

THE NEED OF MEN IN DEPENDENCE OF FREEDOM.

The following article is from the pen of the Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever, one of the Editors of the New York Independent. It has the ring of the metal of 1776.

In our country, it is getting to be impossible to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, except by regiments of armed, mercenary soldiers. We thank God for that. Men cannot well be kidnapped in open day, except at the point of the bayonet; there is some hope in that. And it is instructive and somewhat satisfactory to see, with a complication of crime made but run through, of various kinds, in order to get successfully at the commission of this crime of man-stealing. Men must run the gauntlet of various black, abominable villainies, before the devil himself seems willing to trust them with this last infernal wickedness. The latest mode of man-stealing connived at and sustained by United States authority, involves lying, treachery, and slander to begin with, and deadly assault and perhaps murder to finish. Our Federal marshals dare not go openly, and charge a man with being a slave, but they must get out a warrant charging him with being a thief, a burglar, a forger, a counterfeiter, or capital criminal in some shape; and having thus decoyed the law with its ordinary officers, to get him into prison, they then and there abandon the charge by which they succeeded in entrapping him, and claim him as a slave. By means of this mode for the punishment of robbers, murderers, and man-stealers, they succeed in stealing men; and if themselves arraigned for false imprisonment, or assault of character and person, they can easily get bail from base, pandering cotton-peddlers, who start to do their bidding more obsequiously, with alacrity and conquered prejudices, than any cove of poor black victims, ever started to their toll beneath the lash of the slave-driver.

The fact that in the greatest of our New-England cities, immediately after the fraudulent passage of the Nebraska bill—a passage accomplished only by the meanest subterfuge and trickery, by an act of dishonesty which would send any private individual acting in the same way, in commercial life, to the State's prison—a man can be arrested and captured on a false accusation of crime, and by this means entrapped into the power of a slave-hunter, and then, without any reparation for this outrage, that standing army of the United States can be marched, mounted to maintain the slave-hunter in his hunt, and that the military force of the very State and city where this outrage occurs can be ordered out to the support of that standing army, while a mandate of the Chief Justice of the State Court is despised, and neither men nor soldiers can be found to carry that into execution; this fact, these facts disclose a state of things, a palsy in regard to freedom, and a subserviency in regard to slavery, that men can enter in silent and perhaps unperceived, that in no other country can be described. The iron of despotism enters into our souls. That such a thing could be, here in this free country, is worse than dim eclipse over half the nations. This bright sun that shines upon us, this pleasant air that breathes around us while we write, seem to sympathize in the tragedy that is thus taking place in the heart of free New-England. It is a debasement and an injury unutterable, that such a thing could be. A great, noble, and generous people, with a noble mind, the great allies of freedom, where are they now? Must we be free or die? Is that the voice of poetry alone? Or is it freedom to be set by law to force fetters for others, and to have regiments of hired soldiers over us, compelling us to do 'with alacrity' the infamous work of riveting those fetters on the trembling victims of bondage?

If we had but one word, and that one word were lightning, we would plunge it into the bosom of those who are doing this wrong. The lightning would justify us in the most solemn imprecations of Justice wrath upon them. It is in regard to precisely such wickedness, that the word of God calls down the speedy vengeance of the Almighty, and adds, 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked; so that a man shall say, Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily, he is a God that judgeth in the earth.' We defy the utmost ingenuity of criticism, to apply this tremendous adjuration to any other crime than just this of oppressive, iniquitous, and violent betrayal and sacrifice of the freedom and the rights of others. And yet these men prate about the importance of obedience even to unjust law, as if the whole salvation of our country stood upon the execution of unrighteous law, and not upon righteousness and justice; and as if continued obedience to unjust law would take away the spirit of noble humanity, and the life-blood of the freedom of our country, quicker than any thing else. What hast thou, that thou declare my statutes, that when thou shalt see a thief, consented with him, thou that givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit, thou that frameth mischief by a law, and condemnest the innocent blood?

What is the framing and enactment of unjust law but the highest, most sweeping, and most dreadful form of crime? There can be nothing so inhuman, nothing so atrocious, nothing so disastrous to a nation, nothing so fearful to liberty and freedom. When a nation is under such despotism, and submits, then it dies. It is dreadful to think that the reign of such evil can even be begun among us, and endure for a moment. Wordsworth's grand sonnet comes to memory:

There is a bondage which is worse to bear Than his who breathes, by roof and floor, and wall Pent in a tyrant's solitary thrall: 'Tis his who walks about in air, One of a nation who must henceforth wear Their fetters in their souls; for who could be, Who, even the best, in such condition, free From self-reproach, reproach which he must share With human nature? Never be it ours To see the sun, though shining brightly above, And know that noble features, manly powers, Instead of gathering strength, must drop and pine; And earth, with all her pleasant fruits and flowers, Fade, and participate in man's decline.'

Now, if this is to be the law, this the type of our social state; if the one grand interest of our country is the establishment and security of slavery; and if a standing army is to be maintained, and foreign dragons are to be kept in our city, for the purpose of enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law, while at the same time all the most solemn compacts for freedom are deliberately broken; if our Union, and the strength of government thence derived, are to be divorced from the interest of freedom, and turned to the support and extension of slavery, as if to use the admirable illustration of President Wayland, an insurance company established for protection of fire should be turned into a corporation for setting fires and keeping up the conflagration; any thing were better than this; this is anarchy, this is a worse kind, anarchy consolidated into despotism. A prolonged and most terrific revolutionary conflict were better than this; indeed, revolutionary measures would be demanded, and would become the duty and necessity of the people in such a state of things. The yeomanry of a country ought to pour into a city thus beleaguered and overawed by mercenary soldiers, and as in the case of Bunker Hill and Lexington, bring the anarchy of oppression and despotism to an end, or change it into a legality of conflict for freedom. If the people are betrayed in the very refuge of their rights, and defrauded of their own expressed judgment and will, betrayed and denied their voice and power in the Hall of their Representatives, if the government turn into a treasonable despotism against them, then there is no other resort but to their own reserved and revolutionary rights and powers. In the words of Patrick Henry, 'appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, it all that is left.'

But for this purpose, should things come to such a pass, sex are needed, and not mere soldiers. Organization is needed, leaders are needed, wisdom, firmness, piety, are needed, the principle and the firmness that spring from a supreme regard to God, and unshaken reliance on him in a righteous cause. These were the men, the leaders, and the principles of wisdom, in the revolutionary conflict for our freedom. Then, in most cases, our dignities were our submission to the unjust human law, our submission to the throne of iniquity as in fellowship with God, because thrones are ordained of God among the powers that be. We trust in God, that the spirit of '76 has not entirely died out, but that in the coming struggle, he will prepare and set forward both men and leaders, that can neither be bought nor dismayed. He will surely do this, if it be his good pleasure to use our country for the freedom of the world; for a living nation cannot be so far from the throne of God, the conquest of the world for Christ, with the carcass of slavery chained to its embrace, and diffusing a moral pestilence through its system. Now, if soldiers are needed to enforce and keep guard over this

UNNATURAL AND HIDEOUS AMALGAMATION OF SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

While the trial of poor Burns was pending in Boston, the following were among the placards that were posted throughout the city:

Boston, May 27, 1854.—To the Yeomanry of New England—Countrymen and Brothers!—The vigilance committee of Boston inform you that the mock trial of the poor fugitive slave has been further postponed to Monday next, at 11 o'clock, A. M. You are requested, therefore, to come down on Monday the moral vigils of your presence, and the aid of your counsel, to the friends of justice and humanity in the city. Come down, then, sons of the Puritans; for even if the poor victim is to be carried off by brute force of arms, and delivered over to slavery, you should at least be present to witness the sacrifice, and you should follow him in sad procession with your tears and your prayers, and then go home and take such action as your manhood and your patriotism may suggest. Come then by the early train on Monday, and rally in Court Square. Come with courage and resolution in your hearts, but, this time, with only such arms as God gave you.'

MURDERERS, THIEVES AND BLACKLEGs—Employed by Marshal Freeman!—Marshal Freeman has been able to stoop low enough to insult even the U. S. Marines, by employing Murderers, Prize-Fighters, Thieves, Three Card Monte Men, and Gambling House-Keepers to aid him in the rendition of Burns. [Here follow the names of some of the Marshal's assistants.]

These are the characters with whom the officers of the U. S. Marines are called upon to act. Let the people mark them! They are in the Court House. They are pelted by Hunker Democrats. They are supplied with money and run by the United States, by order of Marshal Freeman. Such scoundrels, freemen of Massachusetts, are employed to trample upon our laws and insult you, and supplied with arms and ammunition to shoot you down, if you dare to assert your just rights. Will you submit quietly to such insults?

