

The Liberator.

BOSTON, MARCH 29, 1850.

No Union with Slaveholders!

GREAT MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

Pursuant to a call made in the public journals for a meeting of citizens who have read with surprise, alarm and deep regret the recent speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the U. S. Senate, on the subject of slavery, a very large concourse of citizens assembled in Faneuil Hall on Monday evening, March 25, and at 7 1/2 o'clock were called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston.

The following persons, having been nominated as officers of the meeting, were unanimously accepted by the meeting:—

President, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. Vice-Presidents, FRANCIS JACKSON, WILLIAM L. BOWDITCH, and BENJAMIN V. FRENCH, Esqs.

Secretary, WILLIAM A. WHITE, Esq., and SAMUEL MAY, Jr. Mr. SEWALL, on taking the chair, read the call for the meeting, and made the following forcible and earnest remarks:—

FELLOW-CITIZENS: This, according to the call under which we come together, is a meeting of the citizens of Boston and vicinity, who have read with surprise, alarm and deep regret the speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, on the subject of slavery, and who are impressed with the duty and importance of bearing an emphatic public testimony against it, as in derogation of humanity and the cause of liberty universally, especially as it relates to the following points:—viz.: the non-application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory of New Mexico, the adoption of Mr. Mason's bill for the seizure of fugitive slaves, and the multiplication of new slave States out of the present State of Texas.

The whole country has been agitated ever since the commencement of this session of Congress with one great question—whether slavery shall be extended over that vast territory which we have acquired from Mexico;—whether this course is to be perpetuated indefinitely, I might almost say infinitely. That has been the question.

Minor questions have arisen in connection with this. No other subject has received the serious attention of this Congress since the commencement of its session. We were all expecting, after seeing the speeches of the distinguished men in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, that the Senator of Massachusetts would come forward as the champion of liberty, that we might depend upon having a leader whom we should be glad to follow, in this battle between liberty and slavery.

Every one was asking what will Mr. Webster say. And how were we disappointed, how struck down with sadness and shame, when we saw his speech! Scarcely one moral sentiment is to be found in it from beginning to end. But on every division and every sub-division of the question between freedom and slavery, he has abandoned and deserted us.

The first question, the greatest question undoubtedly was, whether the Wilmot Proviso should be extended over all the new territories. Mr. Webster knew the sentiment of Massachusetts. Again and again has it been expressed in every form upon that subject. And yet Daniel Webster now comes forward and abandons the Wilmot Proviso. He is ready to take his chance of liberty or slavery in those new territories. He says that the will of God has settled it, that slavery shall never exist in those territories; as if slavery could not exist, and has not existed, in every part of the world! He knew it. He is not so fond of Mr. Webster's late speech. [We are happy to find where—everywhere in Europe, and in all the original States of this Union. It has not been prevented in any region by the physical character and climate of that region. Wherever its introduction has been prevented, or it has been driven out, it has been by the spirit of the people. [Applause.] And yet Mr. Webster says, it is the will of God that slavery shall not exist in that territory. Is that the opinion of Massachusetts? Are you prepared to take the chance? [No, no, from all parts of the hall]—to take the chance whether slavery or liberty shall prevail over that vast section of our country?

The next point, upon which Mr. Webster has abandoned us, is in regard to Texas. The act for the admission of Texas provides that new States, not exceeding four in number, may hereafter be formed out of the territory of Texas; and such States as may be formed out of that portion of territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude shall be admitted into the Union without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. Mr. Webster comes forward, and states that we are bound to admit four new slave States from Texas. I shall not attempt to argue the point with him at length; but I will make one or two remarks on it. Able speakers, and those more prepared on this subject, will follow me.

The act admitting Texas was a palpable violation of the Constitution. Some of those who voted for it acknowledged it to be so. The treaty-making power is vested solely in the Senate. It requires two-thirds of the Senate to ratify a treaty. Knowing that two-thirds of the Senate could not be found in favor of a treaty of annexation with Texas, that State was admitted in this fraudulent manner—by an act of Congress. A more gross violation of the Constitution does not appear in our whole history.

Now, is such an act of Congress binding? [No! no!] Certainly not! All the principles of legislation settle it that one Congress cannot bind another. This is certainly true in all ordinary cases of legislation, but it is especially true in this case. Congress, having usurped the treaty-making power, the act itself is void, and cannot have the force of a treaty or contract.

But last, and most humiliating of all, is what Mr. Webster has said in regard to Mr. Mason's bill for the pursuit of fugitive slaves. Long ago, Congress passed a severe law to facilitate slave-catching. I will not undertake to decide here, whether that act was constitutional or not. Many persons think that the Constitution does not authorize it. But, however that may be, there is a law providing for this pursuit. The Southern people have discovered that, in Massachusetts and in other States, this law is of little avail; that the popular feeling is such that they cannot capture their runaways here. [Cheers.] I trust that it will always be so. [Cheers redoubled.]

Now, then, Mr. Mason brings in a bill, providing more convenient modes for the carrying back of fugitive slaves, and severe penalties for aiding them; and Mr. Webster comes forward to say, that he is ready to support that bill of abominations, and himself lead in the slave hunt. Is there any man here that will follow him? [A universal and most emphatic "NO!"] Besides, it is perfectly clear that the consent of Congress is required for the admission of these new States, even by the terms of the annexation act. Is Congress bound to give that consent? Has not Congress a right to judge? Certainly! But, beyond all this, no treaty, no contract to do wrong, is binding in morals. We should repudiate such a treaty; and Congress having unquestionably the legislative power and authority in the case, should refuse to admit any such State, and deny the obligation resulting from the act admitting Texas. When the act was passed, it was denounced as unconstitutional and void; and loud threats were made in Massachusetts of repeal on this ground. But Mr. Webster has forgotten all that!

This, fellow citizens, we have seen that the man who should be our leader, whom we all should have rejoiced to follow, who with his colossal intellect should have been the champion of freedom, has prostrated himself at the feet of Southern oppression! You are called together to see what MASSACHUSETTS will say to this course of her chosen son. I trust that not only here will a proper response be given, but that from every city and town in this Commonwealth will a voice of thunder be sent up, to repudiate the sentiments that Mr. Webster has dared to utter, and thus to save the State he represents from being a participator in its crime and disgrace. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Mr. WM. A. WHITE read to the meeting the following Letter from Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS:—

Boston, 23d March, 1850. Messrs. S. G. HOWE, WENDELL PHILLIPS, FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston:—

GENTLEMEN.—In the month of September, 1847, at a Whig Convention assembled at Springfield, Mr. Webster claimed before the world an exclusive right to the invention of the measure called the Wilmot Proviso, and expressed some dissatisfaction at the infringement made upon his patent by Mr. Wilmoit. At that time, as a humble member of the body, I ventured, at some hazard, to express a doubt of his fidelity to the cause he was appearing to advocate. I did so, relying on the strength of the general maxim, that those who have really at heart the advancement of a cause, do not naturally seek to cast odium upon their own friends, on account of their zeal in its behalf, even though they may believe them to err in judgment in their way of supporting it. It did not seem to me as if a true friend to the maintenance of a public principle then in process of establishment against powerful opposition, would be likely to throw off any aid which he could get, be it ever so feeble. I could not trust him then, and there has never been a time since when I have seen reason to change my mind. The result, as shown in his late speech, only proves to me that I did him no wrong.

