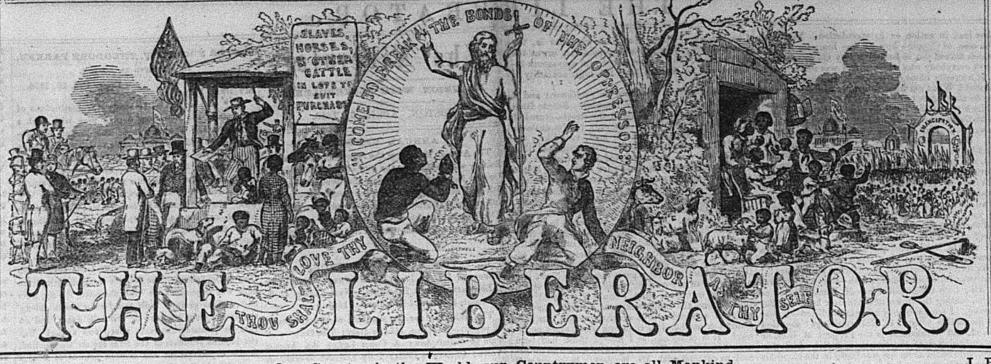
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an-Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN

Laus, if payment be made in advance." F All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to o directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

[F Advertisements making less than one square ingred three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Possylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soens are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tun

P The following gentlemen constitute the Finanat Committee, but are not responsible for any of the abts of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ed-KIND QUINCY, EDMIN JACKSON, and WENDELL



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.'

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, IN

PRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and

Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1528.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

VOL. XXX. NO. 14.

From the Boston Courier.

PHILLIPS AND LIBERTY. Several of the New York papers publish in full a characteristic speech of Wendell Phillips, delivered in Brooklyn on Tuesday evening last. We wish to present the best side of the case for the citizens of ooklyn, and so record the fact, that not a little trouble was experienced in procuring a place for the The Brooklyn Tabernacle, which had on engaged ten days beforehand, we dare say without stating the object-for Abolitionists, like all others who hold that the end justifies the means, are not at all times scrupplone about a little deceptionwas finally refused; and even a proposition for the hire of Rev. Mr. Beecher's church, made to the trustes, who happened to be in session, was voted down, aler an hour's discussion. Finally, the Athenseum tained, by layor of the Superintendent, who edified the applicants by quoting a remark of Dr. Wo lsey. Pr sident of Yale College, when asked to dier prayer at a Union meeting.—' No; I don't care enough about the Union to pray for it!'—an emilition of a temper, spirit, and order of intelligence, scarcely to be expected of the head of a college, and certainly very unworthy of a Christian minister. It is not possible, perhaps, in this country, to prevent ranters from ranting somehow. But we are not obliged to have them in our parlors; or in buildings under our control; and that Mr. Phillips should be embarrassed in finding a place to suit his purpose-namely, to deliver what he called of a mad-house—is, perhaps, not entirely surprising, even in these harum-scarum days. The Tribune informs us, that this 'remarkable plea' was delivered before a very large and profoundly attentive audience,' and gives no further opinion upon it; but we observe that even its own report is interspersed with hisses, as well as applause, and at

profoundly attentive audience.' It is, of course, useless to attempt reply by way of argument to the remarkable plear of Mr. Phillips, or to any of the pleas put forth from time to time by him or his associates. They are, one and all, of the spirit so maliciously attributed as the universal characteristic of certain of our fellow-beings,-

entinged) '-so that there was, evidently, a certain

diversity of sentiment among that very large and

· For if they will, they will-you may depend on't; And if they wont, they wont-and there's an end on't.

If Mr. Phillips should undertake to make a remarkable plea in support of the theory, that twenty billions of angels could dance on the point of a cambric needle, it would be of no use to meet this by any employment of the ordinary modes of reason-His arguments on such a point would be quite as transcendental, illusive, and unsatisfactory, as those urged by him in favor of a dissolution of the Union. A Miss Delia Bacon, of New Haven,we dare say a protege of Dr. Woolsey,-published a voluminous octavo, two or three years ago, in order to prove that Lord Bacon, not Shakespeare, was the author of the plays which made the name We cite the fact as evidence at the latter glorious. not only of what singular aberrations the human mind is subject to, but also to show out of what unpromoting material resolute fanatics and enthusiasts can manufacture 'a remarkable plea! for almost governg. We doubt whether Miss Bacon ever soul a reader; it is certain she never made a conthet. There is a small class at the North who agree with Mr. Paillips-and who, having the same objust in view, are in concert necessarily with the exexcept the class referred to, we presume that the main body of the 'vers large and profoundly attentive audience' at Brooklyn were there from cariosity, and to hear a speaker who has cultivated with Mr. Phillips. His manner is that of a pleasant speaker, though we'do not remember anything produced by him calculated to be of the slightest service to mankind. And this remark is even more applicable to negroes than to white men, because all statile efforts for the former, could they be cosful, instead of raising them to a level with the latter, would end in the destruction of enough to nder the whole no longer dangerous, and in the reduction of the rest to a still more unqualified sub-

Mr Phillips like all abolitionists is a thorough radical-at least in theory. He fairly gloats over the idea of 'such a haired of wealth and aristocracy in the heart of the original Saxon democrat, that there is nothing that he likes better than strangling both. By Saxon democrats we suppose he means all those who have not yet attained that accidental position in this country which he denominates ' wealth and aristocracy, —a position the holders of which are constantly shifting, one to which all may aspire, and r our free institutions, and in which, when attained, we suppose the most original Saxon democrat of all has no disposition to be strangled himself. On the theory of Mr. Phillips, that such is the morfal conflict of classes in this country, where bite men, at least, are free to pursue their lawful desires,-the case would certainly be only aggravated by introducing the artificial and still more ordant element of negro equality-and there would be a great deal more 'strangling' going on The speech of Mr. Phillips is very rambling, but the two ideas running through it are -equality of races and freedom of speech. Aboliis, with him, only one great step towards es-shing the first. But here pature interposes. tablishing the first. You cannot make black men white men. We do not say that slavery is constituted by nature. It is a matter of law, dependent from the necessity of the case, upon a variety of considerations, which inevitably determine when and where it shall exist. But the inferiority of one race to another is a de cree of nature, not of law, subject to modification in certain cases-quite beyond the reach of essential change in others. Physical causes, operating through all generations, prevent any such equality -instinct itself forbids it. This will continue so, just so long as one is black, and the other white. The denunciations of Mr. Phillips against this order of things avail just as much as if he were to set pusself to railing against the east wind, or the tidal current of the sea, or should ' bay the moon.'

Upon the point of freedom of speech, -of all exg men Mr. Phillips surely has the least reason to complain. Free lips, indeed! If twenty-five years of training and practice in vituperation against the Constitution and laws which protect him, and grant liberty of speech to all, in the confidence of free institutions that sense and principle will prevent it from becoming licentious—if the permitted utterance of the most malignant abuse of conspicuous men, only the more anxious to build up and strengthen the temple of Freedom, as they see the incendiary ready to set his torch to its foundations —can furnish any evidence of that liberty of speech which Mr. Phillips declares is forbidden to him, why then, it does seem to us that it is scarcely worth while to dissolve the Union, in order to

'To rave, recite, and madden round the land.'

and feathers are the least indignities which be ish slavery by force than he would hesitate to eat a night reasonably expect in the South, we honestly breaklast. sion for it—though, perhaps, this would make little of 1860 is: will you stand by the Constitution of difference to him—but we apprehend that the public indignation, combined with a certain pity for this to overturn it?—Boston Post. his folly, now scattered and more or less weakened in the process, would be then more concentrated and unappeasable-especially when the people began experimentally to realize how weakly they induced by him to give up a bird in the hand for two in the bush. The fact is, the existence of the Union is absolutely essential to the oratorical displays of Mr. Phillips. Without it, he could not make them at all-or, if he did, would only be himself about its domestic affairs, as he does at a distance about those of the South, he would not be likely to reach the door without some more forcible intimations as to disincline him to return. If he were to march up the broad aisle of any meeting-house in New-Eagland, spouting abuse of all, the line of the south of the subject was so materially concerned. That same question is now before us. We are to pass on the liberty of a citizen.

Pardon me, if I say that such a question cannot, parish, his speedy ejectment might be reasonably anticipated, and probably his delivery to the superintendent of the nearest lunatic asylum. It is not, therefore, that just freedom of speech is denied Mr. Phillips; but that he insists upon that kind of liberty which would be accorded him no where on the lace of the earth, by those whose interests and feelings his style of speech would particularly affect.

Now, if it is conceded that the Smate is invested particular point, (Hisses and applause long

Indeed, Mr. Phillips reasons always just as an insane person does—that is, with a certain degree of correctness from his premises, if only those premises were themselves correct. A crazy man is not devoid of the reasoning faculty, but the foundations on which reason itself is based are confused in his mind. Like a clock out of order, it goes, but keeps no time. Like 'sweet bells, jangled, out of tune, and harsh,' they peal, but there is no harmony in their notes. Such a person has lost the power of seeing things in their right relations. His disordered imagination converts his dearest friend—his wife, or child—into a foe, and he proceeds to treat him as such, though all the time dependent upon that friend for the tenderest offices of uninterrupted affection. This is exactly the case with Mr. Indeed, Mr. Phillips reasons always just as an upon that friend for the tenderest offices of uninter-rupted affection. This is exactly the case with Mr. far as the latter were competent to exercise them. This reasoning applies with just as much force to child needing parental direction, or to one of our Indians, still kept under guardianship in Massa-Indians, still kept under guarmanship between the chusetts, and in every New England State where he express words of the Constitution, there are two is found, as to a negro. The common abolition argument, 'He is a man, a brother,' amounts to othing at all. So is a Hottentot, in exactly the same sense; but that, nevertheless, is no reason, why we should let him vote in regard to our rights and liberties, which he could not understand, and which we know he would abuse.

Another distinguishing characteristic of a dis

ordered intellect is displayed by Mr. Phillips in his malignant and savage pursuit of certain men with whose opinions he disagrees. For this privilege of disagreement, allowed to everybody in a free country, and for no other apparent reason, they are to him like Mordecal sitting in the king's gate. Shall Mr. Phillips claim universal liberty of speech, and yet hate and malign all men who think differently from him? What sort of liberty is this? stend of a 'Saxon democrat,' this is to constitute Mr. Phillips, upon his own authority, of all autocrats the most despotic. To the memory of Mr. ebster he is always unsparing. Mr. Everett and Dr. Dewey are the objects of his incessant spite. In the present speech, he exalts Mr. Seward far real merits-who is really only a great man-for a Republican. But, notwithstanding his hypocrisy and falsehood to the principles of his party, which Mr. Phillips finds no difficulty in owing, we have no doubt the abolitionists will vote for him. Though he now, from policy, repuliates the dectrines of their party, they could do nothing whatever. Their doctrine and in this Mr. Phillips is right, when he says, n effect, that is the nucleus and moving force of the Republican organization-that which agitates, makes and enforces public opinion,- We mean to reach slavery, and we mean to strangle it.' Extin-guish this central abolition fire, and not an ember the Republican party would long be alive. But, whatever Mr. Seward may think it convenient to say at present, without him the abolition elements would soon sink and smoulder in their ashes.

THE HIGHER LAW ILLUSTRATED.

Mr. Sedgwick, Republican, has made in the House an out and out Garrison barangue, of course full of historical perversion and higher-lawism, and thoroughly unconstitutional. He talks of Garrison just as his brother Republicans, even though they may disclaim his schemes, talk of John Brown. Here is Sedgwick's puff of his political chum :-

either North nor South; and the result was, that he ublished a paper, the first number of which I hold my hand, in which he announced his creed. "I and I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch; and papers.

And this committee, after several weeks of sessand I will be heard." That was the first number of sion, now invokes the power of the Senate to constitute the second of th seen agut by Heaven, in answer to the petition of the oppressed ones upon earth.'

This is the way this Republican Congressman illustrates what his party mean when they say they are only against the extension of slavery:—

The system was at war with every sentiment of honor; was at war with every principle of that high-er law whose seat is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world. 1state emphatically here, that no form of constitutional law, how-ever solemnly agreed to, however high may be its claim to authority, intended to recognize or authorize such a system of outrage upon human rights, is of any effect to bind the conscience or control the conduct of any citizen of any government under heaven."

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION. afford him the indulgence of still further opportant this he can take his pay and emoluments under this. Inquisition or the Star Chamber, or, if you please, tended to be a short visit to my friends in the Unity—

Constitution; but in the next moment hie deries the grand jury; with power to investigate facts, ted States, whom I had not seen for fifteen where the grand jury; with power to investigate facts, ted States. Constitution; but in the next moment he denies that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact the onth is of any effect to bind his contact that the onth is of any effect to bind his contact the onth is o Mr. Phillips is perfectly infuriated, because he nounce one obligation, he would find no difficulty in cannot speak in Clarleston or Sarannah, as he does renouncing any other that does not suit him. In a in Brooklyn or elsewhere at the North. But if tar word; this fanatic would no more hesitate to abol-

believe that, after the Union were dissolved, he | Such a fanatic as this is fit for a colporteur to Helwould not fare much better at home. The cause of per's book; and his words supply a fresh illustra-his scolding being removed, there would be no occa-tion to the American people, that the vital question

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER, DEFENCE OF THADDEUS HYATT.

It is related in English parliamentary history, make them at an or, if he do, and the subject to much harsher that, on a certain occasion, when the House of treatment. The refusal to grant him that kind of Commons was about to order the commitment of a liberty of speech which he desires, is by no means somewhat too famous witness to the custody of the confined to Charleston or Savannah. If he were to Sergeant-at-Arms, the Speaker interfered by volungo into any decent house nearer home, and express teering to say, as he put the question, 'That the

Pardon me, if I say that such a question cannot,

feelings his style of speech would particularly affect. with all the large powers claimed by the Houses of Why, the persons who refused him the Tabernacle and Rev. Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn, denied present case although I might well question the him liberty of speech, just as the people of Charleston and Savannah, against whom he makes such complaints, would do. Why does he not say one word about this reinforcement is withword about this grievance, to which he is subjected, it has been more than once declared -much to the indignation of our revolutionary fathers-that it is

Phillips. If all men are in reality equal, in every of impeachments; secondly, in determining the particular—if all races are equal, then it might be elections returns and qualification of its members; elections, returns, and qualification of its mem particular—if all races are equal, then of mankind the height of injustice for one portion of mankind to deprive another portion of equal civil rights, just behavior. All these proceedings are judicial in behavior. character and purpose, and carry with them, as a enatural incident, the power to compel witnesses to

testify.

Beyond these three cases, which stand on the other cases, quasi-judicial in character, which, though not supported by any express words of the Constitoxion, have grown out of necessity and reason, amounting to a positive intendment of the Consti-tution, and have been sanctioned by precedents. refer, first, to the case of an inquiry into an alleged violation of the privileges of this body, as where a copy of a treaty was furtively obtained and published; and, secondly, to an inquiry into the conduct of servants of the Senate, like that now proceeding, with regard to the Printer, on motion of the Senator from New York, (Mr. King.) If I were asked to indicate the principle on which these two cases stood, I should say it was the just and universal right of self-defence inherent in every parliamentary body, as in every court, and also in every individual; but which is limited closely by the simple necessities of the case.

Such are the five cases in which this extraor-

dinary power has been heretofore exercised; the first three standing on the text of the Constitution. and the other two on the right of self-defence necessarily inherent in the Senate; all five sanctioned by precedents of this body; all five judicial, also, purpose and intent; and all five agreeing in this final particular, that they have no legislative purpose or intent. Beyond these cases there is no preedent for the exercise, by the Senate, of the power in question.

And it is now proposed to add a new case, most clearly without any support in the Constitution; without any support in the right of self-defence, inherent in the Senate, and without any support in the precedents of the Senate.

A committee has been appointed to inquire into the facts attending the late invasion and seizure of the armory and arsenal at Harper's Ferry by a band of armed men, and report whether the same was attended by any armed resistance to the authorities and public force of the United States, and the murder of any citizen of Virginia, or any troops sent there to protect public property; whether such invasion was made under color of any organization intended to subvert the government of any of the States of the Union: the character and extent of such organization; whether any citizens of the United States, not present, were implicated therein or accessory thereto, by contributions of money, ammuni tion, or otherwise; the character and extent of the military equipments in the hands or under the control of said armed band; where, how, and when But this man; gentle, loving, peaceful, truthful, the same were obtained and transported to the place just but inflexible, was resolved not to be put down, neither North nor South; and the result was that he necessary by the government for the future preservation of the peace of the country, and the safety of public property; with power to send for persons

rison. It seems to me as if that man Garrison had been agent by Heaven, in answer to the petition of the committee, the Senator from Virginia, (Mr. Mason.) who calls for the imprisonment of an American citizen, has shown no authority for such an exercis of power in the Constitution, or in the admitted right of self-defence, or in the precedents of the Senate. He cannot show any such authority. does not exist.