AMERICANS, TO THE RESCUE! AMERICANS! SONS OF THE REVOLUTION! A body of seventy-five Irishmen, known as the 'Columbian Artillery,' have volunteered their services to shoot down the citizens of Boston! and are now under arms to defend Virginia in kidnapping a citizen of Massachusetts! Americans! these Irishmen have come to us 'as cowards, and sons of cowards!' Shall we submit to have our citizens shot down by a set of vagabond Irishmen!

FURTHER AGGRESSIONS. Scarcely had the Nebraska infamy been consummated, before we find the traitor Douglas introducing into the Senate of the United States, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of recognizing the independence of the Republic of Dominica, and of opening diplomatic intercourse with the same.

Those who remember the history of our diplomatic connections with the Republic of Dominica, at once see the resolution is full of fatal results. Upon this the Morning Leader, of Cleveland, says:—

'St. Domingo is divided between two governments, the eastern a Republic, ruled by blacks, the western, a Slaveholding Republic, of Creoles, Spanish, French, etc. The United States has refused to acknowledge the independence of the former. Indeed, it has ignored the existence of Hayti, black and free. Yet now Senator Douglas proposes to acknowledge the independence of the Slaveholding Dominica, (at war, or at odds, all the time with its neighbors,) and thus prepare the way for the annexation of another Slave State, with a million of people in bondage.'

While Mr. Calhoun was Secretary of State, he sent to Dominica as secret agent, HOGAN, of New York, whose business it was to prevent the success of the black Haytiens in establishing their freedom and self-government. This agent made a report—but it was so foolish, so absurd, that it was never allowed to see the light. After this, the Dominicans revolted from Hayti. Sloquois, after he was chosen President of the later, made an effort to subvert them—but failed, declaring his purpose, however, to rouse hostilities again.

Then the American Consul, Green, and another secret agent, WALSH, undertook to 'arrange,' under the auspices of Mr. ELLMORE. Two objects were kept in view by them—first, the independence of Slaveholding Dominica, and second, the preventing Hayti from attacking it. WALSH was sent to Port au Prince, to bully Sloquois, now Emperor, but was so badly baffled and beaten, that our government was obliged to discontinue his diplomatic action in regard to it. Still, in consequence of these movements and the intervention of the United States, France, and England, no war has raged in Hayti since the armistice of 1849, though Mr. ELLMORE failed in accomplishing his object.

Under such circumstances, what will the North do? One aggression of Slavery is followed so quickly by still further aggressions, that the North has not time to acquiesce. It must yield unconditionally to each successive act of the Slave Power, or make the Republic a mere name to the end. The class aristocracy have triumphed once, and are now rejecting over our calamity; but Wise men never sit and wait their loss. But cheerly seek how to redress their harm.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The Boston correspondent of the Dover Morning Star—in giving an account of Anniversary Week—says of this Convention:—

We did not hear the leaders of this organization, such as Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, Pillsbury, &c.—but with the spirit of those we did hear, with scarce an exception, we were in hearty sympathy with the cause, though we did not, without abatement, endorse all the proceedings.

The other feature to which we referred above, was woman oratory; to this (we mean, of course, in public) we are not used. It was to us almost a novelty, of course it claimed of itself somewhat our attention. In the evening, we had two specimens, the one from a Miss Wright, the other from Lucy Stone. Miss Wright spoke well, but too long, the common fault of speakers on such occasions. Indeed, it is a mistake to think that she should be abated. In this case, long before the fair speaker consented to take her seat, the restive multitude, especially those behind who could not hear distinctly, gave hints and suggestions in the continuous stamping of feet, and pounding of canes; but, on straight on, went Miss Wright as though fated to say so much, no more perhaps, no less, certainly.

There ought to be a vigilance committee on all such occasions, whose duty it should be to prevent the progress of events, and counsel speakers at the time when they are done, to stop. Lucy Stone followed, riggered out and out bloomer. Her voice is not so strong or distinct as Miss Wright's, but there is in it more music—more pathos. She, like the previous speaker, struck boldly and strongly for the disunion of these States, but she gave utterances as to the villainy of slavery, and the duty of freedom, which, in strength of sentiment and richness and beauty of style, were not to be met in the most accomplished orator. Now and then our prejudice or squeamishness, or something better or worse, would suggest, that if God designed her for public speaking, he would have given her a voice of sufficient compass to be heard by half an audience like that which filled the Melodion, but such a voice Lucy Stone has not.

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It is said by those who have carefully investigated the subject, that the betrayal of our Saviour by Judas Iscariot was conducted throughout in a strictly legal manner. No law was violated, except by Peter, who cut an officer's ear off.

REMINISCENCES.

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THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, JUNE 16, 1854.

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

There will be a Mass Celebration of the Fourth of July, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in the beautiful Grove at Framingham, the particulars of which will be given in another number. Let it be observed, every where, as a day of deep humiliation and sorrow, with appropriate emblems, and with direct reference to the recent triumphs and present designs of the Slave Power—in accordance with the timely suggestions contained in the following Circular:—

Boston, June 12, 1854.

GENTLEMEN: We submit to you notice of the following vote of the Boston Vigilance Committee, and ask for your favorable consideration. It is right, that at so momentous a crisis as this, the opinion of the State should be gathered only from individuals or public meetings! Should not the constituted authorities of the State make their protest heard throughout the nation by some action which all will feel and understand?

THEODORE PARKER, SAMUEL K. HOWE, C. K. WHIPPLE, LEWIS HAYDEN, EDWARD JACKSON, CHARLES M. ELLIS, J. B. SMITH, FRANCIS JACKSON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Executive Committee of the Vigilance Committee.

At a meeting of the Boston Vigilance Committee, assembled June 8, 1854, it was Resolved, That our Executive Committee request the cities and towns of the Commonwealth to imitate the worthy example of the City of Providence, and omit the usual celebration of the fourth day of July next, and to mark by the tolling of bells, and other appropriate means, their sense of the disgrace and humiliation of the North by the success of the Nebraska Bill, and the fresh insult offered to the Commonwealth by the kidnapping of ANTHONY BURNS in the City of ADAMS and HANCOCK!

The subject of an appropriation for the celebration of the 4th of July came before the Common Council of Providence last week, when Mr. A. Paine offered and supported, in an able speech, the following resolution, which was adopted by a large majority, and concurred in by the Board of Aldermen:—

Resolved, That on account of the passage of the Nebraska bill by Congress, and the recent proceedings in the case of the Fugitive Slave Law, the City Council will make no appropriation for the public celebration of the Declaration of Independence, but that, on the fourth day of July next, they will cause the bells of the several churches of the city to be tolled for one hour, at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset.

This is the action on which was predicated the reference to the 'example of Providence' in the above Circular. We are sorry to have to add, that the City Council have since rescinded their vote, and appropriated \$2000 for a festive celebration. This is so like the North! and so unlike the South!

JUDGE CURTIS. This distinguished expounder of United States Law, in the Circuit Court of Boston, (says the Worcester Spy,) does not appear to be at all satisfied with the limited number of captives taken on the night of the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns. In his charge to the Grand Jury, delivered in the Court Room, on Wednesday P. M., he laid down the law upon so large and comprehensive a scale, as will make it rather necessary for Marshal Freeman, and his band of cut-throats and assassins, to take a drag-net and run it over the State, for the purpose of capturing and condemning to condign punishment, every person in Massachusetts who disapproves of kidnapping, and who dares to say that his soul is his own. Judge C. says:—

'My instruction to you is, that language, addressed to persons who immediately afterwards commit an offence, actually intended by the speaker to incite them, is such a counselling and advising to the crime as a law contempts, and the person so inciting others is liable to be indicted as a principal.'

The design of Judge Curtis is very evident. He wishes to secure the arrest of Messrs. Russell, Parker, Phillips, and others, who participated in the Faneuil Hall meeting, and as many as he can of those who were in the square on the night that the slave pen was attacked by the people.

THE CIVIL AND THE MILITARY POWER. The Boston Daily Advertiser, of the 9th inst., contains a long and able review of the proclamation of Mayor Smith, of Boston, issued on the morning of the day in which the rendition of Burns was accomplished, in which the Mayor stated that Major General Edmunds, and the Chief of Police, were clothed with full discretionary powers to sustain the laws of the land. The article is from the pen of Hon. Peleg W. Chandler, one of the ablest Whig lawyers of Boston, for some years City Solicitor, and clearly shows that the conduct of the Mayor was in violation of all law and all precedent.

COLONEL SUTTLE at Home. The Alexandria papers of yesterday state that Col. Suttle, the owner of the fugitive negro Burns, arrived at home, on Wednesday. He left Boston in the revenue cutter, bound for Norfolk; being detained by head winds, he and Mr. Brent took the opportunity afforded by a vessel fallen in with off Sandy Hook, to put into New York, which city they reached on Tuesday. The cutter continued her course to Norfolk with the negro Anthony on board, in charge of the United States Marshal and his assistants, who will bring him to Richmond.

