-field was to be fought in behalf of the country in any war, in any region of the earth; this State of Massachusetts is held up to the South, and the South is invited by Mr. Phillips to hate the Commonwealth for her merits. Gentlemen, do you accept this stigma? Do you admit that you are subjects of this cowardly State of Massachusetts? But what does Mr. Phillips say to those who constitute the domi-

nant majority in this House? 'I despise the Republican party, and would not sit in its Legislature. A whipped spaniel, not a cod, should be the emblem of the Legislature.' The whipped spaniel should be the emblem, crouching at the feet of the Anti-Slavery Society! Thus it is that this infamous Society commands. Here is the proof, not only by the resolution, but in the speech by which the resolutions are supported. That there may be no mistake in the sentiments uttered, I will read for you other papers.

The Traveller reports Mr. Phillips as saying that 'every good practical statute that glids the statute book owes its origin to the Abolitionists, who have invariably carried their points with the Legislature. The next measure they demanded was the removal of Judge Loring, and then they would have a law passed for a fine for a master bringing a slave into the Commonwealth. His concluding remarks were very severe and denunciatory upon the Republican party, and the present 'dormant Legislature which goes to sleep every day.' So they say that the present Legislature are not only cowards and whipped spaniels, but that we come here to slumber upon our duty every day. I have some little experience of life and parliamentary assemblies, and I will say that never in any period of history did there come under my observation such a series of insults and humiliations as you are now subjected to in your legislative assembly as here applied to this. I know that, in some of the stormy and sanguinary periods of the French Revolution, it did occur that lobby members and factious mendid occasionally obtruded themselves upon the French Convention, but never even in the history of the worst periods of the anarchy and bloodshed of the French Revolution is there to be found an example of dictation and menace such as is applied to this Legislature in its own hall of assembly.

Here is an assumption of authority in this House, a dictation founded on the premise that past measures have been dictated by that Society, and an assumption that they may be able to dictate to future Legislatures. Is this so? Is it true? Is it a fact which I am to accept? Am I to consider that you are the whipped spaniel of the Anti-Slavery Society, and this House subject to its dictation? Am I to consider that this House is a bond-slave to the Anti-Slavery Society? If that be so, my line of action has not to be changed. It is not my practice to argue with slaves. I shall be compelled to go out of the House, and argue the question with the masters of this House. I scorn the imputation. I deny that they are thus identified with the Anti-Slavery Society. I deny that they are thus subject to its dictation. I deny that they are crouching under the lash furnished by Mr. Phillips. I have denied it a thousand times in other places, and before other audiences. I have denied it on any and every occasion where I have had occasion to address the people of the Commonwealth. I have denied that it is true that this Commonwealth is under the odious and infamous dictation of a band of disunionists, called an Anti-Slavery Society. I have said that there has been undue compliance towards its demands, but I have denied that it was done in obedience to its authority. Have I got to go to my friends, and take back all that I have said in the public hearing, and to my native Commonwealth, I had repelled all the dishonor and imputations cast upon her, but that I was now constrained, by facts that had occurred under my own eye, by the transactions in which I had been a partaker, that I was mistaken, and that I must admit that she was the whipped spaniel of the Anti-Slavery Society? Shall I be driven to this? That is the general question presented by my Order, and to which you are to give an answer.

The Anti-Slavery Society wants the removal of Judge Loring. It wants personal imputation thrown upon him. It does not care how much of the Constitution is violated, provided in the rage of its wrath it can get at him. They say you are the constables and whipped spaniel, and this they want and will have. Now, then, here is a powerful party that has got, I think I may conjurely say, a little discontented with the yoke. They find the manacles of the Anti-Slavery Society grating into its flesh. They are now headed by a gentleman of practical common sense, not a zealot nor an enthusiast, not a fanatic, but a man of sense, who really does not want to dissolve the Union, but likes very well to govern Massachusetts in the Union, or in the aggregate of the Union. It is no longer the Republican party, however, for I see by the placards that it is the 'Banks' party. As it is identified in one man, Governor Banks, the convenience of Gov. Banks may be looked after.

This House, whatever it does for the removal of Judge Loring, must be careful not to trouble his (Banks's) prospects in the Middle States. It is therefore proposed to this Legislature, that we shall rid the Commonwealth of the Constitution of the Commonwealth; that we shall trample upon the rights and interests of its respected public servants who now administer the judiciary of the Commonwealth, and all this, because it will be inconvenient if Judge Loring is fired at with cannon balls, as Mr. Phillips calls his speeches. Now then, Mr. Speaker, upon this statement of premises, we come to the two alternatives that I desire to submit to the House: the special alternative with reference to the Judge of Probate, and the special alternative with reference to consolidation of the Courts of Probate and Insolvency; how the House will sail between the Scylla and Charybdis of the menace and dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the convenience of the Governor. How that will be solved, I do not know, Mr. Speaker. I anticipate that the consequence will be, that Edward Greely Loring will be left untouched in the office of Judge of Probate. I anticipate that, in undertaking to break down the entire judiciary, only to get one Judge out of the way, is too rigid, and that the other method is too odious, and will revolt against the sense of the House. So I anticipate that both will fail. I will not enlarge upon the subject further than to say that I think it is the duty of the House to follow out its standing order, which requires that the petitions shall be reported back with leave to withdraw. Then I come to the general alternative, as to whether the House is really under the dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society, and whether it should not be emancipated. I am for setting the slave free — for striking off the chains. I say to the down-trodden victims of the Anti-Slavery Society, 'You are also men and brothers, you may become free.' I am here the advocate of a revolution — a revolution if you are subject to its dictation. That I do not know, I am waiting for information upon that point. I desire to know, and I can only know by facts. Will the House proceed in violation of its orders, and enact certain universal petitions for the removal of Edward Greely Loring, when it is practically competent for any member to proceed lawfully by introducing an order of inquiry, as other subjects are brought up every day? If you proceed in violation of the laws of the Commonwealth, there is but one explanation of your course, that you do it in humble deference to the demands of the Anti-Slavery Society.

It is one of its principles to force upon you, in violation of law, a specific mode of removal of the Judge of Probate. This is its present object. It is the measure and the end to which it is devoted, and which it seeks to rally this House to support. If you do submit, you do, then, implicitly admit, and do admit, that this pretension of the Anti-Slavery Society is true, that you are subject to its dictation, that you are to be governed by its resolutions, but, like an old French Parliament, the humble registers of the edicts of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I will continue to repeat it as in past time. It cannot be that the raving absurdities put forth by this Society — that all the follies taught by these vagrant disunionists — are your guides and leaders in conscience and judgment. Merciful Heaven! Can it be that these, the men whose preposterous folly and absurdity, whose monstrous reason-mongering, whose absurd logic, whose wild and crazy delirium constitute the staple of all their resolutions and speeches — it cannot be that these are the gods of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! And I do but utter the voice of the Commonwealth! I do not know how it may be in a particular majority, at a particular day — but I do believe that I do utter the voice of the Commonwealth, when appealing to the Representatives of the Commonwealth to shake off the shackles of this Society's dictation, and to legislate as free men, and determining that you will legislate as free Representatives, scorning this infamous and odious dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society!

From the Bradford, Vt., National (Democratic) Telegraph.  
DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION — A NORTHERN REPUBLIC, &c.  
Since our last paper went to press, the first out and out Garrisonian, disunion State Convention ever held in Vermont has assembled in this place, done its work, adjourned, and dispersed. It is with a sense of most profound, heartfelt sorrow and regret, that we approach our duty as a journalist, to lay before our readers the proceedings of this body of men; for we are well aware that consequences must follow. It is known to us, too, that the poison from a mad dog introduced into the circulation of the blood of an animal, although quiescent for a time, is sure, sooner or later, to manifest itself in terrible forms, and kill the animal. As is this terrible poison to animals, so is it a moral poison to men, by force or fraud, had introduced into our State, during the last week, to our moral, religious and political life. It is sure to bid somewhere, or something, or somebody, and send them headlong downwards, downwards. 'The way to hell is easy, but to get out again, there's the rub,' says Virgil.

At the opening of the session on the first evening, the character of the meeting was plainly shadowed forth. Letters were read from Gov. Sibley, the School Marrow Men, and others. A telegram was dispatched, and read from a New York disunionist, a Rev. Mr. Sloane, that he was on the way, and would give them garget the next evening. Then the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions reported a resolution, that the U. S. Constitution was founded in iniquity; that the Union was an unholy alliance, and should be forthwith dissolved, and the foundations laid for a Northern Republic! Around about on the speaker's stand were Parker Pillsbury, and many other persons of tried strength and prowess. I have denied it on any and every occasion where I have had occasion to address the people of the Commonwealth. I have denied that it is true that this Commonwealth is under the odious and infamous dictation of a band of disunionists, called an Anti-Slavery Society. I have said that there has been undue compliance towards its demands, but I have denied that it was done in obedience to its authority. Have I got to go to my friends, and take back all that I have said in the public hearing, and to my native Commonwealth, I had repelled all the dishonor and imputations cast upon her, but that I was now constrained, by facts that had occurred under my own eye, by the transactions in which I had been a partaker, that I was mistaken, and that I must admit that she was the whipped spaniel of the Anti-Slavery Society? Shall I be driven to this? That is the general question presented by my Order, and to which you are to give an answer.

Mr. Pillsbury came down upon the church of all denominations without mercy, saying in so many words, that if the church could be destroyed, it ought to be; entered into a tirade against the President of Dartmouth College; made an attack upon Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, and Robert Southey; and came down upon the Rev. Mr. Pillsbury, and was all that there was of any worth about the whole concern. A letter was then produced from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, which was laid upon the table to be read in the afternoon, as it was supposed to be twenty-four carat gold, and more people would be likely to be in attendance to hear it. Then came up the Constitution annihilator — the resolution to break down all creation! Mr. Remond said he expected the Constitution, and now men rise up before this audience, and declare their hatred, their detestation, of that Constitution, and would trample it in the dust. He appealed to the audience — Shall such declarations find favor or sympathy among these green hills? God forbid!

Such was the drift of Gov. Fletcher's remarks. He also pointed out the folly, the madness of the remedy prescribed by the Garrisonian disunionists. And while he denounced these measures as rash and inconsistent, Gov. Fletcher said he yielded to no one in his hatred and opposition to slavery, or in his desire for its abolition.

