

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 Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE ALTERNATIVE: A Separate Nationality, or the Africanisation of the South.

Extracts from a pamphlet printed at New Orleans, entitled as above—

A sectional party, inimical to our institutions, and alien to our people, is about taking possession of the Federal Government. The seed sown by the early Abolitionists has yielded a luxuriant harvest.

When Lincoln is in place, Garrison will be in power. The Constitution, either openly violated or emasculated, is its true meaning and spirit by the subtleties of New England logic, is powerless for protection.

We are no longer partners to a federal compact, but the victims of a consolidated despotism. Opposition to slavery, to its existence, its extension and its perpetuation, is the sole cohesive element of the triumphant faction.

It is not an election, but a usurpation, which we are to witness. The forms of constitutional liberty may have been observed, but the spirit of tyrannical dictation has been the presiding genius of the day.

To the conservative men of the North, who sacrificed their time, treasure, interest and popularity in our behalf, and who have professed their blood in our defence, we have no language which can truly express the gratitude of our hearts.

It has not been more than twenty-five years since Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston, with a rope around his neck, for uttering Abolition sentiments; and not thirty years since, the abolition of slavery was seriously debated in the Legislature of Virginia.

Now, on the contrary, the radical opinions of Sumner, Everett, and others, are applauded in Faneuil Hall; and the whole Southern mind, with an unparalleled unanimity, regards the institution of slavery as righteous and just, ordained of God, and to be perpetuated by man.

Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains. The doctrine that there exists an irrepressible conflict between free labor and slave labor is as false as it is mischievous.

When a Northern Confederacy can no longer, like a vampire, suck the blood of the sleeping and compliant South; when agrarianism, and atheism, and fanaticism, and socialism, do their perfect work in a crowded and crowding population, will not the dark enigmas of free-labor civilization press heavily upon it, and the dread images evoked by the prophetic vision of Macaulay arise—taxation, monopoly, and slavery, misery of the masses, ruin, standing armies, and a question as to these slaves, the strange epitaph written for this nation by Elwood Fisher—

between us as to the fanaticism and tyranny of the North, no difference as to the wrongs and injuries of the South. Some of us would give the North a last chance to abandon her false position, to make apologies and amend, and to secure us in the strongest bonds imaginable, against not only the encroachments, but the existence of the Republican party.

To the professed Abolitionists, that motley crew of men who should be women, and of women who should be men; who see in Fred Douglass a hero, and in John Brown a martyr; whose venom is proportioned to their ignorance, as some animals are said to be fiercest in the dark; and who are ready to perpetrate the blackest crimes in the name of liberty, and under the garb of virtue, we have nothing to say.

The Republican party itself, the best and worst of us, we charge with having outraged our feelings, violated our rights, and initiated a policy, which, if carried out, will be destructive of our liberties. It is not an election, but a usurpation, which we are to witness.

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find their likeness in their grand-children, not their children. Thirty years passed from the triumph of Jefferson to that of Jackson, the representatives of the ideas of their generations. Thirty years have passed from the triumph of Jackson to that of the Anti-Slavery sentiment, not in the person of its recognized exponent, but still in the strength of its mighty feeling and purpose.

This thirty years covers the era of agitation: covers the adult life of its promoters. You will find on the Liberator of this year, "Volume XXX," and this sheet has the honor of initiating the movement in this Nation.

The Conscience was aroused very slowly. The deadly slumber was pleasant. Churches, societies, parties, everybody, disliked to be disturbed. But the young men sympathized with young Mr. Garrison and his young ideas. Young Mr. Seward, then emerging into public life, felt the throbbing of the new inspiration.

Young Mr. Phillips and Mr. Sumner, then students at Harvard or on their way thither; the youthful Tappan, and Leavitt, and Loring, and Giddings, and Gerrit Smith, caught the flame in their fresh and sympathetic hearts, and commenced kindling it in the breasts of others. Dr. Channing and John Quincy Adams were among the only men of accomplished fame that endorsed the enterprise, and they did not publicly cooperate with its youthful managers.

Soon bitter conflicts sprang up in the breasts of these young philanthropists. The fresh-armed men began to bite and devour one another, and were well-nigh consumed one of another. Yet still the great inspiration moved on, through them, in spite of them. New measures were required by the progress of the sentiment. The conscience growing, demanded a chance to express itself at the ballot-box.

This was resisted by Garrison. He did more than this. Led by his love of free speech, he permitted some of his leading associates to burden the candid mind with gross infidelities and unbecoming personalities. Would that, in his sphere of effort, and to the measure of his large abilities and influence, he had kept his liberty from becoming licentiousness. Would that, he, like Wilberforce, had kept his heart sweet with prayer and piety through the whole of this great war.

Wisdom, not larger hearts, took the reins; or, rather, on different parts of the same field, with different weapons, they fought the common foe.

This conscience has steadily increased until this hour. It has not been the same of thirty years ago. It has grown up under its power; for the mass of men are under forty-five years. The impressive youth of fifteen, who drank of this new wine when it was first pressed from the grapes of a fresh experience, is to-day the Governor elect of your Commonwealth.

The poor youth of twenty, toiling in the solitude of Western rivers and forests, learning to abhor slavery because of its contempt for the honorable industry, is to-day the civil leader of the cause and country.

Thus has the conscience which moved our grandfathers to the great work of personal liberation, moved us towards the completion of their work, in the liberation of more persons than their valor saved, from a bondage infinitely worse than that which pressed them down.

leaders, have been prompted either by an unwise desire to commend the anti-slavery cause to the lips of slaveholders, by removing from the bitter and essential ingredients that strengthen the potion, or else by the temptations of ambition.

"That last infirmity of noble minds." In either case, they will yet be regretted more than any other of their utterances.

If he be called fanaticism, I am content to bear the imputation. I am not alone in this State, however it may be elsewhere, if the late election truly expresses the sentiment of the people. The election of Governor, by the largest vote, more than all others, labored to save him from that "just" death, who publicly endorsed his character, if not the abstract rightfulness of the attempt, such an elevation of his best friend to our best office is a strong evidence that our common sense and common humanity are getting the better of our fears and prejudices.

The hated Mordcaai already descends, here, from the gallows of public condemnation on which the Haman of a subtle pro-slaveryism had hung him, and rises through our streets in the royal apparel of executive sovereignty, as the man whom the people delight to honor. As if to show that this remarkable act of the people of Massachusetts was not the blind following of blind political leaders, but a silent yet real voice of approval, her favorite lyric poet comes forth, and places a garland of exquisite beauty and perfume on the grave of the hero.

Under the influence of his religious training, the Quaker Whittier cast upon his coffin a hastily gathered wreath of bitter herbs. But true also to the fundamental principles of his faith, through the influences of the events and reflections of the past year, he has discovered the "Lantern Light" of superior truth, and with characteristic frankness has published the revelations of that Light. A late poem, written on the liberation of Italy, by its own confession, covers the whole ground of the present controversy. The laurel which places on Garibaldi's brow, he hangs alike on John Brown's tomb. Hear the sentiment of almost every Christian in these true and tender and solemn words:

"I dreamed of Freedom slowly gained By Martyr meekness, patience, faith; And, lo! an athlete, grimly stained, With sworded muscles battle-strained, Spelling it from the field of death!"