Col. Suttle speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of the President through the whole affair. He also bestows unqualified praise upon B. F. Hallett, Esq., of the United States District Attorney; Mr. Freeman, the United States Marshal; the citizen soldiery of Boston, and the police and assistants of the Marshal. These all were, in the firmest and most faithful manner. —Richmond Enquirer, 9th inst.

Notwithstanding the complacency and exaltation of this successful slave-hunter, the latest intelligence from him is, that he came to the North a warm friend of the Union, but has returned to Virginia a determined Disunionist. Et tu, Brute! A free rendering of which means, Get out, you brute!

The Worcester Spy pertinently says— 'Anthony Burns has arrived at Alexandria. The city authorities propose to give a public dinner to Ass O. Butman, Pat Riley, and the other member of Marshal Freeman's body guard, who kept watch over the captive while in the cutter. It is right that these Bloodhounds should have some bones to gnaw, after the hunt is over.'

Alas, for poor Burns himself! And yet, if our voice could reach his ear, we would rehearse for his encouragement Wordsworth's beautiful sonnet to Toussaint, the hero of St. Domingo, 'the deep damnation of whose taking off' is an imperishable portion of history:— 'O thou most unhappy man of men! O, miserable—where and when Wilt thou find patience?—yet, die not; do thou Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow; Though fallen thyself, never Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind Powers that will work for thee! air, earth and skies; There's not a breathing of the common wind That will forget thee; thou hast great allies, Thy friends are exultations, agonies, and love, and man's unconquerable mind.'

To the brief sketch of the proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, in Boston, on our last page, it should have been added, that the Hutchinsons were present, and sang in their sweetest manner, and that FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. made a generous donation of FIFTY DOLLARS. The Convention was highly successful.

THOMAS W. HIGGINSON. For the valiant and effective Sermon delivered by this noble man, in regard to the kidnapping of Burns,—which occupies a portion of our third page,—we are indebted to the Worcester Spy. It will be read with thrilling satisfaction. On Saturday last, Mr. Higginson was arrested as one of the Court Square 'rioters,' and, waiving an examination, gave bonds to the amount of \$3000 for his appearance for trial. John Hancock was once a rebel.

A COMMISSION RESIGNED.

Here is one of those examples of fidelity to conscience, and to the cause of liberty, which are altogether so anomalous in the world. For practical good sense, integrity of life, and devotion to the right, Mr. Warren has long been highly regarded by those who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Emphatically a working-man, earning his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, he has proved himself 'one of nature's noble men'—that noblest work of God, 'an honest man.'

MARSHFIELD, June 4th, 1854. To His Excellency, ENOCH WASHBURN, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Sir,—I have just returned from witnessing the latest successful slave-hunt in the city of Boston. It was with mingled feelings of shame, indignation and sorrow that I saw the progress and end of that most base and dastardly act, by which the agents of twenty millions of people in this 'land of the free and home of the brave,' run down a man, as much entitled to liberty as you and I, and send him into the hell of American slavery.

I send you herewith a commission of a Justice of the Peace, which I received from one of your predecessors in office (Gov. Boutwell). I cannot longer retain it, and thus swear to support a government which has shown itself at once so mean, cowardly and despicable as this. By holding it, I might be called upon to do that which every pulsation of my heart, every reflection of my understanding, and every dictate of my judgment forbid. I do not wish, nor will I consent to have, any voluntary union with a nation of kidnappers and slave-drivers, which, with the cant of universal liberty as its lips, is engaged in ceaseless efforts to extend and perpetuate the vilest system of oppression that ever saw the sun.

In returning my commission, and renouncing all allegiance, henceforth, to this slaveholding Union, I feel called upon to say to you that there is fearful ground somewhere in this State for the deed of Friday last. How far you are accountable for the deadly blow which has been aimed at the liberties of Massachusetts, I cannot tell. Your own conscience, and that public opinion to which you owe your position as its Chief Magistrate, can, perhaps, determine better than I. But it does seem that if the Executive of the Commonwealth had done its duty, there might, at least, have been a jury trial to ascertain whether God made Anthony Burns a man, and endowed him with rights whose possession and exercise are essential to the development and perfection of his immortal nature, or whether he made him a chattel, with no other use in life than to minister to the caprice and avarice of Col. Suttle, of Virginia. Even this poor privilege was denied him, by those who have, again and again, year after year, for more than three quarters of a century, proclaimed to the world, as a self-evident truth, that 'all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.' O, what a mockery is all this pretension of ours!

But, however you may be able to exculpate yourself from any participation in this great sin, there can be no doubt that the city of Boston, which once laid 'holy hands laid in baptism upon its baby town'—that Boston which still holds within its bosom old Faneuil Hall, and which covets, even now, the soil and history of that Bunker Hill 'Where erst the 'em' embattled farmers stood, And fired the shot heard round the world,'—that Boston which is written all over with glorious reminiscences of the struggle for independence against the colossal power of Great Britain,—even that Boston has become the home and pliant tool of Southern kidnappers and slave-drivers—a huge blood-hound, whose business is to hunt men, and send them to die, like Thomas Simms, under the remorseless lash of slavery. In this capacity, she is preparing for herself, in the language of old Tristram Burgess, 'an immortality of infamy greater than that of him who burned the temple of Ephesus.' He merely destroyed a temple of wood and stone, she seeks to destroy 'the temple of the Holy Ghost.' She strives to trample the life out of immortal man.

This deed has been committed, this infamy fastened upon the Boston of revolutionary fame, mainly for the sake of that 'poison to men's souls,' gold! Is there any thing so mean or so infernal that men will not do it for gold? It needs base men to do such a work as that of carrying Anthony Burns into slavery. There is never any lack of that material. As has been said by a noble man of our own day, 'Put up your black, pine flag of slavery in the market-place, offer money and office, and they will come like carrion vultures to their prey.' Boston has shown that she has an abundant supply of them.

But the deed is finished! The battle of slavery is been won. Mayor Smith can congratulate his symbols that 'order reigns in Warsaw.' How many such victories slavery can afford to win, the future will reveal.

It seems now there is no law in Massachusetts but that of slavery. No man is secure in the possession of freedom any longer than he can defend it by his own right arm, or prove, to the satisfaction of some ten-dollar slave-catching Commissioner, that he was never held as a slave by some Potter in Georgia, or Suttle in Virginia. In such a state of things, we are thrown back upon those reserved rights which man ever has, of defending his life and liberty—rights which governments did not confer, and can never take away. In this utter prostration of all real law—in this base subserviency of the Pilgrim State to the despotic power of slavery, those who love liberty should enter into such combinations and cement such a union as will give it all effectual security against being seized by national blood-hounds, hurried before some Commissioner Curtis or Loring, and sent into returnless bondage.

Breaking the voluntary relation I have had with this nation, which is chiefly employed in the propagation and extension of human slavery, I am ready to unite with all who believe that 'man is more than institutions,' and that no form of government is of any value which does not protect the liberties of its people. This has practically pronounced the Declaration of Independence a lie, and branded the Washingtons, Hancocks, Adamses and Jeffersons of the Revolution as traitors to legitimate rule, who should have met with a felon's death. Ought not every honest man to renounce and denounce such a nation as this? Its destruction is as sure as the coming years. The retribution will be proportionate to the enormity of its crimes, and the magnitude of the light against which it has sinned. I believe a man who will aid in carrying a human being into slavery can never be expected to find any thing so mean, or unjust, or diabolical, that he will not do it. He should have the sanction of some counterfeiter for it, and can make it conduce to his own personal worldly interest. I look upon all such, together with their masters, the real slave owners, as enemies of the human race, and to be treated accordingly.

You may think it strange that an unknown individual should write you such a letter as this. But this is not a time to stand upon ceremony. When deeds are wrought in our midst, which 'well might shame extreme hell,' and that, too, by the open aid, secret connivance, or criminal indifference of men appointed to rule over us, and who have sworn to establish justice, secure domestic tranquillity, and defend the liberties of the people, I feel impelled to avail myself of the opportunity afforded, in the return of my commission, to express, as far as I have language adequate to do it, some of the thoughts and feelings which this great outrage has matured within me. They may not be worth any thing to you; but it is some relief to write them. In doing so, I feel the consolation of having discharged a duty to myself and the race.

I remain, yours for that government which does not buy and sell men and women, nor hunt them for others to do it.

RICHARD H. DANA, JR. EDWARD QUINCY, Esq.

ANSWER OF MR. DANA. Boston, June 5, 1854. DEAR SIR—I have just received your very kind note, enclosing the resolutions of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in compliment to Mr. Ellis and myself, for our efforts in behalf of the fugitive Burns.

However much we may differ on certain points and modes, I trust nothing will ever pass under the signet of the Seven Diamonds to any of my race, which is not substantially in the cause of independence and liberty on each side.