At the same time that I feel free to say this, I do not mean to deny to Mr. Webster, or any other gentleman of high political standing, the right of choosing his ground upon the great question of the age. From this time forth, he must be ranked in the same category with Mr. Calhoun, General Cass, Mr. Buchanan, and the other gentlemen who seek to make the Constitution the great bulwark of the Slave Power. This is a position so entirely abhorrent to my feeble notions, as well of moral law as of political duty, that I cannot but range myself in the ranks of opposition. To try to make the Constitution justify tyranny or oppression is an experiment which can result only in weakening the public confidence in that instrument. It can never obliterate the lines which are written in the heart of man by a higher power than the will of a legislator. For one, I repudiate utterly the alliance. By me, the Constitution shall never be read in any spirit other than that in which it was formed, to wit, the expectation that under it slavery would gradually wear out and expire. These are the words of Mr. Webster himself. I can never consent that any opposite construction shall be allowed to annul all its most beneficial calculations.

It will not be convenient for me to attend the meeting to which you invite me on Monday evening next; but I trust its proceedings will serve to show to the country that in Massachusetts, the bare authority of leading individuals will avail little when it is used to conflict with the first principles of justice and of right.

I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, Your obedient servant, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

The Rev. THOMAS PARKER of Boston then came forward, and in a speech strong in argument, and full of Mr. Webster's late speech. [We are happy to find where—everywhere in Europe, and in all the original States of this Union. It has not been prevented in any region by the physical character and climate of that region. Wherever its introduction has been prevented, or it has been driven out, it has been by the spirit of the people. [Applause.] And yet Mr. Webster says, it is the will of God that slavery shall not exist in that territory. Is that the opinion of Massachusetts? Are you prepared to take the chance? [No, no, from all parts of the hall]—to take the chance whether slavery or liberty shall prevail over that vast section of our country?

Resolved, That we consider the question of slavery in the Territories of the United States, now before the Congress of the nation, as paramount to all merely commercial or political questions now before us; that it deserves and demands the serious attention of the people themselves, for the welfare of millions of men depends on the decision that shall be made.

Resolved, That the recent speech of Hon. Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, on the subject of slavery, is alike unworthy of a wise statesman and a good man, and is a speech 'NOT FIT TO BE MADE.' [The reading of this resolution was received by the great assembly with shouts of applause and long protracted cheering.]

Resolved, That in making this speech, Mr. Webster has been false to the great principles of Human Liberty, defends measures utterly at variance with the welfare of the nation, with common justice, and the inalienable rights of mankind.—1st. By repudiating the Ordinance of '87, in its application to California and New Mexico, as needlessly irritating to the South, on the absurd plea that it is 'useless to re-affirm an ordinance of Nature, or to re-enact the will of God,' while it is notorious that the great body of the slaveholders regard this new territory as suitable for slave labor, and that the war with Mexico was waged to acquire this territory and extend slavery over it. 2d. By giving his sanction to a bill and its amendments now before the Senate, which aims forever to deprive every fugitive of the right to a trial by jury to decide upon his condition; a bill which enables the slave-hunter to seize any person whom he may choose, and on his affidavit bring him before any judge of the U. S. Courts, before any commissioner, clerk, or marshal thereof, before any postmaster, collector of the customs of the United States, present at that time, and on the decision of the most petty postmaster, collector, or clerk, or commissioner of an U. S. Court, hurry his victim off to the South and irremediable bondage; a bill which allows the slave-hunter his oath, and forbids it to the fugitive, and which punishes with a fine of one thousand dollars, and twelve months' imprisonment, any one who shall 'aid, abet, or assist' the fugitive to escape from his pursuer. 3d. By avowing his readiness to vote two hundred million dollars of the public money for the purpose of expatriating the free colored population of the South; a measure tending to benefit only the breeders of slaves and the oppressors of mankind. 4th. By maintaining that four new slave States may be made out of Texas, and that Congress has no right to oppose their admission as such into the Union.

Resolved, That it is unworthy of a Senator from Massachusetts, after dwelling on the alleged grievances which the South has suffered from the North, to omit in his spoken speech, all allusion to the oppressive laws of some Southern States, by which free colored citizens of the North, when going to the South on board ships, are taken and shut up in jail, and in his printed speech to treat the matter with most slender and delicate reproach.

WENDELL PHILLIPS next addressed the meeting. He briefly reviewed several points of Mr. Webster's speech, contrasted the present with his past doctrines, referred to his course at the time of the annexation of Texas, and his virtual pledges since to go for the prohibition of slavery in the new territory, and pronounced Mr. Webster 'an apostate to humanity.' [His speech will be found in succeeding columns.]

THE REV. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, D. D., (editor of the Impartial Citizen, and a member of the Liberty party) was called to the platform, and made a keen and satirical speech upon the position of the

Senator of Massachusetts, Hon. Daniel Webster, and that other Daniel, a Senator from New York, Daniel S. Dickinson, (the man who wished he had been born in old Virginia.) [Report of Mr. Ward's speech is unavoidably deferred this week for lack of space.]

Mr. GARRISON being called for, said he would put his remarks into a nut-shell. In view of Mr. Webster's speech, he had only to say of its author, at that late hour:—

'Since he, miscalled the Morning Star, Nor man, nor fiend, hath fallen so far!'

[Loud applause.] The resolutions were then put to the meeting, and adopted by an unanimous and enthusiastic vote. The meeting was then adjourned, sine die.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, President. FRANCIS JACKSON, WILLIAM L. BOWDITCH, BENJAMIN V. FRENCH, Vice-Presidents. WILLIAM A. WHITE, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretaries.

[Photographically reported for the Liberator by Dr. J. W. STONE.] SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, At the Faneuil Meeting, Monday evening, March 25th. MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The friend who preceded me spoke of the very remarkable crisis in which we were met in Faneuil Hall to-night. I can liken it to nothing but to the supposition that Samuel Adams, in revolutionary times, had gone over to the British, or John Hancock had ratted. The men who came up to this Hall in 1776 with such news, in what temper would they have felt it?

There has been but one such event as that we now consider within our day. I will not allude to those my friend has mentioned in the time of Charles 1st or of our own Revolution. But we know there was a time when the fate of Hungary rested with one man; and who does not remember the indignation that swept over Europe when it was known that Georgey had been bought by Russian gold. Liberty stands now in these Northern States as it stood then in Hungary; and the news has come to us that our Dictator, in whom Massachusetts had trusted so fondly, in whom she had garnered up all her confidence, has been bought with the gold of our Russia. Mark, also, that Georgey, when he surrendered Hungary, surrendered nothing but the political rights of the men he was betraying. Our statesman, baser far, is dealing with those personal rights, the violation of any one of which outweighs that of all civil privileges.