At the conclusion of Gov. Fletcher's remarks, the resolution was laid on the table. We rejoice to know that the anti-slavery men of Vermont repudiate the obnoxious heresies of these rash disunionists; and we hope the time may never occur when they will join hands with these unprincipled disorganizers.

of January, in the year 1858, ended the only disunion State Convention ever held in Vermont. May it be the last! It is a deep disgrace to the State. It is mortifying to State pride to have the Governor of the State meet an African negro in debate, and get whipped and insulted, as was Gov. Fletcher, by Mr. Remond, of Salem. What was the composition of the Convention? It was made up almost entirely of Republicans, those who went blind in support of Fremont in the last campaign; uneasy, restless mortals, who want a higher moral platform; fanatical agitators in want of a topic, to keep community in a broil. Here we see the whole Republican party, from Fletcher downwards, in convention; plotting how they may best and quickest pull down the work of Washington and Franklin, Hancock and Adams. We verily believe the Republicans, as a party, would be willing to 'let the Union slide' without a consideration. Surely the National Democrats have great cause to thank kind Providence that they are where they are — true patriots and ever-enduring friends to the whole country — to the Constitution, and all the laws!

From the Bradford, Vt., Aurora. — (Republican.)  
ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT BRADFORD.

We had not time, before our paper went to press last week, to express, as we wished to do, our utter detestation of some of the proceedings and doctrines advocated by some of the speakers at this Convention. We attended the meeting, expecting to hear a candid discussion of the subject of Slavery as it now exists. But, upon the organization of the Convention, and the presentation of resolutions for action, and the discussions which followed, we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of a set of ultra-Garrisonians.

During the deliberations of the Convention, the resolution for the repudiation of the Constitution, the dissolution of the Union, and for the formation of a new Northern Republic, came up for the action of the Convention. We took the liberty to denounce the principles embraced in the resolution as rash and treasonable, and asserted that the resolution was entirely out of order, and should be ruled out by the Convention; — that the objects of the meeting, as publicly announced by the originator and principal manager, were not for political purposes; — that the principles involved in the resolution struck at the root and foundation of all political parties, and all political action — that we had no sympathy for such pernicious doctrines and unrighteous heresies as were embraced in the infamous resolution, and that they should not be tolerated by the Convention.

Mr. Goddell, of New York, made a lengthy speech, maintaining that the Constitution was not pro-slavery, but anti-slavery — it was only misconstrued — like the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, it had fallen among thieves. Let us not be misled by the ultra-Garrisonian put upon it, and he would ask no better instrument. He looked only for a remedy in an act of Congress abolishing slavery. He maintained that a dissolution would not at all effect the object aimed at by the disunionists, but would be disastrous in its results.

Mr. Goddell was followed by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; C. L. Remond and W. W. Brown, of Massachusetts — probably three as ultra-Garrisonians as can be found — who broached their infamous resolutions — that we had no sympathy for such pernicious doctrines and unrighteous heresies as were embraced in the infamous resolution, and that they should not be tolerated by the Convention. He maintained that a dissolution would not at all effect the object aimed at by the disunionists, but would be disastrous in its results. Mr. Goddell was followed by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; C. L. Remond and W. W. Brown, of Massachusetts — probably three as ultra-Garrisonians as can be found — who broached their infamous resolutions — that we had no sympathy for such pernicious doctrines and unrighteous heresies as were embraced in the infamous resolution, and that they should not be tolerated by the Convention.

After the vile denunciations of the illustrious framers of the Constitution by these ultra disunionists, Gov. Fletcher obtained the floor, and after some preliminary remarks, said, in substance, that it was painful to listen to the gross slanders that had been heaped upon men whose services, sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of liberty had no parallel. He who would deprive them of their just meed of praise, proved himself a degenerate child, unworthy of his high lineage. He revered the memories of those noble men, whose wisdom and valor, under God, conducted to liberty and independence; in his judgment, no man were called to build the sepulchres or write the epitaphs of more worthy ancestors. He directed the minds of the audience to those striking passages in our early history, in which their ancestors endured peril and privation, and fought for liberty, and gained their independence, and that the same spirit which led them to 'pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor,' to secure liberty and independence, controlled their action in framing our happy Government; and now men rise up before this audience, and declare their hatred, their detestation, of that Constitution, and would trample it in the dust. He appealed to the audience — Shall such declarations find favor or sympathy among these green hills? God forbid!

### The Liberator.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER, DELIVERED IN THE MASSACHUSETTS REPRESENTATIVE HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 29, 1858.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I shall not hold you long to-night. There are others to speak after me, who have better claims to your attention, — the one for his race, the other for the personal attributes of eloquence which, in America, have never reached a higher height, nor exhibited themselves in so fair a form. The hand of the dial shall pass round once, and I leave this spot, to be filled more worthily. During these sixty minutes, I ask your attention to some thoughts on the Present Aspect of Slavery in America, and the Present Duty of the North.

Mr. Guizot, — one of the most learned and humane of the European statesmen, — prefaced one edition of his 'History of Representative Government,' by stating that the conditions of National welfare were far more difficult than the too sanguine hopes of mankind had ever led them to expect. If that were so in Europe, where centuries of bitter experience have taught men to be cautious in their hopes, how much truer it is in America, where we think liberty is so natural to the soil and congenial to man that it needs no support from the people, but will thrive of its own sweet accord!

In some respects, our experiment is simpler than the great attempts at freedom made before us in the old world; in some others, it is more complex and difficult. All the old forms of civilization were based on Unity of Race. It was so with the Romans, Greeks, Persians, Hebrews, Egyptians, East Indians. The same holds good of the Moors, who mark the transition from ancient to modern times. All the mediæval attempts at civilization had the same character — in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England itself. Civilization hitherto has belonged only to the Caucasian race. The Africans have remained strangers to it in all times past; they could not achieve it for themselves at the time, hitherto never rising above the savage or the barbarous state; no other people brought it to them, or them to it save in small numbers.

It was left for America to begin a new experiment in the History of Civilization — to bring diverse races into closest contact. The Catholic Spanish began the experiment — he mixed his blood with the Red man, whose country he subdued; he brought hither also the Black man. Thus the African savage, the American barbarian, and the civilized Caucasian of Spain became joint stockholders in this new coparcenary of races. The Protestant Britain continued what his Catholic Spanish predecessor had begun; and while the Puritan was painfully voyaging to Plymouth, in the wilderness seeking an asylum where the Apocalyptic woman might bear her man-child to grow up in freedom, other Saxons were bringing a ship-load of negroes to the wilderness, to become slaves, forever. Thus the African came to British and Spanish America. Out of the 60,000,000 inhabitants of this continent, I take it about 9,000,000 are of this unfortunate race.

In the United States to-day, four of the five great races live side by side. There are some 60,000 or 80,000 Mongolian Chinese in California, I am told; there are 400,000 American Indians within our borders — perhaps 4,500,000 Africans, and 26,000,000 Caucasians. The union of such diverse ethnological elements makes our experiments of democracy more complex, and perhaps more difficult, than it would otherwise be.

The Mongolians are few in numbers, and so transient in their stay, that nothing more need now be said of them. It is plain where the Red man will go. In two hundred years, an Indian will be as rare in the United States as now in New England. Like the bear and the buffalo, he perishes with the forest, which to him and them was what cultivated fields, towns and cities are to us. Our fathers tried to enslave the ferocious and unprogressive Indian; he would not work — for himself as a freeman, nor for others as a slave; he would fight. He would not be enslaved — he could not help being killed. He perishes before us. The sneaky Caucasian laborer lays hold on the phlegmatic Indian warrior; they struggle in deadly grapple — naked man to naked man, hand to shoulder, knee to knee, breast to breast; the white man bends the red man over, crushes him down, and chokes him dead. It is always so when the civilized meets the savage, or the barbarian — naked man to naked man; how much more fatal is the issue to the feeble when the white man has the Small Pox for his ally, and Rum for his tomahawk! In the long run of history, the race is always to the swift, and the battle to the strong. The Indian will perish — utterly and soon.

The African is the most docile and pliant of all the races of men; none has so little ferocity; vengeance, instigated with the Caucasian, is exceptional in his history. In his barbarous, savage, or even in his wild state, he is not much addicted to revenge; always prone to mercy. No race is so strong in the affectional instinct which attaches man to man by tender ties; none so easy, indolent, confiding, so little warlike. Hence is it that the white man have kidnapped the black, and made him their prey.

This piece of individual biography tells us the sad history of the African race. Not long since, a fugitive slave told me his adventures. I will call him John — is not his name. He is an entire negro — his grandfather was brought direct from the Congo coast to America. A stout man, thick set, able-bodied, with great legs and mighty arms, he could take any man from this platform, and hurl him three his length. He was a slave — active, intelligent, and much confided in. He had a wife and children. One day his master, in a fit of rage, struck at him with a huge club, which broke both of his arms; they were awkwardly set, and grew out deformed. The master promised to sell the man to himself for a large sum, and take the money by instalments, a little at a time. But when more than half of it was paid, he actually sold him to a trader, to be taken further South, and there disposed of. The appeals of the

with the tears of the abolition, moved him the master whom justice had also failed to touch. As the boat which contained poor John shot by the point of land where he had lived, his wife stood upon the shore, and held her babies up for him to look upon for the last time. Descending the Mississippi, the captain of the boat had the river lever, lost his sight for the time, and John took the command. One night, far down the Mississippi river, he found himself on board a boat with the three kidnappers who had him in their power, and intended to sell him. They were asleep below — the captain still blind with the disease — he watched on deck. 'I crept down barefoot,' said John. 'They lay in their bunks, all fast asleep. They had money, and I none. I had done them no harm, but they had torn me from my wife, from my children, from my liberty. I stole up noiselessly, and came back again, the boat's axe in my hand. I lifted it up, and grit my teeth together, and was about to strike; and it came into my mind, 'No murderer hath eternal life.' I put the axe back in its place, and was sold into slavery. What would you have done in such a case?' I told him that I thought I should have sent the kidnappers to their own place first, and then trusted that the act would be imputed to me for righteousness on an all-righteous God! I need not ask what Mr. Garrison would do in like case. I think his Saxon blood would move swift enough to sweep off his non-resistant creed, and the three kidnappers would have started on their final journey before he asked, 'Where shall I go?'

John's story is also the story of Africa. The stroke of an axe would have settled the matter long ago. But the black man would not strike. One day perhaps he will do what yonder monument commends.