Be so kind as to return my grateful acknowledgments to the New England Anti-Slavery Convention for their prompt and liberal expressions of their feelings of sympathy and regard. The issue has been unfortunate for the poor fugitive, but I firmly believe that the entire transaction, from its beginning to its ending, has been over-ruled for the best purposes of impression on the feelings and understandings of men.

MASSACHUSETTS IN MOURNING.

A SERMON, BY T. W. HIGGINSON, MINISTER OF THE WORCESTER FREE CHURCH.

Jer. xv. 12.—Shall the iron break the Northern iron and the steel?

You have imagined my subject beforehand, for there is but one subject on which I could preach, or you could listen, to-day. Yet, how hard it is to say one word of that!

Let me speak of all this. Words are nothing—we have been satisfied with words for twenty years. I am thankful that this time there was action also ready for Freedom. God gave men bodies, to live and work in; Freedom. God gave men bodies the first things to be the powers of these bodies are the first things to be the powers of the Right.

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the right church before he goes? And give the emigrants twenty years more of prosperity, and then ask them, if you dare, to break law, and disturb order, and risk life, merely to save their State from the shame that has just blighted Massachusetts!

In view of these facts, what stands between us and a military despotism? 'Sure guarantees,' you say. So has every nation thought until its fall came. 'The outward form of Roman institutions stood unimpaired till long after Caligula made his horse consul!'

In the third century, after the birth of Jesus, Tertullian painted that brilliant picture of the Roman power, which describes us, as if it were written for us. 'Certainly,' says he, 'the world becomes more and more our tributary, none of its secret recesses have remained inaccessible, all are known, frequented, and have become the scene or the object of traffic.'

How simple the acts of our tragedy may be! Let another fugitive slave case occur, and more blood be spilled, (as may happen another time)—let Massachusetts be declared insurrectionary, and placed under martial law, (as it might); let the President be made dictator, with absolute power; let him send his willing Attorney General to buy up officers of militia, (which would be easy); and frighten officers of state, (which would be easier);—let him get half the press, and a quarter of the pulpits, to sustain his usurpation, under the name of 'law and order';—let the flame spread from New England to New York, from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Wisconsin;—and how long would it take for some future Franklin Pierce to stand where Louis Napoleon stands now? How much would the commercial leaders of the East resist, if an appeal were skillfully made to their pockets?—or the political demagogues of the West, if an appeal were made to their ambition? It seems inconceivable! Certainly—so did the coup d'etat of Louis Napoleon, the day before it happened!

'Do not despair of the Republic,' says some one, remembering the hopeful old Roman motto. But they had to despair of that one, in the end, and why not of this one, also? Why, when we are going on, step by step, as older Republics have done, should we expect to stop just as we reach the brink of Niagara? The love of liberty grows stronger every year, some think; in some a fugitive slave from Boston, and now it costs \$25 to restore a slave to the slaveholder. I know there are thousands of hearts which stand pledged to liberty now, and these may save the State, in spite of her officials and her military, but can they save the nation? They may give us disunion instead of despotism, but can they give us anything better? Can they even give us anything so good? We talk of the Anti-Slavery sentiment as being stronger; but in spite of your free soil votes, your Uncle Tom's Cabin, and your New York Tribunes, here is the simple fact. The South beats us more and more easily every time. So chess-players, when they have once or twice overcome a weak antagonist, think it safe, next time, to give up to him a half dozen pieces by way of odds;—and after all, gain the victory. Compare this Nebraska game with the previous ones. The slave power could afford to give us the Whig party on our side, this time—could give up to us the commercial influence of Boston and New York, so strong an ally before—it has not had the name and presence of Daniel Webster to help it now, nor the voices of clergymen, nor the terror of disunion, nor the weariness after a long Anti-Slavery excitement;—it has dispensed with all these;—nay, the whole contest was on our own soil, to defend the poor little land-mark we had retreated to, long before;—and for all this, the slave power has conquered us, just as easily as it conquered us on Texas, Mexico, and the compromise of 1850.

No wonder that this excitement is turning Whigs and Democrats into Free Soilers, and Free Soilers into disunionists. But this is only the eddy, after all; the main current sets the wrong way. The nation is intoxicated and depraved. It takes all the things you count as influential,—all the 'spirit of the age,' and the 'moral sentiment of Christendom,' and the best eloquence and literature of the time,—to balance the demoralization of a single term of Presidential patronage. Give the offices of the nation to be controlled by the slave power, and I tell you that there is not one in ten, even of professional Anti-Slavery men, who can stand the fire in that furnace of sin; and there is not a plot so wicked but it will have, like all its predecessors, a sufficient majority when the time comes.

Do you doubt this? Name, if you can, a victory of freedom, or a defeat of the slave power, within twenty years, except on the right of petition, and even that was only a recovery of lost ground. Do you say, the politicians are false, but the people mark the men who betray them! True, they mark them, but as merchants mark goods, with the cost price, that they may raise the price a little, when they want to sell the same article again. You must go back to the original Missouri Compromise, if you wish to prove that even Massachusetts punishes traitors to Freedom, by any severer penalty than a seat in her Supreme Bench. For myself, I do not believe in these Anti-Slavery spasms of our people, for the same reason that Coleridge did not believe in ghosts, because I have seen too many of them myself. I remember when our Massachusetts delegation in Congress signed a sort of threat, that the State would withdraw from the Union, if Texas came in, but it never happened. I remember the State Convention at Faneuil Hall in 1846, where the lion and the lamb lay down together, and Geo. T. Curtis and John G. Whittier were Secretaries; and the Convention solemnly pronounced the annexation of Texas to be 'the overthrow of the Constitution, the bond of the existing Union.' I remember how one speaker boasted that if Texas was admitted by joint resolution, it might be voted out by the same. But somehow, we have never mustered that amount of resolution; and when I hear of State street petitioning for the repeal of its own Fugitive Slave Law, I remember the lesson.

For myself, I do not expect to live to see that law repealed by the votes of politicians at Washington. It can only be repealed by ourselves, upon the soil of Massachusetts. For one, I am glad to be deceived no longer. I am glad of the discovery (no hasty thing, but gradually dawning upon me for ten years)—that I live under a despotism. I have lost the dream that ours is a land of peace and order. I have looked thoroughly through our 'Fourth of July,' and seen its hollowness; and I advise you to petition your City Government to revoke their approbation for its celebration (or give the same to the Nebraska Emigration Society) and only toll the bells in all the churches, and hang the streets in black from end to end. O shall we hold such ceremonies when only some statesman is gone, and omit them over dead Freedom, whom all true statesmen only live to serve!

At any rate, my word of counsel to you is to learn this lesson thoroughly—a revolution is begun! not a Reform, but a Revolution. If you take part in politics henceforward, let it be only to bring near the crisis which will either save or surrender this nation—or perish save in surrendering. I am not very hopeful, even as regards you; I know the mass of men will not make great sacrifices for Freedom, but there is more need of those who will. I have lost faith forever in numbers; I have faith only in the constancy and courage of a 'for-

lorn hope.' And for aught we know, a cause may arise, this week, in Massachusetts, which may not end like the last one.

Let us speak the truth. Under the influence of slavery, we are rapidly relapsing into that state of barbarism, in which every man must rely on his own right hand for his protection. Let any man yield to his instinct of Freedom, and resist oppression, and his life is at the mercy of the first drunken officer who orders his troops to fire. For myself, existence looks worthless under such circumstances; and I can only make life worth living for, by becoming a revolutionist. The saying seems dangerous, but why not say it if one man's life, as I certainly do? I respect law and order, but as the ancient Persian sage said, 'always obey the laws, virtue must relax much of her rigor.' I see, now, that while slavery is national, law and order must constantly be on the wrong side. I see that the case stands for me precisely as it stands for Kossuth and Mazzini; and I must take the consequences.

Do you say that ours is a democratic government, and there is a more peaceable remedy? I deny that we live under a democracy. It is an oligarchy of slaveholders, and I point to the history of a half century to prove it. Do you say, that oligarchy will be propitiated by submission? I deny it. It is the plea of the timid in all mission. Look at the experience of our own country. Which is most influential in Congress, South Carolina, which never submitted to anything, or Massachusetts, with three the white population, but which always submits to everything. I tell you there is not a free State in the Union which would dare treat a South Carolinian as that State treated Mr. Hoar; or if it had been done, the Union would have been divided years ago. The way to make principles felt is to assert them, peaceably if you can, forcibly if you must. The way to promote free soil, is to have your own soil free; to leave courts to settle constitutions, and to fall back (for your own part) on first principles; then it will be seen that you mean something. How much free territory is there beneath the stars and stripes? I know of four places, Syracuse, Wilkesbarre, Milwaukee, and Chicago; I remember no other. 'Worcester,' you say. Worcester has not yet been tried. If you think Worcester County is free, say so, and act accordingly. Call a County Convention, and declare that you leave legal quibbles to lawyers, and parties to politicians, and plant yourselves on the simple truth, that God never made a slave, and that man shall neither make nor take one here! Over your own city, at least, you have power; but will you stand the test when it comes? Then do not try to avoid it. For one thing only I blush, that a fugitive has ever fled from here to Canada. Let it not happen again, I charge you, if you are what you think you are. No longer conceal fugitives and help them on, but show them and defend them. Let the Underground Railroad stop here! Say to the South, that Worcester, though a part of a Republic, shall be as free as if ruled by a Queen! Hear! O Richmond, and give ear, O Carolina! henceforth Worcester is Canada to the slave!