We are met to consult in such a crisis as this. For after all, whether we are able to answer the arguments of Daniel Webster or not, whether Massachusetts can pick to pieces that logic or not, whether we can unravel its sophistry to her inhabitants or not, the conviction of every man's heart is, that Daniel Webster is false, no matter how impregnable his logic be or seem. [Hear, hear.]

We may be unable to unravel the web of that sophistry. He is a great man, doubtless, and can easily make 'the worse appear the better reason.' And it may be, so deep and profound is the confidence of the Commonwealth in him, that it may be impossible to keep her from the conclusions to which that argument leads. But let us stand as Chatham stood, when some sophister tried to prove to him that the cause of Hampden and Cromwell was to be suspected, was unconstitutional, and that, after all, Charles 1st and Clarendon were the true friends of English liberty, and he retorted, 'Grant it all; no man shall persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on the one hand, and of tyranny on the other.' [Prolonged applause.]

Let it be so with us now. I care not whether I am able to answer that speech or not. The parties were met; they stood ranged and marshalled face to face on the floor of the United States Senate; and as freedom was blighted, and joy brightens the crest of Calhoun. I care not for the argument. [Sensation.] He gave aid and comfort to the enemy, and that is treason. [Reiterated applause.] But this is a speech that is rotten all through, not only in its spirit, but its argument also. [Cheers.] It answers itself. The beginning eats the end. It is like Munchausen's lion, that devoured the horse so quick as to find himself in the traces, dragging the chariot. [Shouts of enthusiasm.]

I will not go at length over the ground which has been so well trodden before me, but we must talk of the speech, and therefore I must talk of the same subjects as my friend who has preceded me. Let me say a word about the argument as to Texas annexation. In the Texas Address, which he dictated in 1845, Mr. Webster pronounced that act 'a plain violation of the Constitution, both in form and substance.' In 1848, at Marshfield, he said, 'I take it that the most important event in our time, tending to the extension of slavery and its everlasting establishment on this continent, was the annexation of Texas in 1845.' In 1847, at Springfield, he told us, 'We are to use the first, last, and every occasion which offers, to oppose the extension of the Slave Power.' On the 10th August, 1848, after New Mexico and California were acquired, he rose in the Senate, and thus delivered himself:—

'My opposition to the increase of slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation in general, is universal. It has no reference to the lines of latitude or points of the compass. I shall oppose ALL SUCH EXTENSION AT ALL TIMES AND UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN AGAINST ALL INDUCEMENTS, AGAINST ALL SUPPOSED LIMITATION OF GREAT INTERESTS, AGAINST ALL COMBINATIONS, AGAINST ALL COMPROMISES.'

Here, then, was a crisis worth, himself being judge, of his utmost exertion. Dignus vindice nodus—a knot which justified the interference of a god. It was 'unconstitutional'; it was 'most important'; it tended to make slavery 'everlasting'; it was pledged to oppose it every where and by all means.

In view of all this, what and how much has Daniel Webster ever done to prevent the annexation? And when, by the unconstitutional action of a temporary majority, the deed was in some sense attempted or done, what did he do to prevent its acquiring the validity of law? He made a few speeches, one in particular, at Niblo's Garden, New York; but when so mighty an injustice as this was in progress, was it enough to speak merely? My friend told us just now that Mr. Webster was eloquent. He is so. But I remember a definition he once gave of eloquence. 'True eloquence does not consist in speech,' said he. 'The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men when their own lives and the fate of their wives, their children and their country hang on the decision of the hour. Then patriotism is eloquent, then self-devotion is eloquent; the high purpose, the dauntless spirit, * * * urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object, this is eloquence; or rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence, it is ACROSS—noble, sublime, godlike ACROSS!' How much of this 'action' has he ever shown in his opposition to Texas? When, in 1845, Adams, Gates, Giddings, Briggs, and the rest, raised the note of warning to the people of the free States, where was the name of Daniel Webster?

When did he ever throw his dreaded garment into the lists, and challenge every comer? When did he ever put gallantly at hazard his name, fame and influence, throw intrepidly into the scale of anti-Texas all that he had and all that he was? Did he rally the country? Did he try to animate and marshal even the Whig party? Did he counsel a temporary suspension of attending to minor points, and a concentration of the vigilance of the country on the Thermopylae and Gibraltar of the North? Did he

summon the States, whose relative weight, as respects to protest and exert themselves? For the true truth, we may say, he alone, was competent to do all these things. 'One blast upon his bugle-note did he attempt. In a great measure, his lukewarmness and indifference were the one great obstacle in the way of any other man's doing either of them. True, he got others to call a convention, in 1846, in this Hall, and when he had felt the pulse of Boston within its walls, but ran away to New York. He dictated the constitutional part of that Convention's Address, and then forbade them to divulge the Convention's How much in all this of 'high purpose and dauntless spirit'!

But in December, 1845, while he sat in the Senate, 'the final law doing the deed of annexation' was passed. He 'expressed his opinion,' he tells us, 'and stands!' And was that all? He stood and saw his loved temple of Liberty fired, 'expressed his opinion, related the balance of the States utterly destroyed, saw a deed accomplished whose fatal consequences even his eloquence labors in attempting to pry in the Texas Address, and contented himself with a speech and a vote! When a ruthless majority tempted on the form and substance of the Constitution, course there must be some constitutional way of opposing them, of preventing their acts acquiring validity. As a profound constitutional lawyer, Mr. Webster could not but know these ways and means of constitutional opposition. In such a crisis, he was bound to find or to make one. Did he attempt it? He contested the right to their seats of men who appeared on that floor, under that 'plain violation of the Constitution!' He never opened his mouth! Did he, like the Scottish chieftain of old, send the brass cross throughout New England, reminding him of what he had dictated, in 1845—'It is idle to say that the assent of the people of a State, in a great and fundamental question like this, is to be proved by its 'deference' from any vote of its representatives in Congress?' conjure them to assemble in Convention, and swear never to ratify by acquiescence this act 'which tended to make slavery everlasting on the continent?' Nothing of the kind.

Did he, if he thought it too late to undertake this place on solemn record at Washington, and add his influence to the 'denial' of the Massachusetts Legislature of the validity of any compromise, intended to preclude the future application of such a condition' [as Wilmoit's]?

