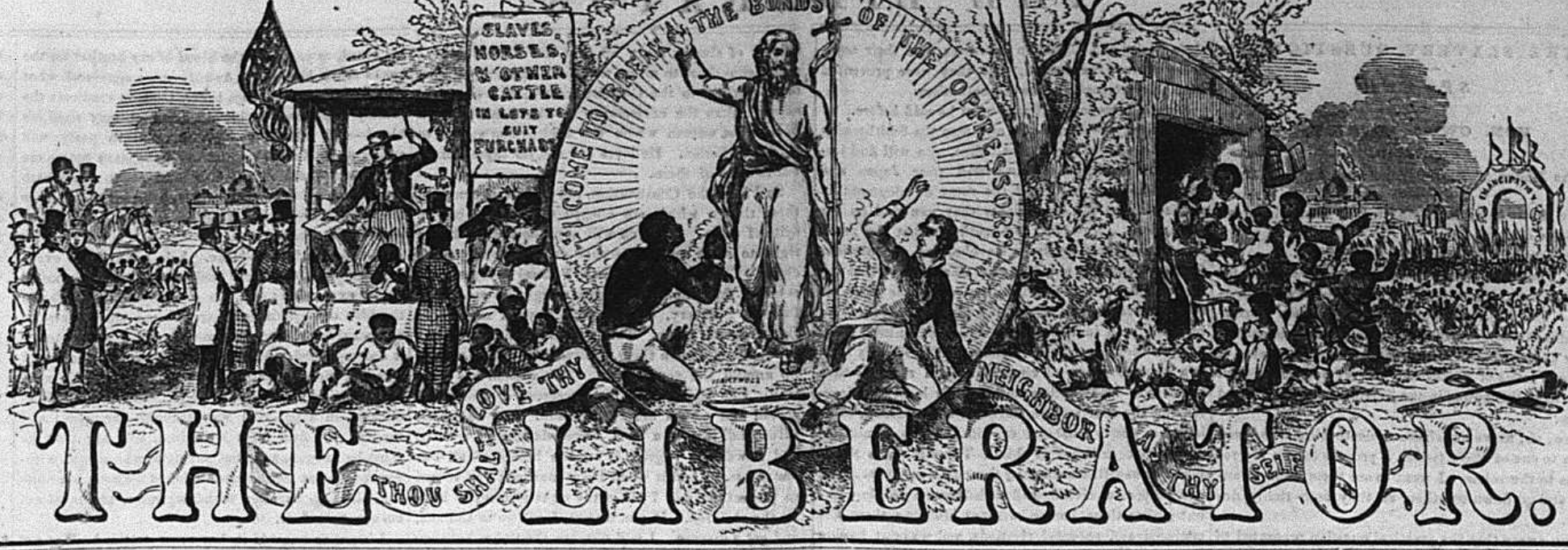


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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1860.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1530.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some 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 FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with 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.
— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Mountain (Richmond) Democrat, March 29.

THE BEECH DIFFICULTIES.

Word having been conveyed to the Vigilance Committee that the man Hanson, notwithstanding the three visits already made to the Beech, had again returned, with the avowed intention of remaining a portion of the committee, to the number of eighteen or twenty, hastily collected together on Monday morning, and proceeded to Beech, for the purpose of removing Hanson from the limits of the county. The Circuit Court being in session, and a majority of the committee being retained as lawyers, grand and petit jurors, and witnesses, and the general expectation that the visit would prove as fruitless in its efforts to find Hanson as the previous ones had, will account for the small number that went. Those present, generally, wore side arms—three fowling pieces only being in the train.

While on the road to Beech, the committee met Green Haley, who, it had been currently reported to the committee, had used very blistering language as to what he and others intended doing if the committee ever visited that way. Upon being questioned, Haley denied such language, stating that he might have spoken excitedly in relation to the matter, but that he did not wish to have anything further to do with it. The committee were satisfied, and rode on.

At Beech, the committee were informed that Hanson was at a certain house, some three miles farther on. The committee proceeded to the house indicated, and as they rode up, a woman emerged from the rear, and struck across the fields. After a thorough search, the house was found to be tenanted solely by women. No one in the shape of a man was observed, and the general supposition is that Hanson escaped, as they rode up, in female disguise.

On the way home, when near Slate Lick Springs, some two miles beyond where the mill of Hanson is located, the committee came across some thirty men, headed by Green Haley, and armed with rifles and shot guns. The leader of the committee, Colonel Reuben Munday, rode forward, and asked if the party were for peace or war. The answer was, that they understood that the committee had Hanson under arrest, and that they intended to rescue him. The party drawn across the road immediately fired at the committee, and returned the fire. After the first fire, the opposite party commenced a drawback movement, retreating to and taking refuge in a house, forming it into a temporary fort. The committee followed them closely, and returned their fire, until having housed them, and their ammunition giving out, they retired. Some three or four rounds were fired by each party, with intermediate discharges from the weapons of parties on either side.

Two of the opposite party are known to be wounded, perhaps fatally. A report on Monday night, that one man was known to have been killed, but could trace it to no responsible source. On the side of the committee, not a scratch was received.

On the return of a portion of the committee with the news of the fight, the excitement in town raged to a fever heat, and every one commenced preparing for a brush the next day. Rifles, shot guns, pistols, powder, buckshot and lead, were in request, and from all portions of the town was heard the sound of preparation.

On Tuesday morning, the people commenced assembling at the place of rendezvous, and by ten o'clock between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty men had collected, who proceeded to the locality of the previous day's conflict, and made a thorough search of every house and possible place of concealment for miles around. No enemy was found, however, and the committee returned. The only event of interest occurring on Tuesday was the dismantling of the mill belonging to the man Hanson.

Today our town has settled down into its usual quiet.

THE ENTERING WEDGE.

The socialists and revolutionists, who dominate in the Republican party, made another advance movement in the Senate of the United States on Saturday. Mr. Trumbull, Republican Senator from Illinois, presented, in behalf of the sectional party, a petition that the Senate would recommend the Legislatures of the States to request Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution of the United States, by the establishment of a line running across the Republic, North of which slave labor should be prohibited, and South of which it should be permitted. The petition was referred to the Judiciary Committee. No man can do but the object of the petitioners, or the result which would attend a convention called in compliance with their prayer. The dissolution of the Union would inevitably follow. Trumbull sees it and knows it. But he dares not resist the socialists and fanatics of the Republican organization, who, though in a minority, yet control the party. The instant the Republican leaders refuse to obey the Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith gang, that instant they die. We think that a majority of the Republican party only intend to extend the extension of slave labor into new Territories, but these men, honest, simple-hearted as they are, have no more positive control in the Republican organization than a poodle dog would have in a cage of infuriated wildcats. The fanatics who direct the Republican party mean to break up this Union, because, like Garrison, they believe it to be a covenant with death and an agreement with hell; and Trumbull on Saturday put in an entering wedge.