Surely, where the Constitution, and reason, and precedent, all three are silent, we might well hesiate to exercise a power so transcendent. But I shall not stop here. I go further, and point out two specific defects in the resolution of the Senate. First—The inquiry which it institutes is clearly

judicial in character; without, however, any judicial purpose, or looking to any judicial end. committee is essentially a Tribunal, with power of That's plain talk. This patent Republican takes denunciation, but without power of punishment; an oath to support the Constitution, and by doing sitting with closed doors, having the secrecy of the

such a power is lodged anywhere outside of the ju-dicial tribunals, it must be in the House of Repre-first shots for American independence were heard. sentatives, as the Grand Inquest of the nation, Boston was in a state of wild excitement. Placards with its power to impeach all civil officers, from the covered the walls, announcing the arrival of man-President down; but it cannot be in the Senate. catchers, in hot pursuit after two native-born Amer-Let me cite an illustration. The constitution of icans. Maryland provides expressly that the House of What right had they there in the home of the white, Delegates may inquire, on the oath of witnesses, into all complaints, grievances, and offences, as the grand inquest of the State; and may commit any They were there, sanctioned and protected in their

e a government of laws, and not of men.

far as it constitutes an inquest into crime, it may slaves, and something meaner. be said that the witness should be compelled to Boston, on my landing, was, with some noble exanswer to the other parts. Surely the Smate will ceptions, a city of slave-catchers. A few days after not resort to any such refinement in order to im- my arrival, a New England Sabbath dawned. The

which all are bound to respect. At all events, if this power is to be exercised, let soil, which, thank God, is sacred from the pollution

not be under a simple resolution of the Senate; of the man-hunter. (Loud cheers.)

will declare that the Smate, at any time-not distant village of the most distant State, and compel his testimony, involving the guilt or innocence absent persons, or, it may be, of the witness himelf. This is a fearful prerogative, and, permit me say, that in assuming it, you liken yourselves to the Jesuits, at the period of their most hateful su- America. premacy, when it was said that their power was a word, whose handle was at Rome, and whose point was in the most distant places. You take in your hands a sword, whose handle will be in this Chamwhose point will be in every corner of the Republic If the present case were doubtful, which I do not have the power, is this the occasion to use it?

have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous to use t like a giant. For myself, sir, I confess a feeling of gratitude to the witness, who, knowing nothing which he de-sires to conceal, and chiefly anxious that the liberies of all may not suffer through him, feeble in body and broken in health, hardly able to endure the fatigue of appearing at your bar, now braves the prison which you menace, and thrusts his arm as a bolt to arrest an unauthorized and arbitrary

GEORGE THOMPSON IN AMERICA. Extract from a very able and eloquent speech re-

cently delivered in Glasgow, Scotland, upon American Slavery, by George Thompson, Esq., late M. P. for the Tower Hamlets, London :-

Well may the colored American curse the soil of his birth, and shake its dust from his feet. To all, save one being, the place of his birth is dear. the lode-star of the heart—the point to which the soul continually gravitates. The sea-boy, tossed upon the troubled wave-the warrior, distant on the tented field-the captive, pining in Siberia's minehe Gospel messenger, on heathen shores-turn, all, their eyes towards the spot which gave them birth. Encamped by Indian rivers wild,

The soldier, resting on his arms, In Burns's carol sweet recalls

The scenes that bless'd him when a child, And glows and gladdens at the charms Of Scotia's woods and waterfalls.

(Loud cheers.) And who is he who feels no rap-It is the fugitive slave, who, hunted and mangled and thanksgivings, and feasts, and festivals;

person for any crime to the public jail, there to remain until discharged by due course of law. But I doubt if the Senate of that neighbor State could crect itself into that Grand Inquest.

They were there, sanctioned and protected in the person for any crime to the public jail, there to remain until discharged by due course of law. But backed by the entire naval and military power of the country. I found the people of that same city of Boston under a law higher than the law of God—a erect itself into that Grand Inquest.

Boston under a law higher than the law of God—a

If the Senate of the United States have power to law requiring them to give up their own fellow-citimake the present inquiry, then, on any other occa- zens, without the Mial granted to a pickpocket, to sion of alleged crime, of whatever nature, whether a doom more terrible than that pronounced upon a of treason, or murder, or riot, it may rush to the murderer. I turned to the public papers, hoping to assistance of the grand juries of the District, or, read there the protest of an outraged, indignant, still further, it may rush to the assistance of the and maddened community, against so flagitious an grand-juries of Virginia; in short, it will be an insult to the honor of the State, the hospitality of nquest of commanding character, and with far- the city, and the rights of humanity; but, instead reaching, all-pervading process, supplementary and of thoughts that breathe in words that burn, directancillary to the local inquest; or rather, so transcendent in its powers, that by its side the local inquest will be dwarfed into insignificance. Surely
this cannot be proper or constitutional. But perhans Lam expecially sangificance this resist for haps I am especially sensitive on this point; for, as who refused to bewray the wanderer, and give up a citizen of Missichusetts, I cannot forget that her those who had escaped from the clutches of the tybill of rights, originally the work of John Adams, rant. This was the first development I had of the provides expressly that the legislative department spirit of slavery, extending to the capital of the shall never exercise judicial powers, and the judicial State founded by the Pilgrim Fathers. I discovered department shall never exercise legislative powers; that there was no essential difference between the to the end, as it is solemnly declared, that it may moral atmosphere of mercantile Boston and slaveholding New Orleans. Surely those who catch and But assuming that the resolution is defective, so return fugitive slaves are as bad as those who buy

church bells tolled - the Jerusalem of America Secondly-But there is a broader objection still: poured forth its religious and Sabbath-keeping poputhat whatever may be the power of the Senate in lation. I saw the tribes go up to hymn the praises udicial cases, it cannot compel the testimony of a of Him who wills not that one of His little ones witness in a proceeding of which the declared pur-should perish. While the ministers of religion were pose is merely legislative. Officers of the Govern- preaching the love of God, and how he sent his Son ment communicate with Congress and its commit-tees simply by letter. They are not summoned from distant posts, or even from their office here. And the city to find the hiding-place of two of God's I know not why a distant citizen, who is charged with no offence, and who in every right is the peer of an offence, and who in every right is the peer of an offence, and who is every right is the peer fugitives, and entered the retreat of two immortal sideration. If any information from him be de-sired for any legislative purpose, let him communi-were baying on their track. I offered them an Engcate it in the way most convenient to himself, and lishman's hand-I took them to an Englishman's nost consistent with those rights of the citizen heart-I sent them to an Englishman's home-and they have now been more than nine years upon this

hut by virtue of a general law, passed by both
Houses, and affirmed by the President, so that the
citizen shall be surrounded with certain safeguards.
Mr. President, I confidently submit that a power
so entirely without support, and also obnoxious to
their city of rafus, to which the homizide could five criticism, at the same time that it is so vast, is not their city of refuge, to which the homicide could fly to be carelessly exercised. You cannot send the witness to prison without establishing a new preedent and commencing a new class of cases. You and Franklin, and Patrick Henry, and Jonathan Elwards, has no Cave of Adullum into which one merely in the performance of its admitted judicial of her own immortal children can crawl, and be safe duties, but also in the performance of its mere leg-islative duties—may drag a citizen from the most spring of God! Oh, America! would that thou couldst see thyself as thou wert seen by me, whilst I sat between thy fugitive children, meditating on the spectacle of a temple erected to liberty, served by priests who offer millions of broken hearts upon her altar. Such was my earliest experience What next? I was invited by the friends of international amity, reform, and universal emancipation, to a meeting in Faneuil Hall—a building which goes by the name of 'The Cradle of Liberty,' and for nearly a century has been conseper, to be clutched by a mere party majority, and crated to the genius of civil and political freedom. More than 4000 of the most estimable citizens of Massachusetts, and other States, were there to bid dmit, I feel that I cannot go wrong when I lean to me welcome, and did give me a welcome, of which the side of liberty. But, even admitting that you any man might be proud. But the spirit of slavery was there also. The real instigators of the dis it, upon the whole, expedient? Is the object to be graceful proceedings which took place at that splento upon the whole, expedient? Is the object to be did gathering of American reformers were too mind-complished worth the sacrifice? It is well to did gathering of American reformers were too mind-even a gint's strength; but it is tyrangues to use tul of their reputation, even in the pro-slavery city of Boston, to be present in person; but their lings were there, to the number of two or three hundred, and, acting up to their instructions, they prevented me from acknowledging, as I wished to do, the kind address which was delivered to me on the oceasion. The city papers, on the following morning, applauded the ruffians who had made the uproar, as true American patriots, and rightly described the manner in which they did their duty, which was by crowing, hooping, cheering, groaning, roaring, screaming, and imitating cat-calls, whistles, the barking of dogs, the crowing of cocks, and the

quacking of ducks ;-' they enjoyed themselves, said one of those journals, 'like fiends from the bottom-less pit let out on a frolic.' The Mayor of the city was on the spot, an approving witness of the scene The City Marshal and his men were there, but moved not a finger to quell the riot; and why? Because as far as the telegraphic wires extended into the slave States, the news was sent by lightning that George Thompson, the Abolitionist, had not been permitted to be heard in Boston. This, of course, raised the character of the city in the estimation of the slaveholding aristocracy, and helped the Cabinet at Washington, then busily employed in enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. The merchants, politicians, and pro-slavery clergy, in instigating this outrage, or tacitly consenting to it, were but doing what was demanded of them by their rulers at the South. The eloquent lecturer then proceeded to relate a

variety of anecdotes in proof of the prostration of the Northern States before the Moloch of slavery, and concluded his address in the following terms:

ure when he thinks of the place of his birth? I have travelled within the United States of Ameray, more, who associates it with scenes of horror ica. I have found myself within the dominions and and of dread? Who is he, who shrinks amidst the surrounded by the atmosphere of slavery. The isions of the night, should fancy bear him to where | country is magnificent and glorious-the mountains he first drew breath, and place him again on the spot are stupendous and sublime—the rivers roll their of his infancy and childhood? What wretch is he, floods along in majesty and beauty—the valleys inhuman in his selfishness—so deeply steeped in stretch away in verdure and loveliness—there are parricidal guilt—or wronged so past relenting and lorgiveness, that to him the star that shines above the hearth on which his earliest days were cradled is a baleful meteor, whose ray he shuns, to live beneath the one most distant from his home? Who? It is the furitive slave, who, hunted and wanneled and thankspiciness and fastivals: but by dogs—lacerated by the lash—scarred by the these have not been sufficient to conceal from my branding iron—has at length reached a land where he is sale from the trafficker in human flesh. The his spirit has been everywhere—his dominion has man whom foul wrongs has driven from the soil of been universal, his will despotic. The glorious exhis birth, and caused to execrate the name of home, ternal creation has seemed but the vestibule to his and curse the fate that, in the hour of birth, im- gloomy temple, and all the rites and ceremonies of pressed upon his brow the name of slave! (Cheers.) the people to be subordinate to the profound and Ere you condemn such a man for this strange divoces soul-degrading homage paid to this insatiate fiend, from all which you are taught by Nature's instincts who has seated himself above all that is called God, to press and here. to revere and love, put yourself in the condition from which he has escaped—a condition in which, in the of the human race. Amidst the countless temples autumn of 1850, I left England to pay what I in-

sits this fearful being, I beheld him, amid all the symbols of pollution and woe, with his heel upon the manacled form of American liberty, surrounded by crushed hearts, darkened souls, deflowered maidens, weeping Rachels, and lustful tyrants, issuing his mandates for the enslavement of a continent, swaying a sceptre of scorpions over his quivering -a sceptre of iron over his voluntary selfdegraded vassals, and with demoniacal exultation exclaiming, 'See how these Christians love one another!' There is nothing little about the system of American slavery. There is grandeur in the gloomy vastness of the colossal superstructure. Try to measure its circumference, and you fail. Let down the line into the horrid abyss, and you shall bring it up again, exclaiming, 'O, the depths! Try to count the grouns, and agonies, and sighs pressed by this system into every instant of time, and arithmetic shall fail you. Try to explore the future, and to grasp the issues of this system, and your imagination, weary and halting, shall give up in despair. Try to compute the value of one of the souls daily imbruted by this system. Put it into the scale against the material universe, and it shall proclaim the vast magnificence of unintelligent creation poor. Then try to compute the value of the slaves—past, present, and to come! Oh, there is a great work to be done in America! Christianity, pure and undefiled, has to be exhumed from the pulchre in which Slavery has laid her. The genius of Liberty has to be delivered from the bondage to which false republicans have consigned her. Mind, immortal, illimitable mind, waits to be spoken into life and freedom. The Bible waits to be sent upon its holy mission to those for whom it was especially designed. The Earth calls to be delivered from its blight and curse. Labor, now dishonored and infamous, waits to be redsemed, that it may become a blessing and a glory to him who tills the soil. Mo-rality, wounded, violated, struck down, has to be restored, and sent forth to teach with authority the duties and the rights of the human race. (Loud

On the motion of the Provost, a cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Thompson, shortly after which the meeting separated.

From the Cincinnati Herald. THE CHOCTAW CONVENTION.

The reverend and venerable Dr. Spring, of New York, has been greatly exercised by the action of the American Board with reference to the Choctaw Mission. He called a convention on the subject to meet in New York on the 7th inst. We learn from the Ecangelist of last week, that about twenty-five persons were present. Dr. Spring was called to the chair, and then appointed Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. This Committee presented, as a part of their report, the following :-

Resolved, 2. That on the subject of slavery, the Presbyterian Church have been, and are, and ought. ever to be, controlled by the example of Christ and his Apostles; and that there is no authority in the egards a slaveholder an outcast from the kingdom of Christ; that no church ought to be regarded as unchristianized because some of its members are slaveholders, and that such a principle is subversive of the very spirit of missions; and that of all methods of amelierating the evils of slavery, the most unwise and ineffectual is to deny to such a community that gospel which is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.

On this resolution a discussion arose, which de-

eloped somewhat fully the spirit and motive of the movement. We quote a few paragraphs from the Evangelist's report :-

Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, N. J., opposed the resolution, and wished it stricken out. He said: Let us simply endorse what our Executive Committee has done. We are not called upon here to canvass the propriety or impropriety of the American Board's action. It will produce useless agita-We must act discreetly, and many from New England and elsewhere will contribute. He had but little doubt but that the \$8,000 would be given entirely by those who had not heretolore been given entirely by those who had not heretolo ontributors to the Presbyterian Board. There were, however, differences of opinion on the subject of slavery in the churches, and it would be impolitic to enorse it thus without qualification.

Daniel Lord, Esq., took the same view, although he thought slavery, as a tutelage, was often a benefit to the inferior race. But there were men in the church who would regret the adoption of this resolution as an unqualified endorsement of the institution of slavery. All of our conservative men say, Let us have as little discussion on the subject of slavery as possible. Many of our churches contain a large proportion of New England men, of Scotchmen and Scotch Irish. Let us not light a torch or scatter fire-

brands among them.

Eleazer Lord thought that every man that comes nto the Presbyterian church knows, or ought to know, that we will not have discussion on this sub-The resolution was in accordance with the present views of the church. The being a slaveolder is not a matter of controversy or church recognition. It was high time that all abolitionists were

Dr. Spring thought it was entirely inconsistent to o back now. This meeting was not merely to raise funds, but to express views on this subject, and thus give an impulse to the mission cause, and to assist to liberal contributions generally. The American Board could endorse the first resolution; and he would not have taken the pains he had, if he had sup-posed a disposition would be manifested to stop there. The Presbyterian Church is called upon to take sides in this controversy. He was in no fear of its

Dr. Murray thought that the true policy was not to agitate the subject of slavery. The passage of this resolution would bring about this result. We should look at the subject in view of the pecuniary help needed, and the passage of this resolution would greatly lessen our prospects in New England and

A pastor from New Jersey said that there were strong abolitionists in his church, and they would be offended if this resolution endorsing slavery was

Dr. McElroy remarked that the passage of the resolution was simply a question of expediency. There was not a principle that all did not know the Presbyterian Church to hold to. There was nothing new. The question was whether the views should be thrown out at this juncture. He had bought and sold slaves, and under similar circumstances, record do a reason. stances would do so again. He preached the same

Daniel Lord moved that the resolution under consideration be laid upon the table. The motion was

lost by a decided majority.

Dr. Plumer moved an amendment, substituting the word 'condition' for 'evils,' as referring to

made aware of it. result on the churches, congregations, or General Assembly. These were all with them. He had nothing to do with the political bearings of the

slavery. He hoped the Convention would take no pro-slavery or abolition ground. He supposed they were merely to say to those in New England and other sections of the country, who have heretofore contributed to the American Board, but are now dissatisfied, that we are in a way to receive your aid, without annoying you with further agitation. He trusted they were not about to commence agitation on the subject of slavery.

Finally, a Committee was appointed to report upon the subject, consisting of Drs. Spring, McElroy and Halliday, E. Lord, Esq. and Daniel Lord, Esq., who subsequently reported the following among other resolutions, which were adopted :-

Resolved, 1st. That this convention recognize no standard of procedure in the great enterprise of Christian Missions but the instructions and con-

duct of Jesus Christ and his apostles. The course of the church in this great work i onward; but in her progress she requires the con-servative power and direction of heavenly truth and heaven'tly love. On this rock, and on no facti-tious principle of human policy, the cause stands,

and will prosper.

2d. That the Missions of the Presbyterian church have been, and ought ever to be, conducted on this principle; and that the existence of slavery in the community, and of slaveholders in the church, affords no ground for the withdrawal from them of the gospel, which is the wisdom of God and the power of God.

3d. That in their conduct of the Choctaw Mission, the beloved and honored missionaries so long and faithfully employed in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, have never departed from these great principles; and that in so modestly and firmly adhering to them at every sacrifice, they deserve our implicit confidence, and shall receive our hearty support and patronage.

THE HARPER'S FERRY AFFAIR.

Speech of George Sennott, Esq. pefore the Virginia Legislature.