And what will Worcester be to the kidnapper? I dare not tell; and I fear that the poor sinner himself, if once recognized in our streets, would scarcely get back to the tale.

I do not discourage more peaceable instrumentalities; would to God that no other were ever needed. Make laws if you can, though you have State processes already, if you had officers to enforce them; and, indeed, what can any State process do, except to legalize nullification? Use politics, if you can make them worth using, though a coalition administration proved as powerless, in the Sims case, as a Whig administration has proved now. But the disease lies deeper than these remedies can reach. It is all idle to try to save men by law and order, merely, while the men themselves grow selfish and timid, and are only ready to talk of liberty, and risk nothing for it. Our people have no active physical habits; their intellects are sharpened, but their bodies, and even their hearts, are left untrained; they learn only, (as a French saint once said,) the fear of God and the love of money; they are taught that they owe the world nothing, but that the world owes them a living, and so they make a living; but the fresh, strong spirit of Liberty droops and decays, and only makes a dying. I charge you, parents, do not so easily satisfied;—encourage nobler instincts in your children, and appeal to nobler principles;—teach your daughter that life is something more than dress and show, and your son that there is some nobler aim in existence than a good bargain, and a fast horse, and an oyster supper. Let us have the brave, simple instincts of Circassian mountaineers, without their ignorance; and the unflinching moral courage of the Puritans, without their superstition; so that we may show the world that a community may be educated in brain, without becoming cowardly in body, and that a people without a standing army may yet rise as one man, when freedom needs defenders.

May God help us to see to it that we do not bleed and bleed State, and to bring this people back to that simple love and liberty, without which it must die amidst its luxuries, like the sad nations of the elder world. May we gain more iron in our souls, and have it in the right place;—have soft hearts and hard wills, not as now, soft wills and hard hearts. Then will the iron break the Northern iron and the steel no longer; and 'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' will be at last a hope fulfilled.

AGITATION, NOT TRANQUILITY. It was a wise command which Gideon, the son of Joash, gave to the host of Israel, before leading them to do battle with the Midianites, 'Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return, and depart early from Mount Gilead.' An army becomes weaker by the addition of those, how numerous soever, who are afraid to do its customary work; and, in like manner, the leaders of a peaceful enterprise are cumbered, rather than aided, by partnership with those whose aims or methods are materially different from their own. The Anti-Slavery people have kept themselves tolerably free from such mixtures up to this time; but now that the Fugitive Slave Law and its results have called out from individuals, and bodies of men, and newspapers, heretofore more or less broadly distinguished from the old Abolitionists, a specially vigorous and salient expression of dislike to some of the concomitants of slavery, it becomes us to give diligent heed that we are not seduced into wasting our strength upon half-way measures, and using the pruning-knife rather than the axe as our weapon. Nay, more. We must not spare clearly to point out the inefficiency of such measures when used by others. The men, however well-meaning, who are striving to put an end to agitation in the North, cannot possibly be efficient allies of those who seek to put an end to slavery in the South.

The Boston Commonwealth and the New York Tribune, both of which have spoken brave and noble words about slavery, while neither has taken a right position in regard to it, are now trying to persuade their readers to petition for a jury trial in future slave cases. In urging the measure, the former paper says, (Tuesday, June 6th.)

'With a trial, instead of an inquisition; with a public tribunal, instead of one guarded by uniformed and untrifled ruffians, a slave case would not so excite the community as it does under the present system.'

Upon the same subject, the Tribune says, (Semi-weekly, Friday, June 24.)

'Nobody can doubt that the enforcement of the existing law is heretofore to be attended with opposition, and turmoil, and outrage, such as has never before attended its execution. It is the duty of Congress to foresee this great evil, and to guard against it. Let us have the public tranquilly assured by some other method and by some other means, such as we see in use in Boston. It can easily be done. If the questions arising in every fugitive slave case shall be submitted to the decision of a regularly drawn jury of twelve men, in the place where the fugitive may be apprehended, the sentiment of public justice will be measurably satisfied, and future tumults will be avoided.'

take early steps to compose and tranquillize the public mind on this question.'

It seems to me that complaints of the 'excitement,' 'opposition' and 'tumult' which now attend the execution of the Fugitive Law, and appeals for quiet and tranquillity, are more appropriate to the friends of slavery than to its foes. Certainly, those who wish the nation to be 'first pure, then peaceable,' those who oppose the existence, and not merely the extension, of slavery, must welcome that agitation which shows some remaining sensibility to our sin and shame, and a return from lethargy and paralysis towards healthy consciousness. When the next case of kidnapping comes, there should be not a less, but a greater crowd around the slave-pen; a louder cry of indignation against the Northern agents of Southern tyranny, a wider suspension of ordinary business; a real rescue, with ample numbers, very preliminary concert, and efficient leadership, instead of an abortive attempt; an expression of public indignation so decisive, as to send the kidnappers forth, not only from Boston and Massachusetts, but from every State north of Mason and Dixon's line, at their quickest speed; a prompt and rigid account required from every man, and especially from every man in office, who has aided the attempt to kidnap; and an assurance from the city authorities to the persons assailed, of thorough protection to their persons, property and honest occupation, so long as they shall choose to reside in Boston. An excitement of public feeling involving, at least, all these things, is essential to the existence of real freedom among ourselves. What then is the object of those who call for tranquillity?

Slavery ought to be kept out of Kansas and Nebraska, first, because it is an atrocious system of injustice; and next, because it works a wide and deep deterioration upon every party and every interest connected with it. For precisely the same reasons, it ought to be put out of Virginia and Kentucky, and every other State in this Union. The existence of slavery, not its particular location, is the great evil. I repeat it, the attempt to tranquillize, that is, to blunt such amount of vividness of perception of the evils and dangers of slavery as circumstances have now forced upon the North, is work well suited to the foe, but most inappropriate to the friends of freedom. We need more, and still more agitation, till the whole accursed thing is rooted out of our land. When foul blotches and seamy eruptions appear on the surface, they mark a disease within, to which active treatment should be applied. If the patient, under these circumstances, maintains that he is in perfect health, these opposing witnesses should be opened to the light, and forced upon his attention. To veil them from his sight, or to drive them inward towards the vital parts, is the work neither of a wise physician nor a true friend. It at once increases the danger and postpones the remedy.

If to this it be objected that to expel slavery from Virginia and Kentucky, by direct action, is beyond our power; I reply, first, that we are not thereby released from doing the many things which we can do, indirectly, towards this object, preparing the way, removing the obstacles, enlightening the minds and arousing the consciences of men in relation to it; and next, that apart from considerations of justice and humanity to the slaves, our own rights, and the rights of the whole North, are constantly violated, and must necessarily continue to be so, while this system lasts. For our own sakes, then, and for the sake of our children, we should force upon the reluctant eyes of the pro-slavery part of our population, every evidence of the tyranny which the Slave Power seeks to extend over us. Every attempt to kidnap, every item of treachery and violence used as the means to that end, every act of baseness and cruelty perpetrated by government officials, every forcible exclusion of the public from the U. S. courts of justice, and every perversion of our city buildings or officers, of our hotels, railroad cars, carriages, vessels or telegraph-wires to serve the purposes of slavery, should not only be spread promptly and clearly before the public eye, but should be fixed at once upon the individual mainly responsible, and stamped, like the mark of Cain, upon his brow, until repentance and amendment should efface it. Even Commissioner Loring will become measurably conscious of his disgrace, when friends cut his acquaintance in the street, his law classes petition for his removal from Harvard University, and the provision dealers refuse to sell him a dinner.

Until the root of these evils is removed, there is no escape from the evils themselves; and this removal must be accomplished, if at all, through agitation, not tranquillity. If, then, the partisans of slavery are so impudent in its advocacy as to use means gross enough to shock the average conscience of the North, it is not for us, (who have so long vainly striven to arouse that North to this very evil,) to beg them, for the sake of public tranquillity, to be more decent and less outrageous. If our population have too little regard for right and justice to be moved by the simple enslavement of a human being, and are roused to resistance, or to disapprobation, only when such enslavement is complicated with fraud, violence, and the grossest exercise of arbitrary power over themselves, it is clear that this rough process of 'effectual calling' is matter for satisfaction, rather than deprecation, to the friends of freedom. The more bayonets, revolvers, and fell-pieces the government use, the more contracts they break, the more obvious injustice they practise in accomplishing their work, the sooner the eyes of the people will be opened. Let not a single crack of the slave-whip be spared us. Southern kidnappers among us, and the military companies, whether native or foreign, who volunteer to be their guard against public indignation, are the 'colporteurs,' the 'fraud-distributors, who are preparing the way for our needed 'revival' of freedom.