I know the pest he leaves the crust, That sultry slates the bolts will form To smother them; great God, what must The balance of her powers adjust, Though with the earthquake and the storm.

And who am I whose prayers would stay The solemn recompense of time, And lengthen Justice's evil day, That outraged Justice may not lay Its hand upon the sword of crime!

God reigns, and let the earth rejoice! I bow before His sterner plan; Dumb are the organs of my voice; He speaks in battle's sternest tone, His praise is in the wrath of God!"

If the violent act of one man thus paralyzed this iniquity, much more will the peaceful act of millions tend to its annihilation. Our righteous and successful course will not be instantly answered in a similar spirit. It may at first, it undoubtedly will, intensify the rage that already burns in their breasts, seven-fold hotter than it did aforetime. This rage and fear will gnash upon us with its teeth, will seek to frighten us, by financial crises and threats of secession, into submission. Let us not be alarmed. Let but Wall Street look on and hold on, calm and cool, as Menelaus did when Proteus sought to elude him by assuming terrific shapes and making beauty noise, and the monster now, as they will become tame and humble. Our greatest danger is in the cowardice of the moneyed power. The Church is getting ready to do her part. Politics is doing hers, and now the third of our social forces must do hers. If she fails, if she whines and grows pallid, and begs her dear slaveholding brethren to desist, and promises Northern repentance and its meet works, she will only encourage them in their course. She can never change the course of the Republic. Freedom is more than trade, liberty than wealth. Our fathers have said so twice. We shall not fail to repeat the word, if it must be spoken.

THE ADMISSION OF NEW MEXICO.

The following is the concluding portion of a very able and tersely written communication which appeared in the Boston Atlas and Bee a few days since—

A proposition to admit New Mexico as a free or slave State, slavery not having been already prohibited by act of Congress while it was territory, is in direct conflict with our declared principle, at Philadelphia, in 1856, it was declared by the Republicans to be both "the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories, those twin relics of barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery."

The Chicago Convention affirmed the same principle as to "all the territory of the United States." Mr. Lincoln at Freeport, in reply to Mr. Douglas's question,—"I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south, of the Missouri Compromise line," answered, "I am implicitly, if not expressly pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories." Now, in all these declarations of opinion, where is there any exception of New Mexico? None, whatever. No delegate would have had the hardihood to propose such an exception in the Chicago Convention. Had Mr. Adams proposed it in the Convention at Milford which nominated him for Congress, he could not have obtained a vote for it.

But the same clause is in the acts creating the territorial governments of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah. Singular language, "all territory," with such vast and magnificent exceptions! What is there left, but the territory of Washington and perhaps Dacotah, to which to apply the much vaunted doctrine?

If the Republicans have any principle, it is that Congress is bound to prohibit slavery in New Mexico; but if it fails to do so because our opponents are in a majority, then it is our duty to resist its admission as a slave State. If not, why will we defeat Eli Thayer? Why did Mr. Sumner make those elaborate and most able speeches at Fitchburg and Worcester to maintain the integrity of our cause? And how will Mr. Adams now differ from Mr. Thayer? In both instances, as Mr. Sumner said of Mr. Thayer, "it is a mistake over which history will drop a tear."

There are those, we know, who approve of the position of Mr. Adams. The Boston Courier have given him friendly recognition. There may be timid, half-hearted Republicans who are willing to accept it. Some men without convictions may rejoice, for it leaves them time to hatter, away our cause, no breakerwater, as they think, being left to resist the swell of a reaction. But from the West, from the Republicans who have grown up under the teachings of Abraham Lincoln, comes a different voice. They tell us that they made more votes in Egypt by the odious slave code of New Mexico than all other reasons, and they stand amazed at Mr. Adams's position.

It is said by a Washington correspondent of the Traveller, that business men have written to Mr. Adams, imploring him to do something to assuage the storm which is so high, and Mr. Adams should uphold the courage of such. He can see lights they cannot see, and bear voices they cannot hear. From the serene altitudes of history and philosophy, he can beckon them to be of good cheer. Historian as he is, statesman as he should be, he knows that in times like this, when a mere expedient may defeat the very end it was designed to effect, principles alone are the safe guide. The temper of his constituents is firm. Even among merchants with Southern trade we have heard it said, with beautiful heroism, "We will lose all, rather than compromise the rights of freedom." It was the most glorious day in the life of John Adams, not when he stood in the presence of George III, the first ambassador of the triumphant colonies, or later, when he took his oath as President of the United States, but when, in the darkest of colonial struggles, he set his face against compromises, and walked the streets of Philadelphia, the countenance of John Dickinson averted from him. An Adams never won fame in making compromises.

Said Abraham Lincoln, in his speech at the Cooper Institute, the best condensed speech of his life, full of wisdom and hope, in fit words for the hour—

"Wrong as we think slavery is, we can afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the Nation; but we will not, while our voters will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States! If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances, true enough, but of a middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who shall be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as all true men do care—such as Union, opposition, keeping free, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by a din of words that are empty of sense, and that fail to do our duty, as we understand it."

PROTEST.

The following protest was written by a citizen of Milford to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Representative in Congress from this District, and signed by about a dozen other persons, who happened to come in contact with it before it was transmitted to Washington. Had it been circulated for signatures among the Republicans of the District, it is probable that it would have been extensively signed—

Many of us who voted for you in the last election, myself especially, had much confidence in the anti-slavery sentiment of your convictions. We remembered that you had never repudiated the Buffalo Platform upon which you stood in 1848; that you was the personal friend of our almost idolized Sumner—and we remembered your ancestry. We can understand, even if we will not be comforted, the matter of Burlington's defeat; and since the Ninth Congressional District had told the Hon. Eli Thayer, "No! no! we do not want your 'Squatter Sovereignty' in any shape," we had supposed that all was well. But we are disappointed! We had begun to take pride in Massachusetts; she has never been so grandly represented in the Senate as since Sumner and Wilson—the scholar and mechanic—types of her learning and her industry, have been chosen; and in John A. Andrew we have, at last, secured the philanthropist Governor.

I do not know the opinions of the leaders in this District; they may express themselves with greater caution; but they do not have a party that can be counted upon to support of a man who is not sound upon the idea of "No more Slave Territory." We are ready for just one compromise, viz.: Massachusetts to contribute two millions of dollars to give to the Legislatures of the Cotton States a good common school education. Millions for Education, but not one inch to Slavery, is our word—Milford (Mass.) Chronicle.

THE ADAMS COMPROMISE.

We think it safe to say, that the course of no man in the present Congress, has so much surprised the whole country, and especially New England, as that of Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts. Judging him by his past record, and by the traditional devotion to liberty which is his inheritance, not a man in Congress, from any section, but would have been expected to yield a vital point of the Republican platform before him. And yet, he was the first man to propose a compromise, which either meant a fraud upon the South, or a surrender of an immense territory to slavery. This is just what the proposition to admit New Mexico as a slave State, means, in other words, to give up all our South-western territory, both present and prospective, to slavery, or it means to hold out a deceptive lure, which will be either a downright betrayal of freedom, or it is a downright fraud. In either case, it is unworthy of an Adams, or of an honest Republican.—Concord (N. H.) Democrat.

SOUTH CAROLINA—HER STRENGTH AND HER WEAKNESS.