The following is the substance of the argument made before the Virginia Legislature, by George Sennott, Esq., in favor of reprieving Stevens and Hazlitt, who were subsequently hung for having participated in the Harper's Ferry affair :

Mr. Chairman of the Senate Committee, Mr. Chairman of the Committee of the House, Gentlemen of both Committees :

As to the case: There are two prisoners. There were seven capital indictments all in vitality against them at one time-four against Stevens, the others against Hazlitt. On the first indictment Capt. John Brown was tried, and to it Stevens was forced to plead. Of that indictment, if the most strenuous study of the criminal law in its principles-if the greatest pains to understand how every species of indictment, complaint or information should be framed-and if the most careful and laborious reading of a great number of indictments, with a view to trial-if all these things give me an opportunity to judge, or a right to speak on the subject, I say that indictment was very bad. But your Court of Appeals thought there was enough of it good to hang Capt. Brown and his companions. Stevens, however, was supposed to be dying. He had five bullets in his body; he fell from fainting fit into fainting fit, and the Judge determined not to try him, when a message from the then Governor Wise proposed to transfer him to the Courts of the United States. Stevens had been brought in on a bed, and the people, who showed very little sympathy for the others. appeared deeply moved when the young man was Court-House floor. The case was not transferred, but only continued, and you know, gentlemen, better than I, what efforts were made here to have a special session in February, when the reg-ular session of the Circuit Court was to be as early as May. The law passed, and I was notified bythe newspapers! Gentlemen, I left my distant home at a very great disadvantage and loss; and when I arrived in Charlestown, I found the bad indictment nol prossed, as we call it, and three others, newly made, with all the errors cancelled which eleven lawyers had pointed out. I defended Stevens on the indictment for conspiracy. Two Virginia lawyers, Thomas C. Green and Lawson Botts, defended Hazlitt, and it gives me great pleasure to say, of my own knowledge, that a more eager, thorough, careful defence I never witnessed. It gives me the greater satisfaction to say so, because they were unkindly, and, I am sure, unjustly accused of collusion with the government in the case of Brown. I was disgusted to hear that. I did not believe it then. I feel now it was without foundation, since I saw what they did for Hazlitt. Hazlitt, however, was convicted, and so was Stevens-the first for murder, the second for conspiracy to make slaves rebel. In that case I thought, and think now, and I am sure that the evidence proved a conspiracy to run off negroes, and for that offence he should have been convicted. The Court, however, thought differently, and the

jusy followed the Court.
There are, then, two indictments remaining. One against Stevens for murder, and another for trasson; and one against Hazlitt for treason, and another for conspiracy. Let me now explain how I come before you, since the law gives you no power to sardon any crime but treason, and leaves all other perdoning exclusively to the Governor. The difficulty was raised the moment I arrived here ; but a tile reflection anables me to see that it is more apparent than real. I suggested that, even under the code, the Legislature magat recommend the pardon of criminals whom they could not pardon themselves. This was agreed to, and the result is that you are listening to me, for which I thank you.

But we do not propose to ask your good offices for too much. The state of public feeling here, I am informed, is not favorable for a full pardon. We are in the ground-swell after the hurricane. I could not help believing that such a request might be thought unreasonable as yet. So, having no power illuence of any kind, we thought it better to ask for a little, and get it, perhaps, through your kind-ness, than for much, and fail to get anything. Surely, we cannot mistake. Surely, the people of

Virginia, who might refuse a pardon, will not be inhuman enough to refuse a reprieve. This is all we ask you to recommend. I know the Governor will attend respectfully to any such recommendation. And Agron D. Stevens, for whom I ask a bare reprieve-only a few days longer of such light as a dungeon affords him, is not an alien foe, or a domes tic foe, or an enemy of any kind, but a young man of our own stock, handsome, powerful, youthful, in the first bloom of manhood—indeed hardly 28 years old! And he will be publicly strangled to death in eight days from now, if you do not recom-

mend him to mercy! Gentlemen, do it for humanity's sake! Do it for the credit of our common America! Do it for the honor of this grand old Commonwealth, and thank Heaven for the opportunity of covering with ever-lasting confusion those malignant philanthropists, who long for another death, that in every corner of the civilized world they may exhaust the resources of human language, and tire the tongue of the speaker, and blunt the pen of the writer, and wear out the pencil of the artist, in blackening and cursing the noble Virginian name! Do it, and the blessing of those who are ready to perish will fall upon each of you and his house! You can do it with a word—just one little word—Mercy: the word which is to die upon your own quivering lips when you enter with awful misgivings into the presence of Him who is to forgive as we forgive those who trespass against as we forgive them! Just one little which costs you but a breath to utter; and yet it is of that divine force that it will not only save two lives, but it will surely tranquillize a nation, and be the beginning of peace on earth and good will to men down to the remotest generations of American

The laws of Virginia must be executed, I am told. True, but permit me humbly to suggest to you a way to gratify your obedience to law and your humanity at the same time. A reprieve is a strictly legal transaction. Recommend it, and when granted, it will be as legal as a hanging, and ten thousand times more to your honor and advantage. At that you can retract. The Governor reprieves at his pleasure. Now, if you give us the North a chance, there may be a restoration of ancient good feeling. If not, you can hang your prisoner when you please. But the villanous peculiarity of capital punishment is, that, once indicted, you may regret it, but there is no remedy. On that ground alone all men hesitate to indict it, and the wiser and better men become, the longer they hesitate-and the wisest and best de cline to countenance it at all. Only the absolute necessities of self-preservation excuse, without justi-fying it to the leading minds of our time, whether

of Syria. I hear their thundering shouts, wills it! God wills it!' I see them pour into the Holy City a river of steel. I see their sad possession, and, strangest sight of all, I see their immense assembly, uncovered, unarmed, barefooted, kneeling, groaning with real anguish before the limit one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged with enormous crimes commonly entered to the fact that any one charged the fact that any one charge Son of God! I see them rise. I see them put on referred to numerous cases, such as the Jumperez the weighty armor. I see them draw the broad-case, the Lemoine case, and spoke of the sympathy

in the great mosque of Omar! cens would have had his golden spurs chopped from | and were your lovely and sympathetic ladies his heels with a cleaver, and would have been murderous because they unknowingly pitied him? hung on the nearest tree by the hands of his own You sympathized with O'Connell—did you desire a neighbors, for fatally felling the poorest Christian bloody revolution in the British Empire on that stock of his lance?

have always made this distinction, and History runs over with examples of it, which, it seems, I am obliged to call attention to this day. Allow me one more rather striking illustration of this distinction.

it went everywhere—no tongue was too tender to selves against us.
frame a curse, and no heart too feeble to throb with And you refuse to pardon Stevens because we be accursed of God. They ought to be exterminated comprehend it. —and he! he must be the agent of God's justice! Does public safety require these executions?

How he acted on that conviction, may be seen in Safety from what? A slave insurrection? I have the deadly hatred of L'Olonnois. Now, according not pardon any one connected with Brown on that to the plainest common sense, according to the die- account. Now, I know-first, from actually living A murderer! And yet Stevens, who, as it hap-up among slave children—if I had joined their pens, never killed a human being—for it is noto-childish sports as a child always will—if I had walked into this Commonwealth almost alone, did a wheat-stack, or had him beat me for running off nothing unusual, nothing to distinguish him, either with his murbles, or fought and made up with him inal. A man takes Harper's Ferry with twenty-one men, and actually remains there when he can some day; but I should as soon think of cutting leave, and captures and locks up men, just as if he his throat as of his cutting mine. No! the days of was a constable with a warrant, or a sheriff with a barbarism are over, unless you choose to reinstate asked, Don't you think him a common criminal? keep him what he is—your faithful, humble, lazy, I do not; I think him an extraordinary fanatic, useless and most burdensome slave. And if he were

without regard to his passion any more than to his be a Union meeting we could believe in! stature. The late Mr. Calhoun, for example, was a perfect fanatic. And yet, who ever heard him in the anatomy of our most distinguished Union say—who ever saw him do—one unpleasant, one saver to originate his circulation, might be fairly unbecoming, one passionate thing? No one. I supposed capable of expanding with something have not the slightest doubt that, for the later years more than muscular irritability in a Union-meeting of his life, his powerful but disordered mind imag- like that. ined itself to be thinking! Read his books, and you will find a most extraordinary state of things-a use, for instance, of the forms of demonstration not to be found outside of a book of geometry, and an application of them not to be imagined outside of Gen. Jackson, on the contrary, was not fanatical at all. If any man ever lived who saw things as they are, it was Gen. Jackson. But he was a passionate man. Mr. Calhoun, who wanted South Carolina to take the United States, never swore, probably, in the whole course of his dignified existence. Gen. Andrew Jackson, on the contrary,

swore a great deal during the early part of his not very dignified, but exceedingly useful life. Am I told that Brown slaughtered his own countrymen? If he did, Stevens did not. You say Stevens was prepared to help him. Perhaps; but the reply is as obvious as it is common-place. If the man fanatically attacks his own family, it is not Mind your own business. It is our turn now to cry that fact which makes the crime more horrid. It is

sibility! As to slaughtering his own countrymen, Washis an outrageous abuse of language to argue that it alone will probably bring about the cure for themdoes. Well, then, say the advocates of death, must and now help us by a good beginning on your side you turn a lion or tiger, an irresponsible wild beast. Your broken laws have been dreadfully avenged loose into the streets, and not kill it? Stevens, I The active invaders are nearly all destroyed. beast, and then, perhaps you lose; but it is certain that the most unprofitable use to be made of a man is to hang him.

am told it affects many. It is that the North sympathizes with these men, and that, therefore, they We are very apt to sympathize with almost anybody who is going to be hung. It is human to feel as we do. But if the sympathy goes any further, for though my own party always is so ' conveniently small' that you can have them all for acquaintances, yet, owing to some singular accident, the greater number of my personal friends are Aboli-

they lead in action or in speculation. Remember the case of Coppie—how he was hung for a letter, which turned out to be written by Cook—and how sorry everybody was when sorrow was unavailing!

If necessity alone can excuse it, how are we necessity alone can excuse it, how are we necessity alone can excuse it.

If necessity alone can excuse it, how are we necessitated? What overpowering force is upon us, that we do nothing but kill and kill? What obliges you to look with sickening heart upon hands smoking with the blood of a misguided boy? Ah! there is our case, gentlemen. He was misguided—he was deluded. Do not delude yourselves into the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer, or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the fatal belief that he was a common nurderer or a low criminal to the criminal to that he was a common murderer, or a low criminal. people who are not interested in slavery, to the No, nor any of his associates. It was no common murderer or low criminal that convulsed the State of Virginia. It is only belittling the Commonwealth to say it, if true, and trifling with our own dignity if we do not believe it when we say it. No! empty your Penitentiary into the street, and nobody but the prison guards will so much as chase the criminals. These men are fanatics. At the word, it is of dead contrained and loss of the for the incornegivable simplicity which except the results of the dead contrained and loss of the for the incornegivable simplicity which except the results of the street of the thousandth part of a drop of the mount of the thousandth part of a drop of the sweat of a negro, are its most absurd and offensive advocates. Ladies coming to see the prisoners, as ladies always will, were stared at through windows, publicly threatened, and advised to leave, in the country papers. A sculptor, who came in the interest of fine arts, hade to accomplish his object by stealth. But all this might never have been heard of the for the incornegivable simplicity which exthe veils of dead centuries are lifted, and I see a of but for the inconceivable simplicity which extremendous host sweeping down from their deserts upon terrified Christendom, like fire upon grass! I ticularly after the first reports came in. Now, if a see the awful eyes of Mohammed—the waving arm of Ali; I see the dreadful face of Khaled, black as night, easting the frown of death over kneeling Damascus. I see his bloody scimetar uplifted—I hear his inexorable voice, 'O, Christian dogs! say God and Mohammed is the Prophet of God, or ing? It is of no use, as I should think had been ing. It is of no use, as I should think had been in the strength of the streng instantly sink into the flames of hell.' And this ascertained by one Virginia gentleman—who underman, who could swim his war horse in the blood his took to contend with Mr. Bennett. It is very well own sabre had poured out, was he a murderer? Or known that artists, authors and reporters, et id was it a murderer who was all but worshipped for genus omne, are the most irritable of men, and acages, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Sea of Japan? Yet the very least of the slaves of his successors often treatment, they revenged themselves in their own slew more human beings in one assault than Stevens fashion. In a few days every town in the North, ever saw assembled together. from Portland in Maine to Portland in Oreg.

I look again, and behold the innumerable, invinciwas full of unfavorable notices of the people from Portland in Maine to Portland in Oregon, ble steel-clad swarms of the Crusade! I behold Charlestown. I desire it to be expressly under-Godfred, and Tancred, and Bohemond, and Hugh stood that I am not now finding fault with the prethe Great. I see them toil under the flaming sky cautions of the authorities, though they irritated of Syria. I hear their thundering shouts, God me greatly at the time. I am merely telling you

that once held the human body of the listed much sympathy, whether guilty or not bladed dagger and sway the two-handed sword, shown by ladies of Richmond for Prof. Webster and trample with bloody, remorseless cruelty, under — a stolid old wretch who cut up his friend's body their iron shoes, the hearts of distracted multitudes like a sheep, and went to tea with his family almost without cleaning his hands-a cool-blooded animal. Yet what school-boy does not know that the whose only regret at leaving life appeared to be Knight who had cleft the sculls of a hundred Sarathat he could have no more dinners from Parker's; camp-follower, in a moment of passion, with the account? But the case of Lopez, gentlemen, I particularly recommended to your reflections. He went The darkest as well as the most enlightened ages to Cuba exactly as Brown came here. He inflution between a common criminal and a fanatic. his force, as we hope you will the poor remains of A young Frenchman once read a small book, Las Capt. Brown's. And it is clear that if pitying Casas's account of the cruelties of the Spaniards to the Indians of America. It is a very remarkable book, gentlemen, in subject, style, and illustration, can count all the active Abolitionists, even in Bosfor it was full of pictures by the greatest masters of ton, on my fingers. I know they make much noise the then new art of engraving, and it had a circula-tion greater than the Waverly Novels, or the works sively noisy bird, and shricks, and scolds the entire of Mr. Dickens, or of Thackery, or of Dumas—enor- neighborhood from morning till night. But he is mously greater, if we consider the difference be- hardly a fair representative of the population of tween now and then in facilities of publication. that house, though he makes a greater disturbance Not all the soldiers of France, nor all the ships of than all of them put together. Neither do our England, struck such a blow at the power of Spain Abolition or Republican politicians represent to you as that one little book; for, wherever it went-and the feeling of our people-and yet you arm your-

hatred for the Spaniards. That book filled the wish you would! Gentlemen, this may be a rea-young Frenchman's heart with madness. A race, son, but it requires great practice in arguing about he thought, capable of cruelties so monstrous, must the Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 to enable one to

the bloody annals of the Buccaneers. Other men not thought you feared any. People at the North robbed the Spaniards, but blood alone could satisfy say you do, and go so far as to state that you dare tates of the most ordinary honest dealing, according to the dictionary and the Bible, and the shop, and the stable, and the street—what was this man? in a slave State, what the reciprocal sentiments of the slaves and their masters are. Secondly, I know and the stable, and the street—what was this man? rious that he actually hurt nobody-and who yet played hide-and-seek with a little black boy around in act or intent, from a common murderer or crim- over a hundred childish disputes-I might think writ, whom you obey, of course, unless you are them. Treat the negro as you do, and the kindness A man does this, and much more, and I am submissiveness and improvidence of his nature will and I think it is a wrong to hang him, as if he the fiercest savage of Africa, we are white men, and vere raving mad.

I am told, with much simplicity, when I say so, of the United States. For whatever you may think, that he cannot be a fanatic-he is so cool and shows or whatever politicians may say, we are all of onso little passion! Why, gentlemen, I hardly know mind on that and kindred points; and though I what remark to make; but I must answer, I sup- detest war, I think a small defensive war with some pose, so I will try. Passion, Mr. Chairman, is a foreign power might be useful just now, if it did matter of temperament. Many men who have not last too long. A union of the Massachusetts much passion exhibit very little, because they have Regiment and the Palmettos, under the orders of control or lack expression. Many who have not Col. Memminger, to defend this Capitol against a much, express all they have, and appear to have British incursion—or a union of the Green Moun-more than actually belongs to them. But fanaticism goes deeper than mere passion of any sort. It of Massachusetts transports loaded with weapons of is a disorder of the entire man, which makes him see the newest Yankee pattern, to arm the people of Sa things as they are not. It affects every kind of man, vannah and Charleston against the enemy, would

Even the muscle which must exist somewhere

Allow us to say what we please at home about slavery. Do not especially try to suppress any discussion, or to punish, directly or indirectly, those who discuss, as long as they do not meddle with your property. If they do that, punish them, and no one can object. We hate slavery, of course. But we need not talk, nor do we propose to talk, abolition to your negroes. There are times for all things. The science of physiology, for example, in all its branches, is eminently useful and proper to talk of-but not in general society. The bolition of slavery in like manner is a very important subject of discussion even here-but not s to a crowd of ignorant slaves. So long as we ob serve on our side that safe and proper rule of action, do you on your side take no liberties with our dis cussions. Let us alone-hands off, if you please, that fact which makes all the fanaticism which takes away the moral respon-undertake to keep us from saying so or thinking so out; and, however much we detest slavery, don' as long as we never meddle practically with you and yours. That meddling, foolish men, on both sides ington did that by the hundred, and expected to be have undertaken to interfere in practice with what hung as Brown was, if taken. No moral blame did not concern them at all, is the cause of all our whatever can attach to a fanatical outrage, and it difficulties. Letting each other's peculiar business answer, is not a beast, but a man. Kill your rocks, the river and the hungry gallows have de-beast, and then, perhaps you lose; but it is certain voured the blood of most of them, and the poor remnant is waiting in a dungeon the result of your But one charge which I have very, very often beard since I arrived here must be answered, for I your Virginian lips. Your Commonwealth owes its existence to an act of mercy.
Your founder, like my elient, was the invader of

ought to be hung! Leaving the exceedingly odd a people who had never harmed him; like him, he sequitur for a while, look the first charge in the was taken in an act of invasion; like him, he was face. If we do, can we help it? And is it wrong? tried with all the solemnities of savage law, as Stevens was under the forms of a civilized code like him, he was sentenced to death, according to that way, and you feel so yourselves just as often the profoundest maxims of those poor barbarians knew no better or safer way than always to yourselves are partly to blame for it. I have an kill all their enemies. But he was saved by Mercy excellent chance to know the feeling on both sides; incarnate in that sweet Indian maid, whose image glows through the twilight of history with all the loveliest hues of young romance! May the paralle not fail us here in its noblest part! May those r of my personal friends are Aboli-publicans. The surprise, then, was e Democrats were furious; and as for ahontas—remember their illustrious ancestress this the other side, I happen to know that Dr. Howe—
upon whom you are very severe, without in the
least knowing him—was as surprised as anybody.