THE MORAL OF THE SANBORN BUMPUS.

The Republican party of Massachusetts is divisible into two classes, the deceivers and the deceived. The latter class is made up of honest men, who fear that the Democratic party is going too far in defence of Southern rights, and who act with the Republican organization, thinking it has no purpose in view other than the prevention of extension of slavery into new territories of the United States. The former class is made up of fanatics and rogues; of men like Garrison, Phillips, Parker, Emerson, Howe and Higginson, who are the red Republicans, the Zouaves, the Turcos of the Republican organization. They are the deceivers. They are in a minority; but yet by more physical and intellectual force, more baseness, they control the majority who are the deceived. They are not more than two hundred thousand in number throughout the entire North, and yet they compel the Republican organization to do their bidding. They control legislative bodies, and they are beginning to terrify the courts. They prevented any Republican in Congress from denouncing the Helper Book. They are the drunken mutineers who have taken possession of the North; and they are animated but by one common inspiration, which is hatred of the South, and animosity to the Federal Government. They look upon Washington as the seat of a foreign and an imperial power.

The recent Sanborn affair furnishes another fact—series of facts—to make apparent the purposes of the Republican party under the domination of these political Zouaves.

The central figure in the affair, Sanborn, is, we think, of no possible consequence in any public relation of the transaction. He is one of the scattered, half-educated zealots, who abound in the Republican party. Well enough, he may be, to teach boys and girls chemistry and vulgar fractions, but with no thoughts or ideas above that level. We repeat that he is of no more account than even the smallest of the one-sided men in Massachusetts, who forever babble about the rights of negroes, and think that the end of all government.

In the view we are now taking, the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, upon the very narrow question whether the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate could delegate his authority, is but an incident of the main subject.

The great fact which the occurrence illustrates is this: that the Republican leaders are determined to treat the Federal Government as a foreign and hostile power.

It will not alter the case if Col. McNair, the excellent officer of the Senate, comes, and arrests Sanborn in person. The same resistance will be made to him by these scoundrels who control the Republican party. There will be the same straining after legal quibbles, with which to annoy and thwart the Senate of the United States.

Now, what has occasioned all this disturbance and violation of public law? Nothing but the desire and effort of the Senate of the United States to have Sanborn go before a Committee of that body, and tell what he knows about John Brown's invasion of Virginia. Others have gone there cheerfully for the same purpose, and have borne testimony to the kind and courteous treatment they have received from the Committee. But the Republican leaders in Concord, in order to defy the Federal Government, have inspired the weak brain of Sanborn to be their dupe, and disobey the authority which all good citizens have promptly recognized. We repeat that the affair, in its present aspect, is of no consequence, except as it illustrates how the Republican party means to nullify the laws of Congress, to spit on the Constitution, and in the end either to humiliate the South, or else put them in an attitude of armed resistance to aggression. All the glorification of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for its conduct in releasing Sanborn, is but the expression of joy at victory over the Federal Government. A blow has been struck in Concord at the Constitution, and for that they are glad.

LOVEJOY AND PRYOR.

In an abusive article upon the late rousing anti-slavery speech of Mr. Lovejoy in the U. S. House of Representatives, the New York Herald says:—

Let us see who and what the principal combatants are. Lovejoy belongs to a miserable class of low politicians, representatives of which abound in all the States, and sometimes get into Congress, to the gratification of their immediate neighbors. They are generally brazen-faced, or broken-down editors, or persons who have failed in some honest pursuit, and take to politics for a living with the same views as they would have in going to rob on the highway. Lovejoy himself is a demagogue of the cast-iron order. He is a broken-down editor, nigger-stealer, and nigger-whisperer. He steals his god before he worships him—a most economical arrangement. His

attack upon the slaveholders was quite characteristic. He was as well aware as any one else that, when he abused the great landed proprietors of the South, every word that he uttered was false in its spirit. The gentlemen of whom he spoke are, as a class, refined, cultivated, generous, and far more considerate and humane to their servants than many of the employers of white laborers at the North. All over the civilized world, the name of American Southerner is synonymous with chivalry, generosity and good-breeding. We are describing now the slaveholder, not the poor white man at the South. It is to that class that Lovejoy's comrade, Pryor, belongs. They are, though nominally opposed, in fact brothers-in-arms. Pryor does not own slaves. He is, like Lovejoy, a broken-down editor, and is not considered in his own State or elsewhere as a gentleman. He represents in an eminent degree the poor white man of the South, and earnest of them—the noisy, ruffianly, nobby politician. Lovejoy is the type of the nigger-whisperer; Pryor is the nigger-owner. Lovejoy is a republican border ruffian; Pryor occupies a similar position on the other side. Neither the member from Illinois nor he from Virginia represent, in any way, the constituencies which, unfortunately for the good name of the republic and the boasted civilization of the age, sent them to Washington. Their conduct in the affair of Thursday, in which they were the principal actors, (the others were merely bottle-holders, having undoubtedly emptied the bottles before they came to the House,) was what might be expected of them. To gain notoriety, they would stop at nothing.

LOVEJOY.

The New York Tribune chuckles over the Abolition tirade made by Mr. Lovejoy in the U. S. House of Representatives, on Thursday. The Tribune's Washington correspondent, calls it a 'tremendous philippic!' It was a paltry harangue, both useless and unprovoked. Slavery Mr. Lovejoy styled a twin relic, with polygamy, of barbarism, and he poured forth a strain of the worst calumny on the South. The speaker was as coarse in his manners as in his language. He left his seat, and while talking shook his fist at the Democratic members. The consequence, of course, was a disgraceful scene. Southern men, stung to the quick with the offensive manner and matter of the Illinoisian, gave vent to a natural feeling of resentment, and at one time a collision between Democrats and Republicans seemed inevitable. Mr. Lovejoy, evidently alarmed at the temper he had roused, moderated his tone, and was allowed to finish with only a few sharp interruptions. Mr. Lovejoy is a fair specimen of the Seward-Helperties, and his conduct in the House was truly republican. His gross personalities and insulting fanaticism almost occasioned a mortal combat in the U. S. Congress—apparently what he and his fellow Republicans ardently desire.

POPULAR REACTION.