Instead of this, he assures Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, (page 18,) that 'he knows no form of legislation which can strengthen' this 'plain violation of the Constitution'—'no recognition that can add a single weight to it!' 'Any additional recognition would weaken the force of it.'—'Government is pledged by law and contract' (p. 26.) And he surrenders ground upon the game, promises to quibble the weight of Texas when asked. Is this what he calls 'the last, and every occasion to resist the slave power'—this 'opposition' at all times, under all circumstances, against all inducements, against all compromises, against all inducements, against all circumstances? Daniel Webster has spoken some well as well as true. He has yet to do the first act to resist her annexation, or prevent the fatal effects of that measure. His present position either confesses that his boasted Constitution is all a sham, so weak that it leaves a friend no means of resisting the unconstitutionalness of a ruthless majority, or that his whole opposition to Texas, judged by his public acts, was a sham.

Does Mr. Webster mean to say, that if the majority in the Senate voted Maine out of that body, or established an order of nobles, he should content himself with an 'opinion and a vote'?

But I will pass from this point, which has been sufficiently spoken to. If I had time, I should like to try to show that the annexation of Texas is not yet made valid by the acquiescence of the people, or so far as she is in the Union; and that, as to the other portion of the agreement, the bringing of her slave States, we may honorably still try the question, whether the people will ratify it, or whether we cannot persuade them fairly while there's time to hold it void. Had we a MAN, and not a Webster in the Senate, there would be hope. [Cheers.]

Mr. Webster tells us, in the second portion of his argument, that there is no necessity for the Wilmot Proviso. Upon what ground? Why, that the slavery of New Mexico renders it impossible that slavery should extend there. What does Mr. Webster say (page 8) in his revised speech? 'Slavery existed in the earliest periods of history in the oriental nations.' 'What does he say on the 26th page?' 'California and New Mexico are—what? Asiatic in their formation and scenery?' If they are so, what presents shadow from existing there in the latest periods, as it did in the oriental nations in the earliest? [Loud applause.]

'There was slavery among the Greeks,' says Mr. Webster. What was Greece? 'Iron-bound and sterile,' Edward Everett; with an unproductive soil, importing her own corn. What is the description Mr. Webster gives of New Mexico? Such as Greece was, with her little mountain fastnesses, with 'vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, between ridges and deep valleys.' Slavery existed in Greece, without much 'tilable land,' without cotton or tobacco. Why cannot it exist in our mountains at the present day?

There never was one square mile of the earth's surface, on which man dwelt, where slavery has not existed. I am within limits when I say, that there is not a hundred square miles upon the earth's surface of inhabited territory, in which slavery has not existed; and yet he contends that it is impossible for slavery to exist in the countless miles of unknown and untrodden territory west of the Del Norte. Is every State of this Union, except possibly Vermont, slavery has existed. Does Mr. Webster undertake to affirm that no space equal to New England exists in New Mexico, which is not more filled with granite and less 'tilable' than she? It is contradicted by the history of the world. Labor has never been had enough to make it welcome to a freeman, or make him unwilling to force it on a slave. Mr. Webster knows this, because he has said as much, substantially, in the commencement of this speech. Yet he tells us to trust to what? To trust to chance! To the providence of God. But whoever trusts to chance, under the Constitution of the United States, trusts to loaded dice and packed cards. [Cheers.] He trusts to a Webster surrendering the forces of liberty, while Calhoun, like the Guards, 'never yields—the die.' [Hear, hear.] That is the chance. No—we will 'take a bond of fate,' before we will trust to that. [Cheers.]

I will leave this untouched further, as my friend has treated it so fully; and pass to the third portion of Mr. Webster's speech, which deals with the fugitive slave. I wish you to bear with me a moment while I dwell upon this. Mr. Webster says that he will support not only the Constitution, but the bill of Mr. Mason on this subject.

Now, I wish to bring to your recollection what that bill is, in order that you may fairly judge what he undertakes to support. The substance of the bill has been repeated to you. Upon affidavit, written testimony, taken beforehand, and without warning, he proposes to allow, among others, any court clerk or postmaster to grant a warrant which shall authorize the slave claimant to carry the man he claims from Boston to New Orleans.

Suppose the claimant, either through malice or carelessness, has taken the wrong person, takes a Massachusetts freeman; how shall the victim be righted? Why, it is said, by appealing to some court

ents are entitled to one thousand dollars from the husband of the lady, and the innocent master of the Union claims from the same source, satisfaction to the amount of five hundred dollars. After a high-wrought peroration on the obligations of justice and good faith, he calls a witness to prove the guilt of the prisoner. At this point, he is interrupted by the opposing counsel, who informs the jury, he will determine them by the examination of witnesses. The prisoner freely, cheerfully admits the act with which she is charged. It is true that she saw in the panting fugitive at her door a representative of the man who said, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.' She did take her in, she did feed, and clothe, and lodge, and conceal her. If, in thus obeying the law of God, she has broken that of man, she is willing, if needs be, to suffer bonds in His cause, who gave his life for her. He then maintains that the Constitution imposes upon the States the obligation to surrender fugitives, and gives Congress no authority to visit private individuals with pains and penalties, for assisting in their apprehension. In proof of the correctness of this construction of the Constitution, he reads the opinion of the learned counsel for the prosecution, expressed in his late speech in the Senate. But he rests the defence of the prisoner on higher grounds than constitutional law. He appeals to the law of LOVE written upon the human heart, and proclaimed by the Son of God, and if the constitution of the United States brogates this law, then is it a conspiracy against the virtue of man and the government of Jehovah, and therefore null and void. The cause is submitted by the court, with a brief intimation to the jury, that in a criminal case they are the judges of the law as well as of the fact. The jury, without leaving their box, return a verdict of NOT GUILTY. As the words are caught by the attending multitude, their pent up feelings find vent in loud and prolonged hurrahs; and the once favorite son of New England blanches as he hears in the triumphant shouts of the people, the knell of his own fame and power.

Be it that all this is fiction. Alas! it is fiction founded on FACT—founded on Mr. Webster's broken pledges—founded on his open apostasy from the cause of freedom—founded on his proclaimed intention to vote for a law outraging alike the personal security of the citizen, and the obligations of the Christian. Mr. Webster treats with disrespect the Legislatures of fourteen States of the free North, which have protested against the extension of slavery to the new territories, not by questioning the binding force of their instructions, but by virtually rebuking them all for expressing 'any opinion whatever' in relation to slavery, and by insisting that they 'have nothing to do' with a question occupying the thoughts and existing the feelings of every citizen, and involving the honor, power and prosperity of our country, and the happiness or degradation of unborn millions of the human race.

He pays a sorry compliment to the common sense of the people in offering to them at the eleventh hour, a new and unheard of law of 'physical geography,' together with the 'Asiatic scenery and formation' of the conquered territories, as an excuse for violating the faith he had pledged, in behalf of the proviso. He has shocked the moral sense of a large portion of the community, by giving in advance his sanction to a law which suspends the liberty or bondage of a citizen on the affidavit of a slaveholder and the judgment of a postmaster—a law which converts sympathy for guiltless misery into crime, and threatens to tenant our jails with our most estimable men and women.