At this moment, we have perhaps 4,500,000 men of African descent in the United States; say 4,000,000 slaves, 500,000 free. They are with us, are of us; America cannot be rid of them if she would. Shall they continue slaves, or be set free? What consequences will follow either result? This is the great question for America. It is the question of Industry, of Morals, of Religion; it is the immediate question of Politics. It does not concern the 4,000,000 slaves alone, but also each of the 26,000,000 Caucasian freemen. On it depends the success or the failure of our experiment of Democracy. The bondage of a class may continue in a despotism; there it is no contradiction to a national idea. It is different in a Democracy which rests on the equality of all men in natural rights. So here the question of slavery is this: 'Shall we have an industrial Democracy, or a military Despotism?' If you choose Slavery, then you take the consequences of Slavery, which can no more be separated from it than cold from ice. No nation can escape the consequences of its own first principle of politics. The logic of the idea is the 'Manifest Destiny' of the people. If Slavery continues, Democracy goes down — the form of Republicanism, or of constitutional Monarchy, will perish — and Absolute Military Despotism take their place at last. From Despotism, as seed reared in the national garden, comes Despotism as national crop, growing in the continental field.

This question of Slavery does not concern America alone; it is a Christendom likewise is party to the contest. It is a question of Industry, Commerce, Education, Morals, Religion; to the civilized world, it is the great question of civilization itself. Shall this great continent be delivered over to ideas which help the progress of mankind, or to those which only hinder it?

Every year brings America into closer relations with the rest of mankind. Our slavery becomes, therefore, an element in the world's politics. See, then, for a moment, how the various Christian nations stand affected towards it.

Just now there are but five great national powers in the civilized or Christian world. Spain, Italy and Greece pass for nothing — they have no influence in the progressive movements of mind, are no longer a force in the world's civilization. They are not wholly dead, but so far as they affect other peoples, it is by the thought of past generations, not the present. I pass those three decaying nations by, and look at the five peoples. There is (1) the Russian Power — a great Slavic People; (2) the French Power — a great Celtic People; (3) the German Power — a great Teutonic People; in many nations or States, with Slavic and Celtic elements mixed in; (4) the English Power — another great Saxon-Teutonic People, with Celtic annexations; and (5) the American Power — a great English Saxon-Teutonic People, with diverse mixtures from the rest of mankind. All the four set on the fifth, and influence our treatment of this question of Slavery.

Russia is mighty by its vast territory, its great natural resources, its immense population, its huge army, appointed and commanded well, — its strong central government, its diplomatic talent, and the people's ability to spread. The Government is despotic, but yet one of the most progressive in Christendom. With the slavery of Africa, Russia has no direct concern; she has much to do with that of white Caucasians. She is rapidly putting an end to slavery in her own borders. Not many years ago, the late Emperor Nicholas emancipated all the serfs he had inherited as his own private property. They amounted to more than 7,500,000 men; he established over 4000 schools for the education of their children. Alexander, his son, had not been in the imperial seat three years, before he published a decree for the gradual and ultimate emancipation of all the serfs in the empire. Their number must exceed the entire population of the United States. Here is the decree, dated the 20th of last November, — the 2d of December by our New Style calendar. The proprietors of two large provinces — St. Petersburg and Lithuania — containing nearly three million souls — some weeks since, asked permission to emancipate their serfs at once. Yesterday's steamer brings also the welcome news that the proprietors of Nishni-Novogorod have just done the same. This province is as large as Virginia, with a population of 1,600,000, and with the exception of the capital and its environs, is the richest and most intellectual part of the empire. It abounds with manufactures; every year, 300,000 strangers from Asia and elsewhere trade in its fairs. You would expect the most enlightened population to demand the immediate freedom of the serfs. Russia has become

soon on our side. Her example favors freedom. You will find a change in the Southern newspapers, and in the American Government which they direct and control. In the Crimea war, when Russia fought for justice, she sustained her as the ally of her own despotism, and fought against England as their foe. All that will soon change; and already Southern newspapers denounce the enfranchisement of the Russian serf. 'The example is dangerous; the condition of the British West Indies, and of Hayti, might have taught Alexander a better lesson.'

II. The French are powerful through the character of the people—the most military in the world—their science, letters, art, the high civilization of the land. France has had a long and sad connection with African slavery. Once she was the most cruel of cruel masters. In her first Revolution, of 1789, the chain was broken—but its severed links united again. In the last Revolution, of 1848, at the magic word of Lamennais, expressing the revolutionary thought of the people, the fetters were not only broken off, but cast into the depths of the sea. France, for a moment, was the ally of Freedom—and, of course, encountered the noisy wrath of the Southern States. But the Celtic French, the most fickle people in the world, revolution their normal state, perpetually turning round and round, have elected a tyrant for their master, and now worship the Emperor. He has 'crushed out' freedom from the French press as completely as our own Mr. Cushing wished to do in America. The new tyrant attempts to revive the African slave trade, and has already made arrangements for kidnapping 5000 savages in Africa, and sending them as missionaries to Christianize the West Indies! What will come of this scheme, I know not. But just now, the political power of France is hostile to freedom everywhere. When the Emperor has padlocked even the French mouth, no wonder he finds it easy to chain the negro's hands. No doubt the intellectual and moral power of France are on our side as before; but both are silent, and of no avail. The French Emperor is the 'little Napoleon' of the African slave trade. Great is the joy theret in the Southern States; already their newspapers glorify the 'profound policy,' the 'wise and humane statesmanship of the great Emperor.'

'A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.'

III. The Germans are of our own blood and language—bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,—with the same blue eyes, the same brown hair, and ruddy cheek, and instinctive love of individuality. The people which began the civilization of modern times by inventing the Press, and originating the Protestant Reformation, can it ever be false to Freedom? Germany acts on mankind by Thought—by great ideas. What France is for war, England for commerce, and Russia for the brute power of men, that is Germany for thought. The Germans have had connection with African slavery, but have ended it. Sweden began the work some years ago; then Denmark followed; now within the last few months Holland has finished it. Here are the documents. Soon the last footsteps of German Oppression will be covered up by the black man rejoicing in his freedom. Though their rulers are often tyrants, our German kinsfolk are on our side—God bless them!

IV. England has great power by her political institutions, her army and navy, her commerce and manufactures, her power of practical thought, her great wealth, her mighty spread. She and her children control a sixth part of the globe, and nearly a fourth part of its people. No tribe of men has done such service for freedom as the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and America. England has had connection with African slavery—her hand has been dyed deep in the negro's blood. She planted slavery in her provinces throughout the continent and its many islands; the ocean reeked with the foul steam of her slave-ships. She was a hard master, and men died by millions upon her lash. But nobly did the dear old mother put this wickedness away. She abolished the slave trade, making it piracy; at length, she abolished slavery itself, and in one day threw into the sea the fetters of 800,000 men. Well did Lord Brougham say—it was 'the greatest triumph ever won over the foulest wrong man ever did against man.' England need not boast of Agincourt, Cressy, Poitiers, and many another victorious fight, at Waterloo, Sebastopol, or Delhi; the most glorious victory her annals record was achieved on the first of August, in the first year of Victoria, when Justice triumphed over such giant wrong. Nobly has she contended against the slave trade, rousing the tardy conscience of Brazil, and not quite vainly galvanizing Spain into some show of humanity. She has shamed even the American government—and I think we have a sloop-of-war on the African coast, which yearly hears of in the annual appropriation bill!

But such nobleness is exceptional even in England; the world has seen no such example before. That emancipation was not brought about by the privileged class, the royal and nobility, who officially reign; or the commercial class, who actually govern the nation; but by the moral class, whose conscience stirred the people, and constrained the government to do so just a deed. Of course, a reaction must follow. We see its effect to-day. There is a party which favors African slavery. Mr. Carlyle is the heroic representative thereof. Personally amiable, in his ideas he is the Goliath of slavery. Just now, the London Times appears to favor this reactionary movement, and its powerful articles are reprinted with great jubilation in the American newspapers, which hate England because they love the slavery which she has hated so long. There is no time to inquire into the cause of this reaction. It affects the political class, and still more certain commercial classes to whom 'Cotton is King.' Great is the delight of the South; the Slave Power sings Te Deum to its God. A bill was before the Senate, not long since, appropriating \$3750 to pay the masters for twelve slaves who ran away and were carried off by the British in the war of 1812,—whom the captors refused to deliver up to 'democratic bondage.' Mr. Hale opposed the bill, because it recognized the doctrine that there may be property in human beings, declaring that neither by vote nor by silence would he recognize so odious and false a doctrine. Mr. Seward joined in the opposition. But Mr. Fugitive Slave Bill Mason came to the rescue; and after referring to the anti-slavery opinions of the British, declared he was 'gratified to see those opinions rapidly undergoing a change.' What signs of such a rapid change he may have seen, I know not; nor what sympathies with the Slave Power the accomplished British Minister, new in this field, may have expressed to him. 'Diplomacy is a silent art.' But I think Mr. Mason greatly mistakes the British public, if he believes they will be fickle in their love of Right. The Anglo-Saxon has always been a resolute tribe. I believe John Bull is the most obstinate of all national animals. When his instinctive feelings and his reflective conscience command the same thing, depend upon it he will not want the will.

There may have been a change in the British Government, though I doubt it much; there has been in the London Times. In the 'Cotton Lords,' I take it, there is no alteration of doctrine, only an utterance of what they have long thought. The opinion of the British People I think has only changed to a yet greater hatred against slavery. The Anti-Slavery Party in England has immense power—not so much by its numbers, or its wealth, as by its intelligence, and still more by its Justice which, in the long run of time, is always sure of the victory. At the head of this party I must place Lord Brougham, now drawing near the end of a long and most laborious life, notwithstanding its eccentricities, and mainly devoted to the highest interests of the human race. Within the four seas of Britain, I think there lives no man who has done so much to proclaim ideas of justice and humanity, and to diffuse them among the people. If

he could not often organize them into law, it was because he took too long a step in advance of public opinion; and he that would lead a child must always keep hold of its hand. Nearly fifty years ago, June 14, 1816, he fought against the slave trade, and drew on him the wrath of men 'who live by treachery, rapine, torture, and murder, and are habitually practicing the worst of crimes for the worst of purposes.' Long ago he declared—'There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man.' When the little tyrant of France revives the slave trade, the great champion of human rights roused him once more for battle, and the British Government has taken the affair in hand; the British love of Justice will triumph in this contest. Why, the History of England is pledged as security thereto.

Such to-day is the opinion of the four great nations of Christian Europe. What if the despotic power of the French Emperor be against us; what if, for a moment, the Cotton Lords of England lead a few writers and politicians to attempt the restoration of bondage; the history of England and her conscience, the intelligence of France and Germany, the example of Russia, are on our side. Yes, the teaching of universal human history. All these come with their accumulated force to help the Right and the moral feeling of America.