The people, assisted by an independent journalist, have begun the reaction against fanaticism and political rogues. Their eyes are beginning to be opened to the destructive tendencies of such political philosophers as Lyssander Spooner and Theodore Parker, such politicians as William H. Seward and John Brown, and such fanatics as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. It is clearly seen that these blind leaders aim to destroy the fraternal commerce between the North and the South, and they have succeeded in breaking the fraternal ties of religious communion and party fellowship between them. It is clearly seen that the principles of the black republican party are utterly destructive to the Constitution, which is now the only safeguard of our Union, our liberties, our peace, our commerce, and our prosperity. The issue comes home to every merchant, every manufacturer, every farmer, every banker, every laborer, every artisan, every miner, and every ship-owner. Whoever has a material stake in the present, and whoever has some to whom the future must be preserved, has a direct interest in the coming political issue. The people of New England, with whom the sentiment of material evil is so quick, have perceived the danger, and have begun the reaction against the mania of abolitionism, which is destined to fall before the rising conservatism of the country, as have its preceding manias of anti-masonry, temperance, knavery, and their kindred fallacies.

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. B. R. JOHNSON, ON THE PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL, IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY, MARCH 14, 1860.

MR. CHAIRMAN—In my judgment, the question now before this House is the most interesting and important of any that can come before this or any other legislative body. We are personally and politically, individually and collectively interested in this issue—a issue that overtops and overshadows the many questions of the present—the questions of finance—of commerce—of education—of improvements—indeed, it is the leading question of the day. Without Personal Liberty, of what value are the graces and accomplishments of education? Learning only opens the eyes wider to behold the miseries of intralment—wealth could not line the yoke with silk soft enough to prevent the galling effects of slavery—luxury cannot drug the soul into a state of happiness, while the body is a beast of burden, writhing under oppression. I think no gentleman within the hearing, my voice would exchange with a love for freedom, with its crust of bread and cup of water, and bed of straw, and life of labor, for the most splendid slavery the ingenuity of man can suggest.

While I desire liberty for myself, I desire it also for my neighbors, as well as myself. I could not sit in silence, and witness the intralment of the homeliest of my constituents, or of yours, whether his skin was so thin and fair you could see his heart pulsing with a love for liberty—or black as night, with soul shining through it, as the stars pierce through the darkness.

I know your hearts echo with these sentiments. There is not a man here who would not say to the kidnapper, hands off; that is not a chattel; he is a man; he is a constituent of mine; he is my neighbor, and I am taught to love my neighbor as myself; you shall not steal him and put the yoke on his neck, and brand slave on his forehead. This would be the natural language of every American with a love for liberty in the right place throbbing with noble impulses.

Did I not commit myself to this bill, I should be ashamed to return home to Delaware, and look my constituents in the face.

The citizens of that county whom I in part have the honor to represent, appreciate freedom, and they do not desire to hear the clanking of chains among their hills, and by their river sides.

They do not limit liberty to the white alone, but extend it to the black—to men and women of every climate and complexion, irrespective of creed or politics, so long as they are law-abiding citizens—and they regard even colored men as citizens, notwithstanding Judge Faneu made an effort to repeal the law of God, and blot out the rights of a race in his infamous decision.

I repeat it, sir, I would not dare to return to my constituents, if I did not make an effort to secure the passage of this bill. The streams, unwinding from their spoils of rocks, would shout 'traitor!' and the hills would echo with the rebuke.

I support a personal liberty bill, because I am jealous of the encroachments of Slavery, and deem it dangerous to our liberties to permit the South to make a hunting ground of the North.

But why am I jealous of slavery? Why is it that so many dread it more than they do the 'resistance that wasteth at noon'? It is claimed by the Administration party to be a national institution, supported by the Constitution and sanctioned by the Scriptures. Have we not even heard of a Northern clergyman taking a South-side view of it? and of a Northern lawyer who declared it a blessing—a benign—a just—a lawful and righteous institution? Yes, it is claimed that slavery is right—that it is right to steal a man, and then rob him of his earnings—rob him of his liberty—rob him of his family.

I know not how others come to such a conclusion; for my own part, I entertain different views of right, and of the rights of man.

I hold, sir, that man has rights derived from nature; that they are the gifts of God, and that government cannot annul them. The person, while innocent of crime, must not be sacrificed to society. The rights of which I speak, preceded all human organizations, and that society was formed to protect them, and not to destroy them. That sense of moral obligation which exists in the breast of every human creature, be he European, Asiatic, or African, binds him with a sense of duty, and repeats the beautiful lesson that we are to do unto others, as we would have others do unto us.

The holy emotion that teaches what we should do to others, plainly teaches what others should do to us. The intuitions which restrain one class of men from injuring another class of men, command the latter to do no harm to the former. When conscience forbids the black to do harm to the white, it also forbids the white to do harm to the black. Conscience is not a local attribute, to be used only once a week and in certain latitudes—it is a universal law of our being, and cannot be hemmed in by State laws, nor gagged by statutes, nor smoothed by cotton. You may call it—call it hard names—imprison it—hang it—burn it in effigy—baptize it with blood—bury it under thrones—it still lives, and breathes, and speaks, because it is the voice of God in the soul.

I need not catalogue the rights of man. It must be admitted that he has a right to advance his own happiness and the welfare of others. He has a right to make himself better and wiser. He has a right to improve his condition. He has a right to be regarded as a member of the community in which he lives—a right to be sheltered under theegis of the law—a right to be saved from the indignities—the inhumanity—the coercive cruelty of slavery, so long as he does not trespass on the rights of others. He has a right to social and domestic happiness, and the enduring relations of husband and father. Slavery assaults all these rights—it will not permit the slave to advance his own welfare—it will not allow him to improve his mind, for learning among the slaves is a crime at the South—it seizes the idea of his being a member of society. It allows him to marry, and then steals his wife—it permits him to occupy the relation of father, and then kidnaps his babies from the cradle—it deprives him of the right of self-defence. He must submit to the punishment of the exhorting lash from those whom he has not consented to serve—slavery tramples all the rights of man in the dust—it disfranchises him—it blots out his manhood—it degrades him to the level of the brute—it impudently attempts to wipe out the image of God, and write beast upon his forehead.

Shall we say Amen to those who declare slavery a divine institution? Do we desire it to come here, and snatch away a human being, that he may be converted into a chattel?

Our State is a free State, except the few voluntary white slaves, who seem to be anxious to show their loyalty to the peculiar institution, by returning fugitives to their masters.

This is the Empire State—empire in territory—in internal improvements—wealth and in population. And God forbid that she should become a hunting ground for masters, with creatures wearing administration collars on their necks, to pursue the panting fugitive flying for freedom!

Picture to yourself some slave, whose love of liberty has not been entirely blotted out, who believes with Washington and Jefferson, that all men have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, turning his face toward freedom, and following the light of that lamp which God hangs on the blue walls of heaven, till he finds himself within the borders of the free States. But look again, and see just behind him come the master and United States marshals, and all the apparatus for hunting human game.