Mr. Webster underrates the intelligence and moral sensibilities of the masses. Relying on the southern affidavits of our commercial cities, on the subservience of politicians to the discipline of party, and on his own great influence, Mr. Webster looks down upon the people; but the time is probably not far distant when the people will cease to look up to him. Parties will accept of any leaders who can acquire for them the spoils of the day; but in the political history of our country, the people have never placed their affections upon any man, in whose stability and consistency they did not confide.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly, WILLIAM JAY.

HON. WM. H. SEWARD.

Senator SEWARD has covered himself with honor. He has met the slave question, and the pro-slavery influences at Washington, like a true man. If Daniel Webster has fallen, we thank God that one of the might have held himself at as high price as Webster put upon himself, and he would have got it. The bid for him would have been ever higher.

We were at the Delavan House, Albany, when Mr. Webster's speech came in. Never did we witness a more decisive expression of patriotic indignation than was expressed there, by all services. All parties were ashamed of him. The Whig Senators and Representatives of New York condemned him in the loudest terms, and read him out of the camp at once.—Syracuse paper.

ABSURD AND ANNOTING REGULATION. A correspondent who has been travelling lately at the South writes:—

'On taking passage on board the steamboats running between Wilmington, North Carolina, and Charleston, South Carolina, travellers from the North are required to give, at the captain's office, on paying their fare and taking a berth, their names in full, their age, place of birth, last place of residence, and their occupation, all of which is entered in a blank register or way bill, kept for the above special purpose.'

This absurd regulation is said to be required of all passengers entering the port of Charleston, South Carolina, although nothing of the kind is enforced on passengers leaving Savannah, Ga., for Charleston, the would-be capital of the Southern Republic.—N. Y. Eve. Post.

NEW MODE OF CATCHING SLAVES.—A letter to the editor of the 'True Wesleyan,' says that on the last Sunday in February, a local preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, named Mayhew, gave out an appointment to preach near Antrim, Guernsey Ohio, and a large concourse assembled to hear him.

After the sermon, he deliberately walked from the stand to the outskirts of the congregation, and laid hold of a colored sister in the church, who had a child of her own in her arms, and proceeded to draw a rope from his pocket, to tie her, claiming at the same time that she was a fugitive slave of one of his neighbors, and saying that he was sent after her, and took this plan to find her, in order to secure the reward of \$75 offered for her. Upon remonstrance by some of the bystanders, he played the bravado, by displaying sundry revolvers and bowie knives from his pockets, and stated, that if any one would dare to interfere, they would feel the effects of them; then he deliberately put her in his buggy, tied her, and drove off. The woman is a widow, who has resided in the country for several years.

INDEPENDENCE OF LIBERIA.—The Legislature of Ohio, last month, passed the following resolution in favor of the acknowledgment of the Independence of Liberia by the United States, which the Senate has referred to its Committee on Foreign Relations:—

Whereas, the colored emigrants from the United States, who have been settled on the Coast of Africa by the agency of the American Colonization Society, are now organized into an independent Republic, and have been acknowledged as such by England and France; and whereas, the influence exerted by the Colony in promoting civilization in Africa has been very beneficial, and promises extensive usefulness; and whereas, intelligent colored men in the United States are unwilling to emigrate to Liberia until its Independence shall be acknowledged by the United States; therefore, Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives in Congress requested, to use their influence to induce the General Government to acknowledge the Independence of the Republic of Liberia; that they also be requested to use all honorable means to induce free blacks of the United States to emigrate to that country.

Massachusetts Fourth District.—Official.—The Council, on the examination of the votes given at the 8th trial for Congressmen from the Fourth District, on the 4th instant, and the result as follows:—Whole number, 12,296. Necessary for a choice, 6649. 1819, John Thompson has 4839. John P. Colver, 1919. Frederick Robinson 2773. Francis Cogswell 677. all others 26. No return from the town of Bolton.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator. THE AMERICAN UNION. On reading Longfellow's apostrophe to the Union, the colored man is supposed to address it in the following words:

Reform, 'O Union, strong and great! Ay, great in guilt, and strong in power; Reform, rebuild this 'ship of state,' Ere vengeance bids the tempest lower. God's ready ear will hear thy cry Of millions doomed to bear thy yoke; The mother's groan, the husband's sigh, With all the ties of kindred broke. Who's guilty of this mighty wrong? 'Tis thou, 'O Union, great and strong.' Churchmen and statesmen both do war Against the spirit of reform; 'Tis neither politic nor wise To see with more enlightened eyes Than those who formed this 'Union great,' Than those who built this 'ship of state.' The light has in our dwellings shone, As well as yours, who've forward grown, And dare to say that wrong's not right— Who dare to question power and might. Avenge, ye madmen, 'weak and few!' With you we'll have naught to do; We'll go on with 'Union strong,' Nor heed the right, nor fear the wrong. Justice and Mercy, where were they, When 'anvil rang and hammers beat?' Their sleep was death-like, on that day, Or else consumed in forge and heat. But now you rouse, and cry, Reform! 'O mighty 'Union, great and strong!' O Thou, Omnipotent! whose power Can aid us in this trying hour; Illume the darkened mind that draws The tightened cord in Union's cause; The vision, clouded by disease, No justice and no mercy sees, No heeds our woes, nor feels our pains; Its own aggrandizement it gains. Are all in all, nor cares for more, But 'Union' shouts from shore to shore. O listen! shall we'er be free? 'Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears, Are all to thee, are all to thee.'

From the Portland Transcript. AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Tell me if this be Freedom's home? Is this the land I've loved so well? Or do I in some region roam, Where Truth and Mercy scorn to dwell? Is this the land where patriots bled, Freedom's fair mansion to prepare? Now by the memories of the dead, Is this the fruit their labors bear? For this did fearless Warren die? A Washington unsheath the sword? And has the truth become a lie? All vain the sage and patriot's word? Oh, tell me where, beneath the sun, Amidst the gloom of pagan night, Such God-defying deeds are done, Such trampling upon human right! Alas, my country! thou dost boast Of Freedom, and a holy God, Yet slave-ships line thy length'ning coast, Beneath thy feet are bounden trod. Is this the work of Freedom? This the mission of our glorious land? No! Judas-like, with mocking kiss In Freedom slain right where we stand! How dare ye take the holy name Of Freedom on your lying lip, Tyrants, who put the Cross to shame With branding-iron, hound and whip! How dare ye talk of human rights, Of God, the Father, man the child, While before heaven are spread such sights Of wrong so deep and grief so wild! A land of slaves! O humbling thought, My native land! O chains! Where human beings, sold and bought, Increase by blood a 'Christian's' gain. A land of slaves! Ay, hear it ye Who boast your country and your sires! Now, outraged Freedom, this shall be The touch-wood of thine altar fires! By all our damning guilt and shame! By all our memories of the pure, Whose deeds we honor but in name, Shall justice make her judgments sure! Shall Freedom triumph, slavery fall, Our country stand erect and free, Her fettered millions disenthrall, And lead them forth to liberty!

From the Lynn Bay State. DANIEL WEBSTER.