The American Government has long been on the side of Slavery. The present Administration is more openly hostile to freedom than any of its predecessors. Mr. Buchanan is no doubt weak and infatuated, strong only in his wrong-headedness; his Cabinet is palmed with Slavery. But he has done no service which was thought hopelessly difficult,—he has already made President Pierce's administration respectable. We complain of the New Hampshire General; but the little finger of Buchanan's left hand is thicker than Pierce's whole loins.

Since we met last, the Federal Government has committed two outrages more.

I. The first is the Dred Scott Decision. The Supreme Court is only the dirty mouth of the Slave Power,—its chief function to belch forth iniquity, and name it law. Of the decision itself, I need not speak. It is the political opinion of seven partisans appointed to do officially that wickedness which their personal nature also no doubt inclined them to. That Court went a little beyond itself,—out-Heroding Herod.

Two Northern Judges, only two, McLean and Curtis, opposed the wrong. I think nobody will accuse me of any personal prejudice in favor of Judge Curtis, or any undue partiality towards him. His conduct on other and trying occasions has been justly condemned on the Anti-Slavery platform, and is not likely to be soon forgot, nor should it ever be. But I should do great injustice to you and him, and still more to my own feelings, if I let this occasion pass without a word of honest and hearty praise of that able lawyer and strong-minded man. He opposed the 'decision'; with but a single Northern Judge to support him, with two Northern Judges to throw technical difficulties in his way, and oppose him by coward treachery, with five Southern Judges openly attacking and brow-beating him, with both the outgoing and incoming Administration to oppress and mock at him, with subtle and treacherous advisers at home to beguile his steps and watch for his halting, did Judge Curtis stand up at Washington, amid those corrupt and wicked Judges, and in the name of History which they falsified, of Law which they profaned, of Justice which they mocked at, with a manliness which Story never showed on such occasions, he pronounced his sentence against the wicked Court. I remember his former conduct with indignation and with shame; but no blackness of the old record shall prevent me from turning over a new leaf, and with golden letters writing there—*In the Supreme Court, Judge CURTIS DEFENDED ONCE THE HIGHER LAW OF RIGHT.*

I am truly sorry his manhood did not stay by him, and continue his presence in that Court. The defence of his resignation is found in the inadequacy of the salary. It was \$4,500 when he took it, \$5,000 when he left it. A pitiful reason—by no means the true one. Samuel Adams was a poor man: I do not think he would have left his seat in the revolutionary Congress because more money could be made by the cod-fishery or by privatizing.

II. The Dred Scott decision was the first enemy. I regard this as the act of the Government. 'What you do by another, you do also by yourself,' is a maxim older than the Roman Law which preserves it. I am not inclined generally to place much confidence in Walker's word, but he sometimes tells the truth. In a recent speech at Mobile, he says he had an interview with the President last summer, and declared his intention of returning to Nicaragua; his (blustering) letter was published with the President's consent. A member of the Cabinet sought a confidential interview with him, told him where he might go with safety, where only with danger, and added, 'You will probably sail in an American vessel, under the American flag. After you have passed American limits, no one can touch you but by consent of this Government.' A Cabinet minister told one of Walker's friends, if he made an alliance with Mexico, and attempted the conquest of Cuba, 'means shall not be lacking to carry out the enterprise.' Walker says the Government arrested him, not because he attacked Nicaragua, but because he did not attack Mexico! I hold the Federal Government responsible alike for the conduct of Walker and the Supreme Court.

But omitting particulars, looking only at the general course of the Government, you find it favors slavery with continued increase of intensity. Let not this rest on my testimony alone, or your judgment. Here is an Address delivered before the Euphenean and Philanthropic Literary Societies of Keokuk, Iowa, at the Annual Commencement, Wednesday, August 12th, 1857, by Richard Yeaman, Esq., of Charleston, S. C. Mr. Yeaman is a Representative man, editor of the *Charleston Courier* and a staunch defender of the peculiar institution. He tells us he comes 'rather to sow the good seed of truth, than to affect the arts or graces of oratory; to teach the lessons of history, and impress the deductions of reason; than to twine the garlands of science or strew the roses of literature'; he would 'combine the didactic in large measure with the rhetorical.' He discusses the character of the Federal Government and its relation to Slavery, 'on which rest the pillars of the great social fabric of the South.' He attempts to show that the Constitution was so framed as to uphold slavery and check freedom; and that the Federal Government has carried out the plan with such admirable vigor, that now Slavery can stand by its own strength. But you must have his own words:—

'The new Constitution not only recognized, sanctioned, and guaranteed it [slavery] as a State institution, sacred within State limits from federal invasion or interference, but also so far as to foster and expand it, by federal protection and agency, wherever it was legalized, within State or Territorial limits; to uphold it by federal power and the federal arm, against domestic violence or foreign invasion; and to make it an element of federal organization and existence, by adopting it as a basis of federal representation and a source of federal revenue.'

'From that day to this, the institution of domestic slavery, within the several States, has been regarded and held sacred, as a reserved right, exclusively within State jurisdiction and beyond the constitutional power of Congress or of the General Government, except for quarantine, protection and defence; it being one and the chief of those particular interests, which the Convention had in view, as enhancing the difficulty of their work.'

'The General Government and the co-States are bound, by constitutional duty and federal compact, to uphold and defend the institution, wherever it lawfully exists, in any of the States.'

'Indeed, so unquestionable is the exclusive jurisdiction of State sovereignty, except in the way of quarantine and protection, over the institution of slavery within State limits, that even the high priests and arch-fund of political free-soilism, Wm. H. Seward, in his speech in Congress, on the admission of California into the Union, thus conceded it—'No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. None claims that Congress shall usurp power to abolish slavery in the slave States; and the wildest fanatics of abolitionism, of the Parker and Garrison school, acknowledge that their atrocious crusade against the South, can only achieve its unallowable aims by trampling as well on the Constitution of their country, as on the Oracles of God.'

He has admiration for one Northern man who has been remarkably faithful to the ideas and plans of the Slave Power. He says it is the duty of the General Government to protect Slavery by suppressing insurrectionary movements or attempts at domestic violence, and to turn out the whole force of the Republic, regular and militia:—

'It was in contemplation of such a contingency, such a *casus federis*, that the eloquent, accomplished and gifted Everett, (now dedicating his extraordinary powers of composition and elocution, under the auspices of 'The Southern Matron,' a patriot daughter of the Palmetto State, to the purchase and emancipation of the home and the grave of Washington, as the Mecca of America, in his maiden speech, as a representative, in Congress of the State of Boston, in 1826, then fresh from the pulpit, in an *improbable contrast with the dastardly Sumners* and bullying Burlingame of the present day, thus patriotically and fervently spoke—'Sir, I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary; but there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back, and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection in the South.'

The newspapers say, with exquisite truth, that Mr. Everett is the greatest literary ornament of the entire continent of America. So he is: but to Mr. Yeaman he is also a great hero, the iron man of courage, unlike the 'dastardly Sumners,' and 'the dishonest and perfidious miscreants, Seward, Sumners, et idem omnes genus, who advocated the "higher law doctrine." (p. 15-note.)

He thus sums up the whole of our history:—

'The American Union... has been the great bulwark of... Southern Slavery, and has, in fact, raised and fortified it, from a feeble and rickety infancy, into a giant manhood and maturity, and is, in sustaining power, able to maintain itself either in the Union or out of the Union, as may best comport with the future policy and welfare of the Southern States.'

'Finally, to crown all, comes, in august majesty, the decision of the Supreme Judiciary of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott, pronouncing the Missouri restriction unconstitutional, null and void, and declaring all Territories of the Union, present and future, to be open to purchase or conquest, as by common treaty or common blood, to be held by the General Government, as a trustee for the common benefit of all the States, and open to every occupancy and residence of the citizens of every State, with their property of every description, including slaves, reposing under theegis of the Constitution.'

The cheering result, then, is, that the Southern States stand now on stronger and higher ground than at any previous period of our history; and this, under the progressive and constitutional action of the General Government, blotting out, and annulling, the establishment of the broad platform of State equality, demolishing squatter sovereignty, retrieving the errors of the past, and furnishing new securities for the future.'

The number of slaveholding States has been increased to 15 out of an aggregate of 31 States, with a fair prospect of further increase in Texas, and in other Territory, acquired or to be acquired from Mexico, in the Caribbean sea, and still further South.'

The Slave States, he says, no longer 'conceding domestic slavery to be a "moral, social and political evil," any more than any other system of menial and predial labor, but able... to defend it as consistent with Scriptural teachings, and as an ordinance of Jehovah for the culture and welfare of the staple States, and the civilization and Christianization of the African.' To them he says, 'Cotton is King, and destined to rule the nations with imperial sway.' (p. 46.)

The slaveholders feel stronger than ever before. This privileged class, the 'Nobility of Democracy,' counts only 350,000 in all. Feeble in numbers, the Slave Power is strong in position—holding the great federal offices, Judicial, Executive, and military, stronger in purpose and in will. 'The hope, the courage of assailants is always greater than that of those who act not merely on the defensive.' At the South, it rules the non-slaveholders, as at the North it has had also the Democratic party under its thumb. There is a secret article in the creed of that party, which demands unconditional submission to the infallibility of the negro-driver. Senator Toombs has no slaves in Georgia who yield to his will more submissively than to the whim of the Southern master crouches Hon. Mr. Cushing, whose large intellectual talents, great attainments and consummate political art, in this hall so fitly represent the town of Newburyport. It is the glory of the Northern Democratic party that it has been the most cringing slave to the haughtiest and unworshiped master in the world. All individuality seemed 'crushed out,' to use Mr. Cushing's own happy phrase. Within eight months, every Northern State has had a State Democratic Convention, each of which has passed resolutions endorsing the Dred Scott decision. This act implies no individuality of thought or will. The Southern master gave command to each Northern squad of Democrats—'Make ready your resolutions in support of the Dred Scott decision!' They 'make ready.' 'Consider resolutions!' They 'consider.' 'Vote aye!' They 'vote aye.'