At his instance we tried to gain time for the trial,
and at last, in consequence of an urgent letter frog
Brown to his Honor Judge Russell, we started for

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, APRIL 6, 1860.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery
Society will be held in the city of New York, in the Cooper Institute, on Tuesday and Wednesday, May er to Civita Vecchia—though other lines are laid 8th and 9th. The state of the country demands a full and spirited attendance of its members and friends. same place on Thursday and Friday, May 10th and Rome is done by hand; so is all the sawing! Agri-

THE FRENCH EMPEROR.

NAPOLEON III. IN ITALY: AND OTHER POEMS. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. New York: C. S. Francis & Co., 554 Broadway. 1860.

The following are the contents of this volume of 72 pages :- Napoleon III. in Italy; The Dance; A Tale of Villafranca; A Court Lady; An August Rome exports about one million pounds of wool a Voice; Christmas Gifts; Italy and the World; A Curse for the Nation. These effusions are crowded with those pictorial delineations, mystical yet pregnant expressions, lofty aspirations, strong imaginings, back and the belly, is devoted to the fine arts. I and deep thobbings of humanity, which characterize Mrs. Browning as the most remarkable poet of the age. 'What I have written,' she says in her preface, has simply been written because I love truth and justice quand meme, more than Plato and Plato's country, more than Dante and Dante's country, more even than Snakspeare and Shakspeare's country.' Is it not a strange moral paradox, that such a 'loyer of truth and justice' should regard the perfidious usurper of the liberties of France-whose hands are dripping with the best blood of the empire-as the true friend of Italian freedom and independence, bent on nothing but the highest and noblest objects for Europe and mankind? Thus does she extol him :-

'Nay, but he, this wonder, He cannot falter nor prate, (!) Though many around him and under, Distrust him in spirit and nerve Because his meaning is straight. (!) Measure him ere he depart With those who have governed and led: Larger so much by the heart, Larger so much by the head. Emperor Evermore.

Again, referring to the same French usurper :-'Courage, courage! happy is he, Of whom (himself among the dead And silent) this word shall be said : That he might have had the world with him, But chose to side with suffering men, (!)
And had the world against him when He came to deliver Italy. Emperor Evermore.

This is personal infatuation, as unaccountable as it s intense. How can the man who has subverted all profound contempt for productive industry which free institutions in his own country, and caused to be marks the South; and it has its support at the North torn down from the public gaze all the emblems and chiefly in the same contempt. Miss Diddlediddlewatchwords of freedom, be really interested in the diddle is descended from a blacksmith at Beverly or freedom of Italy, or of any other nation? What if Marblehead; he was grandfather to this foolish-thing; the wolf has put on the sheep's clothing for the hour she is ashamed of her origin, and never sees an anvil is he any the less ravenous a beast? Does it prove without a blush of mortified vanity. Now, if I had that he has lost his appetite for mutton?

But why brand him as guilty of perfidy and usurpation? Has he not been twice chosen Emperor by great painter, sculptor, or fiddler; and certainly I the suffrages of the people?

· Emperor, Emperor! From the centre to the shore, From the Seine back to the Rhine, Stood eight millions up and swore By their manhood's right divine So to elect and legislate, This man should renew the line Broken in a strain of fate And leagued kings at Waterloo, When the people's hands let go. Emperor Evermore.

Yet these eight millions were manifestly acting only as electoral puppets, under the pressure of violent constraint, and not as free and independent voters: else how happens it that the freedom of the press is struck down among them-that liberty of speech can be indulged only at the peril of imprisonment, ostracism or that no public meetings for free discussion can be held in any part of the empire-and that the power of the 'Emperor evermore' is absolute over all the There were seven paper mills in Massachusetts, a thoughts and movements of the people? This is her reply-referring to the day of election :-

That day I did not hate, Nor doubt, nor quail, nor curse. I, reverencing the people, did not bate My reverence of their deed and oracle, Nor vainly prate Of better and of worse Against the great conclusion of their will.'

Alas! it was a foregone conclusion, and not a free choice on their part! It was the liberty granted at the last Presidential election, in the slaveholding States of this country: whoever voted for John C. Fremont did so at the peril of his life! Such an election is a mockery.

Under what enchantment is this gifted woman laboring? Hear her once more :-

But now, Napoleon, now That, leaving far behind the purple throng Of vulgar monarchs, thou Tread'st higher in thy deed Than stair of throne can lead To help in the hour of wrong The broken hearts of nations to be strong,-Now, lifted as thou art To the level of pure song, We stand to meet thee on these Alpine snows! And while the palpitating peaks break out Eestatic from somnambular repose With answers to the presence and the shout, We, poets of the people, who take part th elemental justice, natural right, Join in our echoes also, nor refrain. We meet thee, O Napoleon, at this height

This would be admirable, if it were true; but it is the strangest mental hallucination! It forcibly suggests the scene between Bottom with his ass's head, and Titania, the Queen of the Fairies, waking from her sleep, in consequence of his braying :-Titania. What angel wakes me from my flowery bed? I pray thee, gentle mortal, sing again: Mine ear is much enamor'd of thy note. So is mine eye enthralled to thy shape,

At last, and find thee great enough to praise.'

And thy fair virtue's force doth move me, On the first view, to say, to swear, I love thee.' Bottom. Methinks, mistress, you should have little reason for that; and yet, to say the truth, reason and love keep little company together now-a-days: The more the pity, that some honest neighbors will not am glad to see the license law introduced to the New make them friends.

Titania. Thou art as wise as thou art beautiful. Bottom. Not so, neither; but if I had wit enough to get out of this wood, I have enough to serve

for the Liberty Bell, entitled 'A Curse for a Nation,' with reference to American Slavery, is worth the price of it many times. We quote three verses:-Because ye have broken your own chain

With the strain
Of brave men climbing a Nation's height, Yet thence bear down with brand and thong On souls of others,—for this wrong This is the curse! Write!

Because yourselves are standing straight In the state Of Freedom's foremost acolyte, Yet keep calm footing all the time On writhing bond-slaves, for this crime This is the curse! Write!

Go, wherever ill deeds shall be done-Go, plant your flag in the sun Beside the ill-doers! And recoil from the clenching curse Of God's witnessing Universe
With a curse of yours!
This is the curse! Write!

LETTER FROM REV. THEODORE PARKER, TO A PRIEND IN BOSTON.

Rome, Feb. 25, 1860. MY DEAR FRIEND: . It is curious to study the institutions of

Rome, and see how man decays here with such a

government. The people of the Roman States-

about three and a quarter millions-have one of the

out. The commerce is inconsiderable; manufactures almost nothing-all the spinning and weaving in culture returns to the rudest form; in all the fertile campagna about Rome, they get but one crop of grain from the land in three years; the rest of the time it lies fallow. The favorite work of agriculture once was to produce the vine, the olive, the fig, nuts and various grains. Now the farmer seeks chiefly the spontaneous product of the soil, grass, and on that he pastures his oxen, sheep and swine! But the labored products of the farm are on the decline. year. I think it is her chief export, and may be worth two or three million dollars. In the city, the find that last year, Rome sold old pictures to the amount of \$16,000, and new ones to \$134,000-say \$150,000 for pictures. She sold \$2000 worth of old sculpture, and \$230,000 worth of new. Then she exports cameos; mosaics, jewels, church ornaments, &c., to about \$500,000 a year. Perhaps we might say her industry in the fine arts brought her in \$1,000,000 in 1859. But the sale of these things is quite precarious, and depends on the number of strangers here. It is a hard time the poor artists have this year, when there are so few foreigners in town. It is curious to see the contrasts of niceness and rudeness in the same street. In a studio, men make statues of most exquisite grace and beautythe triumph of mind over matter; in a shop next door, others make the strong boxes to hold those statues: they put a log of wood on two clumsy horses, one man gets a-top, another underneath, and with a miserable old saw they cut the log into planks to make the box! (We don't make many statues in Boston, but a top-sawver is not known!) The elegant arts are held in high esteem, while the useful sink into neglect. It is curious to see how long it takes mankind to respect the industry which feeds and clothes, houses and comforts the human race. The work of ruling, of fighting, of 'saving the soul,' by some sort of hocus-pocus, this is thought decent and respectable; but farm-work, woods-work, shopwork, that is mean and debasing! Such is the notion that prevails in the classic writers of Greece and Rome, and with the 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' of New England to-day-I mean, with the ornamental males and females. Slavery is only supported by the

a son, I should rather he would be a great engineer, a great mason, carpenter, or railroad builder, than a should rather my son were an ordinary third-rate tailor, shoemaker, brazier, than an ordinary thirdrate sculptor to spoil marble and waste the time of men he strove to make statues of. How much better to be a common house-painter than a stupid dauber of canvass! In America-I mean, in the free States, the mass of the people, in their collective action, night. work right in respect to this-though uncounted individuals make the greatest mistakes; but herd it is the community as a whole that falls into the error. Alas for them! the miserable rags which are the clothing of the people, and the wretched food they eat, are consequences of the fatal blunder, and the haggard, melancholy faces of the common people, illhoused, ill-clad, ill-fed, are the protest of Nature against the worship of Beauty and the scorn of Use. of trinkets, while she has not a saw-mill nor a powerloom! We manage this matter better in New England. | place. foundry at Saugus, and saw-mills more than I can recollect, before a picture had ever been painted in all

to an American. Take the use of wine. If I am right, the Europeans consume about 6,500,000,000 gallons of wine. In France, leave out of account the pasture land which is not ploughed, and the forests, of the actual arable land, one-third is devoted to the culture of the grape! Yet there are immense districts where no wine can be raised at all. I see i stated that the government returns make it appear that the people of France drink 850,000,000 gallons of wine, and the calculation is that the amount is not much less than 1,000,000,000! Yet I don't believe, in the year 1859, there was so much drunkenness among the 39,000,000 people of France as among the 3,000,000 Yankees of New England! I have been four months at Rome; there are wine shops every where; I am out of doors from three to six hours a day, and I have never yet seen a man drunk : now and then one is merry, never intoxicated. The Romans, Italians, French, &c., are quite temperate; they drink their weak wine with water, and when they take liquors, it is only a little glassful at a time, (which does not make a spoon-full.) I don't believe there is a bar in all Italy where men step up and drink rum and water, gin and water, &c. Excessive drinking is not to the taste of the people. In the North of Europe, and even in Switzerland, it is not so. The English, without help from the Irish and Scotch, drink about 600 or 700,000,000 gallons of they take to wash it down withal. There is drunkenness. So you find it in Scandinavia, in Holland, and North Germany. How do you think the Americans will settle the drink question? Certainly not by taking merely to water, tea, coffee, &c. We shall have more beer, perhaps return to the making of cider, and certainly plant vines where they will grow. Drunkenness is such a monstrous and ghastly evil, I would do almost any thing to get rid of it. But I sometimes think we have taken the wrong track. I York Legislature, and think it will do more good than our New England scheme of prohibition by force.

many a useful notion before he made him a fiddle.

In Europe, you see many things which seem strange

So we have got a Republican Speaker of the The last piece in this volume, written originally House of Representatives at last! It is a great gain: all the weight of the Union must now incline from the Democratic party. I suppose Kansas may come into the Union this session, and that shameful quarrel be ended. But what violence on the part of slaveholders, what declarations that they will dissolve the Union if Seward is elected ! I wonder the Unionsavers at Boston and New York do not see what fools they make of themselves by professing zeal for the Union, while they so strike hands with the only men who attempt to destroy it. Just now, I see the South is rich, with her cotton crop worth \$200,000,000; while the North is poor-the grass crop short by 33 per cent. in 1859, and the grain crop poor for the last three years. I take it the West is greatly in debt to the East for goods sent forward, not to speak of money put into (wild-cat) railroads, into lands which will not soon be settled, and into city debt. some years to come; the people are very improvident probably review his position, and say, that the writ and wasteful. Such live lands and such slovenly

farming don't go well together. I wonder how much the slave States are indebted to the free, for advances on crops, for money lent on mortgage, and for goods sent forward. I estimate that out of the \$200,000,000 to be paid for the cotton crop, \$75,000. 000 have already been taken up by the South in advances, interest due, &c. I wish you would write me a letter—sometime when you have nothing else to do -on the financial relations of the South and the West with the East.

I see our exchanges with Spanish America amount to \$114,000,000 a year (1858), and am surprised at it—though some Americans treat it as 'contemption ble,' I think all the Spanish American exchanges of value (exports and imports) only make \$310,000, 000. Now, if we get more than a third, it is quite our share.

Just now, the two prominent nations of Europe are doirg a great work-introducing a liberal scheme of commercial intercourse. Really, Napoleon tha little, as we used contemptuously to call him, some to be the most statesmanlike head in Europe, and a far wiser than the other Napoleon, who broke wick. edly with the ideas of the age, and so properly was set down on that little rock at the end of the world. to point the moral of history and adorn its tale. I dislike much that Napoleon has done, but must confess an honest admiration for his efforts to liberate Italy, and to advance the industrial interests of France. After all, it is probably true that his nation deserves no better rule than he gives it, and is not capable of more liberal institutions. Those Celtic people have got EQUALITY; the old aristocratic regime is perished utterly; all depends on universal suffrage; Linguity is something they care little about. A strange prople are the French-with so much military courage, and no civil courage at all. I don't see how they could live under a Republican government—one like ours, I am sure, would be impossible.

Truly and faithfully, yours, THEODORE PARKER

SLAVE CASE IN PHILADELPHIA PHILADELPHIA, April 1, 1850.

MR. EDITOR-My knowledge of the classics is him. ited, but I think it was Sysiphus who was engaged in the entertaining employment of rolling a huge None up hill, which, just as it reached the top, would slip from his grasp, and come thundering down again. Very disheartening and discouraging to the roller that must have been! Somewhat similar to this is the work of abolitionists, especially those of us who are so unfortunate as to have our lines cast in this unpleasant State of Pennsylvania. We thought, last fall, when public opinion forced a favorable decision in the 'Daniel Webster' slave case, that we saw at least the top of the hill, up which we have been so long urging our weary way. It may be we did; but, to some of us, just now, it looks as far off as if we were still standing at the bottom. And were it not that, in a work of this sort, there can be no backward steps,-our seeming defeats being made victories,we would indeed have cause to despair; for we have seen within the last week, another victim sacrificed under a Law, that was part and parcel of those beneficent measures ' which Mr. Seward says gave peace

You have, doubtless, seen the particulars of this case; so I will not enter into them in detail. But as every attempted reclamation of a fugitive becomes more and more important, inasmuch as they are practical tests of the growth of Anti-Slavery feeling, it is well to give the leading facts connected with these cases as wide a circulation as possible.

The alleged fugitive, in this instance, 'Moses Harner,' claimed by a man named Butler, from Jefferson County, Virginia, was arrested on Monday last, near Harrisburgh, and brought to this city that

When within a few miles of the city, a collision took place, which threw the cars off the track over an embankment, and came very near cutting short the career of the slave-hunters, and averting the doom, worse than death, of their victim.

The accident prevented their arrival in the city at the usual time, so that our friends, who had been made aware of the arrest, by a telegram from Harrisburgh, were foiled in their efforts to secure an inter-Think of a city exporting one million dollars' worth | view with the man that night, and obtain information as to the time when his hearing would take

The affair had been managed so secretly, that the next morning, the public knew little or nothing about it. It was ascertained, however, that a hearing would take place at 10 o'clock before Judge Cadwallader of New England, or a statue made. Jonathan had the U. S. District Court. At the appointed time, the parties met; the claimant being represented by Benjamin H. Brewster, who evidently desired to add to the reputation he achieved in the Webster case -George H. Earle, R. H. Warriner, and others appearing for the slave. The defence insisted upon having time to prepare their case, and the Judge having made up his mind as to his ultimate decision and to secure the merit of giving a fair trial, granted their request. So the case was adjourned until 1 o'clock of the same day. When the court again met, the defence having no witnesses, made their stand upon the invalidity of the claimant's certificate, in consequence of erasures and alterations. And if the Judge had wanted to defend liberty half as much as he did to serve slavery, he would have sustained them in their objection. But he decided otherwise. The defence then had no alternative, other than to abandon the case at once, or to remain in it, and throw all the obstacles possible in the way of the claimant. They chose the latter course, and succeeded by motions, and arguments upon them, in delaying the case, and securing a postponement until the next day, Wednesday. By this time the excitement was very much increased, although, to the shame of the city, it was confined chiefly to colored people, and those among the whites who are known as Anti-Slavery. The court room was crowded, besides large numbers on the street. When the decision of the Judge was given, remanding the man into slavery, there was an attempt to 'cheer' by Market-street 'drummers,' Southern students, and other Democrats who were present, but it was a failure.

Mr. Earle, whose devotedness and ability in this, as in other cases, cannot be too highly praced, determined to resort to all expedients in behalf of his client, and to make his capture as difficult as possible, procured a writ of Habeas Corpus from Judge Allison of the Court of Common Pleas of this city, upon Marshal Yost, commanding him to produce the colored man the next morning, (Thursday,) at 10 o'clock, and show cause why he should not be set at liberty.