We are not of those who "calculate the value of the Union." It has a measure of value, in our estimation, totally unapproachable by any figures of dollars and cents; but when a portion of it seems disposed to go off, to leave the shelter and protection of the stars and stripes, and set up for itself, we have a right to calculate its value. In the matter of paying their share of the family expenses, the cotton States have been sadly deficient, but not so much as they are now. So long as all live together under one roof, certainly it is not convenient, but it is no crime to be poor; but then it is not honest for those who pay but a third part of what it costs to support them, to pretend that they have all the wealth, pay all the bills, and threaten to break up the establishment, unless they can manage it exactly in their own way. We hope that some man of common sense may yet turn up in these cotton States, with boldness enough to cure them of their madness—to prevent them, in short, from imitating South Carolina.

These States, to do as they please, have displayed their connection with the Union, and set up for herself. To bear the grandiloquent boasts of some of her citizens on this event, a stranger to her position and her weakness would be led to conclude that she had escaped from some unbearable oppression, and that, rich in everything that goes to make a State, she is now on the high road to that prosperity she has so long been seeking in vain. "What constitutes a State?" "Men, high-minded men." And what is her strength in this respect? In 1856 she had (estimated) a population of 708,000, of which four-sevenths were slaves (not much of a high-minded men) there) and one-seventh, at least, but a slight more from paupers; leaving two-sevenths of the whole population to furnish the State with "high-minded men." And how are such men to be made? By education mainly. In 1852 the appropriation of the State for this purpose was the paltry sum of \$36,000. In 1856 one-half of her 78,000 children had no schools provided for them, and 20,000 of her adult whites could neither read nor write. Not much doing, we should say, to form the necessary complement of "high-minded men." Coming down to physical means, we find her carrying a heavy public debt for so small a State, (\$3,145,000 in 1850); with some ten millions of paper currency based on \$3,200,000 of gold; with no internal resources but direct taxation—her own citizens having no money to lend; and without the shadow of credit abroad; with a slave population of 400,000, a paper population of 100,000, and a self-supporting population of 200,000. In the late prosperous years for her staple, she has been able to consume of foreign imports about \$3,000,000 annually, and if that consuming power still exists, she might collect a revenue on imports of six or seven hundred thousand dollars, which, added to her present direct tax of six hundred thousand dollars, would give her a total income of twelve to thirteen hundred thousand dollars; or, if she establishes free trade, she might possibly raise the whole amount by direct taxes. Out of these means her wise men propose to support an army of 10,000 men at a cost of eight millions annually, to buy or build a marine of sufficient strength and numbers to guard two hundred miles of sea coast, which is full of harbors and inlets, to send ambassadors to foreign States, and to do all that independent nation can and ought to do!

Hereto she has lived on credit—always in debt for next year's crop—now she proposes to pay up and buy for cash; or whether she proposes to or not, she will have to buy for cash, for nobody will sell her people on credit.

She has two elements of strength—inordinate self-esteem, on which she is swelling up like the inflated frog; and an overweening pride, which closes her eyes on dangers of every kind, and makes her an inflammable population, of 400,000 people, the most abject bondages, were they carried out blindly for liberty at any time, requiring care and watching all the time, and at every point. She has 100,000 poor whites, now excited to piracy in the cause of independence, because they hope to reap advantage from it, who will be very apt to take a lurch the other way, and become a thorn in her side, when they find that hope is not to be realized. She holds out no encouragement to immigrants who might strengthen her weakness; on the contrary, she stands

Selections.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE.

Extracts from a very eloquent and able Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered in the Harvard Street M. E. Church, Cambridge, Sunday evening, Nov. 11, 1860, by Rev. GEORGE HAYES, Editor of Zion's Herald—

A great calm follows a great storm. The children of the revolutionary parents were fed in a principle, low in moral tone. They were tired of great ideas and great deeds. The overstrained nature sprang back to the narrower range which men naturally prefer. The leading men of that age, men who have just left us, were far below their fathers in greatness of nature, and will be incalculably beneath them in greatness of fame. Clay, Calhoun, Adams, Webster and Jackson, its five representative men, present to the historian no such lofty traits of character or service as shine in the names of five representatives of the preceding era, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and Franklin.

John Quincy Adams alone of his peers held forth the light that glowed in his youth. But not he, till he had descended from the presidential throne into the vale of age and comparative political obscurity. Hardly a word of his can be quoted before his seventieth year, that has the ringing sound of liberty. How different from the young John Adams in the mass meetings of Boston, the Provincial Congress and Independence Hall! Fortunate was he that those last few years and that congressional opportunity were given him.

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"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever favored with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This instrument of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-five States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more perilous to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of person. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a mischief to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

ly rejects them—fords their landing on her shores. Her commercial marine is next to nothing. The whole production of her labor and capital is less than \$75 a head for her whole population, and to crown the whole, she has not a man within her borders—at least no one has yet shown himself—who has common sense enough to be aware of all these elements of weakness. If any evidence were wanted that "pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," we have it in abundance in the recent movements of the people of this weak and poor State; floating their emblem of pride and poverty, and wearing their *litham*, in the face of the Union, and threatening us with war if we dare attempt to keep our own property, or to enforce the laws which they have helped to make. To intelligent foreigners, the pompous declarations of these South Carolina dignitaries must appear supremely ridiculous, and if we had a President of the United States of ordinary courage and ability, and true to his trust, they would soon become so at home, or rather they would never have found utterance. After all, however, the people of South Carolina are not so much to blame; their ignorance has been imposed upon, their cupidities excited, their self-esteem puffed out, their pride aroused by the frauds, falsehoods and perversions of a few men—bankrupts in fortune, integrity and patriotism—to whom any change promises improvement, and who, by their own confession, have been thirty years employed in the villainous work before they could bring the people to the sticking point. We speak of South Carolina, therefore, more in sorrow than in anger; for whatever may be the effect of her movements upon the other States of the Union, on herself it can only be bad, and constantly proving worse. If she succeeds in dragging other States with her into the slough of secession, it will not help her condition; if she fails in that, and has to stand alone, it will be so far better that she will the sooner see the folly of it, and banish from her councils the traitors who have misled her.—*Boston Journal.*

SENATOR SEWARD ON THE CRISIS.

The following is the conclusion of Mr. Seward's speech, delivered in the U. S. Senate on the 12th inst. Here I might close my plea for the American Union; but it is necessary, if not to exhaust the argument, at least to exhibit the whole case. The disunionists, consciously unable to stand on their mere disappointment in the recent election, have attempted to enlarge their ground. More than thirty years there has existed a considerable—though not heretofore a formidable—mass of citizens in certain States situate near or around the delta of the Mississippi, who believe that the Union is less conducive to the welfare and greatness of those States than a smaller Confederacy, embracing only those States which would be benefited by the removal of the disunionists resulting from the election to put into operation the machinery of dissolution long ago prepared, and waiting only for occasion. In other States, there is a soreness because of the want of sympathy in the free States with the efforts of slaveholders for the recapture of fugitives from service. In all the slave States there is a restiveness resulting from the resistance which has been so determinedly made within the last few years, in the free States, to the extension of slavery in the common Territories of the United States. The Republican party, which has its votes for the successful Presidential candidate on the ground of that policy, has been allowed, practically, no representation, no utterance by speech or through the press, in the slave States; while its policy, principles, and sentiments, and even its temper, have been so misrepresented as to excite apprehensions that it denies important constitutional obligations, and aims even at interference with slavery and its overthrow by State authorities or intervention of the Federal Government.