The slave, who has been running the gauntlet of human blood-hounds and bullets, hiding himself in caves and dens by day, and fording streams, wading swamps, threading forests by night—feeding on bark and berries, or the crumbs of charity thinly scattered along his perilous pathway, takes to his heels, or, as has been said, 'prays with his feet.' Holy pursued, he hurries on to Valley Forge, where the blood of our fathers reappears in the wild flowers, and the purity of their patriotism is emblazoned in the aroma of the darlings of the rain and sunshine. He hurries past Ticonderoga, where the spirit of Ethan Allen whispers a word of encouragement, in the name of the 'Great God and the Continental Congress.' On, on, he speeds through Saratoga, and over other battle grounds made classic in history, and finally he reaches the capital of the State of New York. The representatives of the people are here assembled. He dashes through the doorway—leaps over the gate, and bounding down the aisle, he finally seeks shelter by the side, or under the desk of my friend Powell. It is a mere accident, but he could not have done a happier thing.

Now comes the tug of war. The Speaker has issued no ticket to this lobby member. The House has passed no resolution granting him its privileges, and yet he is unmolested. Perchance some member hurls at him the statute book, but a friend of the oppressed wards off the missile—another flings the Constitution of the United States at him—another the Bible—another holds up the bogaboo of a dissolved Union; but still he is safe. The doorkeepers hold back the hunter.

The poor slave is spirited away upon the underground railroad. He reaches Niagara, and beholds the white cloud beckoning him to be free. He hears the waterfall shouting freedom, and he passes under the arch of rainbows to the dominions of Queen

Victoria, for liberty—for personal liberty. Humiliate, indeed! Floeing from a republic to a monarchy for freedom!

But it is claimed that this law is unconstitutional; that it conflicts with the Fugitive Slave Law.

Sir, I believe that this bill is constitutional, and that the Fugitive Slave Law is a base violation of our federal compact.

This proposed law in no manner conflicts with the Constitution of New York. In this State men are not chattels, and must not be treated like brotes. Here the right of trial by jury is recognized without inquires respecting complexion. Here he has a right to counsel, and when his life, or his liberty which is dearer still, is at stake, he has a right to challenge the jurors summoned to try him.

Now, sir, shall the Fugitive Slave Code step in here and be admitted as an exception, refusing an innocent man the assistance it gives to the burglar and assassin?

Is the love of liberty a virtue in a white man, and a crime in a black man? Such a crime that he shall not have a fair trial—no counsel—no jury—not even a hearing in self-defence?

Through this bill we ask the Legislature to affirm that God created all men free and equal—that color is not a crime—that negro blood is not a disqualification for citizenship—that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth.

We say by this bill, that when the slaveholder brings his slave to this State, he holds him no longer, but frees him by that act. We say we do not desire our State officers to wear collars upon their necks, and become human hounds.

It is a libel upon our State Constitution, defective in other respects as it may be, to say that this bill conflicts with it.

I further claim that it does not conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

It is not the spirit or letter of that instrument to prevent States from passing enactments of this character. Each State, in certain respects, is an absolute and independent government. Hence it is that we have incorporated in our Republican platform, that we will not attempt to interfere with slavery in the States where it is the creature of local law.

We have delegated a part of our sovereign power to the Federal Government, not for the subjugation of men, not to oppress them, but to protect their rights—their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Sir, before the framing and ratification of the Constitution, this State declared that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, including, of course, the right of trial by jury.

The Federal Constitution does not repeal this established law. Thisegis of protection is afforded to all, irrespective of color or birth.

I hold that the Fugitive Slave Law is unconstitutional, and violates the provisions of the organic law of this State. It pays no respect to due process of law—it tramples upon trial by jury—drags a man from the State merely upon the strength of ex parte evidence.

This infamous slave law can have no binding force here, because we have never surrendered our rights in this direction. We are an independent and sovereign State, and have never consented to sacrifice the person of any human being on the altar of arbitrary enactments.

We have now, as we have always had, the right, the legal, constitutional right, to protect all persons on our soil, irrespective of color, or creed, or conditions in life.

Article tenth, in the amendments to the Constitution, declares, 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or the people.'

Some of our greatest statesmen and jurists have held, that the clause of the Constitution, referring to fugitives from service, was to be executed by the action and law of the State where the runaway was discovered; and that it did not confer any grant of power upon the general government.

Why, then, in the Federal Constitution, the word slave—the term slavery—cannot be found.

This is one of the strongest evidences, that slavery was not endorsed by our patriot fathers.

Let us pass this bill, and nail our flag to the mast of freedom. Let us speak with emphasis, and say that our banner does not wave with stars for tyrants, and with stripes for slaves. Let us stand up for the honor of this noble State. Let us stand by the rights of man—rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution.

I stand by this bill, sir, and urge its passage, because it is right and just, patriotic, humane and scriptural.

Mr. Chairman, have we a right to peril the freedom of forty-five thousand colored citizens of this State? Is it right to convert the three millions four hundred thousand whites into kidnappers? Must we be subject to fine and imprisonment if we give a cup of cold water, or a crust of bread, or a refuge from the storm, to a poor slave? Are we to be compelled by law to aid the master to catch his slave, and help him with his human chattel, on to the land of chains and stripes, and slavery—hopeless, cruel, unmitigated slavery?

It is fair for a quarter of a million of slaveholders to rule with a rod of iron, not only the four millions of slaves, and the free people of color, and the five millions of Southern whites, who would rejoice in the abolition of slavery, but the twenty millions of free people at the North also?

There is an 'irrepressible conflict,' not between the North and the South, but between slavery and freedom. Maine has unfurled her banner to the present, and declares in favor of personal liberty. If a fugitive slave shall be arrested there, the attorney of the State is to defend him, and the expenses of the trial to be taken from the State exchequer. The State and county jails and prisons forbidden to be used as slave-pens; all officers are forbidden, under severe penalties, to aid in the arrest of fugitive slaves. A slaveholder, making an unlawful arrest of a slave, is liable to five years' imprisonment, or a fine of one thousand dollars.

If a slaveholder takes his chattel into that State, that chattel instantly lowers into a man—and the master is punished if he attempts to restrain this sudden growth into manhood.

New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, too, that grand old eagle nest of liberty, and most of the middle and western States, have made similar laws. Shall New York be less humane and patriotic than her sister States? The testimony of these States favors the justice and righteousness of the principles of this bill.