New England! happy land! through earth's vast zone Thy name is spoken as a magic word; Thou art the land sweet Freedom calls her own, That knows no slave and bears no tyrant lord. Fair is thy fame, my loved, my native home; No spot on earth by Heaven so richly blest! Here weary wanderers from oppression come, And find a welcome and a place of rest. Pale Erin's starving sons, who sigh for bread, Crushed Hungary's patriots here asylum find; And dark-browed slaves, from Southern tyrants freed, Meet here no scourge, no galling chain to bind. Barth's tolling millions that now slowly pine, Or bleed beneath Oppression's cruel car, That rolls full freighted from hell's deepest mine, Hail thee their hope's most glorious rising star. My naked land! to freedom sacred now, Shall aught arise to mar thy glorious fame? Shall child of time forget his solemn vow, And basely dare to sully thy good name? Alas! there are who plot treason dire, Would make thee recant to thy holy trust, Would quench of liberty thy sacred fire, And tread thy dead loved altars in the dust. Would make thy sons forswear great Nature's claim, And lend their powers to huri the bondman back; Would send thy children, to their deepest shame, A pack of bloodhounds baying on his track. Would make old Plymouth Rock, and Concord Plain, And Lexington and Bunker's glorious height, The Southern tyrant's hunting-ground again, And end fair Freedom's day in Slavery's night. Who is the traitor? Thy most favored child, He of the lofty brow and thunder tone, Whose praises high like Alps on Alps are piled, In this dark treason towers on high alone. Cradled among New England's rugged hills, In the dear spot that knows no covering shade, When Freedom's spirit every bosom thrills, And arms are strong and hearts are true and brave.

How art thou fallen! on the Southern plain, No slave more servile trembles at the rod; No seer more menial wears the Russian chain, Than thou, so false to Liberty and God. Colossal coward! thou hast bowed the knee This once, at least, too low at Slavery's shrine; No more thy country shall put trust in thee, Or feel a heart-throb at a word of thine. Thy doom is sealed. From her free sons of toll, From her free waves, from every running river, From every mountain on her rugged soil, Shall thunder forth—WE TRUST IN THY RIVER. Lynn, March 18, 1850. A. D.

The Liberator. EXPERIENCE IN VERMONT.

FRIEND GARRISON: When I wrote you last, from the town of Ferrisburgh, I was at the house of R. T. Robinson, a warm and true friend of suffering humanity; in fact, his family, which consisted of four generations, dwelling in the same house, were not only friends by profession, but by practice also. This is a beautiful town for farming, with a rich soil and even surface, for this hilly and mountain State. It is one of the lake towns west of the Green Mountains, and furnishes some of the best anti-slavery feeling I have seen since I left home. When I first entered a small village in the north part of the town, on my way to friend R.'s, I was warmly greeted by many as an old familiar friend. Though a personal stranger to all in the place, even the little boys gathered about me as one with whom they had formerly been intimate. A meeting which had been previously appointed was dispensed with, and a full house convened to listen for two hours to remarks of the most radical kind, prefaced and concluded with several songs from the 'Anti-Slavery Harp,' by a goodly choir of both sexes. The next evening, a temperance meeting was held in the same place, in which I was invited to speak, and at the conclusion of my remarks on that occasion, was complimented, in behalf of the audience, in a most affectionate and kindly manner. Notwithstanding that most of the anti-slavery friends (so far as males are concerned), are what are called 'voluntarists,' they are not sectarian or illiberal in their views and conduct. They act according to the light received, and are willing to receive more when presented. I held several other meetings in the neighboring towns, where but little old organized labor had ever been done, and no public meetings of an anti-slavery character had been held for a long time. It was my intention to visit several towns in the southwest part of the State, but I found too much bare ground for sleighing at the west of the mountains, and crossed over in the vicinity of Mount Holly to this place. On that route, I experienced a very different reception from that mentioned as received at Ferrisburgh. Before I left Boston, in December last, I called at the anti-slavery office, and procured the names and address of the subscribers to the Liberator in this State, in order to know who to call upon when I came into their neighborhood; and with three exceptions, I have been kindly received and entertained by them. The first day I entered the State, I called at a house where the Liberator was taken, near night, in a severe snow storm, and was refused entertainment for the night. I turned my horse away from the cluster of barns and the appearance of abundance, and we again faced the cold whistling wind and driving snow for several miles, till the darkness of the night and the depth of snow forbade further progress in safety, when I called at the house of another farmer, and found a kind reception. Three days ago, I ascended the mountain, as before mentioned, and just at dark arrived at a house where the Liberator was taken. It was snowing fast, and a violent gale blowing directly in my face. I asked to be kept for the night, and was refused; but in answer to an inquiry, was told that a Mr. P., nearly a mile further on, would be likely to accommodate me. I rode on, and soon found Mr. P.'s to be a miserable, filthy dog-hole. But there I was, and as the old adage runs among sailors, 'Any port in a storm,' I was forced to make the best of it. After trying to warm myself by an almost cold stove in a nearly dark and cold room, and eating a cold lunch in another cold room, I was shown to a cold bed in a cold chamber, with its windows too much on a clatter to admit of sound sleep, if nothing else had prevented. The morning came, and I found both my sleeping-room and my horse's stall were well supplied with pure white driven snow. The roads were so blocked, and the storm still continuing, that I was unable to descend the mountain till about mid-day, and after riding till between 7 and 8 o'clock, called where another Liberator was taken, and was again refused entertainment for the night, there being a snow-storm at this time, also; and I was forced to drive back nearly a mile to a public house. Friend Garrison, having been a sailor for many years, I am used to facing gales and stormy seas, and do not allow myself to complain of the dealing of the elements; but I was not prepared to meet such cold reception from such quarters. Yours for enlarged humanity, JONATHAN WALKER.

MEETINGS IN ESSEX COUNTY.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: The past week, Lucy Stone and myself have held some most successful meetings in Manchester, Rockport, West Gloucester and Essex. They reminded me of those old times when Essex was the banner County in the Commonwealth. The speech of Daniel Webster has fallen on the leader ears of his party like a clap of thunder at midnight and midwinter. When the telegraphic despatch of it came, it was pronounced by some a forgery, and they said, 'Wait till the whole speech comes, revised by the author of it, and then see.' We did wait, and lo, it was worse than our hopes or fears, when it did come. Whig Anti-Slavery can no longer be misunderstood. If the party support the doctrines or the author of that speech a single hour, then are the worst denunciations of Massachusetts Whigism by the Democracy, Free Soilers, and the Abolitionists, true, and more than true. But the people are as much afraid of the 'godlike,' and their party leaders, as the Hindoos are of Juggernaut and his Brahmins. They dread the terrors of party excommunication more than the 'lake of fire and brimstone.' If it were not for this, the loathing we witness among the Whigs in this region, of the sentiments of this speech, would burst up like subterranean fires, and the lava of popular indignation would sweep it and its author, and the party organization with them, to a deserved and most desirable oblivion. We held two evening meetings at Manchester, and one at Gloucester, only one of us attending at a time, and then we were together at Rockport for a meeting all day and evening, and at Essex for a meeting on Sunday. At the latter place, we encountered a Second Advent meeting, on account of miscarriage or delay of letters, but obtained the meeting-house for afternoon and evening. In the afternoon, it was crowded to overflowing, though the Advent meeting in the morning, for some reason, was very small. It might have been on account of the unpopularity of the preacher, who, to speak true, did not appear to much advantage. Of this, I should not surely have