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The Slave Power, thus controlling the slaves and slaveholders at the South, and the Democratic party at the North, easily manages the Government at Washington. The Federal officers are marked with different stripes—Whig, Democrat, and so on. They are all owned by the same master, and liek the same hand. So it controls the nation. It silences the great sects, Trinitarian, Unitarian, Nullitarian; the chief ministers of this American Church—three-fold in denomination, one in nature—have sought to essay against slavery; the Tract Society does not rebuke the 'sum of all villainies,' the Bible Society has no 'Word of God for the slave,' the 'revealed religion' is not revealed to him. Writers of school-books 'remember the hand that feeds them,' and venture no word against the national crime which threatens to become also the national ruin. In no nation on earth is there such a social tyranny of opinion. In Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Italy and Spain, the despotic bayonet has pinned the public lips together. The democratic hands of America have sewed up her own mouth with an iron thread—that and fetters are the only product of the Southern mine. In Washington, not a man in the meanest office dares open his lips against the monster which threatens to devour his babies and his wife. No doctor allows himself a word against that tyrant—his business would forsake him if he did. In Southern States, this despotism drives off all outspoken men. Mr. Underwood, of Virginia, made a speech against the extension of slavery into Kansas,—he must take his life in his hand, and flee from his native State. Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, writes a brave, noble book, expiring out the results of freedom and of bondage,—even North Carolina is too hot to hold him. Mr. Stickland, of Carolina is too hot to hold him. In one of his fits of 'loose expectation,' that distinguished Senator, a Representative man, like Bully Brooks, instandant and typical of his State, speaks of 'our Southern States,'—meaning Cuba, San-Domingo, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Thomas, and the rest. He called them our islands, not that they were so then, or because he had any personal knowledge that they ever would be; but 'being in the Spirit' (of Slavery), and the Spirit (of Whiskey) being also in him—*imperium in imperio*—

just raised to shed our blood.' Even at Washington, Slavery has sewed up the delegated Northern mouth, also so noisy once. It is nearly two years since a Southern bully, a representative man of South Carolina, stole upon our great Senator, with coward blows felled him to the ground, and with his bludgeon beat the stunned and unconscious man. He went to 'silence agitation'; he hid his work too well. Do you remember an anti-slavery speech in the Senate since Charles Sumner's, in May, 1856? Can you think of one in the House? If such have been spoken, I have not heard either, though I have listened all the time. Now and then, some delegated mouse in the wall has squeaked out an apology for the North, but promising not to touch Slavery in the part most wounding; there has been no manly anti-slavery speech in House or Senate till Mr. Hale broke the silence with a noble word. The Slave Power dealt the blows upon one Northern man, and silenced all the rest! 'The safer part of Valor is Discretion!' The South has many slaves not counted in the census. Ought they to represent you?

The Slave Power is conscious of strength, and sure of victory. It never felt so strong before. Look at the Treasury Department has just instructed the collectors not to permit a free negro to act as master of a vessel,—he is not a citizen of the United States. See what the Southern States are doing. A bill has been reported in the Senate of Louisiana, authorizing that State to import five thousand African slaves. If it becomes a law, the Government will not prevent the set; our worst enemy, the Supreme Court, is ready to declare unconstitutional the law which forbids the African slave trade; the South may import as many slaves as she likes; the Government is for her wickedness, not against that,—only against Justice and the Unalienable Rights of Man. Another bill is pending before the Virginia Legislature to banish or enslave all the 54,000 free colored persons in that State, where more than one President has been the father of a mulatto woman's child. The law to enslave them all may pass; the Federal Government cares nothing about it. African Rachel may mourn in vain for her first-born, and refuse to be comforted, because the Virginia Jacob chains the part-colored Joseph that she bore to him; let her mourn! What does the Federal Herod care that in all Virginia there is a voice heard of lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning for the poor Rachel of Africa?

Stronger than ever before, at least in fancy, and yet more truly impudent than fancied strong, the Slave Power proposes two immediate measures:—

I. To pass the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and force Slavery into the laws of Kansas, against the oft-repeated vote of the people.

II. To add seven thousand men to the standing army of the United States. They are nominally to put down the polygamous Mormons in Utah,—Satan contradicting the lies he is the father of!—but really to support the more grossly polygamous slaveholders; to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas with the bayonet; in all the North, to execute the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Dred Scott Decision, already made, and the Lemmon decision, about to be made, and establish Slavery in each free State; and also to put down any insurrection of the colored people at the South. The Mormons are the pretence no more; the army is raised against the Democracy of Massachusetts, not the Polygamy of Utah.

Ladies and Gentlemen, both of these measures will pass the Senate, pass the House. If it were the end of a Presidential term, I should expect they would be defeated. But men worship the rising sun, not the setting, who has no more golden light for them. A Boston merchant, with but \$87,000, could bribe men enough to pass his tariff bill! The new President, he has more than \$87,000,000,—offices for three years to come. The addition to the army will cost at least \$5,000,000 a year, and the patronage that gives will command votes enough. I know how tender are the feelings of Congress; I know how politicians reject with scorn the idea that money or office could alter their vote; but we all know that a President, his pocket full of public money, his hands full of offices, can buy votes of Honorable Senators and Honorable Representatives just as readily as you can buy peanuts of the old huckster down stairs. I need not go from this hall, or its eastern neighbor, I need not go back seven years to find Honorable members of the 'Great and General Court of Massachusetts' who were bought with a price. I shall tell no names, though I know them only too well. Peter did repent, and Judas may—I will give him a chance. I expect, therefore, that both these measures will pass. Then you will find the Northern Democracy supporting them; future Conventions will ring with Resolutions in favor of the Lecompton Convention, and a GREAT STANDING ARMY will be one of the acknowledged Principles of the Democratic party—a toast on Independence Day.

When the two immediate measures are disposed of, there are three others a little more remote, which are likewise to be passed upon.

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II. The next measure is to conquer Mexico, Central America, and all the Northern Continent down to the Isthmus; to conquer Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, all the West India Islands, and establish Slavery there. This conquest of the islands might seem rather a difficult work—it might require some fighting; but the late Hon. Senator Butler of South Carolina was very confident it would be done. We remember how he spoke of those Islands in a rambling speech which he once made; it was truth-telling because drunken. You smile; but if you wish to see good Latin, *de fortiori* it is good American to say, there is more truth in whiskey, which is stronger. In one of his fits of 'loose expectation,' that distinguished Senator, a Representative man, like Bully Brooks, instandant and typical of his State, speaks of 'our Southern States,'—meaning Cuba, San-Domingo, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Thomas, and the rest. He called them our islands, not that they were so then, or because he had any personal knowledge that they ever would be; but 'being in the Spirit' (of Slavery), and the Spirit (of Whiskey) being also in him—*imperium in imperio*—

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Will Mr. Garrison please give a place in the Liberator to the following, which was refused insertion in the Christian Register?

RELATION OF UNITARIANISM TO CASTE.

The Register, in pleading guilty to the charge of the Liberator, that it neglected to announce, and to denounce, the injustice practiced towards Mrs. Webb...

1. 'The seven other religious papers of Boston did the same thing.'

2. 'In our very spare summary of secular news, we probably thought the occurrence not of sufficient public interest to be noticed.'

3. 'It is, unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity. Our silence is by no means approbation.'

Upon each of these points, I ask the privilege of making a few words of comment.

1. If the Register neither pretends to possess, nor to aspire to, in regard to the education of the public in good manners, good morals and true religion, public in general is concerned in this matter, any high-altitude which is concerned in this matter, any high-altitude which is concerned in this matter...

2. It is true that a 'religious' newspaper has, comparatively, but a small space for a 'summary of secular news.' In its issue next following the Liberator's announcement of the insult to Mrs. Webb, the Register devoted only a little more than two-and-a-half columns to this department, and in that of the succeeding week, only a little more than three columns.

More than half of the space thus occupied on the following important matters: a flowery description of May-day—a commendation of Liberia (a place of banishment sometimes offered to slaves as the alternative of continuing in slavery)—chat about autographs, the libellous letters of N. P. Willis, and the increase of ministers' salaries—a direction of her majesty, Queen Victoria, to her majesty's biscuit-bakers—and the fall of a call over the Genesee falls.

And a third of the same department in the second week (when full editorial comments might have accompanied a statement of the fact that a respectable, intelligent and accomplished lady was insulted by the press-keeper of the Marlboro' Hotel, on account of her possessing a minute and imperceptible proportion of African blood), was occupied by the following:—an Irish anecdote—an account of a man 116 years old—trivial details respecting the dress and manners of Louis Napoleon, and other royal and noble personages—and a serious account of the use of a piece of crepe, by a slaveholder, in respect for the memory of a deceased slave, (without a word of comment on the hypocrisy of the hypocritical compliment, or upon the character of the master, who had spent his life in robbing and oppressing one whose worth extorted such a compliment, after death had mercifully restored his liberty.)

So much for the limitation of space, in the Register, for nothing 'secular matters.' But if it be true (and, unfortunately, I see no reason to doubt it), that the readers of the Register are more interested in items like these above named than in the exposure and rebuke of a Pharisism which, in exact imitation of its Hebrew ancestry, grounds the faces of the poor, and devout widows' houses, while offering ostentatious prayers to the public as proofs of its piety—has that paper no duty to perform in the cultivation of better principles in its readers? Does it invariably follow them, without ever attempting to lead them? Or does it assume, with Dr. Gannett, that the mission of Unitarianism to slavery is silence?

But, in further extension, 'the custom of the country' is pleaded. 'It is, unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity,' says the Register; and it adds, naively, 'our silence is by no means approbation.'

'Our colored friends, forsooth! It must be a comfort to them (those of them who take the Register, and chance to spy this confession, in its obscure corner), to know that its silence, when the next indignity shall be offered them, is not approbation of the indignity. Perhaps, when they die, the Register will initiate the slaveholder in tying a piece of crepe on his office door, in token of a respect which would be mentioned in print if it were 'of sufficient public interest to be noticed.' But as for a word in season to stop the current of these indignities—now made manifest, every Sunday, in the practice of every Unitarian church in Boston, except those of James Freeman Clarke and Theodore Parker, and every day in the week, by Unitarians as well as others, in the 'secular' department—as for an appeal in favor of justice, humanity and Christian courtesy towards the victims of the abominable prejudice in question—the Register virtually says, 'I pray thee, have me excused.'

'Call you that backing of your friends? A plague upon such backing!'

To me it seems much more like 'passing by on the other side.' But perhaps the Priest and the Levite were not, in reality, so bad as they seemed. Perhaps they did not feel called upon to notice a 'secular' transaction. Perhaps their silence did not imply approbation of the thieves.