This act will lift a shield between the tyrant and the oppressed. It is right, because it respects the attributes of man, and defends him in the proper exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it wipes from our State the stigma which marks the execution of the Fugitive Slave Code, and lifts our Commonwealth to the lofty position to which her heroism, her intelligence and her self-sacrificing devotion to freedom entitle her. It is humane, be-

cause it breaks the yoke, shivers the chain, and raises humanity from the dust to the Deity—like the Good Samaritan, it finds the slave robbed and bleeding on the highway of human life, and lifts him from the ditch—washes the crusted blood from the piteous and gaping wounds, and stands him on his feet, and stands by his side to shield him, and share the blow that may be raised upon him. It is scriptural, because it comports with the golden rule: 'Whosoever ye would that men should do unto you; do ye even so to them.'

'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.'

A majority of the people of this State desire the passage of the measure, and if we do not pass it, they will send men here who will.

I suppose our democratic friends, many of whom I personally esteem, and many of whom are far better than their politics would indicate, will, of course, on this question, air their patriotic devotion to the Administration, by crossing over to Virginia, by the way of Harper's Ferry; they will shudder at the ghost of John Brown, and repeat the false accusation that he was a Republican, and that his raid was a part of a scheme got up by Republicans, for the purpose of exciting the slaves into this has been a farce upon which the world has smiled. Indeed, the Democratic party, like the lion of Munchausen, swallowed the horse as soon as it found itself in the harness, dragging the chariot. It seems bent on committing suicide on the same scaffold on which Brown was executed, and will die, doubtless, with these words upon its lips: 'Dulci et decorum est pro patria mori.'

Am I asked what I think of John Brown? I do not hesitate to pronounce him a great and good man, with a strong head and a brave heart; but stung to madness by the millions of slaves heaped upon him by the millions of slavery in Kansas.

Giving this answer, I do not implicate any party or any person save myself. For it is well known, here and elsewhere, that the Republican party does not, and never did intend to, interfere with slavery where it exists under the sanction of State law. But it is the design of that party to exert its best efforts, by the use of laudable and constitutional means, to prevent the extension of slavery into States and territories that are now free, and these efforts have stirred up the irrepressible conflict of opinion on this great question. This conflict will not cease until freedom obtains a triumphant victory. It cannot be kept down by bludgeons in the hands of Brooks and Edmondson; cannot be crushed by blows on the heads of Sumner and Hickman. Every such blow struck by ruffian representatives, strikes the people who are represented by those eloquent and able defenders of freedom, who are assaulted at the Capitol. The people will take care of this great question of human liberty.

Slavery is a leech upon the public purse and the vital of the nation, and the irrepressible conflict of it threatens to sap the foundations of our government, and subvert our free institutions. It ventures into our free States, and demands us to catch its fugitives. It insults the United States Commissioners, by offering a double fee when they convict a man of having made an attempt to secure the right with which God has crowned him. It degrades and imbrutes man and woman, offering them for sale like cattle in the market. The hammer of the auctioneer strikes upon the breast, and knocks down humanity to the level of the beast. It destroys the moral and political obligation, and chills the best emotions of our better nature. It makes the negro dishonest, theft being taught him by his master who steals him, and all his earnings. It destroys all patriotic and social ties. It builds a wall of darkness around his soul, and shuts out the light of reason, and the Bible which is not allowed to read, and he gropes through life a heathen under the shadow of the church.

It compels his wife to yield to the wish of his master, and his child to be seized by the sheriff, and sold to pay his master's debts.

I hesitate not to pronounce it an unmitigated evil.

No wonder it has split the church asunder. No wonder it has drawn such a dark political line between the North and the South.

We do not want even the shadow of this accursed thing to fall upon our fair State, and therefore ask for the passage of this bill, for the protection of the whites, as well as the blacks.

Others may do as they please; for my part, I have determined the auction-block shall not be set upon the platform of the State, and that no slave of freedom—the crack of the slave-driver's whip will not deter me in the path of duty—the cuckoo cry of dissolution shall not drive me into humiliating concessions to slavery.

Let us unfurl the flag of personal liberty here at the Capitol, and fling its stars to our free winds, so that it shall wave in triumph from our walls.

THE ARREST OF F. B. SANBORN.

The arrest of F. B. Sanborn at Concord has very naturally excited the people of this Commonwealth, and by the manner in which it was attempted has, in the opinion of many, excited indignation. Nobody, very few persons will deny the right of Congress to compel the attendance of witnesses; and if the government should proceed properly to summon or enforce their summons, the people of Massachusetts would not be hostile to just demands; but the Senate of the United States is as much bound to respect the law as any John Browns or their abettors; and when they do not, the Supreme Court of this State will not be forgetful of its duties, and the legislature should not be backward to protect the rights of the citizen. But beyond simple obedience to the laws, the Senate is bound to proceed courteously and respectfully. There are proper times and ways for action that should govern the strong as well as the weak. Mr. Sanborn had not fled the country; he was not a dangerous man to arrest at noon-day, and with no unusual force. For the great Senate of the United States, on a warrant signed by the Vice President of the nation, to seek a private individual by decoy letters, to seize him under the cover of darkness, and attempt to rush him from his home in irony, partially undressed—having neither hat nor boots on—and allowing him no time to consult friends or legal advisers, is mean, cowardly, dastardly, despotic conduct, that will bring down the honest curses of every decent man in the nation; it is part of the same weakness and cowardly inhumanity that characterized Virginia in her trial and execution of John Brown and his accomplices. The arrest of Sanborn, under the circumstances, by bullies and brutal men, is a parallel to the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, when the soldiers were ordered to defend him in the proper exercise of his manhood. It is patriotic, because it wipes from our State the stigma which marks the execution of the Fugitive Slave Code, and lifts our Commonwealth to the lofty position to which her heroism, her intelligence and her self-sacrificing devotion to freedom entitle her. It is humane, be-

POETRY.

For the Liberator. AMERICA'S MISTAKE. O, young America! with thy fresh life...

LITTLE WILLIE WAKING UP. Some have thought that in the dawning, In our being's freshest glow...

Now I'll go to bed, dear mother, For I'm very tired of play! And he came one summer evening, With his ringlets o'er his eyes...

Never more his 'Now I lay me' Will be said from mother's knee, Never more among the clover...

THE BABY IS DEAD. GATHER pale flowers, A spirit has fled; Twine cypress garlands; The baby is dead!

Lock up the 'coatives,' Put by the crib, Fold the wee stockings, The blanket and bib...

Another will not soon repeat thy error Of placing in the Senate too much trust, Who of some insult to their pride in terror...

And we will forgive thee for conceiving They might be earnest for the truth like thee, And for at last reluctantly believing...

He who endured with fortitude unfinching Far more than death, and more than speech can tell, For serving truth with tongue too all-convincing...

And finally will teach the so-called leaders That they must follow when the people wills.