In just this light, it seems to me, as to be regarded the Fugitive Slave Law, with the decision of its cases by a Commissioner instead of a jury, and the act just passed in relation to Nebraska. I would not now sign a petition for the repeal of either of these three. They are giving material aid in the execution of our work. Formerly, before the subject of slavery was discussed in Congress, petitions of that sort served the useful purpose of introducing it to the people at large, through the debates of the Senate and House of Representatives. Now, that subject has taken possession of those bodies beyond the power of ejection, and these last enormities of the slave power are our very best means of awakening the people at large to the necessity of a thorough and formal divorce of liberty from slavery. Let the Northern Hunkers who have brought these evils upon the nation, the Everetts, the Curtises, &c., and who their work if they will, but until then, let their infamy be kept conspicuously before the public eye, to illustrate the greater infamy of the 'sum of all villainies,' slavery.

For the information of those who may imagine that a jury, in a United States Court, as now conducted, would be of material benefit to those who are brought before it as slaves, it may be well to mention that the precautions used, first, in excluding from it all friends of freedom, and then in dictating to it, as a rule of action, only the pro-slavery parts of the Constitution and the laws, are such as to make the work of the jury as great a mockery of justice as that of the kidnapper. Such a jury would be of very little practical service to the individual slave on trial. On the other hand, the present refusal of even this approach towards the appearance of justice will help to open men's eyes to the character of the whole slave system. While slavery remains, it is well that the Fugitive Slave Law should remain, unshorn of a single feature of its infamy, to be, as the Westminster Catechism says, 'an outward and visible sign of our inward and spiritual state.'

My own chief objection, however, to petitions for a jury trial for slaves, rests upon another ground. No authority whatever, no sentence of court nor verdict of jury, shall make me acquiesce in the enslavement of a human being at all, still less in his re-enslavement, after he has once been freed. I wish to see Massachusetts, and every free State, treat the claim of ownership by one man over another as an attempt to kidnap a freeman, without the least inquiry into the antecedents

history of the person claimed as a slave; I wish to see it assumed, as a matter of course, by every legal tribunal, not only that every man is born free, but that his freedom cannot be alienated except by crime; and that any attempt of one man to hold, or to use, another as his slave, is at once the most impudent and the most heinous species of robbery.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. LORING MOODY will speak on the relations of the North to Slavery, in the following places: Malden, Sunday, June 18. Melrose, Tuesday, " 20. South Reading, Thursday, " 22. Reading, Friday, " 23. Lowell, Sunday, " 25. Chelmsford, Tuesday, " 27.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM: In the present conflict with despotism and its armed and hired minions, when the crisis seems to be rapidly approaching which is to give up our country, bound hand and foot, to the dominion of slavery, or to emancipate her forever from its terrible power, it becomes the imperative duty of every lover of right to do something to avert the threatened blow. The old battle-grounds of freedom are again and again to be desecrated by the foul feet of the kidnapper of God's children; and soon we are to hear Southern slaveholders 'calling their muster-rolls on Bunker Hill.'

The repeal of the Missouri restriction, and the late bold cases of kidnapping in New York and Boston, have tended somewhat to awaken the slumbering North to a sense of its danger. Still, much of the work of preparation for the impending contest remains to be done. The people are by no means convinced of the utterly unscrupulous and wicked character of the foe they have to deal with. And the worst of the case is, this foe has entrenched himself in their own hearts, behind the strong ramparts of sectarian and party prejudices; so that the work of dislodgment is arduous beyond measure.

Under these circumstances, I propose to enter the field of active labor in the cause of Freedom. I shall appear at public lectures and addresses in such places as may appear to me most desirable—unless guided by your request, with which I shall be happy to comply. I shall do what I can to extend the circulation of the Liberator, the Commonwealth, and such other journals and publications as plant themselves unflinchingly on the side of freedom for all. As I am not the agent of any Society or association, I shall rely wholly upon your contributions to enable me to keep in the field; and I shall remain in it so long as I am sustained. Should my labors be wanted in any place, communications on the subject will reach me by being directed to the Anti-Slavery Office, Boston. To avoid the labor and expense of writing, will not the friends in places where meetings are appointed, make all useful arrangements, without further request?

It is true, you are in the midst of your labors, the weather is warm, and the evenings short. But Slavery never consults the thermometer nor the calendar, nor anything else but its own infernal interest. It works, cold or hot, it works, day or night, it works, with ceaseless, tireless energy, IT WORKS. Shall the friends of freedom be less active and energetic? Will you not, then, devote enough of your time to this cause to accomplish the cooperative purpose above indicated? remembering that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' I may not be able to accomplish much; but I can do something; and if all who love liberty and hate slavery will only do their duty, the work of salvation will speedily be accomplished.

LORING MOODY. Scoundrels Arrested.—Two of Marshal Freeman's body guard were arrested in Boston, on Saturday night, for attempting to rob a countryman of his money and watch. Their names are Benj. Watson and Samuel H. Moore. The villain who assaulted Mr. Dana has turned out to be one of the Marshal's aids, and has been arrested.—His name is Wm. Oxford, alias Sullivan, alias Husford. He has since absconded, leaving his bondsman in the lurch, to the amount of \$600.

The Slaver.—The Massachusetts, on her passage to Nantucket, on Saturday, ran within a few miles of the slaver Morris, which could plainly be seen from her decks. It was intended, had the steamer passed the slaver within halting distance, to have hoisted the boat's bell, and displayed the national ensign Union down!

Escape of a Fugitive Slave.—Two persons arrived at Manchester at 2 o'clock on Sunday morning, from Lowell, and said that a slave-owner was in the city, enquiring for a colored barber named Edwin Moore, who once kept a shop there, and who they alleged ran away from his master in Virginia, twelve years ago. The same Moore has worked in Manchester for four months; he has a wife and children. A purse was made up for him on his friends, and by noon he was on the underground railroad for Canada.

Kidnappers.—It appears that the kidnappers who recently made a sally upon Worcester, and Manchester, N. H., had made arrangements for extensive operation in Massachusetts. Two or three gangs of them are now prowling about the State. Their stay at Worcester was especially short, the atmosphere not agreeing with their health.

ADINGTON.—A general meeting of all persons in the town of Abington, interested in the great question, How the Slave Power of this land is to be most effectually resisted and overcome, will be held at the TOWN HALL, on SUNDAY, June 25th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Wm. LLOYD GARRISON and WENDELL PHILLIPS will be present at this meeting. Let it be one for a renewed consecration of soul and body to the holy work of Liberty.

GREAT TEMPERANCE DEMONSTRATION. We learn that the most extensive arrangements have been made for a large State Temperance Convention, to be held in Lowell, commencing on the evening of the 20th of this month, and continuing through the 21st, day and evening. Eminent speakers will be present, among whom will be Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who has positively engaged to be there. It will probably be a monster meeting. The cars from Boston and nearly all the trains leading into Lowell, will run for half fare.

THE NEW HYDROPATHIC FAMILY PHYSICIAN.—A Medical Adviser and Ready Prescriber, with references to the Nature, Causes, Prevention and Treatment of Diseases, Accidents and Casualties of every kind; with a Glossary, Table of Contents, and Index; the whole Illustrated with nearly Three Hundred Engravings and colored Frontispieces. By JOHN SNOW, M. D. One large volume of 820 pages, substantially bound in library style. Published by FOWLER and WELLS.

This great work contains, I. Anatomical, Physiological, and Hygiene Dissections, illustrated with numerous engravings. II. The Nature of Disease, physiologically and pathologically considered; Rules for Management in the Sick Room. III. A Description of the various Diseases to which the Human Body is subject, with methods of Prevention and Cure, on Hydropathic principles.

The New Hydropathic Family Physician is the most elaborate and complete popular work on the subject. Every family should have a copy. Price, delivered free, or with postage prepaid by mail, only \$2.50. The amount may be enclosed in a letter, and directed to FOWLER and WELLS, 238 Broadway, New York.

The Tyranny of Slavery. DOES ANY PERSON DOUBT IT, AFTER THE SCENES EXHIBITED IN THE CITY OF BOSTON! IF SO, LET HIM READ Despotism in America, BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ. A new and powerfully written exposure of the workings of the SLAVERY SYSTEM, from the formation of the Government to the Nebraska Villany.