This step caused much excitement smeng those who have the Union and the Constitution in their special charge, as it boded a conflict between ine State and Federal authorities. This would, doubtless, have been the case, if Judge Allison had been coursgeous enough to maintain his position. The Marshal came into Court the next morning, and made answer, that his duty toward the U. S. Court would not allow him to obey the writ, and, consequently, he had sent the man South the night previous! Whereupon, instead of committing him at once for contempt, the Judge stated that, had he known all the circumstances, (thereby implying that Mr. Earle had suppressed some of the facts,) he probably would not have issued the writ, and would prefer that, instead of a motion to commit for contempt, the question should be argued as if upon the original motion to grant the writ! The matter was then postponed until yesterday, when it was argued without coming to a conclusion, and was then adjourned for a week; when (if it does not die a natural death in the mean time) the Judge will ought not to have been granted,

Then, sgain, there was the witness for the slaveesteber, who had volunteered his services2 one Harper, originally from Virginia, now a dry-goods clerk is a house in this city. When asked how long he had known the prisoner, he replied, "All his life; we played together as children.

The only pleasant feature of this whole business was the brave attempt at a rescue, made immediately after the decision of the case. There was quite a growd of colored people collected on the street, and when the poor fellow was brought down in irons, they-could control themselves no longer, and a desperate rush was made upon the carriage, the pole of which was broken to pieces, the traces cut, and it run on to the sidewalk, where the work would have been completed, had it not been for the exertions of an ererwhelming force of armed policemen. As it was, it was only after the most desperate efforts that they were able to drive the crowd back, and place the man in another carriage. He was then taken to prison, surrounded by some three hundred officers, all with recolvers in their hands. Some of our friends find fault with this attempt, thinking it ill-timed and imprudent. Imprudent, of course, it was-such things always are; but it was a spontaneous ebullition of feeling, and that is always good; it was bravely and generously manifested, and that is always good. None of the men arrested were armed, I beleve, so it is evident there was no desire to take life. But knowing as they did that the officers were armed, ther imperilled their own lives in a brave attempt to rescue a fellow-creature from the horrible doom of American slavery. Their act needs no defence, if what Montaigne says is true, that . whatever is brave-Is sever honorably done, at a time when justice is

PHYSICAL RESISTANCE AND 'NON-RE-SISTANCE.

These terms, referred to human action, express polin or mode, not quality or principle. The quality is rosdness; the principle is 'to give to every one his due-to hurt no one-to live honestly ; if any thing fusher can be demanded, to do good to all in love. To this, both the resistant and the non-resistant may heartily subscribe. They stand together as to quality

As to policy or mode, they differ; and to what extent? Both say, Love all-hurt none-do good to all. Both agree to hate bad conduct-to hurt under certain circumstances and for certain ends-to hurt mentally, to hurt physically, for mental ends, for physical ends. The sick and bruised must be healed, the mad, the sinful restored. Hurting and wounding are tometimes justifiable for this end. "The ends justify the means,' say both. Of course, both say is with a limitation, just as both say, 'Hurt r one.' Both justify the use of physical force in certain cases and modes, to a certain extent. The non-resistantesays, 'Hold that madman !'- Shut up that thief, that murderer! '- Restrain that furious boy!' "Use physical force, but use no more than is necessary ; don't take the sword in any case ; don't take any deadle weapon.' The resistant says, 'The sword, in certain cases, is the least hurtful and the only effectual means of restraint; we must therefore take it.' Both employ moral and physical resistance, to a certain extent; but in the more desperate cases, where the moral is less effectual and the physical the more becessary, one drops all physical means, and trusts wholir to the moral; the other communes the moral, and takes up the more effectual and severe physical means. For example: here is a large boy pounding a small one. He is too furious to listen to reason. Both say, 'Take him off.' Both do it by physical face. He now draws a revolver or a knife, and threatens to kill. The non-resistant pleads to no degree of violence is necessary, throws himself upon the small boy; the large one knocks him off, and continges his injury to the small one. The resistant knocks down the furious large boy, and disarms himthen employs his moral means. Again: The slaveholder, with his defenders, has

his victim. The non-resistant pleads, demands, protests, denounces, perhaps gets knocked over, while the slaveholder continues his tyranny. But the resistant pleads, demands, protests and kills the slavehelder, or overcomes him by the necessary force; then, the victims freed, he uses the moral means to convert the tyrant.

Neither of these cases implies any less love, any less maral power, any less good to all, any more hurt to any-in the conduct of the resistant than in that of the non-resistant. Who in our day has exhibited more genuine love to all men, more moral power, and cut, a blow that kills, does not necessarily hurt, in tome men to strike off their heads. I think no one could do me a greater favor, a greater good, in the end, than to stop my killing or enslaving an innocent man, even by taking my life, if there were no other means. I say to all, when you find me in the position of a pirate, a robber, a slaveholder, cut me down, if there be no other way to stop me. And as I would have you do to me, may I not do to you? The Golden Kule-the highest conceivable rule of action, does not forbid killing. The mother who loves ber boy as only a mother can, may kill him, if there be no other possible way to stop his killing all her daughters, and the little ones in her arms. It is her duty to kill him, if she see no other possible alterhative. But no man has a right to touch even a hair of his enemy's head, except the necessity of circumstances, in his judgment, requires it for good. No man has a right to hurt, to the least degree, for revenge or retaliation, in any sense. Without his conaent, no one has a right to commit the least temporaty encroachment upon another, except some mental incapacity exist, or some rights of others are invaded, so as to forfeit all the offender's claim to respect in that capacity and position. I would kill the slavehalder only because, under the circumstances, he has not only forfeited all right to life, but made it my imperative duty to kill him, not for his hurt, but for his victim's good. This sentiment, more strongly ex-

pressed, I have just read in the Liberator of to-day,

under the following heading : ' The Right and Duty

of Invasion and Insurrection to Free States.' The THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE 'HIGHER resolutions which followed, and the remarks, were all true to this title, but at the close, I was surprised to see the name of that well-known nonresistant, HENRY C. WRIGHT. I turned back, and re-read the article again and again, to see what it er law are reminded that our government had its meant. I read -

Resolved. That slaveholders, as such, have no rights.
Resolved, That any law or Constitution, any relither right of appeal to that law is a revolutionary

RESISTED. Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the

These resolutions, I think, must have been drawn by Henry C. Wright, the noted non-resistant. At any rate, he endorses them, for he says, 'I do not think there was one in the audience who dissented.' Have human beings a right to defend themselves and their fellows against all who would enslave them, and hold, use and work them as besats and chattels? No one doubts it: and it is the very basis of the Naby killing the enslaver. . . So should the people and States of the North enter the slaveholding States to defend their fellow-beings against appalling wrongs and outrages.' What means this non-resistant adfor me, RESISTANCE FOR YOU. How clearly our duty in this case is set forth by the words of Jesus concerning those in his time, who would not move one which tyrants and usurpers have ever scouted-to a for they say and do not."

Not unlike Henry C. Wright is S. S. Foster, the Non-Resistant Insurrectionist. Take your two ams. swords, your revolver, your broomstick, your bundle of small cords, anything you can best use, and I will land, surrounded by all the sanctions of legislative, take my non-resistant pen and tongue, and let us go hence to the slaveholder, and stand shoulder to shoulder in the conflict,' says this noted non-resistant. Others say, 'We can't use carnal weapons, but we will | Courts had enforced it. However obnoxious this do. All, with one or two exceptions, make a saint that its supporters were numerous and powerful. The great work.' Well, then, a man does not necessarily in the U.S. House of Representatives, June 11, 1852, physical. It is admitted that no man, in so short a constitutionality of the "Alien and Sedition Laws" time, has so effectually wrought against slavery as came up in her Legislature, voted unanimously, in a John Brown. What is the secret of this? Had he full house, 137 members being present, and unanithe greatest moral power of all anti-slavery men? If mously in the Senate, that those laws were clearly he had, then be it admitted that a fighting man has constitutional, and, in the then critical condition of exhibited more moral energy than any non-resistant could not co-exist and co-operate.

I think it is perfectly evident, almost to a blind man, that John Brown's rifle made an occasion for does take it. I find no fault with him or other non- fines of the sufferers, and releasing them from prison. resistant Abolitionists, because they are not other-Also, to show that this change of policy, involving no quality or principle, does not imply a letting down change, and I doubt not many more will do so.

Cambridge, Feb. 25, 1860. J. H. FOWLER.

his party, that party seemed to me to have lost all its and worship a golden image; and that it was as much distinguishing virtues, and to have become a worthless my duty to arrest its execution in every stage, as it

My friend could not see things in that light. He thought the original ends and alms of the party were every instance, without asking what the offenders had not lost sight of by its leaders, and would be faithfully done, or against whom they had offended, but whether adhered to by Mr. Seward, in the event of his exaltation to the Presidency. And he proceeded to point out the various passages in Mr. Seward's former specches, that defended the highest purposes ever ster, hast thou not, ere now, hunted up this 'rub-aclaimed by the party in its days of outspoken radical- dub' fanatic, and rehearsed to his 'prejudiced' ears ism. He was sure that the repeal of the Fugitive some of those denunciations of the laws of God, amid Slave Law, and an attempt for the restoration of the the echoes of which you passed to that realm where Missouri Compromise, would be among the first events of Mr. Seward's administration. The Fugitive Slave constitutions, who dare not look Absolute Right full Law Mr. Seward had most unequivocally placed un- in the face, who are never sure a thing is just till der the ban of the 'Higher Law;' while in his antipurpose, but lets go his hold because he sees too great Nebraska speech, he had notified the South that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would itself be on any account to sneeze, till rousing and sonorous up for future legislation.

the absolute sense. It may be the best thing for for the sure and certain overthrow of slavery in the try honors his memory, and will keep it green forever !

ery as base and contemptible as it is pernicious.

safe for them to vote for Mr. Seward!

A. HOGEBOOM. SHEDS CORNERS, N. Y., March 20th, 1860.

published in a neat tract.

sulting in the choice of a Republican Governor, a Re- joy, which shall be to all people. • • Glory to God publican Senate and House, and thus securing the in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men.' election of another Republican U. S. Senator.

LAW.

A LESSON PROM HISTORY.

MR. GARRISON- When the contemners of the highorigin in the practical recognition of the supremacy of that law, they are in the habit of replying, in sub-stance— We admit the truth of the statement; but gion or government, that accords to slaveholders any right; a revolutionary right can be rightfully proand eager for revolution, having first exhausted all people and States of the North to invade [this word other means of redress.' We might pause to inquire is printed in italics, as here; the slaveholding States, to free the slaves, and annihilate the power that enhigher law; if each man is to wait for his neighbor to speak first, till, by and by, a majority of the whole shall all speak at once! Or, the abstract right of a people to revolutionize being conceded by our opponents, this right of the whole body must inhere in each individual member of that body; the right of the whole to revolutionize being therefore the right of the individual, it needs no argument to demonstrate that, of necessity, each man-each member of the commutional and State governments, that they may do this nity-must be his or her own judge in regard to the time when a revolution should be sought.

But we desire to waive, at this present writing, all such considerations as these. We wish to invite the attention of the revilers of the Higher Law-that law, vocate of resistance? Simply this - Non-resistance the faithful subjects of which have given to humanity all its glory, and to history all its value-that law which the bravely good of all ages have honored, and of their fingers: 'Whatsoever they bid you observe, fact of American history, which they may have forthat observe and do, but do not ye after their works, gotten, or not sufficiently considered. I allude to the course pursued by Thomas Jefferson, in relation to the odious 'Sedition Law' of his predecessor, John Ad-

This law, be it remembered, was the law of the executive and judicial authority which attached to any other law in the statute-book. Congress had enacted it, the President had approved it, and the cast bullets, we will do any thing to sustain those who law may have been to a particular party, it is certain of John Brown. Some say, his moral power did the lamented Robert Rantoul, Jr., in a speech delivered lose his moral power by taking up and using the makes the statement that New Hampshire, when the our country, highly expedient,' So much for the of the age, and have done with this parade of moral popularity of the law, though, of course, the action of force in contrast with physical, as though the two New Hampshire was an exceptional case in its favor. Under its operation, men, in different parts of the country, were prosecuted, fined and imprisoned.

Now, to this law Thomas Jefferson was bitterly ho his moral power to act. His physical energy, ap- tile. He pronounced it unconstitutional; and not only plied in the form of hold resistance, made an opening, so, but so grossly unjust and arbitrary, so contrary to and gave him a sposition, so that he could use his his idea of the rights of man, and the spirit of our inmoral force. Without this use of the physical, the stitutions, that it was entirely unworthy of toleration, moral would never have accomplished any thing wor- and deserved only to be trodden under foot. With thy of special note. One day of Garrison, morally, these opinions he entered upon the duties of his office, is worth as much as one day of John Brown, morally; and was hardly warm in his seat before his action in itself, worth ten times more, because, without the most rigidly corresponded therewith. He would not physical, John Brown would never have been heard wait for Congress to undo its work. He preferred from, but with it, he has done more in a day than the shorter process of undoing it for them. In every Garrison could do in a year without it. Yet, as I instance of the execution of the Sedition Law, he inhave before said. I do not ask or desire that Mr. Gar- terposed the executive prerogative, by ordering the rison should take the rifle. It is enough that he so prosecutors to be arrested at the threshold, or, if well appreciates and nobly endorses the man who judgment and execution had passed, by remitting the

It may be said that, having the pardoning power in wise, much less, because they make no issue with the premises, the President had a constitutional right those who are otherwise. My object in this article to act as he did. Whether the power to pardon has been simply to show how nearly the true non-includes the right to arrest judicial proceedings beresistant and his ally, the resistant, agree, and to give fore judgment has been passed, we will leave for the some few considerations which have induced me not lawyers to discuss. The constitutionality of his proto change my principles, but to change my policy. ceedings, however, did not pass unchallenged. It is upon Jefferson's reply to these criticisms that we would fix the attention of the reader, as given in an or going back from a higher position. I have changed answer to a correspondent in Massachusetts, who had my policy, because I think the times demanded the questioned the constitutionality of the President's interference. We can give but a brief extract:-

But another fact is, that I liberated a wretch who was suffering for a libel against Mr. Adams. - I do not In conversation with an intelligent Republican, Mr.
Seward's late speech in the Senate became the topic.
I observed that if that speech indicated the policy of pulpable as if Congress Lad ordered us to fall down the speech indicated the policy of pulpable as if Congress Lad ordered us to fall down the speech indicated the policy of pulpable as if Congress Lad ordered us to fall down the speech indicated the policy of pulpable as if Congress Lad ordered us to fall down the speech indicated the policy of pulpable as if Congress Lad ordered us to fall down the speech in the Senate became the topic. would have been to rescue from the fiery furnace those who should have been cast into it for refusing

There is 'Higher Law' for you! Shade of Webthose laws alone are supreme? To persons of timid sume, did not, in their early life, permit themselves repealable, and for that purpose would probably come echoes proclaimed a precedent; to such as these, the language, and much more the action, of Thomas Jef-I suggested that, from the tenor of Mr. Seward's ferson is full of instruction and encouragement. In late speech, he regarded the Union as quite too sacred at least one case, the President of the United States to be exposed to the agitating influences that would recognized the higher law, and the heavens did not necessarily result from any such adhesion to formerly fall. He interposed the whole power of his official declared principles. My friend said that if I would prerogative, to save men from the penalties of a law scan closely Mr. Seward's speech on the Nebraska he held to be unconstitutional and unjust, and the Bill, I would find that he contemplated the perpetua- wheels of government did not stop. He nullified an tion of the Union, for the overthrow of slavery by the enactment of Congress, and, overleaping the lime of federal power. He said Mr. Seward had then stated separation between the executive and judicial departmost explicitly, that Freedom and Slavery were an- ments of the government, interfered with the legal tagonistic elements in this government, and that, un- operation of a legally established statute, and, strange der the wgis of the Union, one or the other must in- to relate, all law was not brought thereby into conevitably cease; and then, plainly enough, to his mind, tempt. Finally, scorning to defend or justify his hinted that the doom of destruction was written by course on constitutional grounds, with one magnificent the finger of fate on the 'peculiar institution.' He bound he leaves behind him all the arts of the polireally hurt any one less, than John Brown? A sabre had no doubt that, if Mr. Seward were made Presi- tician, all the tricks of the demagogue, and sits royally dent, he would faithfully wield the executive power upon the throne of the Eternal Right-and his coun-

Ten years ago last September, the Congress of these Then, said I, Mr. Seward's last speech is a most nominally United States passed a law, (so called,) in elaborate effort to conceal from the South any such comparison with which the Sedition Law of John purpose, and would be an example of political chican- Adams was as white as snow. Nobody now says the Sedition Law was constitutional. Nobody will cen-But, continued my friend, apologetically, a deal of sure Jefferson for having nullified it. But where is finesse is absolutely necessary, now-a-days! Mr. the man, who, as President of the United States, will Seward is an excellent tactician, and his success de- travel to the extent of his power to annul the inpends very much on his pulling the wool over the famous Fugitive Slave Act? Who will be our 'illuseyes of the South! Those most in the secret of Mr. trious Jefferson'? It is our firm conviction that the Seward's management understand all this, and can President, who, daring to be the Jefferson of our day, heartily assure emancipationists that it is perfectly would trample under foot the Fugitive Act; pronounce it a nullity, no more sacred or binding than the law that inaugnrated Nebuchadnezzar's image; as being only a pretence of law-would be sustained by the bulk of the nation, and with a renown as much bright-'THE NON-RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE.' Our last page or than Jefferson's, as the Fugitive Act is more atrois entirely occupied with a very lucid and most time- cious, (to say nothing of its glaring unconstitutionally exposition of 'The Non-Resistance Principle,' by ity,) than the Sedition Law. Alas! we discern no Mr. C. K. Whirple, showing its application in the prognostics of such a hero. A few years ago, Wiltreatment of enemies and oppressors. We commend liam H. Seward would have been hailed as the manit to the careful perusal of our readers, and to the Now he is far more likely to prove a Herod, or a Pilate, consciences and judgments of all. It will be speedily than a Prophet. Howbeit, we will watch and pray; peradventure, through the thick darkness that overshadows our plain, the vigilant, patient shepherds of CONNECTIONT ELECTION. The annual State Elec- humanity will by and by hear the thrilling messagetion took place in Connecticut on Monday last, re- Fear not, for behold I bring you glad tidings of great

E. R. PLACE.

ONE WORD IN REPLY TO MR. FOSTER. DR. CHEEVER'S GREAT WORK. Mr. Foster feels the necessity of an anti-slavery organization in politics. (1.) And what true friend to the slave does not? But in what manner, under the Federal Government, can this be effected, when we are required to venerate law and care nothing for justice, before we can enter even the smallest constitu-

tional door of this government, and thus become en-

slaved mentally in the outset? The only distinction I find between a mental and chattel slave is this-the mind of the one controls the body, while the body of the other controls the mind; or the master tries hard to have it so, as with the

Mr. Foster, against this snare I would warn you! Now you are nominally free, and can, as heretofore do great good to the slave. But this matter of freedom is the point to which I wish to draw your attention, as I had no opportunity to reply to you on the

You say you are free. I think you are not, neither can you find one foot of free soil on your farm. If contains a thorough analysis of the Mosaic laws of so, it is slave soil on which your brother fugitive can domestic service, as well as of tributary subjection be hunted down. True, you are free to resist the and of the national history in illustration of the laws marshal, and he is free to invade. You are free to The learned author has spent years of research upon this defend your soil, house, family, and the fugitive; but work, and it is without doubt the ablest effort of his you are not free to escape the pains and penalties. life, and the most thorough demolition of all pro-sla-Therefore you are not absolutely free-only nom- very arguments, based upon the Scriptures of the inally so.