It seems to me, furthermore, that, with all the preaching, exposition and commentary with which the people of this land are favored, they do not at all comprehend the full meaning of the parable of the Good Samaritan. They are not told by the popular preachers and expositors, and, unfortunately, not being told, they do not notice, that this instructive parable was not only enjoined for the suffering or oppressed neighbor, but was directed against the consecrated or clerical class, with a specification of its two divisions, Priests and Levites; that this rebuke, singling out the Priests and Levites from all the rest of the community, was directed against, not any active wickedness on their part, but mere silence and inactivity, a neglect of the ordinary duties of humanity, a failure either to help the oppressed, or to lift up their voices against the oppressor; and that this very offense, which thus called forth the rebuke of the clear-sighted and fearless man of Nazareth, is practiced in the same manner, at the present day, by the very classes in modern society corresponding to those which Jesus singled out for rebuke—of which you, O Christian Register! who practise this silence respecting oppression, and Dr. Gannett, who both practise and defends it, are not worthy examples. What avails it you that your silence is not approbation? The slaveholder does not care for your approbation, but he earnestly desires your silence; and you give it, and pass by on the other side.

You 'plead guilty' to the charge of the Liberator. This is well, or would be well if you did not seek still to excuse yourself by reasons palpably insufficient. But the important question is, O Christian Register! having plead guilty, do you mean to reform? Since it is still, 'unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity,' do you mean to set yourself actively against a continuance of this state of things? For instance, do you mean to do something towards making it possible for a colored Unitarian to buy or hire, on equal terms with others, in Dr. Gannett's or Dr. Dewey's meeting-house?

I pause for a reply.

We are obliged to postpone several Book Notices until next week, and also various communications. Correspondents must bide their time. Our columns cannot contain a title of the matter we are most anxious to lay before our readers.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL.

On Thursday evening, January 29th, the citizens of Concord were favored with a rare entertainment, furnished by the members of the Concord Dramatic Union, for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery Cause.

The programme included two entire plays, 'The Jacobite' and 'Dr. Dilworth'; an exhibition of Mrs. Jarley's wax-work, and the interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe, from the 'Midsummer Night's Dream.'

The extraordinary dramatic talent displayed by the members of the Union was fully appreciated and enjoyed by a large gathering of citizens and strangers.

The refreshment table furnished delicious fare for the appetite, and to those who took heed for the future, a mysterious Fortune Teller disclosed the secrets of Destiny. The performances commenced with the following Prologue, from the pen of Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord:—

PROLOGUE. Spoken at the Anti-Slavery Festival, Concord, Jan. 28th, 1858.

Enter SLAVERY in a clerical dress, with a bottle in his hand in the form of a Bible, MANIFEST DESTINY in the dress of a Western pioneer.

MANIFEST DESTINY. Can that my precious elder brother be? Yes—no—it must be,—yes, 'tis Slavery. That parson's coat, long face and choker white, Almost disguise his ugliness—not quite; And under the meek broadcloth that he wears, His belt a bowie-knife and pistol bears.

SLAVERY. Well, brother, be the truth for once confess'd, This is the Bible that I love the best; For though I quote New Testament and Old, To prove God loves to have his children sold, Yet in my heart I hate 'em through and through, And curse the gospel worse than any Jew.

MANIFEST DESTINY. Brother, your liquor's prime,—but here,—you see Prophets and 'Postles are all one to me. But don't abuse the Bible! how it sounds When Cushing comments and his Travelling expounds! Why, is not Walker, with his travelling sword, Another Gideon chosen of the Lord? The more 's the pity Paulding would not try, As old Buchanan did, to work and lie, But like a gray-haired blockhead as he is, Could never see that no was meant for yes.

SLAVERY. Don't talk of Paulding! See where Douglas stands, Unravelling his own work with his own hands! See how my hopes of Kansas come to naught, Just when the game was won, or so I thought— And he, my little giant and my joy, Must stamp his foot and all my wares destroy! O, I could shed such tears as never fell From any eyes, except my sire's ig—

MANIFEST DESTINY, (interrupting.) Well, Things have an ugly look, I must allow; But we'll arrange it,—let me tell you how: Let Kansas go—her blood-bespinkled plains Shall ne'er be added to your wide domains,— No rust like Saxon blood to eat up chains! To join with me by purchase or by war To gain fair Cuba and Nicaragua.

SLAVERY. Then shall your restless course be check'd no more, Again the slave-ship shall approach our shore, Not skulking nameless, with no flag display'd, But flaunting stars and stripes at her mast-head. Then Boston traders shall not fear to tell How many men a year they steal and sell; Then Bunker Hill the hunting-ground shall be, Of slaves, nor even CONCORD shall be free!

Enter the GENIUS OF AMERICA. AMERICA. Begone, vile creatures! do ye plot your shame, Here, where my maiden spear first won me fame? [SLAVERY and MANIFEST DESTINY run off.] Sad wandering in these bad and altered times Of timid virtues and enormous crimes, Around the widening limits of my land, Once more upon this sacred soil I stand; These are the streets, there the still river runs, That saw the victory of my former sons, When ev'ning Britain sought the limbs to chain, That threatened rivalry by land and main. Oh, days of honor! oh, unequalled race, That then I fostered in my young embrace! Fresh from the forest where my child I nursed For either fortune, happiest or worst, Great WASHINGTON came forth to guide my power. When Time's slow hammer struck the solemn hour, Stately and calm as woods and mountains are, He held the double reins of peace and war. Then FRANKLIN laid his printer's apron by, And let the lightning harmless in the sky, And left the lesser task of science wait, To shape the fortunes of a forming State. Wisest of wits! this ever-smiling sage Kept youth's warm heart amid the snows of age! Impetuous Adams, hopeful Jefferson, Otis and Henry, Greene and Hamilton,— How many noble sons I numbered then! Now am I rich in lands, but poor in men. The power that WASHINGTON would put aside, The place by every virtue dignified, In cheap transference falls from hand to hand, As knave or weakling rules the luckless land. Laws toll, Freedom fails, and one black stain, Which long I hoped to purge, but all in vain, Now spreads its foul contagion through my race, And all my boasts their loathsome disgrace.

What hope? what remedy? Must this endure? My heart anticipates but one sad cure. I, that did tie with unfeeling hands These infant States in ill-assorted bands, Must now the consecrated work undo, Nor seek to make one what Heaven meant for two. Not Night and Morning meet with such recoil, As heartless Slavery and honest Toil; Where Labor is not king, he must be slave, And Labor, in disgrace, digs Honor's grave.

Pray, then, ye children of the nobler deed, To grow more worthy of the ground ye tread! In toil and pestime to my fame be true,— Forget not God, who ne'er forgetteth you; Nor, though you trifle in these gloomy hours, Believe that aught but earnest work endures.

We regret to be obliged to divide the able speech of our friend THEODORE PARKER, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; but its great length obliges us to do so. Give it a close perusal.

It will be seen, by notices in another column, that the colored citizens of Boston are to hold two important public meetings in regard to their rights as Americans—one at the Joy Street Meeting-House, on Monday evening next—the other on the 6th of March, in Faneuil Hall, a grand historical commemorative meeting.

THE SLAVE BETTY. The Lawrence American says that the slave woman, Betty, whose case caused some little excitement in this city some few months ago, and who refused to accept her liberty, after returning with Mrs. Sweet to New York, suddenly left her mistress whom she loved so much, took passage upon the under-ground railroad, and safely escaped to Cincinnati, where she was joined by her husband, who is a free man.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.

The colored citizens of Boston and vicinity are requested to meet in the Joy street meeting-house, on MONDAY EVENING NEXT, FEBRUARY 22d, at 7 o'clock, to consider the subject of the presentation of a memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts, now in session, in relation to their constitutional rights, and protesting against the tyrannical Dred Scott Decision. Mr. GARRISON and other speakers will be present on the occasion.

In behalf of many others, WILLIAM C. NELL, COFFIN PILTS, JOHN T. HILTON, SIMPSON H. LEWIS, JOHN J. SMITH, JONAS W. CLARK, NELSON L. PERKINS, ROBERT JOHNSON, JOEL W. LEWIS, JOHN THOMPSON, JOHN WRIGHT, M. R. DEMORTIE, HENRY WEEDEEN.

Boston, Feb. 16, 1858.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

NOTICE.—The subscriber invites his fellow-citizens and the friends of humanity generally to Faneuil Hall, on Friday evening, March 6, 1858, for a public commemoration of the Boston Massacre of March 6, 1770, the day which, by the valor, patriotism and martyrdom of the colored American, CHRISTUS ATTUKUS and his associates, has been selected by history as the dawn of the American Revolution.

The exercises will consist of speeches from WARE, PHILLIPS, Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, THEODORE PARKER, and others, interspersed with appropriate music, vocal and instrumental; exhibition of revolutionary relics, emblems, &c. &c.—the whole promising an attractive and significant occasion.

Further particulars will be given in another number. WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, February 3, 1858.

MR. FOSTER'S VIEWS.

WORCESTER, Feb. 11th, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON—Permit me, through the columns of THE LIBERATOR, to apprise your readers that they must not hold me responsible for the language, or sentiments, or the want of sentiments, with which I am accredited by the Secretaries of the recent anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in their report of my remarks on that occasion.

Whatever may have been the merit, or the demerit, of those remarks, no one, from this report, can form any just opinion of them, or of the object they were designed to advocate. The language it ascribes to me is not mine, in any proper sense, and the report does me injustice by representing it as such. True, in the course of a speech of some length, I may have used most of the expressions attributed to me; but they are so disjointed and detached from their original connection, as entirely to destroy their force, and make me say the opposite of what I believe. Indeed, in the report, as a whole, I can recognize neither my own 'image' nor 'superscription'; and were not the fact attested by competent witnesses, I should hardly suspect it of being intended as a mirror in which to reflect upon the public mind my own peculiar views of political action.

I am aware that my views of the importance of political action against slavery, and of a party which shall avow the purpose of overthrowing it by the combined force of the friends of Freedom throughout the whole country, acting through the forms of law, are extremely unpopular, especially with my old associates. Of this, however, I do not complain. Far be it from me to desire any one to countenance, from motives of personal friendship, what he does not believe to be for the public good. But, in as much as these views, however mistaken, are honestly entertained, and are used for no sinister purposes, their very unpopularity would seem, with all generous minds, to be an additional reason for giving them an unprejudiced presentation to the public, that they may have a reasonable chance to stand, or fall, upon their own intrinsic merits.

Yours for political, as well as moral, action against slavery, S. S. FOSTER.

GEORGE BANCROFT AGAINST THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

NEW YORK, Feb. 15.