SLAVERY PROPAGANDISM. How much longer will Northern men, with Liberty principles, allow themselves to be trampled into the dust by the tyrannical exactions and domineering insolence of this the most despotic power on earth? THE NORTHERN PRESS Has spoken in strong terms of this masterly work of Mr. Hildreth, as follows: 'This work presents a profound and instructive exhibition of the principles of American slavery. No other book in the language can take its place, and its republication at this crisis is highly reasonable.'

'This is a masterly discussion concerning the nature and legal basis of the slaveholding system in the United States.'—Zion's Herald, Boston. 'A work which will amply repay a thorough perusal.'—State Reporter, Concord, N. H. 'A work written with great ability.'—N. Y. Mirror. 'A timely and able work.'—Morning Star, Dover. 'We wish every eye would read this work.'—Christian Register, Boston.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO. BOSTON. JEWETT, PROCTOR & WORTHINGTON, CLEVELAND, OHIO. June 16. 4w. GIVE THE PEOPLE LIGHT! For it is now hoped that their eyes are now opened to see, and their ears to hear. A great change has come over our people since Friday, the second day of June, a day never to be forgotten. Therefore let us embrace this favorable moment to disseminate the great principles of TRUTH AND FREEDOM!

Despotism in America. BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ. Price, 75 cts. Judge Jay's Writings on Slavery, In one very thick volume. Price \$1. Giddings's Congressional Speeches, During Fourteen Years in Congress. One volume. Price \$1.

Autographs for Freedom. In one volume. Price 75 cts. Uncle Tom's Cabin, In all its various styles—varying in price from 88 cts. to \$1. Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, A complete Magazine of Facts. 50 cts. 90th thousand. Sumner's Nebraska Speech, In elegant style. 88 cts. Nebraska—A Satirical Poem. Price 12 cts.

NEW ERA IN HEALING. CURE BY NUTRITION. DYSPEPSIA, Consumption, Headache, and all forms of Disease, successfully treated by NUTRITION, without medicine. To L. ROY SUTCLIFF: DEAR SIR—I take this opportunity to inform you that you have completely cured me of chewing and smoking tobacco. I am now in perfect health, having gained thirty pounds during the three months I have been under your treatment by Nutrition. It is worth any amount of money to me, and I thank you a thousand times. H. H. CLARK. South Adams, Mass. May 16, 1854.

LAYS OF LIBERTY; or, VERSES FOR THE TIMES. Just published, and for sale by BREA MARSH, 15 Franklin street. Price 17 cts. May 26.

POETRY.

From the Philadelphia Daily Register.

A REBUKE OF SLAVERY.

By RICHARD COE.

Out upon ye, men of Boston, Children of the Pilgrim sires, That ye suffered cruel wrongs...

THE TOCIN.

From the New York Independent.

*Two companies of Irish soldiers were stationed in the court-house to keep back the rabble.—Boston paper.

Ay! through the Courts that once were free, With bands of savage soldiery; Call out the Irish kern!

SONG OF THE SOUTH.

By DR. LITURFIELD.

I love the South! when the sun mounts high, And the clouds are still in the soft blue sky...

RULES OF ACTION.

Love all, trust a few, Do wrong to none; be able for thine enemy...

THE LIBERATOR.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

[PHOTOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. TERRINGTON.]

SPEECH OF LUCY STONE.

Tuesday Evening, May 31.

Miss Stone was greeted with loud cheers, as she stepped forward to address the audience. She said:— More than ever do I see the beauty of a free platform...

Now, I would ask, first, have we any right to have a union with any body in the wrong which he does? Have we any right to enter into a union with the wrong-doer...

But it seems to me, that when we stand in a hour like the present, it must be clear that we have no Union. Why, did not our friend Mr. Max (S. J.) tell us to-day...

I could understand Mr. May when he said this afternoon, on this platform, in view of the meanness, wickedness, cowardice and want of manhood which are every-where visible...

I tell you, my friends, the scenes that are transpiring in Court Square say to us only these words, 'Let this Union be dissolved.' (Great applause.)

With his right arm bare, And his heart of black despair, let the support of the Union be withdrawn from the slaveholder...

I will not speak longer. I am reminded of that proverb of the olden time, 'Speech is silver, silence gold'—and the gold is better than the silver.

I see him as he stands at the foot of yonder monument, erected to commemorate brave deeds done for liberty; and as he stands here in the city of Boston, where the instinct of Liberty is swallowed up in the deep gulf that slavery has spread for the feet of manhood.

I heard our friend Max, recently, while speaking of Syracuse, say that there is but one Protestant pulpit there which does not only pray against slavery, but preach against slavery; and that there is but one respectable man in Syracuse who openly avows himself a friend of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Some men marvel that the Nebraska Bill could pass—the Missouri Compromise could be repealed. I only marvel that men should suppose that any thing else should happen, when we have been making compromises for more than half a century.

I was in Missouri last winter, and I went up and down through the State, and in its cities I saw signs, 'Negroes bought and sold here; and a large hand, with its pointing finger, would direct to the door where negroes were bought and sold.

I never felt so deeply the necessity for a dissolution of this Union, as when I stood there and heard that poor girl's imploring words—'Can you not help me out of the State?—and I had my hands, and they were willing; and I had my heart, and it beat all in sympathy; and I had my hand, but it was not wise enough to make a plan to get her away.

Let me tell you, my friends, the scenes that are transpiring in Court Square say to us only these words, 'Let this Union be dissolved.' (Great applause.)

Let the support of the Union be withdrawn from the slaveholder, and the three million of slaves will help their way to freedom and their inalienable rights.

Let me tell you, my friends, the scenes that are transpiring in Court Square say to us only these words, 'Let this Union be dissolved.' (Great applause.)

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Let me tell you, my friends, the scenes that are transpiring in Court Square say to us only these words, 'Let this Union be dissolved.' (Great applause.)

offering nothing but a silent protest against the outrage that is now being perpetrated in the city of Boston. In silence, in secret, some crisis of being comes, and in that silence there come strength, and power, and might, and a new creation and a new being.

But, friends, I will stop. All I want is, that we should realize, that until we get a new life to our conscience, we are not strong enough nor wise enough to effect the deliverance of the slave.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION. The New England Woman's Rights Convention assembled in Boston, on Friday, June 9. It was the day on which poor Burns was consigned to hopeless bondage; and though very many friends of the Woman's Rights movement staid to see his surrender, still, at an early hour, the hall was literally crowded with earnest men and women, whom a deep interest in the cause had drawn together.

After a short, but very pertinent address by the President, LUCY STONE, on behalf of the Business Committee, offered the following resolutions, which were left open for discussion:— 1. Resolved, That no accident of birth can determine the sphere of any mortal; and, since the existence of a power presupposes a right to its use, capacity, and not sex, is the only limit of sphere.

2. Resolved, That since the pecuniary dependence of woman, with its sad results, grows out of the present circumscribed sphere of her activities; it is her duty, as she alone can do it, to make that sphere wider, by seeking all honest sources of remunerative industry, whether they have hitherto been accorded to her sex or not.

3. Resolved, That the unreasonable prejudice, in our so-called higher classes, which makes it more honorable for a woman to live in dependent idleness than to earn her own bread, is one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of woman; and we would pay especial honor to those women who have risen above that prejudice, and preferred active usefulness to luxurious ease.

4. Resolved, That since governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, to withhold the right of suffrage from woman is a practical denial of this self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence.

5. Resolved, That 'taxation without representation is tyranny.' 6. Resolved, That the political influence of woman is especially needed in this trial hour of our country, now convulsed with passion, and oppressed by force; and will be needed still more in the coming crisis; therefore, 7. Resolved, That we will petition the several Legislatures, at every coming session, to call Conventions for the purpose of amending their State Constitutions, so that the right to vote shall not be limited to male citizens; and that woman may be admitted to a full share in the political, executive and judicial action of our country.

8. Resolved, That the Common Law, which governs the marriage relation, and blots out the legal existence of a wife, denies her right to the product of her own industry, denies her equal property right, even denies her right to her children and to the custody of her own person, is grossly unjust to woman, dishonorable to man, and destructive to the harmony of life's holiest relation.

9. Resolved, That the laws which destroy the legal individuality of woman, after her marriage, are equally pernicious to man as to woman, and may give to him in marriage a slave or a tyrant, but never a wife.

A CATECHISM FOR SLAVES.

The Southern Episcopalian, a conservative religious monthly at Charleston, S. C., contains a catechism for slaves. The following is an extract:—

Who keeps slaves and all bad things from hurting you?—God does. Who gave you a master and a mistress?—God gave them to me. Who says that you must obey them?—God says that I must.

What book tells you these things?—The Bible. How does God do all His work?—He always does it right. Does God love to work?—Yes, God is always at work. Do the good angels work?—Yes, they do what God tells them. Do they love to work?—Yes, they love to please God.

What does God say about your work?—He that will not work shall not eat. Did Adam and Eve have to work?—Yes, they were to keep the garden. Was it hard to keep that garden?—No, it was very easy.