That we may keep ourselves unspotted from this inhuman government, let us work shoulder to shoulder by the most powerful outside crushing pressure and under the most equitable motto, . No Union with THOMAS P. KNOX. Slaveholdera.

(1.) See proceedings of a meeting held in the Meionaon, on the 16th ult., as reported in the Liberator of 30th ult.

THE USURPATION OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE! -The undersigned offers the following Prizes-\$200 for the best Legal Essay, and \$100 for the best Popular Essay-on the following Questions, viz.:-

1st. In what, if any, cases does the Constitution permit the Senate of the United States to coerce witnesses for information, to merely aid the work of legis-

2d. In what, if any, cases does the Constitution permit the Senate of the United States to seize and force witnesses from their States, to merely aid the work of legislation?

3d. In what, if any, cases does the Constitution

permit the Senate of the United States to inquire into alleged crime, to merely aid the work of legislation? The Essays must not exceed 40 pages octavo, long primer type, and are required by the Committee (whose address will be published hereafter) on the 1st day of June, 1860. The award will be announced on

Or before 1st July following.

Papers of all parties and of no party, but who favor fair play and free discussion, are respectfully solicited to publish this notice. The Essays will be sent to all who send me marked copies of their papers containing the above. Address 'Care of Army Box 699, Georgetown, D. C.'

THADDEUS HYATT. Washington Jail, March 28th, 1860.

South.—The following paragraph, says the Hyannis Messenger, clipped from a Baltimore paper, and sent us by a friend, will be of special interest to the people of Hyannis, inasmuch as Capt. Josiah Parker is a citizen of this place, well known, and highly esteemed by the whole community. It is a poor rule that don't work both ways. If Hyannis sea captains may kid-nap black men and send them into slavery, why may not Southerners kidnap white children for the same purpose? This event brings the question of human liberty a little nearer to public comprehension than the kidnapping of Columbus Jones did,—that's all! The principle is the same, - only this time 'it is your BULL that gored MY ox: '-

On Wednesday afternoon, as two children of Cap-ain Josiah Parker, of the Savannah Steamship Line, iving on Spring street, opposite the Eastern Fountain, iving on Spring street, opposite the Eastern Fountain, tain Josiah Parker, of the Savannah Steamship Line, living on Spring street, opposite the Eastern Fountain, were playing in front of the house, they were approached by an old woman, who engaged them in Terms conversation. She then suddenly picked up the youngest a boy between two and three years old, and walked off rapidly towards Pratt street, from whence she turned into an alley near Caroline street. Her actions were observed by a boy in the neighborhood, who followed her, and caused her to release the child.

PORTRAIT OF HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS .- The New York Evening Post says, that on an easel in Huntington's studio is a nearly finished likeness of the Hon Joshua R. Giddings. It is the work of Miss Ransom, a pupil of Mr. Huntington, and was commenced nearly a year ago at the city of Washington. It is a strong likeness of the veteran, and, in an artistic point JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. of view, is highly complimentary to the lady artist. It will grace the walls of the Academy at the coming exhibition. Miss Ransom is a native of Ohio, and from the same county with Mr. Giddings. talents, we think, are of a high order, and we venture to predict for her a successful future career.

EXPERIED NEGROES GOING TO CANADA,-The Detroit Tribune states that a party of thirty negroes, expelled from the States of North Carolina by the inamous law reducing all free negroes to slavery or driving them from the State, crossed the river into Canada, the home of oppressed Americans, on Friday. The Tribune remarks:— This is Christian civilization in America to-day. And presses are found in plenty to rejoice at this rankest act of injustice, to defend it and urge it forward.'

COLLIERY EXPLOSION .- EIGHTY LIVES LOST .- On the 2d of March, a fearful catastrophe happened by an explosion of gas in Burradon Colliery. Northum-berland, England. About 120 men and boys were at work in the pit, 80 of whom perished from the stifling effects of the choke-damp.

Spencer DeWitt's house in Oxford, Iowa, was burned on the evening of the 2d ult., while he and his wife were at church, and their three children (two girls and a boy, aged nine, five, and three,) perished in the flames. No one reached the house until it was in flames, and a voice, supposed to be that of the oldest girl, was heard once crying 'mercy.'

TEN PERSONS BURNT TO DEATH. - NEW YORK, March 28th.—A fire this morning in 45th street, de-stroyed a dwelling, and burnt to death ten persons, The wife and four children of Andrew Wheeler. and the wife and four children of Mr. Bennett.

The Alabamians are stirred up by a corresndent of the Mobile Herald to demand Bennett of the New York Herald for trial and death. He exclaims: 'Is it right that this head chief of the Abolitionists should go scot free? No; To let the Governor of Alabama claim this man for trial. Let him demand the body from Gov. Morgan. Take Bennet South. Procure a copy of the Herald for the past TUST PUBLISHED: a pamphlet of 36 pages, by twenty-five years, and try him for that. If guilty put him to death. Why should a mean soul like Bennett escape, when his superiors, John Brown, Coppic, Stevens & Co., are put to death?

RECEIPTS

nto the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Feb. 1 to April 1, 1860. Collections by Charles C. Burleigh, in. Western Mass.

West Farms, 84c : Leeds, 65c ; Norwich Hill, 98c; Chester Factories, \$2 88; Middle-field, 1 47; Goshen, 33c; Hatfield, 1 16; Whately, 1 43; South Deerfield, 1 44; Decrfield, 1 90; Conway, 1; Ashfield Flat, 2 20; Ashfield Plain, 96c; Spruce Corners, 41c; Plainfield, 1 08; Hawley, 66c; Buckland, 1 16; Shelburne Falls, 1 58; West Whately, 1 65—

From S. May, Jr. For additional collections at annual meeting, Andrew M. Howland, to redeem pledge,
Richard P, Hallowell, "
C. Perry, West Needham, donation,
Proceeds of Twenty-Sixth National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary, Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen, a donation, 100 00

Mrs. E. M. Randall, for proceeds Fair in Ab-ington, December, 1859, Do. do. do. Levee in do. February, 1860, 100 00 EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer. Boston, April 2, 1860.

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massa-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as fol-Sunday, April 8. Wednesday, " 11. East Templeton,

Winchendon, Fitzwilliam, N. H.,

The Guilt of Slavery,

AND THE

CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING,

DEMONSTRATED FROM THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

BY REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER. D. D.

THIS work embraces an examination of all the passages in the Bible on the subject of Slavery and Slaveholding as a sin against God and man. It Old and New Testaments.

PRICE, \$1 25.

JOHN P. JEWETT AND COMPANY. PUBLISHERS, No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON

Mrs. Lydia Maria Child's

LIFE OF

ISAAC T. HOPPER

THE DISTINGUISHED QUAKER PHI-LANTHROPIST,

Is one of the most intensely interesting and useful biographies of MODERN TIMES. His was emphatically

'A TRUE LIFE.'

A NEW EDITION. THE TWELFTH THOUSAND

the most active philanthropy and benevolence.

Is just published. No library is complete without the record of this TRUE LIFE-a life spent in deeds of

> PRICE, \$1 25. JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.,

PUBLISHERS, No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

The Herald of Progress

EDITED BY ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

THIS new Journal of Practical and Spiritual Reform is commended to the favorable notice of all interested in any of the progressive movements of the day. Its columns are open to well written articles upon any and all Reform questions. Unlike most Spiritual papers herotofore published, its circulation at the South is limited by the sentiment there which

Terms-\$2 per year. To be had of all news agents. A. J. DAVIS & CO., Publishers, 274 Canal street, New York.

'All the Year Round.'

IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN

CARPETING,

285 WASHINGTON STREET,

(NEAR WINTER STREET,)

RECEIVE, by Steamers and Packets from England, the latest and best styles and qualities of Carpeting, comprising Wiltons, Velvets, best qualities of Brussels, Tapestries, Three-plys, Kidderminsters, &c., Painted Floor Cloths (of all widths and qualities), Rugs, Mats, Bockings, Feltings, Canton and Cocoa Mattings.

AMERICAN CARPETING. ALL WHICH ARE OFFERED AT THE LOWEST PRICES,

For cash or approved credit. THAYER & ELDRIDGE,

PUBLISHERS Wholesale Booksellers,

114 & 116 WASHINGTON ST., BOSTON, MASS. Mch16 tf

Resistance to Slaveholders! LETTER TO SENATOR WILSON.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, entitled, 'NO RIGHTS, NO DUTIES; or, Slaveholders, as such, have no to a Letter from Hon. Henry Wilson, touching Re-sistance to Slaveholders being the Right and Duty of the Slaves, and of the people and States of the North.

For sale by BELA MARSH, 14 Bromfield street, and at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price

PHRENOLOGY.

BY urgent request, Prof. N. WHEELER, well known as a scientific and truthful Phrenologist, has opened rooms at 99 Court street, corner of Hanover, Boston, where he will make Phrenological Ex-aminations, give written delineations of Character, and furnish Charts; heal the sick, impart instruc-tions relative to health and habits, and the management of children.

Executors' Sale of Real Estate. On TUESDAY, April 10, at 12 o'clock, M., on the

premises,

THE Davis estate, in Dix place, opposite 560 Washington street, containing about 7816 feet of land, with the old brick mansion house thereon. It adjoins an ornamental garden in its rear, and is one of the most elevated and desirable localities for dwelling-houses in the southerly part of the city; central, and wet ratived and output, just far enough from and yet retired and quiet; just far enough from Washington street to avoid the noise of the carriage wheels, and near enough to enjoy its many advan-

tages.

It is seldom that an ancient estate like this, so near the centre of business, comes into the market. It will be sold to the highest bidder, without limit or reserve, Winchendon, Wednesday, " 11.

Fitzwilliam, N. H., Friday, " 13.

Keene, " Sunday, " 15.

DIED—In this city, March 10, WILLIAM, son of payment. By order of the Exceutors of the late C. F. Hovey, deceased.

For Lithographic plans and further particulars, apply to the auctioneers, N. A. THOMPSON & CO. IT IS NOT A DYE.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER. The only preparation that has a EUROPEAN REPUTATION. Warranted not to contain deleterious substances

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distin-guished and wealthy persons, who have pre-viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

· IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative " We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit

Persons personally known to us have come volunta-

rily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it before it became knewn St. Louis. St. Louis Presbyterian. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has

given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and its perfect freeness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet. Ch'n Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Mass.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RE-STORER is worthy of confidence.'

Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.

Incomparably the best preparation we have ever

All are compelled to acknowledge Mrs. S. A. Al. LEN's as the Hair Restorer. N. Y. Independent. LEN's as the Hair Restorer. MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER hes taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind.' Michigan Christian Herald.

Dispel all doubts as to its efficacy,'

Knozzille Presbyterian Witness.

There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the Advocate, which was so fully endorsed by men of unquestioned standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's.' Buffalo Christian Advocate

Another objection to dyes is the unlife-like color and appearance they cause the hair to assume, and the only way to have grey hair assume its NATURAL YOUTHFUL COLOR, is to use that which will be effect-ual and yet not a dye—Mrs. S. A. Allen's WORLD's HAIR RESTORER will do this.' U. S. Journal.

In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted as the greatest discovery of the present day, it is re-freshing to come across that which is what it PRE-TENDS to be. A really excellent article is Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hate Restoner. As an assistant to nature, it is of great service; and a man by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless, it being a chemical compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the natural growth of hair. Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston,

losing its color, and who are opposed to using a dye, will find in Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair RESTORER a preparation that will speedily change the hair to its natural color, and at the same time render it soft. It is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair, rossessing none of the burning qualities of a DYR.'

Philadelphia Mercury. There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey or

acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. Alles's Wokld's Hair Restorer. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce the good effects astribed to it on the part of its proprietor. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is denominated most ap-propriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.' We have reason to be assured that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-

LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' is among the best articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed the wide circulation and immense sales it has achieved, fully demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.' Rahway Register.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer. The most successful remedy of the day. We know of instances where its good effects have been remark-Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

From individual cases that have come under our own observation, we are satisfied that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-LEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER' performs all that it promises, and that instead (as is the case with other restoratives extensively used and highly recmoney, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most cordially commend it to the no-

tice and use of those of our readers who need a remedial agent of this character.' St. Louis Ledger.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer .- As we were travelling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance indicated that she had attained the age of sixty. So we inferred, and but for her beautiful hair, we should have added several years. After some conversation she spoke of her hair, informing us that two years ago, at least one half of it was grey, and that she had feared that before then the whole would have turned or fallen off. But our friend read the papers, and acquainted herself with the various redies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she assured us that she had as luxuri-ous, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was con-firmed by other members of the family, while we were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and signal effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

Providence Daily Tribune. Among the very few preparations that we deem deserving of mention, we are by no means inclined to omit. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Harr Restor-ER. It has been thoroughly tested, and found to be all its inventor claims for it; and to deny its excellence would be to deny the assertions made in its favor by scores and hundreds of the most respectable persons.' Rahway Advocate and Register.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer is the best preparation extant for the various diseases inci-dent to the hair and scalp, and is warranted to restore the hair and whiskers, however grey, to their natural color. It having been before the public for many years, and its efficacy in restoring, invigorat-ing, and beautifying the hair fully established, by hosts of persons throughout the country, has led to the manufacture of many worthless imitations, which have been successfully palmed off in numerous instances, upon the public as genuine.'

Brooklyn Morning Journal.

This preparation is superior to any heretofore pro-Inis preparation is superior to any heretofore produced for restoring and beautifying the hair. It possesses none of the burning, cauterizing powers of the old dyes, but gives the hair a healthy, glossy appearance almost instantaneously. The Restorer is easily applied, and will not stain the finest linen. The effect is sure in every instance, if applied according to the directions. Mercury? Philadelphia.

We are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of MRs. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HATE RESTORER are correct.' Boston Olive Branning Its remarkable success is satisfactory evidence.

Those unsuccessful with other articles can try this with success. Boston Transcript.

It is just what it purports to be.' Cleve. Leader. We might swell this list, but if not convinced,

We export these preparations to Europe even, and they are superseding all others there as well as in the United States. It does not soil or stain. Sold by all the principal wholesale and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, or

DEPOT. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. where address all letters and inquiries. Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this,

on which they make more wroft. Write to Depot for circular, terms and information. Genuine issigned, Mrs. S. A. Allen, written in ink. Bev are of coun-

See next issue of this Paper for more information or send to Depot for Circulars. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

ANTI

RO

13

num, it

DOLLAS 13

relating to direct to the control to

=

V

RI

The ly be from union

swea Fath

temp habit

is an

gover special politic of value of value of value on the contraction of value of valu

ly at mour stor. Mr. of l topic icall institute which he corrected who deck has a who which ton. here

cans min of do This win; The thou id, of p

saci ever for

gar

THE LIBERATOR.

THE NON-RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE: WITH PARTICULAR APPLICATION TO THE HELP OF SLAVES BY ABOLITIONISTS.

Among other good results of the noble enterprise of John Brown in Virginia, I am happy to see that some minds are stimulated to inquire into the definition, scope and obligation of the principle briefly entitled 'Non-Resistance.' Since the inquiries of Dr. Mann have brought this subject anew before the readers of the Liberator, (1) and since it is a subject always timely and highly important, I will contribute my mite towards the answering of these questions.

Self-defence not only seems, but is, a natural instinct and a natural right; and the same may be asserted of the defence, not only of our friends and neighbors, but of every human being whom we see wronged, and have power to help; and this is preeminently true of those unfortunate fellow-creatures who are most wronged and outraged, within the reach of our aid. Nobody doubts, nobody ever questioned that it is a good and a right thing to avert injury from ourselves and others.