The speech which the Hon. George Bancroft was to have delivered to the Anti-Slavery Convention, which had been invited to the City of New York, on the 14th inst., has been published in the Liberator. He holds, that the Lecompton Constitution has no claim to sovereignty in Kansas but by usurpation; that it had in no wise the sanction of Congress, nor of the President, nor of the people of Kansas, and was but a cunning device to defraud the people of their sovereignty.

Mr. B. criticizes the various frauds committed in the election in Kansas. Denies that there is any present danger to the Union. Says there is no insurrection or rebellion in Kansas. Asserts that the supporters of the Lecompton Constitution have not one square inch of Democratic ground, and stand upon the ground of Union—of freedom. All good omens are with us. For our part, we are resolved to walk in the central path of humanity, shunning sectionalism and fanaticism on the one side, and subservience to dictation on the other. True democracy inscribes on its banner the words, 'The rights of the majority, whether in the State or the Territory, calmly, deliberately and undisturbedly to form and accept or reject constitutions for themselves.'

THE ALLEGED KIDNAPING CASE. Sergeant Croft and officer McArthur of the police force, attached to the Mayor's office, reached here on Monday morning from Richmond, Va., with Mason Thomas, the alleged kidnapper, and George Anderson, the negro, in charge. The officers state that an effort was on foot to detain the parties in Richmond, but becoming apprised of it, they left on Friday night, and on the 10th inst. were taken out of jail (on the order of the Governor of Virginia) and started for New York at four o'clock on Saturday morning, before Thomas's lawyer could serve the writ of habeas corpus. Thomas was sent before the Court of General Sessions, to answer the indictment, and was committed in default of bail for \$10,000. Anderson was also committed as a witness, not being able to give bail in \$1,000 for his appearance.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

ARREST OF A KIDNAPPER.—LOUISVILLE, Feb. 12. A private dispatch says that N. B. Van Turylo, who kidnaped two free negroes at Geneva, New York, and sold one as a slave in this State, has been arrested at New Orleans, and waits a requisition from the Governor of Kentucky.

A correspondent of the New Orleans Picayune writes from Havana, Feb. 2, that the American brig Telegraph had just arrived, and landed four hundred, out of six hundred negroes originally shipped on the Coast of Africa.

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THE VOICES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Saturday last, Mr. PASSCOTT, of Salem, asked leave to introduce the following Resolutions:— Resolved, That we have an abiding faith in the ability and strict integrity of purpose which characterized the patriots who framed and adopted the Constitution, in the form of government under which we live, and that we rely with unflinching confidence upon the interpretation by them given of the intent and meaning of the compromises thereof, as manifested in the early administration of the government. That by such an interpretation, and such only, can slavery, now the fruitful source of alarming agitation in the halls of Congress and elsewhere, cease to be fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation, and that we accept and adhere to their policy and interpretation, with the determination, while we avoid all encroachment upon the rights of other portions of the confederacy, never to yield to demands, open or insidious, upon our own, from whatever quarter they may come.

Resolved, That the Democratic party of this country, and especially of the North, has, since the passage of the Compromise act of 1850, abandoned the policy and the principles on the subject of slavery, which were maintained by its platform, and has, in its political faith, and has introduced therein doctrines new and inconsistent, dangerous, and fraught with consequences fearfully momentous to the interest of freedom not only in the North, but throughout the world. That as the natural fruit thereof, the late administration of Franklin Pierce, and the present administration of James Buchanan, have yielded to the dangerous demands of the South, for a sectional and partial legislation and administration of the affairs of State; for a violation of national faith in the attempted repeal of the Missouri Compromise; for a disregard of the fundamental principles of public justice; for a silencing and abetting, so far as was in their power, armed invasions of the Territory by the citizens of Missouri and other Southern States; for the avowed and shameless violation of the rights of the ballot-box, and of the rights of the citizen; for the introduction of the denial of the right of suffrage, the introduction of odious and oppressive test oaths, the manufacture of spurious registers, the falsification of the returns of elections, the wanton destruction of property, the pillage of private dwellings, and the utter murder of unoffending citizens, many of which deeds were perpetrated by its own officers, unrebuked, all implicitly sanctioned by the withholding of any expression of disapprobation, and in whole or in part by the presence of the army of the United States, as a posse comitatus, and finally in many cases by falsely charging the friends of freedom of the very crimes of which they were guilty, in the face of incontrovertible proof that the charges were false.

Resolved, That the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott decision has attempted to overrule a doctrine, old as the Constitution of the country, sustained and practiced by the fathers of the republic, and by the President of the United States, until the inauguration of Franklin Pierce; by the Courts of nearly all the States in the Union; by the early decrees of the Supreme Court itself; and by the united sentiment of the entire nation. That this sudden and unprecedented effort to overthrow a doctrine so old as the Declaration of Independence, and so fundamental to the demands of the slave power at the South, supported and sustained by the National Administration; and that, as a result, it introduces into the very vortex of the party politics of our country, not only the decision of the Court, but the tribunal itself by which the decision is pronounced; and that, by the introduction of the question of the validity of the binding power of the latter, against the concurrent practice and opinion of all departments of the government, and all the statesmen and jurists of the nation for sixty years; and that as a right never should be yielded, we inflexibly demand a reversal of this unsupported and unprincipled decision, and a recognition of the former well established principles and doctrines.

Resolved, That the attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the unwilling people of Kansas is an act of tyranny, a violation of every principle of justice, and a dishonor to the Administration by which it has been attempted; and that the Senators in Congress who have introduced and the Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts requested, to use all constitutional and honorable means to prevent the commission of this stupendous crime against justice, nature, and the rights of man.

The resolves, as above, were read for the information of the resolutions had been read, Mr. CUSHING, of Newburyport, said it was an ungracious task to seem to object to the reception of any resolutions of any kind, and he did not object to these. If the gentleman from Salem, however, was not ready to concede the question, he would not object to the gentleman from Newburyport, who he (Mr. C.) was ready, and he pledged himself to show that all of the propositions contained in the resolves were untrue. He would not have risen were it not for one consideration. 'The second resolution contained certain statements as to the late Administration of which he had been a member, and he was a passing member of the Legislature, and he would not let a moment pass without interposing, not an argument, but an emphatic, distinct and comprehensive denial of the second resolution, every word of it, from beginning to end.

Leave was granted to introduce the resolves, by a vote of 114 to 58. They were then referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

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PLEDGES.

Francis Jackson, \$200 00 Charles F. Hovey, (for Agents), 100 00 Wendell Phillips, 100 00 Samuel Phillips, 100 00 E. D. Jackson, 100 00 R. M. Adams, 100 00 D. M. and Anna F. Draper, 100 00 David and Charlotte A. Joy, 50 00 Mary May, 50 00 W. W. and M. A. Dutcher, Hopeville, 50 00 Albert M. Chase, 50 00 Samuel May, Jr., 50 00 Weymouth Female A. S. Society, 25 00 Mary G. Chapman, 20 00 Maria W. Chapman, 10 00 (also to obtain 25 subscribers to the Standard.)

John G. Cheever, 10 00 Otis G. Haynes, 10 00 Edward B. Perkins, Salem, 9 00 Austin Beare, 5 00 Jacob Leonard, 5 00 J. G. Dodge, 5 00 M. G. Kimball, 5 00 J. W. Spaulding, 5 00 Silvanus Smith, 5 00 Ira Adams, 5 00 Lydia LeFavre, 5 00 R. Smith, 5 00 Susan A. Knapp, 2 00 Deborah Kimball, Hanover, 2 00 A. Bicknell, 1 00 Eben S. Page, 1 00 William Lovell, 1 00

DONATIONS.

To Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, at Annual Meeting, 1858. Friend in Essex Co., \$25 00 Richard Gray, 20 00 J. M. Aldrich, Fall River, 20 00 Samuel Barrett, Concord, 15 00 Joshua Coolidge, Jr., 10 00 William Ashby, 10 00 T. Davis, 10 00 Frances Mary Robbins, 5 00 T. C. Stone, 5 00 Henrietta Sargent, 5 00 William Jenkins, 5 00 William Whipper, Columbia, Pa., 5 00 J. L. Whiting, 3 00 Rebekah H. Foster, 3 00 Mrs. A. Kent, (for Agents), 3 00 Martha B. Goodrich, 3 00 T. G. Elliott, 2 00 Lucy M. Rogers, 2 00 James Damon, 2 00 Sarah Smith, 2 00 Mary May, 2 00 Maria McLauthlin, 2 00

COLLECTIONS.