Considerable success, even in the free States, interested in the success of these misrepresentations as a means of partisan strategy, have left their sympathy to the party claiming to be aggrieved. While the result of the election brings the Republican party necessarily into the foreground in resisting disunion, the prejudices against them which I have described have deprived them of the cooperation of those who would otherwise be their natural allies. The Unionist, although it involves the first national calamities, the result might be doubtful; for the Republican party is weak, in a large part of the Union. But on a direct issue, with all who cherish the Union on one side, and all who desire its dissolution by force on the other, the verdict would be prompt and almost unanimous. I desire thus to simplify the issue, and for that purpose to separate from it all collateral questions, and relieve it of all partisan passions and prejudices.

I consider the idea of the withdrawal of the Gulf States, and their permanent reorganization with or without others in a distinct Confederacy as a means of advantage to themselves, so certainly unwise and so obviously impossible of execution, when the purpose is understood, that I dismiss it with the discussion I have already incidentally bestowed upon it. The case is different, however, in regard to the other subjects which I have brought, in this connection, before the Senate. Beyond a doubt, Union is vitally important to the Republican citizens of the United States; but it is just as important to the whole people. Republicanism and Union are, therefore, not convertible terms. Republicanism is subordinate to Union, as everything else is and ought to be—Republicanism, Democracy, every other political name and thing—all are subordinate; and they ought to disappear in the presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so; it should be so if the question were any other than as it is now to be determined, by the peaceful ordeal of the ballot. It shall be so all the more since there is, on the one side, preparedness to refer it to the arbitration of civil war.

I have such faith in this republican system of ours, that there is no political good which I desire that I am not content to seek through its peaceful forms of administration, without invoking revolutionary action. If others shall invoke that form of action to oppose and overthrow Government, they shall not, so far as I depends on me, have the excuse that I obstinately held myself to be misinformed, or that, in such a case, I can afford to meet prejudice with conciliation, exactness with concessions which surrender no principle, and violence with the right hand of peace.

Therefore, sir, so far as the abstract question whether, by the Constitution of the United States, a bondsman, who is made such by the laws of a State, is still a man or only property, I answer, that within that State, its laws on that subject are supreme; that when he has escaped from that State into another, the Constitution regards him as a bondsman who may be seized by any law or regulation of that State, be discharged from his service, but shall be delivered up, on claim, to the party to whom his service is due. While prudence and justice would combine in persuading you to modify the acts of Congress on that subject, so as not to oblige private persons to assist in their execution, and to protect freemen from being, by abuse of the laws, carried into slavery, I agree that all laws of the States, whether free States or slave States, which relate to this class of persons, or any others recently coming from or residing in other States, and which laws contravene the Constitution of the United States, or any law of Congress passed in conformity thereto, ought to be repealed.

Secondly—Experience in public affairs has confirmed my opinion, that domestic slavery, existing in any State, is wisely left by the Constitution of the United States exclusively to the care, management, and disposition of that State; and if it were in my power, I would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position should so strong a remedy, I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any State.

Thirdly—While I think that Congress has exclusive and sovereign authority to legislate on all subjects whatever in the common Territories of the United States, and while I certainly shall never, directly or indirectly, give my vote to establish or sanction slavery in such Territories, or anywhere else in the world, yet, in a question, what constitutional laws shall be passed in regard to the Territories, is like every other question, to be determined on practical grounds. I voted for enabling acts in the cases of Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas, without being able to secure in them such provisions as I would have preferred; and yet I voted wisely.

So now, I am well satisfied that, under existing circumstances, a happy and satisfactory solution of the difficulties in the remaining Territories will be obtained by similar laws, providing for their organization, if such organization were otherwise practicable. If, therefore, Kansas were admitted as a State, under the Wyandotte Constitution, as I think she ought to be, and if the organic laws of all the other Territories could be repealed, I could vote to authorize the organization and admission of two new States which should include them, reserving the right to effect sub-divisions of them whenever necessary into several convenient States; but I do not find that such reservation could be constitutionally made. Without them, the ulterior incorporation of States would result from the incorporation of States of such vast extent and various interests and character, would outweigh all the immediate advantages of such a measure. But if the measure were practicable, I should prefer a different course, namely, when the eccentric movements of secession and disunion shall have ended, in whatever form that end may come, and the angry excitements of the hour shall have subsided, and calmness once more shall have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, then, and not until then—one, two, or three, more hence—I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people, to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider and decide whether any, and what, amendments of the organic national law ought to be made.

A Republican now—as I have heretofore been a member of other parties existing in my day—I nevertheless hold and cherish, as I have always done, the principle that this Government exists in its present form only by the consent of the governed, and that it is as necessary as it is wise to resort to the people for their assent to any law when the troubles and dangers of the hour—certainly transient—demand the powers delegated by it to the public authorities.

Nor ought the suggestion to excite surprise. Government in any form is a machine; it is the most complex one that the mind of man has ever invented, or the hand of man has ever framed. Perfect as it is, it ought to be expected that it will, at least as often as once in a century, require some modification to adapt it to the changes of society and alterations of empire.

Fourthly—I hold myself ready now, as always heretofore, to vote for any properly-guarded law which shall be deemed necessary to prevent mutual invasions of States by citizens of other States, and punish those who shall aid and abet them. Fifthly—Notwithstanding the arguments of the gallant Senator from Oregon, (Gen. Lane,) I remain of the opinion that physical bonds, such as highways, railroads, rivers, and canals, are vastly more powerful for holding civil communities together than any mere covenants, though written on parchment or engraved upon iron. I remain, therefore, constant to my purpose. If, as far as possible, the construction of two Pacific railroads, one of which shall connect the ports around the mouths of the Mississippi, and the other the towns on the Missouri and the Lakes, with the harbors on our western coast.

If, in the expression of these views, I have not proposed what is desired or expected by many others, they will do me the justice to believe that I am as far from having suggested what in many respects would have been in harmony with cherished convictions of my own. I learned early from Jefferson, that in political affairs we cannot always do what we most necessarily act, entertaining different views, have the power and the right of carrying them into practice. We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead; and if we cannot at any time do for our country all the good that we would wish, we must be satisfied with doing for her all the good that we can.

Having submitted my own opinions on this great crisis, it remains only to say that I shall cheerfully lend to the Government my best support in whatever it may yet see fit to do, and that I shall make to the public peace, and to maintain and preserve the Union; advising, only, that it practice as far as possible the utmost moderation, forbearance and conciliation. And now, Mr. President, what are the prospects of the Union? I know that we are in the midst of a great struggle, and that the result will be determined in seasons of tempestuous passions. We already have disorder, and violence has begun. I know not to what extent it may go. Still, my faith in the Constitution and in the Union abides, because my faith in the wisdom and virtue of the American people remains unshaken. Coolness, calmness, and resolution, are elements of their character. They have been temporarily displaced; but they are reappearing. Soon enough, I trust, it will be seen that sedition and violence are only local and temporary, and that loyalty and affection to the Union, the natural sentiments of the whole country. Whatever dangers there shall be, there will be the determination to meet them; whatever sacrifices, private or public, shall be needful for the Union, they will be made. I feel sure that the hour has not come for this great Nation to fall.