The question next arises-Am I to do this right and desirable thing, the averting of injury from myself or others, by the use of any means, indifferently? by the readiest and most convenient instrument, ir-

respective of all other considerations? If, travelling in a barbarous country, (say Virginia,) I am threatened with violence as an abolitionist, may I lie to secure my escape?

If my friend, arraigned under an unjust law, or on an erroneous charge, asks me to be his bail, may I, to do him this kindness, falsely swear myself possessed of the needful amount of property?

If my mercantile credit, dear to me as life, is imperilled by the want of money at a critical moment, may I resort to theft or forgery to avert this danger? If a case at law, involving both my personal repu-

tation and the subsistence of my wife and children, is sure to be decided against me through the testimony of a particular witness, may I kill him? may I even kidnap him, and keep him a prisoner?

The consideration of cases like these will show that there are some acts which may not be done even in self-defence; and a little further reflection will make it plain, that since the rules of right and wrong, the principles of morality and religion, remain quite undisturbed by our private exigency, such exigency does not at all release us from obedience to them; and that, therefore, we are limited in self-defence, as in all the other transactions of our lives, to the use of means and instrumentalities that are right, To say otherwise would be to reverse the verdict of

the world and of our own consciousness, in some of the most honored examples that history has given us. It is universally allowed that Aristides did well to adhere to that justice which caused his banishment: that Socrates was wise in pursuing the very course which brought him to the fatal hemlock; that Shadrach was right in refusing to worship the golden image, even in sight of the burning fiery furnace; and that Luther did nobly in the persistent declaration, even when ruin seemed about to overwhelm him- Here I stand! I can do no other! Doour true wisdom and safety lie in any different path

from that taken by these men? Must not me, too, in any exigency which may befall us, find what measures of defence are permitted us by first asking-What is right? I will assume it to be settled that we must do so.

The next question is- How shall we ascertain what is right?

All sorts of different authorities are appealed to by different people on this subject. The Catholic will point you to 'the church' (meaning the clergy) for direction; the Protestant, to the Bible; one man, to the law of honor; another, to public sentiment; a third, to the law of the land; and a fourth, to the 'higher law,' or the 'inner light.' Each man must necessarily decide this point for himself, since, before he can follow either of these rules, or any other, he must first have chosen that one, and rejected the rest. I choose, as my rule, Christianity; by which I

mean the rule of living which Jesus of Nazareth summed up in these two provisions: to love God with the whole heart, and our neighbor as ourselves -defining our neighbor to be any one who is in need that we can relieve-illustrating the nature of love by showing that it should be practical in its operation, and should include even our enemies-further explaining that this love must have a constant and active energy in reforming the world, overcoming its evil, and overcoming it with good-and emphatically enjoining that all good shall be cherished and all evil overcome in each man's own heart and life, as well as in the world around him.

Tichoose this rule simply because it is the best that I can find, or sonceive of. It seems to me perfect, adapted in the most thorough manner to secure the progressive improvement, the welfare, and thus the happiness, of the human race. If, however, you choose a different sule, very likely you will disagree with my conclusions. What I am now concerned to show is, that my rule, (above stated.) the Christian rule, requires that the law of love should regulate our overcoming of evil as well as every other department of our action, and this equally, whether the evil in question is directed against ourselves or others. I trust that thus far the case is plain.

Here then are the laws which are to regulate ou action against evil-doers, whether the thing assailed be our individual welfare, or the individual welfare of a 'neighbor,' or the general welfare of the community.

LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR AS YOURSELF! LOVE EVEN YOUR ENEMIES! OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD!

Let us make the application of these rules to particular case.

Stealing is an evil and a crime, unhappily too com mon in all communities. It is an injury to individu als, and an offence against society. Theft is one of the recognized evils which it is the duty and interest of us all to overcome. But it is to be overcome with good, not with evil.

A man who has lost property by theft sometimes knows the thief, and knows where he possesses property of equal value. Shall he steal that, and thus restore the disturbed equilibrium of property? This might compensate for the loss, but would it remove the evil? Is it a right method of proceeding?

Nobody will say so. Instead of removing the evil. it has doubled the evil. If one theft is an offence against good morals and the welfare of society, two thefts must be yet more so. This is not the proper mode of proceeding. Nobody uses it, nobody would justify it. On the contrary, it is the interest of the person robbed, and of the whole community, to pay a sacred regard to the laws of property, and to show, by their whole conduct, that they respect and scrupulous ly observe those rights which the thief has violated Only thus can they justify themselves in complaining of him, and applying remedial measures to him, as a thief. If they show themselves dishonest in the very case in question, with what face can they accuse him of dishonesty?

(1) See Letter of Dr. DANIEL MANN in the Libera for of March 16th, 1866. In the course of it, Dr. M says- Moral medsures, so long as they serve effectually, are doubtless most proper. If we can persuade the robber and murderer to pass by, and leave us un-harmed, or if we can run away from them, and thus prevent mischief, it is well to do so. But if our own safety, or that of others, requires other means of pro-tection, involving danger or destruction to the aggressor, I know of no just restriction of our right to use them, according to the apparent necessities of the occasion. The same power which gave me a tongue to persuade, and legs to run away, gave me hands dipa-ble to fight, and, so far as I can see, gave me the right to use either of these three remedies against wrong,

according to the exigencies of each occasion.

proceeding against the thief-(unhappily and unjusti- and disadvantage. fiably the custom of the community is to proceed For me, the most important thing in the whole against. him, instead of applying to him the law of world is to be in the ti ht! I have certain duties to love!)-we ourselves set the example of a faithful wife, children, fr ends, enemies, and society, which adherence to the laws of property, and do not at all are to be attended to in their turn; but my first and pretend that his prior commission of the offence in most essential duty is to keep my own heart and life question justifies us in committing it.

mitted is an assault. A man strikes me, wounds me! have said, prescribes love as the invariable rule Perhaps his aspect gives good reason for the supposi- and motive of action ; it requires, generally, the avoidtion that he means to kill me! What am I to do? This man appears to be an enemy! He certainly acts emphatically the avoidance of injury to enemies. Even like one! Under the circumstances, I must consider if I die in carrying out this rule, I have gained the and treat him as an enemy. "

my rule, heretofore given ?

to kill, or to wound, or even to strike me. This is immediately concerned. He is one who eminently not brotherly treatment. Besides, who knows how needs precisely this lesson, the knowledge that there far his enmity, or passion, may carry him? This is is such a thing as a practical recognition of duty as clearly a case for self-defence!

Shall I kill him-wound him-strike him? What! do to him the very thing which I censure in

his conduct to me? Perpetrate a second wrong by way of redressing the first? Show that I am as ready tage requires it ? Am I not, then, to defend myself at all?

the striker would be like stealing from the thief, a lead him heartily to embrace it, again I have gained repetition of the wrong act, a casting out Satan by my brother. This certainly is worth dying for.

Let us look again at the rule ! OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD!

I remember, too, that one of the venerated teachers who have written on this subject, as if in reply to the question whether the general rule admitted of any exception, gave his precept in this emphatic negntive form, namely :

· See that none render evil for evil to any man! My rule, then, the rule which I recognize as the best I can possibly conceive of, requires me to use I have upheld and praised as immeasurably more imnone but good means, right means, to overcome portant than bodily safety or temporal interests of any If a calm and friendly aspect, an inquiry why such factory one.

an assault is committed, and an appeal to reason and justice, without either passion or retaliation, will avail to calm the passion of my antagonist, and make him explain, apologize, and offer satisfaction, this is the best possible termination of the affair. 'If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.' I will by all means try this method first. It may be that I shall, by this simple and easy method, transform an enemy into a friend; a work which the whole police of the city, backed by the army and navy of the United the first thing to be tried. Moreover, this would certainly be successful in a large number of cases which are now prolonged and made more bitter by violence and retaliation. Is it not true that 'A soft answer stir up anger '? In cases where this does not succeed, but where the

violence of my assailant is continued or increased, I have to decide on the spot whether it will be better for me and my brother (I must try not to lose sight of me ! his welfare, however regardless he may be of mine,) to bear with perfect quietness whatever his passion may inflict-in the hope that, when passion has subsided, he will see, repent of, and acknowledge his injustice-or to use my strength to restrain him without injuring him. If I adopt the former of these two methods, if I bear his insults and assaults with a patience manifestly proceeding not from fear or meanness of spirit, but from good-will to him and conscientious self-control, and if this course produces the desired effect, and he comes to me on the morrow to acknowledge his fault and offer reparation, this is the second best possible termination of the affair. Again, I shall have gained my brother! And that man will be, ever after, more likely to befriend me, and more likely to control himself, than if I had returned his injurious treatment. Moreover, as in the case before Supposed, I am sure that this method would succeed in a certain proportion of cases. God's arrangemen for mankind is, that wrong-doing should breed selfreproach, and that this should tend to confession and amendment. I will trust to God's arrangement!

On the other hand, if my bodily strength is suf ficient, and I judge it best to use that in self-defence-grasping my opponent, and, without injuring him, holding him so that he cannot injure methis method also is at my option. The right of selfdefence is unquestionable, and circumstances may show this to be the best way of using it. And if while I thus prove to my opponent my physical superiority, my language and demeaner, manly and yet friendly, can show him his fault, and make him sincerely regret it, this is the third best possible termination of the affair. Again, I have gained my brother!

Suppose, finally, that all these methods fail to preserve me, as they all sometimes will fail; for Non-Resistance must often receive the cross before the crown, and triumph only through suffering, and the followers of Jesus and Paul, in this heavenly path, will still sometimes meet with foes as powerful and unrelenting as theirs; if all these resources fail, and I am killed on the spot, what then? Have I erred, have I acted foolishly, have I thrown my life away by refraining from the return of injurious violence upon my adversary? I do not think so; but let us delib-

. The true way of looking at theft is to recognize the fact that here has been a loss not only of property, but of integrity, not of a watch or a purse only, but of a man. The property stolen should, if possible, be restored to the owner; but it is of even more importance that the culprit should be restored to honesty, and that he his life, and that the taking of it by another is a pre-should really be transformed from a malefactor to a sumptuous interference with God's appointment and benefactor. Hitherto, society has contented itself with providing, by the coarsest appliances of material who stele shall steal no more for three months, or six months, or a year, but, instead of this that for the same brief period he should be compelled to labor, working with his hands the thing which is good. If in any cases it has done more than this, it has been merely the appointment of a parson(1) to exhort the prisoners, and the permission that volunteer teachers (usually with no qualification but good-will) might give them Sunday School instruction.

But these things are far from filling up the measure of our duties, either to the culprit or to the commuof our Father, is he not?-has real and important claims upon us. For him, as for the rest of the population, we have made some classes of provision; as of a Poor-house, where he may be nourished, if destitute; a Common School, where he may receive some instruction; a Hospital, where his body may be cared for, if it becomes diseased; and an Asylum, where his reason may be restored, against his will, if necesary, when that becomes diseased. Is it not of equal consequence that help, and a place of help should be provided for his moral nature when that is manifestly diseased? And will it not be as great an the operation of a system established for this end and wisely adapted to it, this thief can be thoroughly reformed, and restored to the community as a useful citizen? If this can be done, it will be an advantage equal to the very greatest now enjoyed in civilization securing the progressive diminution of all crime, and the cultivation, far more thoroughly than at present, of good morals and true religion. But no man can say that this is impossible, until it has been tried. It

has never been fairly tried!

Some suggestions upon this subject may be found

(1) It is said that a convict in the Massachusetts eruel and unusual punishments'; that he had been and was willing to submit to it; but that he had not exception to, or a temporary departure from, my been sentenced to hear Mr. _____ preach!

What I wish to have noted here is the fact, that, in erately look at it, and see the balance of advantage

in conformity with the great law of God, which I Suppose, instead of a theft, that the offence com- have above described as Christianity. This law, as I ance of injury to others, and requires particularly and first and most important point, and I die in the path What is the treatment in question, according to of duty, leaving behind me a noble, not a shameful, example.

In the next place, this duty to myself precisely co-Again: he has done me a wrong. He has no right incides with my duty to the enemy with whom I am more important than bodily safety, or even the con tinuance of this mortal life. If he has held the opin ion attributed to Satan in the old fable-'All that s man hath will he give for his life '-he has now seen his mistake. If he has formerly heard me expres to commit violence as he, when my supposed advan- allegiance to the principle of Christian love for all men, even for enemies, or if he has known that I try to live in accordance with it, he now knows this alle-Yes! self-defence is right, but let us not deceive giance to be real, not assumed. He has put himself ourselves by a wrong use of language. To kill, to more than ever in the wrong. He can hardly fail to wound and to strike, are acts of offence even more see that I have been wholly in the right. If these than of defence. I will save myself from harm, circumstances make so deep an impression as to conif I can do so by any right means, but to strike vict him of sin, to show him the path of duty, and to

If this best result does not happen, still I have faithfully adhered to my own principles, and have left on record this testimony, the strongest I could possibly give in favor of the Christian rule, that I chose to die rather than violate it.

Now let us look at the other supposition. If I save my own life by killing my assailant, in the first place I sacrifice my rule, the great, glorious, divine rule of love. I desert my colors! I violate, for my mere bodily safety, the great principle which kind. This position is neither a pleasant nor a satis-

In the next place, neither is it satisfactory to say, as my explanation of the transaction to the public, and to other individuals concerned-I killed him because he was so wicked as to try to kill me!' If the mere attempt to kill me showed wickedness in him, what character does the actual killing of him show in me In the third place, I have taken the responsibility merely to protect my bodily and temporal interests, of

violently thrusting my brother out of the sphere of action in which our Father had placed him, out of States, could not accomplish. This, manifestly, is the reach of those influences and that moral discipline which God has plainly designed for the treatment and development of men in this stage of their existence. Our Father's house has many mansions, and He, no doubt, will take good care of this, his erring child; turneth away wrath '? and also that ' Grievous words but who am I, that I should expel my brother from the school where our Father placed us both? It is for the Power that placed us here to decide how long we shall remain! I have rashly and wrongfully assumed an authority which was never committed to

Finally, let us look at the consequences, the carrying out into other particulars, of the principle upon which I have acted. If homicide is unjustifiable only when wanton and entirely unprovoked, and if some orts of provocation shall be deemed to justify it, where shall the line be drawn? If I may commit it to save my life, may I also commit it to save my charneter-my reputation-my fortune-the interests of my political party-the interests of my religious sect? If for my individual life this act may be done, may it not be done to help forward a great principle ?- the sause of God-the cause of humanity-the cause of Protestantism-the cause of liberty-may I not, for the sake of such great interests as these, smite him who imperils them under the fifth rib? If I can cut short a career so pernicious as that of James Buchanan or of Louis Napoleon, by sudden execution, may I not do it? If I may do it by club, or sword, or pis- consider me? And that did weigh with you? Oh, person to help the victim? I assume that it would ol, may I not do it by poison?

There is no end to these questions! No end to the upposition of cases in which great good may be done f we are to be allowed to do it by violent and evil neans. The only way is to say to such insinuations - Get thee behind me, Satan! The only way is utterly, positively and invariably to refuse to do evil, with whatever plausibility it be offered to us as the neans of accomplishing good!

Among those statements in the Declaration of Inlependence which Mr. Choute styled 'glittering generalities,' is the claim that the right to life is one of the inalienable rights of man. . The signers of that document did not thoroughly comprehend the force of their own words, since they proceeded to a ong and bloody war, and afterwards established death as the legal penalty for various crimes-to our cost, who are now suffering great and numerous evils as the consequence of both these errors on their part Their statement, in that great historical document was juster than their practice. . They builded better than they knew.' The life of man is inviolable.

Just as the slaveholder's claim of property in black man is shown to be absurd and ridiculous by the fact that the black man's hands, and feet, and head, having been born parts of him, necessarily be long to him, and cannot possibly become the property of another rather than of himself-so the claim of right to take the life of a man, whether made by the community or by another individual, becomes absurd and preposterous in view of the fact that God gave him his life, and that the taking of it by another is a pre-God's prerogative. No man has, or can possibly acquire, the right to take the life of another.

But the Christian doctrine of love goes further than this. No man has, or can possibly acquire, the right to injure another. To prevent or to repel injury, by uninjurious means, is our right and our duty; but we are not to cast out Satan by Satan; the history of the world overflows with evidences of the folly of attempting this; gaining, sometimes, a temporary and partial measure of success, it always fails in the long run. nity. The culprit himself-he is our brother, the child But even success is not the measure of duty; and the Christian rule stamps intentional injury as invariably wrong; our overcoming of evil is to be, invariably, an overcoming with good!

I am aware, however, that the inquiries of Dr. Mann, which I am attempting to answer, have a benevolent, not a selfish object. In making these inquiries, he is not thinking mainly of his individual safety, but of the extent to which he may proceed in helping the weak and oppressed. I must therefore advantage to the community as to himself if, through make particular reference to the case of the defence of others, who have general or special claims upon me.