By Finance Committee, at Annual Meeting, 1858. David Merritt, \$1 00 Mehitabel Haskell, 1 00 John Clement, 1 00 P. Shaw, 1 00 Joshua Coolidge, Jr., 1 00 Betsey H. Shaw, 1 00 E. H. Morrill, 0 50 Geo. Hollingsworth, 1 00 Mrs. Stebbins, 0 50 Wm. Sparrell, 1 00 I. Baxter, 1 00 E. Jenkins, 0 25 W. S. McLauthlin, 1 00 Francis Jackson, 2 00 James Jackson, 2 00 Moses Wilmarth, 1 00 Samuel May, Jr., 1 00 M. W. Chapman, 1 00 Mrs. Hovey, 1 00 Mary H. Jackson, 1 00 Susan A. Rand, 0 50 G. W. Stacy, 0 50 L. A. Allen, 1 00 Susan C. Cabot, 1 25 Mary G. Chapman, 2 00 Lawrence, 1 00 W. S. McLauthlin, 0 50 P. C. Wheeler, 1 00 Dora M. Taft, 1 00 W. B. Earle, 0 25 Mrs. S. Bowker, 1 00 T. M. Pitman, 1 00 T. J. Hunt, 1 00 A. B. Morey, 1 00 Lewis Ford, 1 00 J. T. Hilton, 1 00 Bourne Spooner, 1 00 M. J. Sillway, 1 00 Edmund Quincy, 1 00 Stephen Barker, 1 00 N. W. Cook, 1 00 Hart May, 1 00 E. F. Burnham, 2 00 C. Cowing, 1 00 M. Richards, 0 50 J. S. Adams, 1 00 Wendell Phillips, 3 00 D. B. Bartlett, 0 50 H. A. Morse, 1 00 D. B. Bartlett, 0 50 James N. Buffum, 1 00 A. M. Henshaw, 1 00 Ruth Buffum, 1 00 A. H. Henshaw, 1 00 Sarah H. Coving, 0 50 Jacob Leonard, 0 65 Louisa J. Whiting, 1 00 Charles Pollen, 1 00 J. G. Dodge, 0 50 Deborah Weston, 1 00 Perley King, 2 00 Charlotte A. Joy, 1 00 Henry I. Bowditch, 2 00 William Ashby, 1 00 Elbridge Sprague, 1 00 A. Foster, 1 00 Marcha Clapp, 1 00 Moller Sprague, 1 00 J. W. 0 50 E. D. Draper, 1 00 Otis G. Cheever, 1 00 J. M. Aldrich, 1 00 James Arnold, 0 25 C. F. Hovey, 2 50 John S. Rogers, 1 00 W. W. Dutcher, 1 00 Mary Willey, 0 50 M. A. Dutcher, 1 00 F. W. Bird, 1 00 M. A. S. Sylvester, 1 00 J. W. Spaulding, 1 00 Hannah B. Draper, 1 00 T. J. Sargent, 2 00 H. W. Carter, 1 00 J. R. Manley, 1 00 J. Jones, 1 00 S. E. Emery, 1 00 E. and E. Richards, 2 00 Henry Whiting, 1 00 Amos T. Draper, 1 00 J. C. Lindley, 1 00 C. B. M. Olin, 1 00 Geo. W. Shields, 1 00 H. B. Emerson, 1 00 E. F. Eddy, 2 00 M. A. G. Olin, 1 00 J. H. Crane, 1 00 F. Young, 0 50 E. L. Capron, 1 00 C. K. Whipple, 1 00 E. L. Johnson, 1 00 Geo. Miles, 1 00 Isaac Osgood, 1 00 E. P. Hammond, 1 00 T. Hayward, 1 00 W. A. Sylvester, 1 00 Martha B. Goodrich, 1 00 M. L. Garrison, 1 00 Mrs. A. Kent, 0 50 Daniel Mann, 1 00 Ira Adams, 1 00 J. C. Haynes, 1 00 H. C. Fifeled, 1 00 F. H. Henshaw, 1 00 D. Kimball, 1 00 'Cash' Collections, 25 90 Richard Clapp, 1 00 'Cash' received at door, 32 00 Helen E. Garrison, 1 00 one evening, 32 70

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will give a second address on Slavery, in Faneuil Hall, DORCHESTER, at the Rev. Mr. Hall's meeting-house, on TUESDAY EVENING NEXT, FEB. 23, at half-past 7 o'clock.

NORTH ABINGTON.—An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held at USION HALL, North Abington, on SUNDAY, (day and evening), Feb. 28. W. J. Hayward, Rev. Mr. Hall, &c., are expected to attend. Friends in neighboring towns are invited.

CHARLES SPEAR will repeat, by request, his Address on 'The Church, the Home, and the Prison,' in the Second Universalist Church, School street, on next Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Pepperell, on Sunday, the 21st—and in Nashua, on Sunday, the 28th. In each place, meetings will be held all day and evening.

CONVENTION IN EASTERN NEW YORK.—A Convention will be held in ALBANY, on Monday and Tuesday, March 8 and 9, to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M., Monday, and continue by adjournment through and the following day. Speakers: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Rev. Samuel J. May, Aaron M. Fowell, Charles Lenox Remond, Susan B. Anthony.

The friends of freedom, in all the neighboring towns (especially, as well as at a more remote distance, are most cordially invited to 'help the cause along' by their presence and cooperation, as the occasion promises to be one of great interest and importance. Those who wish to hear Mr. PHILLIPS must be at the afternoon and evening meetings of the 8th, as he cannot be present at any of the subsequent meetings.

A similar Convention will be held in HERRON, N. Y., on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, March 11th and 12th—at which W. L. Garrison, C. L. Remond, A. M. Powell, and S. B. Anthony will be present.

A COLORED GIRL.

From 12 to 15 years of age, if well recommended, can obtain a home in a family living near Boston, where she can be instructed in a thorough knowledge of housekeeping, and receive a sound education besides. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

A YOUNG MAN, 21 years of age, light colored, and of prepossessing appearance, desires, and is in immediate need of a situation. He has been accustomed to wait and tend; but is willing to put his hand to any occupation, and, as he is intelligent and seems very handy, would be likely to give satisfaction. Apply at 21 Cornhill, Boston.

POETRY.

COARSE LANGUAGE AND CRUEL DEEDS. Say, why does the self-styled so chivalrous South Use words that would soil any gentleman's mouth...

HUMAN SOULS. Human souls of every kind Sail the human sea; Some have vessels to their mind, Hiding fast and free.

THE KING IS COLD. Rake the embers, broil the coals, Kindle at once a roaring fire; Here's some paper—'tis nothing, sir— Light it—they've saved a thousand souls!

LITTLE NOBODY. When the tempest flies O'er the cloudy skies, And from crag to crag the frantic thunders ride;

The Liberator.

RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

REMARKS OF HON. SAM'L E. SEWALL. Before the Legislative Committee on the Qualification of Voters, to whom were referred the petitions for the extension of the Right of Suffrage to Women, Wednesday, P. M., Feb'y 8, 1853.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee: I regret that my name has been announced in the papers as one of the speakers on this occasion...

The question before you, gentlemen, as to the right, which women claim, of suffrage, as it strikes me, seems a very simple one, and easy of solution. I look upon it merely in the light of right. What is the right of women in this respect?

Now, then, are women in this Commonwealth treated as if they were the 'equals,' in natural rights, of men? Our Constitution says—'All men are born free and equal.'

The great war-cry of the Revolution, gentlemen, was, that 'Taxation without representation is tyranny.' There is a lady here (Dr. HARRIET K. HUNT) who has herself felt the evils of this taxation without representation...

It is in vain to say, that the practical effect of women having no voice in making the laws which affect them, has not been injurious to them. We all see the contrary.

As to the propriety of women going to the polls, or discussing questions of politics in caucuses, I only say, that the result of woman's presence at those places would be, that they would be conducted with more decency and propriety than they are now.

But I think, gentlemen, that women, having a voice in legislation, would not merely influence those laws which affect them more particularly, but that it would go far beyond to other laws. Slavery would have been abolished by Great Britain long before it was, if women had had a voice in the government.

Then in regard to the law of divorce, the inequality is not yet remedied, even here. But in England, where no divorces are allowed—(that is, I mean, where no entire divorces are allowed; divorces from bed and board, which are not complete divorces, are allowed there)—I say, in England, where no divorces are allowed, except by act of Parliament, for the single cause of adultery, no woman, except in one or two extraordinary cases, was ever allowed to get a divorce, although every year men are divorced from their wives by Parliament.

The law of property to which I have alluded, giving the absolute control of the wife's property to the husband, has had the most disastrous effects every where. Women were not only deprived of all their property, but of all their earnings after marriage.

In regard to the person of the wife. The law gives the husband the right to his wife's person. The husband can seize her and keep her against her will, and compel her to live with him.

Then, in regard to children. Our law has been very much improved in this respect. Formerly, the husband had absolute control and power over the children, and could tear the nursing child from the mother's arms, and there was no protection for her.

But, gentlemen, this argument of the incompetency of women, and the argument that men will take care of women, are the arguments that tyrants have always urged in cases of the same kind.

Go to the wisest man you know—the one most capable of answering—and ask him: Why are you not willing that women should have the right of suffrage? I have sought for years for reasons why, and have found none; and simply because there is no reason against it.

Another man said to me, 'You see that if women vote, it will make a party, and his wife to another. Suppose the wife will vote her party, and the husband will vote his. Suppose the wife were a Republican, as she would very likely be, [applause, hisses and laughter], and the husband were a Know-Nothing, as he would be likely to be, [laughter], what, said he, will become of domestic harmony?'

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As I said, Mr. Chairman, at the outset, I had not a great deal to say upon this question, and I willingly give up my place to those who are better able to address you.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. ADDRESS OF LUCY STONE.

At Orange, New Jersey, February 8, 1853.

In accordance with the announcement of a hand-bill, Mrs. Lucy Stone addressed the people of Orange, New Jersey, on the subject of taxation without representation, and woman's rights generally.

One would suppose that the principle which we advocate—the inseparability of taxation and representation—is broached for the first time. People regard it as very new and very curious, and wonder what kind of men and women these are who are telling us that taxation and representation are inseparable.

There are many reasons why women must legislate for themselves. The Statute books of every State are covered with enactments that disgrace them—laws made against every wife and daughter, so that injustice is written upon every code, so far as women are concerned without representation.

Pray, men of New Jersey, don't be so inconsistent! Either give us the right to vote, or blot out the word 'people' from your statutes, or else declare openly that women are negroes and nobody.

There are thousands of women who have been paying their taxes under protest for years, and the number is growing larger—women who will not pay taxes, though the very cradle in which they rock their babe should be taken and sold.

The speaker referred to the recent habeas corpus case in New York, in which a wife was permitted to go home with her children, from her husband, and said it was the first time a wife was allowed by a court to leave her husband without some criminal conduct on his part to justify her.

The speaker next referred to the fact that the personal property of a wife in most States passes to the husband. The statutes of New Jersey gave the husband complete control over the earnings of the wife.

The speaker referred to the wrongs of Kansas as light in comparison with the wrongs of woman. She referred to the progress of the Woman's Rights movement, and said that in Massachusetts the women have gained everything they asked, except the right of suffrage.

The following, from the Boston Herald, is the kind of slang which is used in disparagement of woman and her rights: 'Women, sometimes, are fanciful creatures, and important in their fancies. Anna Gardner and a bold sisterhood of Nantucket, petitioned the House on Tuesday, and Sarah E. Wall and her bold coadjutors of Worcester, petitioned the Senate yesterday for the extension of the right of suffrage to women of this Commonwealth.'

hand that never grew weary—his own mother's love—ever once finds it in his heart to believe that one to whom God has given this great duty, will leave her child when it needs her care? The women who have babies cannot go to Congress, and therefore no woman should be allowed to vote or go to Congress.

There is not a man, no matter how ignorant he may be, if he never saw the inside of a school-house, if he is so drunk that he goes wallowing from your corner to the ballot-box, and for the price of his soap cannot tell what the vote in his hand is.

There are many reasons why women must legislate for themselves. The Statute books of every State are covered with enactments that disgrace them—laws made against every wife and daughter, so that injustice is written upon every code, so far as women are concerned without representation.

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ELOCUTION. IS rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of the art is long felt wanted. Miss E. G. GUNDERSON, Teacher to the Mercantile Academy, No. 11 Mercantile Building, Summer street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, and all who wish to acquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

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