This people, which has been studying to become wiser and better as it has grown older, is not perverse or wicked enough to deserve so dreadful and severe a punishment as slavery. This Union has not yet accomplished what good for mankind was manifestly designed by Him who appointed the seasons, and prescribes the duties of States and Empires. No, sir; if we were cast down by faction today, it would rise again and reappear in all its majestic proportions to-morrow. It is the only Government that can stand here. We will not to the man that madly lifts his hand against it. It shall continue and endure; and men, in after time, shall declare that this generation, which saved the Union from such sudden and unlooked-for dangers, surpassed in magnanimity even that one which laid its foundations in the eternal principles of liberty, justice, and humanity.

MR. LINCOLN'S POSITION.

If this had not been shown by his published speeches, and by the debates in Douglas's would be put at rest by the editorials of the *Illinois State Journal*, since secession raised its ugly head. We cut the following from the issue of December 31:—

South Carolina has, and the other cotton States are about to pass seceding resolutions, professedly because they cannot get their rights in this Union. We are told by some Southern men, and a great many Northern ones, that the North has behaved so badly that the cotton States cannot live with us. Now, this is all rant. The Personal Liberty bills and the violation of the Fugitive Slave law have about as much to do with this cotton stampede as the banking laws of Canada, or the violation of a city ordinance of Springfield.

They make the slavery question the *pretext*, but not the cause for disunion. They do not want to leave the Union because the laws protecting slavery are not numerous enough, or strong enough, or are not faithfully enforced. They want to build up a great Southern Confederacy, "resting," as they say, "on the solid substratum of African slavery." To Southern statesmen, the picture of such a confederacy is one of beauty and grandeur. They seem to imagine that their progress is retarded by their connection with free communities, and that once released from the clogs of free society, they will outstrip all the nations of the earth in the race of progress. Their connection with the free States alone gives them security, peace, and whatever of prosperity they enjoy. They suffer no wrong at the hands of this Government, but do derive innumerable advantages from it. They would not destroy it, and plunge headlong into ruin. They must not be permitted to do it. Their own good—their own safety—their very existence as a people, requires that they should yield a cheerful obedience to the laws of the Union—laws which they themselves helped to frame. Kindness to them, love for them, requires that this Government should interpose the strong arm of its power to save them from destruction, by preserving, at whatever cost to the integrity of this Union.

The Constitution of the United States, in its operations, does not and cannot act directly upon the States which compose the Union. It has to do with the people—with *individuals*. So far as suppressing insurrection, putting down domestic violence, and punishing treason, is concerned, the States are wholly ignored. State Legislatures and State Conventions may pass what disunion ordinances they please, and may resolve and re-resolve to their heart's content against the General Government; but these manifestos upon paper signify nothing. States cannot commit treason; but should the people, or any part of the people of South Carolina, for instance, re-

fuse to pay revenue duties, or resist a United States officer in the execution of the laws, then the particular case who do it have committed an overt act, and are liable to trial, conviction, and punishment for their crime against the Government. And, we may add, the Federal Executive is recreant to his duty and fails to his oath of office, if he fails to vindicate the dignity of the outraged law.

This seems to be clear and decisive, and we doubt not accurately represents Mr. Lincoln's as it does the Republican policy.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1860.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Delinquent subscribers for the past year—that is, from January 1, 1860, to January 1, 1861—are respectfully requested to remember our **STANDARD RULE**, by which their papers will be discontinued after February 1, 1861, unless payment for the same be previously sent in. We shall be extremely sorry to lose a single subscriber in this manner, especially at this crisis in our national affairs; but, as our printed terms indicate that payment is to be made in advance, we are sure if, instead of rigidly exacting it, we allow (as we do) a credit of *thirty months to delinquents*, they can have no cause of complaint when their papers are stopped for omitting to make settlement.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at the TREMONT TEMPLE, in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, January 24th and 25th, commencing at half past 10 o'clock, A. M.

The members and friends of the Society are urgently requested to make the attendance on their part larger than ever before seen since its formation. In view of the position of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of the state of the nation, it will be the most important anniversary of the Society has ever held. Troubles as is the aspect of things, it is a sure indication that the cause of impartial freedom is moving onward with irresistible power, and that the day of jubilee is rapidly approaching, to be succeeded by universal joy, peace and prosperity. For nothing disturbs the repose, deranges the business, assails the interest, dishonors the character, and imperils the existence of the republic, but SLAVERY. Freedom, and the love of it, and the advocacy of it, and the uncompromising support of it, without regard to color or race, can never work ill to whatever is just, honest, noble, humane, and Christ-like. It is not the Abolitionists, who simply expose the cause of God's poor and needy and oppressed, that it may go well with our land, but the Southern slaveholders and slave-breeders, who traffic in human flesh and enslave even their own blood-kindred, and who hate every thing that savors of liberty, who have brought the nation into its present distracted and distressful condition; for theirs is the spirit which chooses "rather to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

Come, then, friends of freedom, to the Anniversary, strong in the righteousness of your cause, serene and undaunted in spirit, and resolute in your purpose to seek the speedy removal of the cause of all our national suffering and danger!

Among the speakers expected are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL MAY, JR., C. C. BURELIGH, T. W. HIGGINSON, A. T. POSE, REV. JAS. FREEMAN CLARKE, REV. J. SELLA MARTIN, REV. F. WHITTINGHAM, of Maine, H. C. WRIGHT, Hon. N. H. FROTHINGHAM, of the Senate, and others. A full and complete list of names, and the names of the speakers, will be published in the Liberator, and in the *Register*, on Thursday, January 12th, next.

At the opening session, Thursday morning, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, T. W. Higginson and Rev. Jas. Freeman Clarke, with others, are to speak. An early and prompt attendance is earnestly requested.

In behalf of the Society,
FRANCIS JACKSON, President.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

MR. SEWARD'S SPEECH.

In view of his relation to the Republican party, and especially of the admitted fact that he is to fill the important post of Secretary of State, under President Lincoln's administration, a good deal of anxiety has been felt, by all parties, to hear from Senator Seward in regard to the present distracted state of the country, and his method of effecting reconciliation and harmony. On Saturday last, he made an elaborate speech in the Senate upon the crisis, and was listened to with profound attention by a densely crowded auditory.

Formerly, we entertained a high opinion of the statesman-like qualities of Mr. Seward, and were ready to believe, in consequence of several acts performed by him in the service of an oppressed and despised race, that he was inspired by noble sentiments, lifting him above all personal considerations; but we have been forced, within the past year, to correct that opinion, and to change that belief. His intellectual ability is unquestionably of the first order; he writes and speaks with remarkable perspicuity, and often with great rhetorical beauty; nothing with him is hastily done; his caution is immense; he aims to be axiomatic and oracular. But it is evident that his moral nature is quite subordinate to his intellect, so as to taint his philosophy of action, and prevent him from rising to a higher level than that of an expedient and compromiser. The key to his public life is contained in this very speech. Here it is:—

"If, in the expression of these views, I have not proposed what is desired or expected by many others, they will do me the justice to believe that I am as far from having suggested what, in many respects, would have been in harmony with cherished convictions of my own. I learned early from Jefferson, that in political affairs, we cannot always do what we most necessarily act. We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead; and if we cannot at any time do for our country all the good that we would wish, we must be satisfied with doing for her all the good that we can."