Besides the general obligation which rests upon me to love all men, and to help such needy ones as I can help, I have certain special obligations. My wife and my children have particular and emphatic claims to But no man can protection from all injury that I can avert. And, since I am one of a very small minority in this country who recognize the rights of four millions of slaves.

in an essay, hereafter to be published, entitled—'Non-Resistance, applied to the Internal Defence of a Coma special and emphatic claim upon me. What effect State Prison once protested against going to the prison is my Non-Resistance to have upon the protection of chapel on Sunday, saying that the law forbade all these parties? Will their necessities, their danger or suffering, be good ground for a modification of, or an

strongest possible case, an injury threatened to my terfere with them. wife; my dearer and better self, to whose protection Is it needful to say so plain a thing as that the

My strength, my life, shall interpose between her and mission to them whatever ! harm, and he who would assail her must pass over my Alas! yes! In the circumstances of our country, body. It is the duty of us both to suffer wrong rath- considering the sort, and the amount, and the preer than do wrong, but I, as the stronger, choose to sumptuous arrogance, of the oppression which we take upon myself the suffering for both. I shall meet practise-considering the position held by our nathe violence of the assailant as I did in the former tional government in support of it-and considering case, but, while my life lasts, the assault must be the complicity openly maintained with it by our remade upon me, not upon my wife. She is to be safe ligious teachers-it is needful to affirm, and to mainwhile I live. So far all is plain. But may I, fearing tain, a thing so obviously true as this. lest the sacrifice of my life be not sufficient to avert | The slave is one who has been stolen-either at his the threatened injury, may I proceed to kill the as- birth or at some subsequent period-from that natural sailant? doing for my wife what I am conscious that liberty which is the right of every human being, and the Christian law forbids me to do for myself! com- which the American Declaration of Independence mitting an injury to prevent the commission of an in- declares to be inalienable. If he was thus stolen at

undisturbed by our private exigency, and that such course of discipline under which he is placed, howexigency does not at all release us from obedience to ever varied (perhaps) by capricious indulgence from them. I have said, further, that the Christian rule of time to time, is a course of injustice. His relation of love to all, even the injurer-and of invariable absti- plundered person neither imposes, nor includes, the nence from injury on our own part-and of the use of slightest obligation or duty to the plunderer. good only, never of evil, in the work of overcoming On the other hand, the slaveholder is a robber. practises it.

the whole and for every individual?

which was not recognized and contemplated in that thus robbed to the robber. system by which God governs the race, and in that | But, still further, the slaveholder, like every other system also by which He has appointed that they sort of robber, is a dangerous person in the commushall govern themselves, namely, the Christian system. nity. He is injuring its interests, not less than the No possible injury can be inflicted upon us which has interests of his particular victims. He is spreading not already been inflicted in thousands of other in- false principles, helping to break down morality and stances, without occasioning, or requiring, any change religion, obstructing honest industry, and freedom of in the rule. Who are we, that we should rebel speech and of the press, infringing upon the rights against it? Who are we, that we should demand to even of those whom he admits to be free men and be better protected, more thoroughly cared for, than | fellow-citizens, and doing all this by a series of overt the rest of mankind? that we should demand a better acts manifestly prejudicial to his immediate neighdestiny than that afforded us in God's world, and un- bors and to the community. The slaveholder, then, der his laws?

est, both of me and my wife, lie in placing ourselves, But, unfortunately, all governments are neither and in keeping ourselves, in conformity and co-opera- properly constituted nor well regulated. In fact, tion with this great Christian law, and in trusting the there are in the world, even now, more specimens of consequences of such conformity to Him who made governments grossly tyrannical and unjust, than of the law. But it is not merely the 'higher law' which points

my opponents in this debate have (as they think) their strong hold, the ground of present success and bodily safety, and see if they have that realm wholly the extent of their ability and opportunity, and in on their side.

What says the voice of history? What says the applause of men in regard to those who have disdained to purchase the bodily safety and temporal interests of their nearest and dearest by a violation of duty? What made Mrs. Hemans select for the subject of her beautiful dramatic poem (The Siege of Valencia) one of two instances which the history of Spain records, in which a Christian knight refused to surrender the city which had been given him to defend, even when the Moorish besiegers made the lives of his captive children the price of his fidelity? Was it not because men had honored his fidelity as saving-when he had abandoned his principles and his honor to regain her lost fortune- And you did this is what I dreaded most!' cried lady Sarah .-When will you know my real character? When will you have confidence in your wife? What pain can be so great to me as the thought of my husband's reputation suffering abasement?

My wife is not less noble in soul than Vivian's. She, too, would scorn to be protected at the sacrifice of my principles-of the rule of right-of the law which our common Father, having made for all His children, must be supposed to have intended for her also. We will together take the risk of abiding by that law,

Then-to glance, in passing, at the results of the opposite course of action-would that course absolutely insure us success? Does violence in defence always conquer violence in offence? Do they that take the sword for what are called good reasons-that is, because they are assailed-never perish by the

I come, lastly, to the case of the slaves! a case certainly, of great urgency, of the very highest importance, appealing, in the most moving manner, to our humanity, to our sense of justice, and also to our self-interest, since the whirlpool that has engulfed the slave is also, year by year, drawing more and more of our rights and interests into its pernicious

That natural instinct which prompts us to defend ourselves from injury, and those reasons which make clear our right to use all means accordant with the law of love for this object, apply equally to the giving of aid to a suffering or oppressed neighbor. We are not at liberty to refuse any aid which he asks, and which is within our power to give. And, if the case be one of such extreme urgency that he cannot even ask, if he be imprisoned unjustly in a dungeon, or fenced so securely within certain bounds that a tyrant the slightest degree release the slave from his duties has prescribed, that his voice cannot reach those dis. to God, and his obligation to obey God's law of love. posed to help him, so much the more should help be given; in a case like that, the right is clear for any vindicate. God calls upon him, as well as upon other human being to interpose between the oppressor and the sufferer, to demand for him his rights, to help return good for evil; and to overcome evil with good. him in the attainment of them, and to obstruct those for which strength of body and strength of will were condemnation of him who refuses to use them for

'Men! whose boast it is that ve Come of fathers brave and free, If there breathe on earth a slave, Are ye truly free and brave? If ye do not feel the chain, When it works a brother's pain, Are ye not base slaves indeed Slaves unworthy to be freed?

and they who exercise it are, so far, utterly and en- is his interest; for it is his interest to be entirely and tirely in the wrong. It would have been absurd in absolutely in the right. the extreme for the robbers, in such a case, to have How is the slave to return good for the slavehold said to the Good Samaritan- What right have you er's evil? So destitute, so impoverished is his condi-

Let me test this matter by proceeding at once to the to interfere with us?'-Everybody had a right to in-

I am bound even more by present love than by the traveller was under no obligation to the robbers, as long-standing compact under which I promised her robbers? that no duty required him to deliver up his property to them, or to submit, in any manner or de-Of course, all I can do shall be done for her safety. gree, to their injustice? that he owed no duty of sub-

birth, he was also stolen from the natural right of his I have said above that the rules of right and wrong, mother to protect him, to educate him, and to make the principles of morality and religion, remain quite arrangements for his future welfare. The whole

evil-is the best rule I know, or can possibly conceive His claim of property in the body and soul of a of. And, finally, I have admitted that this rule, brother man is grossly and impudently false, his enthough best, incomparably best, on the whole, does forcement of that claim is utterly unjust, and all the not in all cases secure the bodily safety of him who means by which he enforces it are shameful and wicked. His hold upon his victim, alike when he It would seem that the question is already answered. was first seized (whether at the birth of the victim or Shall I demand, in the case of my wife, a different at any subsequent time, and by whatever means he rule of action from that which God has appointed for has come in possession of his victim) and at every the whole human race, which he has so appointed be- moment of his continued detention, is an outrage. cause it is the best possible rule, and which I myself He has no just claim upon the brother man whom he have recognized as the best possible rule, both for calls a slave, no right over him, no right to prevent his taking his natural liberty at any moment, no right My wife and I constitute (perhaps) one five-hun- to prevent, or object to, or complain of, the help dred-millionth part of the human race. No possible which any humane person may give him. And no injury can be threatened to, or inflicted upon us, labor, or service, or duty, is due from the person

as such, is a public nuisance; a nuisance such as it is Is there not a sound, a just, a grand meaning in the first duty of any properly constituted governthat saying of the great Teacher, that a man may lose ment to abate; a person dangerous to the community, his life by saving it, and may save his life by losing it? who, if he perseveres in this attitude, should be taken To me it seems plain that the true safety and inter- in charge by the police, and put under restraint.

those which rightly perform their proper function. We have then to consider whether-when a governin this direction. Let me descend to the region where ment obviously and grossly neglects its function of removing public nuisances, and preserving the rights of quiet and honest men-individuals may not, to the use of right means, kept within a right sphere of operation, (each individual being his own judge in regard to all these,) do those things which the government has criminally neglected? Suppose, for instance, that in the region between

Jerusalem and Jericho, in the life-time of Jesus, an organized band of robbers had become so powerful as not only to work their will throughout that territory. but even to have bribed the local government to permit and favor their depredations! Would this fact have made the slightest difference in the right of the Good Samaritan to help the traveller after he had been plundered, or to defend him if he had been present at the time of the assault? Would such a made Miss Edgeworth describe the wife of Vivian as state of things have given the robbers in the slightest traveller the slightest duty of consenting to be robbed, or interfered with the absolute right of any third not! I assume that the right of help, inherent in every human being, is not so forfeited by the appointment of a particular official helper, that others must remain quiet and inactive in the cases where he chooses to neglect his duty & I assume that Florence Nightingale was right in breaking down the door of the arsenal in the Crimea! I assume that any man has the right to help any slave to his freedom, entirely irrespective of the fact that in this country the great gang of robbers called slaveholders have secured the complicity of the government in their dep redations!

I have come, then, to these conclusions:

THE STAVEHOLDER HAS NO RIGHTS WHATEVER OVER THE SLAVE. THE SLAVE, as such, owes no DUTY OR SERVICE WHAT-

EVER TO THE SLAVEHOLDER. Help to the slave in the recovery of his freedom is thing which THE SLAVE HAS A RIGHT TO RECEIVE, WHICH EVERY THIRD PERSON HAS A RIGHT TO GIVE, AND WHICH IS NO WRONG OR INJUSTICE TO THE SLAVE-HOLDER, WHETHER IT BE GIVEN SECRETLY OR OPENLY.

I have said that the slave, as such, owes no duty or ervice to the slaveholder.

This is perfectly true. But both the slave and the naster are human beings, and, in that capacity, each has duties to the other; each is bound to practise towards the other the law of love; the great and glorious law which God has appointed to regulate the ntercourse of all men with each other.

Unfortunately, and most culpably, the master ignores, disregards and tramples under his feet the law of love. So much the worse for him. But the wrong-doing of the master to the slave, does not in The slave has duties to perform as well as rights to men, to forgive his enemies; to love his enemies; to

These are hard duties. They are hard for all of measures of the tyrant which would prevent his at- us. Even we, educated, cultivated people, of the tainment of them. This is one of the very purposes privileged class, with so little injustice to undergo, with such ample means of knowing our duty, and given us; and the possession of these qualities is the with such strong incitements to perform it, how hard do we find it to exercise due forbearance under the such a purpose. Well sang one of the poets of free- trivial specimens of injury that we meet with! How few of us, in the course of our whole lives, have met even once with an injury equivalent to the infliction of thirty-nine lashes with a cow-hide, upon the bare back, bringing blood at every stroke! It is a great deal to ask of the slave that he forgive his enemies: the slaveholder, who sold away his wife, and yet constantly told his Northern visitors, after this, as well as before, that he was well treated, happy and con-All the circumstances of the case make manifest this tented; the slaveholder's son, who ravished his daugh right of any third party, any individual, or any com- ter; the overseer, who has flogged him, kicked and munity, to interfere with the slaveholder for the re- cuffed him, laughed his manifold miseries to scorn lief of the slave. If the Good Samaritan had met treated him worse than a dog; and the pro-slavery the robbers in the act of attacking their victim, and parson, who, knowing all these things, has kept or had been able to prevent, or to cut short, their outrage, should he not have done it? The necessities of pointed him to this condition, and that God requires the traveller were the same, the right of the Samari- him to do faithful service to the villain who has rob tan to help was the same, as when the help was ulti- bed him of everything; it must be very hard to fulfil mately given. The robbers, as robbers, had no rights the duty of forgiveness to these, or to return good for whatever. The function of robbery is evil from beginning to end, it has no right to exist on the earth, such is the duty of the enslaved man! and such, also

tion, so limited are his means, that I see but one war in which he can do this; but one positive settle by which he can contribute to the real welfare of the which he can continy, that one way is precisely concident with the right path of duty towards himself

His first duty of good-will to the slaveholder is utterly to refuse any longer to be a slave! to put stop, by this unchangeable determination, and in prompt action in accordance with it, to a relation is which the slaveholder was sinking himself deeper and deeper in sin and in manifold evil. I do not consider 'Uncle Tom' to be the higher

type, either of the manly character or the Christian character, in the relation he bore to various three holders. I would not be understood as making up. reasonable demands upon those poor, ignorant, oppressed, cheated and humbugged creatures; & a much, if, like Uncle Tom, they refrain from utality, lying, drunkenness and lust, in all which thingsthe, masters are constantly setting them evil example; and from hypocrisy, such as they see to be practised by their masters' ministers, which would perhaps gid them some indulgence; it is much if, like him, with heroic self-control, they can subdue the natural desire for vengeance, can rise above wrath and paster and sincerely pray for those who persecute and despitefully use them. But there is another dut, of not less importance, to be performed by the true man, the true Christian, who is claimed as a shre, Quiet, continuous submission to enslavement is complicity with the slaveholder. It is sequisseens in the double injustice he is doing, both to himself and to the slave. It is the duty of a man and a Christian not only to protest against this, but, if he is able. acting in the right way, to put a stop to it. The slave is able to put a stop to it, and to do this in the right way, by utterly refusing to be a slave; by showing himself a man, and taking possession of a man's rights. This, then, is his duty, alike to himself and to the slaveholder. And circumstances must decide whether this duty shall be performed in the mest say isfactory manner, by a firm, manly, open declaration made to the face of the slaveholder, or by the attempt to escape. Such is the duty of the slave, as I re gard it.

But the slave is poor, ignorant, weak, unrulued unable to combine with his fellow-slaves, or take counsel with more intelligent persons as to the best course of action. He is hemmed in on every side with restrictions, doubts and dangers. He has been, thus far, the most helpless of human beings; to our ut. speakable disgrace, who have been living, not only in the same country with him, but in formal alliance with his tyrants. This ought not so to be. The slave must have help, and ice must help him

How are we'to help him? Of course, by using our courage and energy, our strength of body and mind our wealth, our intelligence, our Christian praciple, and our various means of combination and action, do the right thing, IN THE RIGHT MANNER. To get the slave free, or help him to set himself free, by mens accordant with our duty and his duty; that is to ser, by means accordant with the Christian law of love

If in any place the slaveholders are such, and the slaves such, and the numbers and character of the in terposing freemen such, that a new arrangement car be made, giving the slaves their rights withour banish ing them from their native soil, leaving them thence forth free, and in the enjoyment of such rights and opportunities as white freemen have in the Northern States, with a friendly and helpful disposition towards them on the part of the white population, (such a was netually realized in Antigua and Bermuda after the immediate emancipation of the slaves there, in 1834.) this would be the very best possible result. This would fulfil our highest wishes, and afford a rational expectation of permanent prosperity and happiness. Unfortunately, however, the vicious and brutal characters, and the insolent and domineering habits, of the slaveholders and their parasites, place this best solution of the trouble almost out of the bounds of possibility. If, in failure of this method, the thing could be

accomplished which John Brown sought to do, without the resort to violent and bloody means by which he proposed to maintain it against the resistance of the slaveholders, namely; if places of secure resort, well stored with provisions, could be established among the mountains of the slaveholding States, to which the slaves could repair and hold themselves safely entrenched, giving shelter to all fugities, and is a short time draining the whole region of the entiboring population, and leaving it so deserted until the proprietors of the land were willing to obtain laborers by treating them justly and paring them fair wages-this would be the next best solution of the difficulty; a solution infinitely preferable to a quiet continuance of the slaves in slavery. In such a movement, the slaves should of course take possess sion of all the provisions, and all the material in clothing, on which they can lay their hands, both it its commencement and during its continuance; for all these, and much more, are their property, the avails of their unpaid labor. In a slaveholding cont try, the movable property, as a general rule, may be assumed rightfully to belong to the slaves. It also it be necessary, in accomplishing such a neveret to seize and put under restraint, by uninjurious meant the persons of any slaveholders, until the departer of the slaves is safely effected, this would be per feetly right, for it is only what the government chiflong since to have done. A staveholder is a public nuisance; a person eminently dangerous to the con munity; and if the government does not do in doy in restraining him, any person who has the post may properly use all uninjurious means to do it. . In failure of these two methods, the next best thing

to be done is to help as many slaves as possible to t safe removal from the land of bondage to some plant of freedom. To inform them, as extensively as por ble, of the existence of white friends and helper, " give all needed material aid, with counsel and direct tion, and the personal superintendence of sympaths ing freemen, where that shall seem best; to demisthe slave's rights and effect his rescue by calmly mi openly confronting the slaveholder, when success will not be hazarded thereby; otherwise, to use it needful secresy; to protect the slave in some of its States called free, where that can be dore, and b work diligently towards increasing the number of such truly free places; to enlarge, and extend, in multiply operations of this sert in all accessible rates of the slave region, making these movements a sen ous and a constantly increasing check upon the inrunity which slaveholders have hitherte enjoyed; h faithful incufeation of anti-slavery truth in the North to increase the number and strengthen the confident of such sympathizers; and finally, by using the greatest care, in all these movements, to keep the slaves and their friends absolutely and entirely a the right, leaving the wrong where it now is, about lutely, entirely and exclusively on the side of the slaveholders.

Is it said that, in transactions like these, or as the result of them, violence would be sure to come it asked what those persons shall do who, beginning a right work by uninjurious means, are assaled is to prosecution of it with violence and injury?

I answer, they are to do just what a Christian, of who believes in and endeavors to live by the grad law of love, is to do in any other case where he's met by violence and injury! He is first, and about all, to keep himself in the right. He is to accesplish what good he can by right means, to leave done for the present all that he cannot do by remeans, and to bear with fortitude, and without have the spirit of love, or departing from the manifest tion of love, whatever evil may befal him. -c. E.

J. B. VERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS 21 COENHILL, LOSTON.