THE LIBERATOR.

REVIEW OF A DISCOURSE. Delivered at South Hingham, January 29, 1860, by J. J. Brayton, Pastor of the Second Parish.

FRANK GARRISON: This discourse has already been appropriately noticed in the columns of the Liberator; it is now proposed to give it some further attention...

It is claimed that, in general, the physical condition of the slaves of the South is preferable to that of the free negroes of the North...

Now, if all these claims which are put forth so confidently be true, it must be ages before slavery will be exterminated from our midst...

But do all these claims rest upon the 'undisputed professions of Southern men?' Even if this were true, it would fail to convince a reasonable mind of the truth of them...

The following is an extract from the will of the celebrated John Randolph, of Virginia:— 'To my old and faithful servants, Essex and his wife Hetty, I give and bequeath a pair of shoes...

It is proverbial that John Randolph was a kind master and a good provider for his slaves. These were favorite slaves of his, and the memory of their long uncompensated toil seems to have touched the old man's heart...

Mr. Aas Stone, of Natchez, Miss., says:— 'On almost every plantation, the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some seasons of the year. There is always a good deal of suffering from hunger...

Thomas Clay, of Georgia, a slaveholder, says:— 'From various causes, the slave's allowance of food is often not adequate to the support of a laboring man. Were it necessary, the testimony of Southern men might be multiplied ad infinitum...

Dr. Channing, of Boston, who once visited Virginia, relates the following in his work on Slavery: 'I cannot forget my feelings on visiting a hospital belonging to the plantation of a gentleman highly respected for his virtues...

cept as punishment for refractoriness, or from the master's stern necessity, and that it is the custom, if possible, to avoid the separation of families...

It has always (perhaps erroneously) been considered by steady and old-fashioned people, that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits; the owner of orchards to their annual fruits; the owner of brood mares to their product; and the owner of female slaves to their increase...

STOP THE RUNAWAY.—\$25 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, a negro fellow named Nat. He is no doubt attempting to follow his wife, who was lately sold to a speculator named Redmond...

DEALING IN SLAVES has become a large business; establishments are made in several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb-screws and gags...

NEGROES WANTED.—The subscriber, having located in Lynchburg, is giving the highest cash prices for negroes between the ages of ten and thirty years. Those having negroes for sale may find it their interest to call on him, at the Washington Hotel, Lynchburg, or address him by letter...

FAMILIES are not supposed to be separated! We must here respectfully say, that if the reader has not obtained a glimpse of the slave trade by these extracts, it is only necessary to consult Southern newspapers to deceive him in this infamous business of buying and selling human beings...

Now the reader will please to notice in this discourse, that we are charged with insulating this class of humane masters, who are guilty of nothing so bad, perhaps, as selling a mother to one person, and her offspring to another. To call this robbery or theft sounds harsh in polite ears, I know; but if your heart should be robbed, you might then charge somebody with robbing, and be safe from suspicion even of insult...

We are further admonished never to abolish slavery by any other means than 'moral force.' Every kind of compulsion is an evil, and 'an additional weight dropped into the balance of sin.' We are disposed to view this counsel as neither wise, just, nor proper...

It is a general rule on all regular plantations, that the slaves be in the field as soon as it is light enough for them to see to work, and remain there until it is so dark they cannot see. Mr. C. Guildereale, from Georgia, says:— 'It is customary for the overseers to call out the gang long before day, say three o'clock, while dressing out the crops.'

Now let the candid reader here judge whether such labor as this is overtasking the slave or not. I submit that it is such tasking as few, if any of us would be willing to undergo. But we are told that 'the slaves are seldom sold ex-

sentiment into any law would be a waste of time, were it not backed up by a compulsory force adequate in its necessity. It must certainly provoke a smile in every intelligent person to be told that the great despotic 'Russia affords us a still more fresh example of the efficacy of moral sentiment to the same great end.'

It is when the British Lion demanded from the Dey of Algiers that all the Christian slaves should be given up, and never more be guilty of piratically capturing and enslaving white Christians. This demand was refused, and the account says that 'Lord Exmouth anchored before the formidable fortifications of Algiers with five line-of-battle ships, and, before night, they fired one hundred and eighteen tons of powder, and fifty thousand shot, besides shells and rockets...

TO CONCLUDE this long, but, I trust, friendly criticism, I wish to say, there are sentiments in the discourse which we can cheerfully adopt as promotive of good to the cause of universal liberty. But the vision of our friend is yet much obscured, probably by battling so long among the old theological fog-banks...

LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD. HOLLY, N. Y., March 16, 1860. DEAR SIR—Being one of your immediate constituents, I will not waste time in apologizing for addressing you on a topic of vital interest, not to the black man of this country only, but involving the common constitutional liberties of the white man as well...

I belong to the laboring masses. We farmers, mechanics and laborers have but little interest in politics and government, only to vote intelligently, and see that the government is so administered as to secure our liberties—to protect our persons, houses, papers and effects from unreasonable searches and seizures—our life, liberty and property, the freedom of speech, of the press, and of the ballot—to do and enjoy all the acts and rights which freemen have, and of right ought to have, under the Constitution of the United States...

I am old, have been younger,—young enough and old enough, in 1812, to be a pioneer in Western New York, to beat the bush and half beat the British in the second war of independence. Our descendants are numerous; three of them now in the despotic South, and allowed to remain there, and prosecute their business, only under peculiar force of circumstances, which I need not mention here...

Thousands are going South, and will go, to seek a more genial climate, and a larger field for industry and enterprise. Cannot these be protected in their legal and constitutional rights as though they were sojourning in foreign parts? In the latter case, not a hair of their heads dare be touched. The least right of an American citizen abroad compromised, and the whole army and navy are employed for his protection...

I am very familiarly acquainted with two young men, born in this State, graduates of the same noted seat of learning from which Wm. H. Seward took his degrees, who have gone South, one of them two years ago, to Alabama, where he procured a paying situation as teacher, from which comfortable position he has been recently ejected, for the only reason that he was a Northerner; though to my certain knowledge he defended the 'peculiar institution' bravely...

Your speech of Feb. 29, 1860, on the admission of Kansas, was a good one; the Tribune and other friends say that. But I must be allowed to say that, in my opinion, it lacks both completeness and directness. The issue is well taken, and the trial of the culprit, Slavery, well prosecuted—the facts of the aggressions of slavery on Freedom well stated. But what is the remedy? That is the question. This history is familiar to the humblest, but what are the guarantees for the future?