Now, a declaration like this, expressed in such carefully considered language, carries upon its face nothing startling or objectionable; because it is the merest truisim to say, that where there are many minds of conflicting views to be reconciled, mutual concessions must be made to secure the desired unity of action. And where no moral principle, no sacrifice of justice, is involved, a course like this is the dictate of common sense; otherwise, the state of society would be chaotic, and an efficient administration of public concerns impossible. But in the sentence, "In political affairs, we cannot always do what we must necessarily act," there is to be found the germ of all political profligacy, and the nest-egg of all those sinful compromises which have cursed this nation since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. There is no position in which men may place themselves, or be placed by others, where they can be justified, whether to reach "a consummation devoutly to be wished," or to avoid formidable anger of great suffering, in violating their consciences, or contriving at what their moral sense condemns. Personal integrity and straight-forward regard for the right can allow no temptation to make them swerve a hair's breadth from the line of duty; for they are of more consequence than all the compact and constitutions ever made. Disregardful of this doctrine, that "the end sanctifies the means," or that "we cannot always do what we must necessarily act," becomes the doctrine of devils. Mr. Seward means just this—a compromise of principle to propitiate the perverse wrong-doers of the South—or his language is a mockery in this emergency. He is dealing, not

with a material question of dollars and cents, but with the most momentous moral question ever presented to the world—not with well-meaning but deluded men, but with sagacious desperadoes and remorseless men-stealers. All his talk of adhering to old compromises, and making additional ones to appease the ferocious and despotic South, relates to slavery, "the sum of all villainy"—and to nothing else. Hence, he is for continuing to slaveholders the inhuman privilege of hunting their fugitive slaves in any part of the North. Hence, he is willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that under no circumstances shall Congress have the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any State. Hence, his readiness to enact laws, subjecting future John Browns to the punishment of death for seeking to deliver the slaves Bunker Hill fashion, and after the example of Lafayette, Kosciuszko, Pulaski and De Kalb, as pertaining to our own revolutionary struggle. Yet, in another speech delivered at Madison, Wisconsin, not long since, Mr. Seward solemnly declares:—

"By no word, no act, no combination into which I might enter, shall any one human being of all the generations to which I belong, less than any class of human beings of any race or kindred, be oppressed, or kept down in the least degree in their efforts to rise to a higher state of liberty and happiness. . . . Whenever the Constitution of the United States requires me to do that which shall keep down the humblest of the human race, then I will lay down power, place, position, fame, everything, rather than adopt such a construction or such a rule."

What shall we think of the consistency or veracity of Mr. Seward in this matter of freedom? He knows, he concedes, in the speech we are criticizing, that, under the United States Constitution, the fugitive slave is not entitled to safety or protection in any Northern State; and those who rush to the rescue of the enslaved millions at the South, as John Brown and his associates did, he is for hanging as felons under that same Constitution! It is time for him to lay down power, place and position!

Look at the present state of the country! The old Union breaking up daily, its columns falling in every direction—four Southern States already out of it, and all the others busily and openly preparing to follow—the national government paralyzed through indecision, cowardice, or perfidy—the national flag trampled upon and discarded by the traitors, and a murderous endeavor on their part, by firing heavy shot, to sink a government vessel entering the harbor of Charleston upon a lawful errand, compelling her to flee in disgrace, and to avoid certain destruction—treason and traitors every where, in every slave State, in every free State, at the Seat of Government, in both houses of Congress, in the army and navy, in the Executive department, at the head of the press, audacious, defiant, diabolical—the United States arsenals and fortifications already seized, or rapidly falling into the hands of the Southern conspirators, through the blackest perfidy—every movement contemplating the enforcement of the laws, and the protection of its property, on the part of the national government, impudently denounced by the traitors and their accomplices as "coercion," "tyranny," and "a declaration of war"—with the murderous avowal that Abraham Lincoln shall never be inaugurated President of the United States, and the unquestionable purpose of these Catilines and Arnolds to seize the Capitol, and take possession of the government by a coup d'etat, which we have long prophesied would be their last desperate effort to keep the reins of power in their own grasp, and which we have no doubt will be successful, in spite of all the precautions of Gen. Scott.

In this state of things,—when the elements are melting with fervent heat, and thunders are uttering their voices, and a great earthquake is shaking the land from centre to circumference, threatening to engulf whatever free institutions are yet visible,—Mr. Seward, with the eyes of expectant millions fastened upon him as "the pilot to weather the storm," rises in the Senate to utter well turned periods in glorification of a Union no longer in existence, and to talk of "meeting,—judice with conciliation, exactness with concession which surrenders no principle, (!) and violence with the right hand of peace!" The tiger is to be propitiated by crying "pussy cat!" and Leviathan drawn out with a hook! The word "treason" or "traitors" is never once mentioned—no recital is made of any of the numberless outrages committed—no call is made upon the President to be true to his oath, and to meet the public exigency with all the forces at his command—no patriotic indignation flushes his cheek—but all is calm as a summer's morning, cool, compliant, unpassioned! His boldest word is, "We already have disorder, and violence is begun." How very discreet! It is a penny-whistle used to hush down a thunder-storm of the first magnitude—capping Vesuvius with a sheet of straw paper! And this is all the statesmanship of William H. Seward, in a crisis unparalleled in our national history! Stand aside! "The hour" has come, but where is "the man!"

REASONS FOR REPEAL.

1. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, it only throws the shield of legal protection, to the extent of the use of *habeas corpus* and the right of jury trial, under our free colored citizens, against prowling kidnappers and slave-hunters, without denying the right of the slaveholder to his fugitive slave; but such protection is offensive to our Southern masters and overseers, and therefore it ought to be instantly withdrawn, on peril of their fierce displeasure! What right have our colored citizens to any security in their persons or domestic relations, as against any form or device of slaveholding villany? None whatever! True, they are *bona fide* citizens of Massachusetts, equal with all others before the Constitution and the laws, eligible to every office in the gift of the people; and required to perform all the duties and to sustain all the burdens of citizenship; nevertheless, "the hunters of men" demand that they shall not be allowed even the common right of a jury trial, in case of arrest as fugitive slaves, and that the Fugitive Slave Law shall be enforced "with alacrity" in all such cases; and their demand ought to be complied with, in the spirit of penitential recantation!

2. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, the voice of nature and of God thunders in our ear, "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, where it liketh him best: THOU SHALT NOT OPPRESS HIM." True, the command of God is, "Execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day; hide the outcasts; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler; and be not a name that wandereth." But the voice of Southern men-stealers is more potent than the voice of God, and their command to us to have no mercy on the flying fugitive, but to assist in his capture, ought to be obeyed rather than his! Especially as it will ally all agitation, and help to preserve our glorious Union!

3. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, the Fugitive Slave Law has shocked the civilized world by its revolting features, and caused every conscience loyal to God and humanity to rebel against it; but is not implicit obedience to it enjoined by the combined oppression, ruffianism, cupidity, malevolence, phariseism, impiety and scornfulness of the land? And ought not these to be repudiated, and the repudiation of every principle of justice, every attribute of mercy, every sentiment of humanity, every dictate of reason, every precept of that gospel which we profess to believe!

4. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, the Declaration of Independence affirms it to be among self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty; and by the Golden Rule it is enjoined, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"; and Jesus has declared, "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again"; but the Declaration

of Independence is only "a rhetorical flourish," and filled with "glittering generalities"—and the Golden Rule is an impossible rule of conduct—and Jesus meant his language to apply only to those whom he addressed; but in these times, and in this land, he addressed; but in these times, and in this land, he is not for giving every facility to slave-hunting at the North, to the removal of every impediment, to be set down as a fanatic, and utterly destitute of every feeling of patriotism!

5. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, we profess to be a Christian people, and Christ has given himself for all races of men impartially; true, he has said, "I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not"; applying this to the least, and most despised, and most oppressed, of all the human family,—*thus incarnating himself in the person of every fugitive slave within our borders*; still, is it not in the constitutional bond that fugitives shall be delivered up to their masters? Ought we not to be faithful to our promise? Having made "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," are we not bound in honor to carry them out, to "conquer our prejudices," and thereby endeavor to bring peace to our distracted country!

6. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, we ought to love our neighbor as ourselves, to be tender-hearted and merciful, to scorn to do a base action, to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness"; but, in that case, how are fugitive slaves to be caught? and if they are allowed to abide among us, how can we be true to our national compact, and how can we hope to induce the South to remain in the Union? Morality, humanity, and the "Higher Law" are very well in their place, but not in times like these. To talk of obeying God, without regard to consequences, is sheer fanaticism and infidelity! It is better that a hunted slave should now and then be caught in Massachusetts, than that the Republic should be dismembered; just as it was better, eighteen centuries ago,—as in the crucifixion of Jesus,—that one man should die, than that a whole nation should perish!

7. "The Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed." Certainly! True, when any of those who have been, life-long, deprived of their natural rights—subjected to all possible outrages, insults and exposures—scourged, branded, mutilated, chained, tortured—driven to a compensated toil by remorseless overseers—yoked like beasts, and bought and sold like them in the market—at last resolve to seek freedom and safety by flight, and come to us, foot-sore and ragged, worn down by exhaustion, begging us, in the name of Heaven, and by all the claims of a common origin, to have pity upon them, and not allow their pursuers to seize them by any consent or complicity of our own, it does seem base, inhuman, cowardly and damnable to "see the anguish of their souls," and, searing our consciences with a hot iron, and hardening our hearts like adamant, coolly to deny their prayer, and readily assist in their capture and return to the horrible doom from which they fled, at the bidding of miscreants impudently claiming to be their rightful owners, and for the sake of continuing in alliance with them; but we must be "law-abiding," remember the bargain we have made, stick to our constitutional agreement, do fealty to the devil as men of honor, make even more fiendish concessions rather than retract anything,—because, if we do not thus act and conspire, "our glorious Union" will certainly be dissolved; and its perpetuation is a thousand times more important to public tranquility and the general prosperity, than loyalty to an upright conscience, reverence for the eternal law of justice, fidelity to the cause of bleeding humanity, and obedience to God!

Wherefore—the Personal Liberty Bill must be repealed!

BIRMINGHAM ON THE TIMES.

THE CAUSE AND THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: a Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered in the Harvard-Street M. E. Church, Cambridge, Sunday evening, Nov. 11, 1860. By Rev. Gilbert Haven. Boston: sold by J. P. Magee, 5 Cornhill.

We have never been backward in acknowledging with pleasure every earnest and manly effort, on the part of the pulpit, to bring the hideous slave system to the dust. It is in this light we regard this Sermon. Its rhetoric is glowing with genuine feeling, and its boldness of utterance remarkable for one occupying such a relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church as Mr. Haven does. That relation, as a matter of anti-slavery consistency, we think, would be "more honored in the breach than in the observance," on his part—at least, until that Church cease to welcome slaveholders to its communion-table as true Methodists, and "brethren and sisters in the Lord." The extracts we have made from this discourse, on our first page, will enable the reader to judge of its style and spirit throughout, and we trust will help to extend its sale and circulation.

We have a brief criticism, however, to make upon a single paragraph contained in these extracts. Referring to our early labors, and to those who were our co-laborers, Mr. Haven says:—

"Soon bitter conflicts sprang up in the breasts of these young philanthropists. The fresh-armed men began to bite and devour one another, and were well-nigh consumed one of another."

What those "bitter conflicts" were about, or who were justly responsible for them, the reader is left to imagine. An imputation is cast in the lump, and there left.

Again, Mr. Haven says:—

"New measures were required by the progress of the [anti-slavery] sentiment. The conscience growing, demanded a chance to express itself at the ballot-box. This was resisted by Garrison."

Is this a fair statement of the case? No—it does us great injustice. It represents us as resisting the action of a quickened conscience, zealous in the service of the slave! This we did not and could not do. Such a conscience was all too true for us to have a controversy with it, and should it become universal, we shall rejoice evermore. We were simply true to our own conscience, and on that score, however mistaken, deserve commendation, not censure. If Mr. Haven had stated the case truly in this wise, we should have taken no exception to it.—The growing anti-slavery sentiment demanded a chance to express itself at the ballot-box. For a time, Mr. Garrison favored the movement, so far as causing the various candidates to be interrogated as to their views on the subject of slavery, and supporting such, without regard to party distinctions, as answered the most satisfactorily. But the time came when he was led to analyze the Constitution of the United States, and he reached the conclusion that, IN CONSEQUENCE OF ITS PRO-SLAVERY STIPULATIONS, it was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell—and, therefore, that, by an inexorable moral necessity, he could not any longer, either innocently or consistently, vote under it. Hence, he has ever since taken for his motto—"No Union with Slaveholders." Admitting the truthfulness of his charges against the Constitution, the great body of professing anti-slavery men have, nevertheless, continued to use the ballot-box, either as Liberty Party men, or Free Soilers, or Republicans, as in their judgment the most practical course, till at last they have succeeded in electing their Presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln.

This is the exact state of the case; but, as given by Mr. Haven, it makes us the opponent of conscience, instead of being true, to our own conscience, to the loss of the elective franchise, and the repudiation of all chance for political elevation or emolument, on our part. We maintain that our ground is impregnable, and our example identical with that of all those in the past who refused to compromise the principles of righteousness to subserve even their most cherished purposes, or to escape from any peril. Events are showing that a just God has made it impossible for

such a mongrel Union to exist. "For what concern hath Christ with Babel? or what fellowship hath light with darkness?"

Again, Mr. Haven is most unjust to us when he says:—

"Led by his love of free speech, he [Garrison] permitted some of his leading associates to burden the common cause with gross infidelities and social abominations." We deny the charge, and call for the evidence. None of our "leading associates" have sought to do anything such. They have advocated the anti-slavery cause with all fidelity upon its own merits, and have not sought to burden it with any extraneous questions, as one in authority; they are of age, and speak for themselves. When Mr. Haven will point out the "gross infidelities and social abominations" to which he refers, we will give them our gravest consideration. Till then, the imputation is a stab in the dark.

Finally, referring to us personally, Mr. Haven says:—

"Would that, in his sphere of effort, and by the means of his large abilities and influence, he had not been so long becoming inebriated! Would that he had not so long before, had kept his hands so busy with prayer and with the whole of this great war!"