spoken, but for the fact that after our afternoon meeting had closed, he came forward in a few moments conversation, showed how hard a heart is compatible with limited powers of mind, and very superficial qualifications as a religious teacher. Such cold, deliberate misrepresentations, such wanton and wilful perversion of my statements and sentiments as he put forth, betrayed a degree of depravity or stupidity which I trust but few ever stain. He did not think best to say such things to the audience. A few stood round, and among them his brother in the Advent ministry, but none came to his rescue. Some of the workmen of Essex and Manchester, however, seconded the rebukes which I felt called to administer to him, with a point and heartiness too, that he will not soon forget. I was not expecting co-operation from ministers of the Miller delusion, but this was the first opposition from them I ever met, though I have often encountered them, and generally found them at least friendly, all over the Northern and Western States. I think his brethren should instruct him better, or pass him along to some other calling. Yours to Purify as well as Preserve, PARKER PILLSBURY. Salem, March 18th, 1850.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN LOWELL.

This Convention met in the City Hall in Lowell on Sunday, the 10th inst. at 10 1/2 o'clock A. M., was opened by Mr. May, who read appropriate portions of Scripture, and made some remarks relative to the cause that had brought us together. He offered for consideration of the meeting the following resolutions, and spoke to them for some time, clearly and conclusively showing the almost absolute want in the community of a true understanding of the great principles of religion as taught by the Son of God: Resolved, That the religion which has fellowship with slaveholders, which endorses their religious character, and receives them to its communion, is a religion as far removed from Christianity as hell is from heaven; and that it becomes the duty of every one who really regards the religion of Jesus to bear his plainest and fullest testimony against the spurious religion of this country, as being the worst and most subtle enemy of justice, righteousness, peace, and human freedom. Resolved, That the direct and open fellowship of most of the Northern Churches with slaveholders, and the equivocal position of nearly all the remainder, prove them to be not only unworthy of our confidence, but deserving of our most serious and steadfast opposition, until they cease to fight against God and to enslave his children, or be in fellowship with those who do. Mr. Pillsbury then offered the following resolutions: Resolved, That the most alarming fact in the signs of the times is the want of a virtuous intelligence and many thought and reflection on the part of the people to shield them from the wiles of unprincipled politicians, and deceptive and hypocritical priests, and we can hope for the abolition of American slavery, only as we can elevate the mental, and renovate the moral character of the masses of the Northern people. Resolved, That the purchase of new Slave States, the slaughter of the Seminole Indians, the conquest of Mexico, and murder of 45,000 Mexicans, the extension of slavery over the whole immense region of Texas, if not over the whole territory we have plundered from Mexico, and the longer continuance of the American government and Union, are all the result of this absence of intelligence and reflection—for we cannot believe that if the American people understood the government which enslaves themselves, and the monstrous obligation under which it lays them to support Southern slavery, by suppressing its insurrections, restoring its fugitive slaves, and bearing the burdens of war and other taxation, which it causes, they would under any Union, shiver this government, and on its ruins rear another, whose foundations should be Justice, whose cornerstone should be Liberty, a Republic indeed, that should be an asylum for the outcast and the oppressed of every complexion and of every clime. He commenced advocating the passage of these resolutions, by saying in substance that, as a people, this is a nation of idolaters; it has its objects of worship as the heathen do, though calling them by different names. There was a time when the command, 'Thou shalt have no other God beside me,' was considered obligatory on a Christian community, but the slaveholder had sent forth to the church and the world an other command, 'Thou shalt have no other God but us,' and this last command had become so interwoven with the politics and religion of the day as quite to supersede and displace the former. To meet this flood of error and superstition we want more decision of character, more conscience, more manly courage among the people. To diffuse these principles does not seem to be the object of any of the great organizations of the time. The sole object of the Church was to make Churchmen and sectarians; but when the Methodist or the Baptist has made a convert and a church-member of a man, he is not thought by the church or the world more honest than before; his world is no more to be relied upon, nor his note, without endorsers, taken any more readily by business men. The Politician too seeks to train the youth so that he shall become in manhood a Whig, a Democrat, or a Free Soil man, and higher than to their peculiar creed, or political doctrines they do not seek to elevate him. Instead of doing anything to arouse, expand, or refine their souls, they narrow them down and there keep them till they are fit for nothing else. It was, he said, charged upon the abolitionists that they made war with the Church, and so they do. They do not join issue with manufacturing companies, nor insurance companies, nor any of the benevolent associations of the land, when they interpose no obstacles in the way of the anti-slavery sentiment. The reason of their opposing the Church is, that she has stepped in to defend the institution of human slavery; and she has discovered to her sorrow that it was an evil day for her when she did so. And so it will ever be with those who dare to obstruct the way that leads to the slave's redemption. Adjourned to 1 1/2 o'clock.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD.

EXPOSITION OF THE 13TH CHAPTER OF ROMANS. From an excellent work recently published at Oberlin, Ohio, entitled 'THIS BIBLE AGAINST WAR, BY AMOS DRESSER.' (Continued.) Rulers not a terror to good works. But another reason why Christians should be subject to all higher powers is, that they are not 'a terror to good works.' By many, this is considered as synonymous with saying that rulers do not persecute the good. But is it so? What, then, mean the many and oft-repeated warnings of our Savior, that Christians should be brought before rulers, and many of them put to death? that they do had done to the green tree, so would they do to the dry? that the servant should be content to be treated as well as his Lord? If so, how shall we account for the fact, that great multitudes of Christians have been persecuted by the civil power, and many of them actually put to death? that the apostles, with perhaps a single exception, died by the hand of violence? and from the days of Nero to this day, it has been true, 'he that doeth wrong by evil maketh himself a prey.' 'I do not know what cruel mockery this language to the Christians to whom Paul was writing—who were cut in pieces and thrown into Nero's fish-ponds, and in every way tortured for the amusement of that ungodly debauchee? What other construction, if this be the meaning, could they put upon the passage, than that the blame of their persecutions was on their own heads? Did Paul intend to convey this idea? The passage declares no such thing. It simply states an universal truth, namely, that rulers, good or bad, on earth or in hell, are not feared by the soul who dwells in God, and God in him? To all such our blessed Savior says, 'Fear not, little flock; it is your Father who secretly designs to avenge you.' Luke 12:31. 'Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear. Fear him who, after He has killed the body, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him. Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God? But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, therefore, ye of more value than many sparrows.' Luke 12:4-7. 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.' So that we may boldly say, 'The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man shall do unto me.' Heb. 13:5. 'The Lord is my light and my salvation. Whom shall I fear? Jehovah is the defence of my life. Of whom shall I be afraid? When the wicked, mine enemies and my foes, came upon me, to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, here will I trust.' Ps. 124:6-7. 'Mine enemies would daily swallow me up, for they be many that fight against me. O Thou Most High, what time I am afraid, I will trust in Thee. In God I will praise his word; in God I have put my trust. I will not fear what man can do unto me.' Ps. 56:2-4, 9, 11. 'The Lord is on my side; I will not fear what man can do unto me. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. The Lord is my strength and song, and is become my salvation.' Ps. 88:6, 8, 9, 14. See also 1 Peter 3:10-18, and Isaiah 51:7-16.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR.