There is one count omitted which strikes deeper at the root of liberty than any one enumerated. The abridgment of liberty of speech and of the press cannot be effected by law. Such a law would be void under the Constitution of the United States, as would the Sedition Law proposed by that ranting demagogue, 'don't care, dare-devil Douglas.' After hav-

ing a little taste of 'Alien and Sedition law,' the Fathers anticipated and stopped such petty tyrants by an amendment, or rather extension of the guarantee of freedom. Art. I, sec. 1, of amendments. But by insurrection—for I substitute this word for mob violence, which I think may be done in this case, and do violence to the meaning of terms—I say, by insurrectionary movements of armed men, thirteen printing presses have been destroyed during the 'irrepressible conflict,' ten of them on professedly free territory, commencing with Elijah P. Lovejoy's, at St. Louis, Mo., who lost his life in defence of a free press, the third one, at Alton, Ill., and ending with that of the Free South, at Newport, Ky., on the 25th of October last, conducted by Wm. S. Bailey. The Federal Government is bound by the Constitution to suppress all insurrections, yet no notice is taken of these; but in case of an insurrection in behalf of freedom, the Government would promptly furnish hangmen and hemp for the offenders...

The present Governor of Kentucky informed Mr. Fee and his forty associates, victims of this insurrectionary violence, on their petitioning him for protection, in substance, that the government of Kentucky was too weak to protect them and their rights against the violence of the mobocrats. Is the Federal Government too weak also? No! if it does not protect, not only these, but every American, as well as home as abroad, it is for want of will. If the States fail to do it, why should not the United States extend its protecting shield? But if this, too, cannot, or fails to protect or secure the liberty of its citizens, the Union is a sham, and the Constitution is not worth the paper on which it is written—fit only to be trodden under foot of men! Are there not members who will propose measures before Congress, and pass them, for the better security of the people under the constitutional guarantees? Doubtless every member is familiar with the provisions of the organic law. If there be any that are not, they are unfit to be there...

After assuring the perfect freedom which would be extended to Southern men in case they saw fit to prosecute a political campaign in the free States for the election of any candidates for office, of any party, on any platform they might choose to adopt, you proceeded to say, 'Extend to us the same privileges, and I will engage that you will very soon have in the South as many Republicans as we have Democrats at the North;—and, I add, anti-slavery, instead of pro-slavery Republicans. It would be preposterous to suppose anti-slavery men residing in the slave States advocating the continuance of slavery in their midst, keeping it where it is, as Northern Republicans do. But this is not my point. 'Extend to us the same privileges.' What privileges? Are not the citizens, both North and South, entitled by right to these privileges, under the Constitution bestowed by the Fathers, without begging them from politicians of the North, or a handful of oligarchs of the South. Must we depend on the nod of these? Or is the operation of these rights to be narrowed down and limited north of Mason and Dixon's line? or to territories where there are no or next to no inhabitants, and slavery extinguished and freedom established by ambuscade in the woods?

'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' Does this mean nothing? 'The freedom of speech or of the press shall not be abridged, or of the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and petition the government for a redress of grievances.' 'Where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and preserved in all criminal cases.' Are these provisions 'glittering generalities' or realities? What is a government worth that does not protect its citizens? Like beggars like. We have had insurrections against freedom without number, but none of the mobocrats or insurrectionists have been brought to justice, or an attempt made in that direction, though the government is bound to suppress these, and protect the people from their violence. How long think you this state of things shall last, ere an opposing insurrection breaks forth, for the security of rights which the government fails to protect, which might grow to revolution and be difficult to overcome, and sweep the disturbing element from the land? Slavery propagandists better not tempt that day! Scarcely a speech is delivered by Southern members, in either House of Congress, without a sprinkling of vehement clamor relative to Southern rights under the Constitution, mingled with fierce threats of disunion unless they are allowed such rights...

Why should not the Constitution be analyzed in their presence, and see how the account stands? Slavery has no part nor lot in that instrument; it is not polluted by it. The Fathers found slavery in all the States but one, and under the rule they themselves adopted, that 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.' Article X. of Amendments. Slavery, or the right to hold slaves, was never 'delegated to the United States,' nor 'prohibited by it.' The Fathers left it where they found it, in the States, and said to those States, 'When your laborers run away, you may catch them, if you can, and no sister State shall let them go or hinder. And they gave further liberty that they might be represented in Congress, not as chattels, but as 'persons'—men. Here is all there is of slavery in the Constitution of the United States, and that is none at all; it is an institution outside of that, belonging to the States, and if the Constitution were enforced, would push slavery to the wall, and these two provisions would die of their own accord, outside the camp, like the leprous person under the Levitical code, without an expunging from the statute books, 'for there would be no slaves to run away, and none to represent.'

You say abolition cannot follow from the action of the Constitution. Give us protection and free play to speech, press and ballot, and we would batter it down while you were firing the first platoon of blank cartridges in the territories. Nay, more—the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government.' Give fair play to this untried battering-ram, and slavery would be rooted from the American soil, and numbered with the things that were, for a slave government is a despotism, not a republican form of government.

You say the Republican party will 'take up the word Union, coupled with Liberty, come what may, in victory as in defeat, in power as out of power, now and forever.' This sounds very well indeed on paper. But words, it is said, are 'empty things.' What is the fact of Union and Liberty? There is none, unless discord and tyranny are union and liberty. Slavery is the constant, ever-present, disturbing element; the numerous historical facts in the speech under review show this. It breeds, and will breed, discord and tyranny. There are more union, liberty and fraternity between the British possessions under monarchical government, stretching along our northern borders and the north, than between the Northern and Southern States of this pretended Union. Notwithstanding the immense sacrifice of blood and treasure to wrench ourselves from England, after eighty years' trial, there is more safety and liberty today, under the British Government, than under our own Federal Administration, and all right-minded men and women would choose the former to the latter. Will American statesmen continue this state of things till the General Government becomes a hissing and by-word among the nations, contemptible in the eyes of the American people, and our experiment proves a failure?

The President is being put on trial for the alleged corrupt misapplication of public money. The money of the people is of small value, compared to their liberties. In my humble opinion, the Executive should extend the protecting arm of the Government by proclamation, backed by suitable force, as a protection

and passport to every citizen of the Republic, in his person, house, papers and effects, in his life, liberty and property, to travel and to speak, to write, print, and circulate any printed matter; liable for the abuse of these privileges, not to lynch law, but only to the laws and Constitution of the land; and all branches of the government should unite and suppress every unauthorized combination of armed men, under whatever pretext.