What makes the crops so hard to grow now?—Sin makes it. What makes you lazy?—My own wicked heart. How do you know your heart is wicked?—I feel it every day. What teaches you so many wicked things?—The Devil.

Must you let the Devil teach you?—No, I must not. The following is extracted from a catechism used in Russia. It will match the foregoing, and shows the affinities of despotism the world over.

Q. How is the authority of the Emperor to be considered, in reference to the spirit of Christianity? A. As proceeding immediately from God. Q. What duties does religion teach us to practice toward him? A. Worship, obedience, fidelity, the payment of taxes, service, love and prayer.

Q. How should this worship be manifested? A. By the most unqualified reverence in words, gestures, demeanor, thoughts and actions. Q. What are the supernaturally revealed motives for this worship? The supernaturally revealed motives are—that the Emperor is the Vicegerent and Minister of God, and consequently disobedience to the Emperor is identified with disobedience to God himself.

Such is a brief specimen of the instruction given in the schools under the authority of the Czar! Here is one of the distinguishing features of the Roman Apostacy—the worship of man—the anti-Christian idea that the Emperor is the Vicegerent of Heaven, and that disobedience to him is disobedience to God himself!

SENATORS WADE AND NORRIS.—Wade is a curious genius. He pays no more regard to Southern chivalry than if there never was such a thing in the world. Senator Norris, from New Hampshire, who is serving his last term in the Senate, said to him the other day, when discussing the Nebraska question, in company with a number of Southern Senators:— 'Would you, Mr. Wade, if called upon by the U. S. Marshal to assist in catching a fugitive slave, obey the order?'

'No,' said Mr. Wade, 'I'd see him in—Jericho first.'

MOTORPATHIC CARD.

DR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Haled Hill, Rochester, N. Y., well known as the author of the system of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the cure of chronic and female diseases, has recently published a new and improved system, under the name of MOTORPATHIC CARD.

Dr. H. was one of the earliest advocates, and has been successful in the cure of many cases of chronic and female diseases, and especially of the system of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the cure of chronic and female diseases, has recently published a new and improved system, under the name of MOTORPATHIC CARD.

His former Institution at Rochester is for sale. His work on Motorpathy can be obtained by remitting postage stamps to the publisher, Round Hill, Northampton, Mass. April 28.

WORCESTER HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTION.

NO. 1 GLEN STREET.

THIS Institution is under the medical direction of Dr. S. STRICKLAND, and is well arranged for treatment at all seasons. Terms.—Usually from \$7 to \$9 per week. For treatment without board, \$3 to \$4 per week. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M. April 14.

CAPE COD WATER-CURE.

AN Establishment of this character is commencing at Harwich, under the direction of GILMAN STARR, Proprietor, W. FELCH, Physician, and Miss LIZA M. SMITH, Assistant. Miss Smith is a young lady of medical education, and Dr. Felch has, for many years, been extensively known as a popular teacher of the whole Science of Man, and a successful Practitioner of the Natural Treatment of Disease, (the Hydropathic in conjunction with the Mesmeric.)

Several patients can board in Capt. Smith's family, in a pleasant, rural, healthy location, within a mile of the sea shore on Vineyard Sound. Terms, from \$6 per week to \$9. Address, Dr. W. FELCH, Harwich Port, Mass.

DR. NICHOLS'S NEW WORK ON MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE: its History, Character, and Results, its Sanctities and its Profanities; its Science and its Facts. Demonstrating its influence, as a civil institution, on the happiness of the individual and the Progress of the Race. By T. L. NICHOLS, M. D., and Mrs. MARY S. GOVE NICHOLS. Price \$1. Just published and for sale by BELLA MARSH, 15 Franklin st. March 3.

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION.

FOR sale at the Liberator Office, 21 Cornhill, and by Bella Marsh, 15 Franklin street, the 'Great Discussion of the Bible, between Rev. J. F. BERG, D. D., of Philadelphia, and Joseph Barker, of Ohio, in January last. Price, 31 cents. single—\$1.00 for 4 copies.

THE RELIGION OF MANHOOD: or, The Last Thought.

By Dr. J. H. ROBINSON. Price, 15 cents. The Philosophy of Creation: unfolding the Law of the Progressive Development of Nature, and defining the Philosophy of Man, Spirit, and the Spirit World. By Thomas Paine, through the hand of Harriet Wood, Medium. Price, 38 cents.

Free Thoughts concerning Religion: or, Non-Resistants.

By Andrew Jackson Davis. 1844. Just published and for sale by BELLA MARSH, 15 Franklin street. April 14.

REV. THEODORE PARKER'S GREAT SERMON ON THE NEBRASKA QUESTION.

JUST published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, and at the Commonwealth Office. Also, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 'As delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Feb. 24, 1854, by William Lloyd Garrison.' Price, 5 cents, single—60 cents per dozen—\$1 00 for 25 copies. March 17.

VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

FOR sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, the 'Proceedings of the National Women's Rights Convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Oct. 6th, 6th, and 7th, 1854.' Photographically reported by T. C. Leland, of New York City. It is a hand-somely printed pamphlet, making 74 long octavo pages; and contains the speeches of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Antoinette L. Brown, Ernestine L. Rose, Caroline M. Severance, Abby Kelley Foster, Emma R. Coe, Frances D. Gage, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Joseph Barker, Charles C. Burleigh, Stephen S. Hays, H. B. Blackwell, Pres. Mahan, Rev. Mr. Nevins, &c. &c. Persons at a distance can have them safely conveyed and mailed for eight cents, if pre-paid. Frames can be furnished to order, including gold and square. Gilt and dark wood at prices varying from \$1 25 to \$5 00, and upwards.

The accompanying New England Anti-Slavery Convention will afford the friends a fitting opportunity to avail themselves of the long-hoped-for faithful portrait of the great anti-slavery Pioneer. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill. May 20.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE: or, The Reproductive Element in Man, as a means to his elevation and happiness.

By Henry C. Wright. The Child of the Past, and the Parent of the Future. Price, 60 cents. Just published and for sale by BELLA MARSH, No. 15 Franklin street. April 14.

BOSTON ATHENÆUM EXHIBITION.

THE EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS AND STATUES. It is now open, comprising, among many beautiful Ancient and Modern Works of Art, Cotta's series of Pictures, 'THE COURSE OF EMPIRE,' and several of the finest paintings from the collection of Joseph Bonaparte. CHARLES FOLSOM, Librarian. May 5. epist

VISITING DENTIST.

DR. MANN (formerly MANN & MELLOMAN, Superior Street) now resides at 13 Avery street, and attends exclusively to those who choose to be treated upon their own houses. He fills teeth so as permanently to save them. His mineral oil and gold plate are unsurpassed. He also makes the patent continuous gums with gold on platinum, specimens of which he will exhibit, and show their superiority. He receives no patients at home, but will visit, and give specimens, state terms, and give professional advice without charge. Messengers left at his residence, 13 Avery street, will receive due attention. Boston, Nov. 4, 1854.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.

One of the most important actions, as yet, of the conference of this body, which is now being held in Charleston, has been that having reference to the 'Discipline' in relation to the subject of slavery. The Charleston Courier says that the ninth section of the 'Discipline' was expunged, as well as all other parts which condemned the institution of Slavery. The general rule forbidding 'the purchase of men, women and children, with the intention to enslave them,' and which has reference to the African slave trade, was retained, though the vote upon the expurgation even of this rule, was 47 to 54. On the afternoon of the 22d day, the new By-laws were ordained. Bishops Andrews, Capen, Soule and Paine, took part in the 'solemn' services.

Riot in Middletown.—On Friday, the agents and friends of the administration fired a salute at Middletown for the success of the Nebraska Bill, in doing which, a man was killed. On Friday evening, the people pulled the bells, to signify their grief at the passage of the Bill. In the evening, tar barrels were lighted by the administration party, and a row ensued, in which a man was stabbed, though the wound was not fatal.

DUTCH COURAGE. While the military preparations were being made to carry off Burns, on Friday last, the Lancers, an independent company of Horses, forming a part of the regular Massachusetts Militia, were plied with liquor, in Court Square, from a demijohn brought from one of the neighboring cellars. It was passed round to the whole of the troop, and thus all were enabled to get a drink of brandy without dismounting. This fact will account for the charge made by one of those vulgar boys of Mars upon a crazy man, and a small boy.—Commonwealth.

A SLAVE CATCHING HERO. Lieut. Bullock, one of the officers of the Lancers, a Boston company of horse, upon seeing the preparations made by Messrs. Jacobs & Dean, to put their store in mourning, put spurs to his horse, and with the aid and manner of a real Military officer, commanded them to dismount, and ordered them to shut up their store. Of course they refused to obey the insolent bragart, and he went about his business, and perhaps took another pull at the Marshal's demijohn.—Died.