A few weeks since, there was witnessed at Brunswick, in this State, a scene of great interest as well as novelty. We refer to the funeral services of Phebe, a black woman, which took place on Sunday the 8th of March. The assembly at her funeral is said to have filled the large church near the college. An appropriate and affecting address was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Dr. Adams, who had been her minister for twenty years. Her pall-bearers were Ex-Gov. Dunlap, Dr. Lincoln, Prof. Packard, and Joseph McKoen, Esq., Treasurer of Bowdoin College; and the private mourners were Rev. Dr. Allen, a former President of the College, with two of his daughters of Northampton, Mass., who had come 250 miles to attend the funeral. She was born a slave, as we learn from the Traveller, at Bevevick, near Newark, N. J. In early life she entered as a servant the family of President Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, and lived in his family and that of his daughter, Maria Mallewife Allen, the wife of President Allen, 40 years. For the last 18 years, she lived alone in her house; and she died alone and suddenly. In the same home, and probably at the same hour, died her friend, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Adams. But why were these honors paid to this lowly woman? It was because of her rare attainments as a member of the Congregational church, and her fellow-Christians regarded her as far superior to themselves in the strength of her faith, and in a spirit of devotion which she habitually possessed.—Zion's Advocate.

SENIATOR STANTON OF NEW YORK.

SENIATOR STANTON OF NEW YORK, better known as Henry B. Stanton, a most enthusiastic anti-slavery member of the Liberty party, has just jumped from the wreck of the Buffalo platform, the train having therewith having run out. At the annual dinner to the members of the New York Legislature, on the anniversary of the birth of Washington, given by the citizens of Troy, he offered as a toast—'Wilmot Proviso, or no Wilmot Proviso—Slavery Prohibition, or Slavery Extension—Go for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union. The old anti-slavery party, who have ever repudiated Mr. Stanton and his coadjutors, will rejoice at the show of colors by a man who has said harder things of slavery and slaveholders than almost any other person in Congress. The Albany Argus of yesterday has a corrected report of Mr. Stanton's remarks, in which he says in place of the last line of the above sentiment—'I will go with any body who is for, and will oppose everybody who is against, "one country, one Constitution, one destiny."—Boston Courier.

WILMOT PROVISO, OR NO WILMOT PROVISO.

When his beloved Spalatin sent a message to him to 'abstain from entering Worms,' Luther, still unshaken, turned his eyes on the messenger, and answered—'Go tell your master, that though there should be as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on its roof, I would enter it.' Surely 'rulers are not a terror to good works,' Luther was summoned to meet the higher powers at Worms, and he, 'subject to those powers, yielded to the summons. See D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, book vii, pp. 214-218, vol. 2. Do you wonder, therefore, that the same consciousness that the powers that be are so controlled of God that He will cause the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He will restrain; that He maketh all things work together for good to them that love God.

Gov. Briggs, and nineteen others declared that if Texas was admitted into this Union, the act would dissolve it, the opinion was endorsed by the people in Massachusetts; but the deed was consummated, and now, if the friends of freedom hold Gov. Briggs to his own words, and talk in earnest of dissolution, they are stigmatized as fanatics. The issue must be met, and the question settled at no distant day, whether the Union of the States shall continue at the cost of the slavery of three millions of people. For himself, he looked forward to the time when it shall be shattered to fragments, and when men shall feel that they owe a stronger allegiance to God and his commands than to the Constitution or the politicians of the country. After a few remarks from Mr. Pillsbury, adjourned to 6 1/2 o'clock.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD.

Mr. Pillsbury made the closing remarks, wherein he exposed the position of the Free Soil party. He proved them to be, as a party, in an equally guilty connection with slavery as the Whig and Democratic parties. To attempt any thing like a just report of his address would be idle, and it must suffice to say, it was one of the best efforts ever listened to in this city, and told with mighty effect upon the hearts and consciences of those who heard it, and elicited some discussion, in which Dr. Mansfield, and Messrs. Seaver, Howe and Young took part. At quarter before 10, the Convention adjourned; and thus ended one of the best meetings ever held in Lowell. HENRY ABBOT, President. J. E. GRANT, Secretary.

GOVERNMENT AND THE SWORD.

But if praise here does not mean protection, what does it mean? It means that Jesus Christ received from his executioner, the centurion, when he said, 'Certainly this was a righteous man!' Such as Jesus Christ received from Pilate when he said, 'I have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him, and he did nothing worthy of death has been done by him. I will therefore release him.' And he said unto them the third time, 'Why, what evil hath He done? I have found no cause of death in Him; I will therefore chastise Him, and let Him go.' And yet he 'gave sentence that it should be as they desired.' Luke 23:14, 24. Praise, but not protection, is here given by the ruler.' So it was with Peter and John, Acts 4:21. So also with Paul and Silas. True, Paul at one time received protection from the mob as a Roman Citizen, yet he was not a Roman Citizen, but by the very power of which he is now speaking. His citizenship saved him from the cross, but consigned him to the sword. Joseph, Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego received praise from the rulers by whom they were oppressed; but their protection came from Him who is 'higher than the highest.' See Gen. 39:4, 21, 22, and 41:38-44. Dan. 3:15-30; 6:10-20. So said the officer who had been convicted by Martin Luther, 'Dear friend, there is much in what you say. I am a servant of Charles, but your master is greater than mine. He will help and protect you.' Thompson, Work and Burr, in the Missouri State Prison, by doing good, received praise from their rulers! The Mayor of Nashville, in acquainting the mob with the decision of the Committee of Vigilance against me, prefaced his sentence of condemnation by saying—'Mr. Dresser appears to be a fine young man, and I have no objection to his going to jail. And the Secretary afterwards, in delivering the action of the Committee, said, 'Dresser had broken no law,' and then went on to show that it was necessary, for the public good, to resort to lynch law. And though there was no form of law in my trial, yet I was tried by the rulers' of the city. Members of the Committee who passed on me, and with whom I had sat at the commencement upon three weeks before, said they believed me to be a Christian, &c. Yet their praise did not protect my naked back from the cowskin.

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