Most respectfully yours, C. ROBINSON. MR. PILLSBURY'S LECTURES. EARLVILLE, (Illinois), March 22, 1860. To the Editor of the Liberator.—Having just read a letter, published in your paper, signed by M. H. Hartz and others, respecting PARKER PILLSBURY'S lectures in Earville, we could not, in justice to ourselves or to Mr. P., let it pass unnoticed. It is not our wish to be understood as applauding or denouncing the public or private course of citizens here, but simply to state the cause of this difference in opinion, or this strange version of Mr. P.'s effort here. We are quite sure there is not an independent thinker here, who will not give his testimony with us. In the first place, A. J. Grover is a very rational man, with large combativeness and a susceptible temperament; one who is ever ready 'to do battle for the right,' as he sees it. In politics, a real 'Garrisonian Abolitionist,' so called here. In religion, an avowed opposer to everything sectarian. Consequently, he has many personal enemies, especially amongst our church-loving people. Secondly, our citizens (very many of them) deem radicalism in religion as infidel or atheistical; in politics as traitorous. With this difference in the political and religious constitution of individuals, would they receive the same impressions of a discourse upon human freedom (all being honest)? If so, whereas would be the most likely to be correct? Remembering Parker Pillsbury in the East and the West to be the self-same man, could you recognize him in the vulgar, self-important, political partisan as described by our citizens? Could you see in their picture the long well-known, unassuming, firm, honest, eloquent and fearless advocate of human rights? His first lecture, although not anti-slavery direct, certainly was in effect—being a most eloquent appeal to the higher faculties of every individual to be himself, to act upon his own responsibility; not to give an abolition vote because he did, but under all circumstances each to be true to his own highest convictions of right. Would every one build upon this superstructure, how soon the wall of the African race, and the cries of the oppressed in every land, might be turned into songs of joy! Would some of our citizens throw aside their sectarian glasses and personal animosities, we think they would not understand Mr. P. as denouncing all who do not believe with him as hypocrites and renegades, or as desiring to demolish the church universally, because he gave a rather severe reprimand to the American or pro-slavery church,—making a strong distinction (as we understood him) between this and the true Christian church, which says practically, 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' Of his last discourse, (not being able to attend,) our family said—'We have listened to one of the noblest, most powerful efforts in behalf of human freedom ever uttered.'

Yours, in the love of right, S. HOXIE RICHARDSON. LETTER FROM A FRIEND. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—The following extracts from the letter of a whole-souled anti-slavery woman, written soon after the John Brown demonstration at Harper's Ferry,—I feel deserve an insertion in the Liberator. If you think so, I will take the responsibility of publishing what was penned only for my own reading. W. C. N.

'We read everything connected with the present exciting crisis, and I rejoice that it is my privilege to sympathize with the oppressed. Our anti-slavery leaders have acted nobly in this matter, and even more fully than I expected have they endorsed John Brown. I was afraid they would feel such repugnance to his means of attacking the evil, that it might lead them to censure him somewhat. I have faith in the awakening of public sentiment. If all anti-slavery persons would be as faithful as a few are, and believe that in time the South would yield to the power of reason and truth. I am fully committed to the side of moral influence, and yet I cannot blame the slaves for taking freedom at any hazard; indeed, I should blame them for not doing it, if I did not believe they were too ignorant, as a mass, to be successful. I could not advocate the shedding of blood, if I believed it right, as I have not the physical courage to aid in it; and I would not urge others into danger I was myself afraid to face. Still, I think John Brown acted nobly, and so did his family; and I feel, when reviewing the scenes of the past month or two, as though I was not worthy even the name of an abolitionist, so little have I ever done for the cause of freedom. I do not expect that slavery will ever be abolished peacefully, for all minds do not operate in accordance, even for the promotion of the same end; therefore I endorse Garrison's view of the subject, and say, welcome to every effort truly on the side of freedom! How much those people miss who do not read anti-slavery papers!

This reminds me to tell you, that an exceedingly interesting and cultivated young friend of mine has become an enthusiastic abolitionist, under the teaching of the Liberator, which I have lent him; and he in turn lends it to others, who enjoy it highly. The amusing thing is, that he is most warmly engaged in the advocacy of fighting for freedom. So you see that Garrison has a hand in making all sorts of abolitionists!

RECEIVE, by Steamers and Packmen, from England, the latest and best styles and qualities of Carpets, comprising Wiltons, Velvets, best qualities of Brussels, Tapestries, Three-plys, Kidderminster, &c., Painted Floor Cloths (of all widths and qualities), Rugs, Mats, Bookings, Feltings, Canton and Cocoa Mattings. ALSO— AMERICAN CARPETING. ALL WHICH ARE OFFERED AT THE LOWEST PRICES. For cash or approved credit. Sept 16 if

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

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXX. NO. 17.

REFUGEE OF OPPRESSION.

A CONSERVATIVE STAND.

The New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has safely emerged from the distracting slavery discussion which has occupied most of its time for several days.

The resolutions from the Erie Conference, asking the New York Conference to recommend the use of all slaveholders without distinction from the Church, was lost by the overwhelming vote of 123 to 43.

On Tuesday, a number of delegates who were absent the day previous, when the vote was taken on the Erie resolutions, or preferred not to vote at that time, recorded their votes as follows: Nays 21, yeas 2; making the entire expression of sentiment against abolishing the Church more than three to one.—N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

A BOGUS SET OF MARTYRS.

The Black Republicans just now have several investigating martyrs who are anxious, in a small way, for somebody to hurt them.

The first of these is Hyatt, who is now luxuriating in the Washington jail, because the Senate of the United States will not back down and acknowledge that he is right.

The next is Sanborn, of Massachusetts, who furnished old Brown with money and means with which to invade a State of the Union, and commit murder and treason.

The third is Cassius M. Clay, who is lately out with a statement that his neighbors contemplated assassinating him because he was a Black Republican.

The fourth is Booth of Wisconsin, who, like Hyatt, is luxuriating in jail, serving out a term for violation of law.

MR. SUMNER—MUCH THE SAME. The colloquy between the Senator and Mr. Mason shows the former in no creditable light.

MR. LOVEJOY'S TRIESTE. We have read with great disgust the speech delivered by Mr. Lovejoy of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, April 5th, on the wearisome and interminable Slavery Question.

MANNERS AT WASHINGTON. In London, the other day, it was announced on the best pugilistic authority, that 'the true British pugilist is the soul of manliness and honor.'

THE BULLY OF THE DUO. The bully of the duo is usually very shy of any quarrel which really looks dangerous.

THE MASK THROWN OFF. THE MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICANS MAKE COMMON CAUSE WITH THE BROWN DISORGANIZERS.

TRIAL OF REV. DANIEL WORTH. A correspondent of the Raleigh (N. C.) Standard gives an account of the trial of Rev. Daniel Worth for circulating 'Hilper's Crisis,' from which we extract the following passage:—



THE LIBERATOR

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1531.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some 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 FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with 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.'—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

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