How are such disparaging accusations and insinuations of course to be met? Where all is vague, nothing is certain. In what does our "inebriation" consist? Who have advocated a more faithful adherence to principle, or a more uncompromising regard for the laws and commands of God, than ourselves? When or where have we played fast and loose with the claims of humanity or the demands of justice? When has ours been a whiffing standard? Or when have we been beguiled from the path of duty, or allowed others to stray therein, on the ground of expediency or worldly policy? Impose in this sweeping manner, we have a right to call for explicit answers to these questions.

As for our "prayer and piety," we have nothing to say. The priestly hand is seen in the thrust made at us under cover of Wilberforce. With all his "prayer and piety," Wilberforce was a bitterly denounced and calumniated as we have been, for his devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause in England; and possibly, at the end of half a century, our religious character will be in better repute than his now.

THE "GOODLY HERITAGE." A Sermon delivered on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 20, 1860, in the Church of the Puritans, New York, by Rev.

Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth! Was there ever a greater jumble of ideas than this! For slavery in its extent, substitute the petty office of sheep-stealing, or robbing of honesty, and then see how it will read! And, then, the condition so complacently arrived at, that "if slavery is ever abolished, it must be by her"—by the very Church which does homage to and is controlled by slavery!

The Church of the Puritans cannot hope for clearance of moral vision while it is satisfied with such a teacher.

REVIVAL OF PRO-SLAVERY MOBORAUCY.

The cowardly and lawless interruption of the Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston on the 24th ultimo, under the leadership of Mr. Richard S. Fay and Mr. J. Murray Howe, has since been imitated at Buffalo, Rochester, and other places. For an account of the rowdiness at the Convention held at Buffalo, see our last page, as given by the Commercial Advertiser of that city, given in a manner to encourage the rioters, rather than otherwise. How utterly lost to all self-respect, to all sense of decency, to every manly feeling, must such invaders of a lawful assembly, convened for the holiest purposes, be! Such shameless villany is only one of the innumerable plagues to which the accused slave system has given birth; but, thank God, it is as important as it is despicable. The result of it will be to strengthen and advance the cause it was intended to put down. This is certain.

A glorious achievement, truly, for an organized body of following, brutal, brazen-faced ruffians to howl down one man and two women, attempting to plead the cause of "all such as are appointed to destruction" in that portion of our land which is "full of the habitations of cruelty," and thoroughly demonized in spirit! And who were the parties thus put down? Rev. Beriah Green, formerly Professor at Hudson College, and subsequently President of the Oneida Institute—a man of the rarest culture and the most scholarly attainments, one of the profoundest thinkers of the age, a great heroic soul, a world-embracing philanthropist, full of "the milk of human kindness," genial, persuasive, courteous, large-hearted, and without spot or blemish.—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, daughter of the late highly respected Judge Cady, and wife of Hon. Henry B. Stanton—among the foremost women of the age in intellectual power, moral elevation of mind, breadth of reformatory purpose, and nobility of character.—Miss Susan B. Anthony, who is honorably known to tens of thousands in the Empire State for her efficient public labors in the cause of education, temperance, the rights of her sex, as well as the anti-slavery cause; intelligent, self-sacrificing, and thoroughly devoted.

Another speaker, who joined this little party at Rochester, Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, needs only to be named to indicate every thing pure, upright, benevolent, loving and lovable—one in whom all "the fruits of the Spirit," enumerated by the Apostle, are seen in the richest profusion. And it is such as these who are branded as fanatical and mad, while their vile and rowdy assailants stand forth unblushingly as the representatives of all that is patriotic, and the champions of "law and order." There is no disposition to bring them to justice by those in authority, for a state of universal demoralization prevails, society is turned upside down, and "he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

THE STRUGGLE WITH SLAVERY.

Extract of a private letter from a prominent and highly esteemed member of the Republican party in Maine to a friend in this city—

"I have often been impelled, during these exciting times, to write you a few words touching the progress of the great cause in which our feelings are so much interested. The secession of South Carolina, and the strong probability that the confirmed and determined slave States will follow her, is a new phase in the progress of the great struggle with slavery. I have, for years, foreseen this result, and have not withheld my vaticinations in regard to it. It must take place now, or some time soon. In spite of the timidity of many Republicans, and the utterly servile spirit of the Northern commercial classes, as indicated in the disgraceful Boston mob, the Philadelphia Union meeting, and the result of the late municipal elections, I believe and hope the catastrophe will occur now. True, there are a host of difficulties in the way of establishing a Southern confederacy—how to carry the mails, how to avoid paying revenues to the General Government, and to obtain out of an impoverished people, whose financial system is in confusion, a sufficient revenue to equip and maintain an army and navy—how to appease the jealousy of other slave States, and without a general Convention to agree upon a plan of action which will suit all their different views—all these seem formidable difficulties in the way of the consummation of success. But then the excitement is so great, and this is at the bottom of this great question such a world-wide difference, out of which hostile feelings constantly grow, that the chances of a compromise and settlement seem very small. The North seem weak enough to compromise again, but the South are so infuriated and unreasonable, so bent upon self-destruction, that it does not seem possible to conciliate them. So, with a separation of the confederacy, we enter upon a new epoch of our history.

Upon the slave and his fate, the effect of disunion seems at present disastrous. The separation cuts him off from Northern sympathy, and the influence of a humane and civilized government. If the South would submit to the Republican rule, I think slavery might disappear gradually and peaceably. But, shut up within a confederacy whose sole policy will be the security of slavery, I am afraid the slaveholders will be able to maintain their ill-gotten power for many years. That is, they might do so if their very infatuation did not work their ruin. They will, however, reopen the foreign slave trade, and by the superior fruitfulness of the colored race, the white being reinforced by no foreign emigration, will at length create a powerful brute force of fierce hatred and resistance, which will, before many years, quench slavery in blood. It is a fearful future to contemplate; but did ever a guilty people so rush upon a terrible punishment, in spite of all the warnings of mankind?

True, it will be a signal deliverance. To have the horrid and filthy hoof of the Slave Power taken off our necks, and to stand up in the dignity and decency of honest men, will be no slight advantage. Aside from our guilty implication in slavery, no thoughtful person has failed to notice what a hindrance in the way of our progress, what a corrupter of our morals, what a fruitful source of individual and social degradation, the practice of slaveholding has been to us. I believe it will be for the disenthralled North the beginning of a career of advancement in every moral, social and material good.

My only fears are of a dastardly recession, and of an ignominious compromise. Every voice and pen must now come to the rescue, and each with a power self-multiplying, to stimulate, encourage, threaten and command. Blessings upon the Old Guard of Abolitionists! Let every soul be instant, every soldier on his watch-tower; and if treason to right and justice is done, let it not be for want of warning, and sharp and serious censure."

We regret that the letter of Mr. Pillsbury, last week, was marred by several typographical errors, which were overlooked in correcting proof. We have on file another letter from Mr. P.

We copy from the Northampton Free Press, an excellent and well-conducted paper, the letter from Mr. Burleigh in another column, giving an account of the outrage perpetrated in Westfield West Farms by a gang of "patriotic" rowdies, ending in the burning of the school-house as an offering to the demon spirit of slavery.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

The claims of this anniversary can hardly fail, at the present hour, to be recognized. Its funds are devoted, not to African colonization; not to political partisanship; not to theological and metaphysical polemics; not to the separate education or religious instruction of persons of color; not to the fomenting of sectional prejudice, civil war, or bloody insurrection; not to the relief or redemption of individuals.

These subscriptions have always been appropriated to the work of awakening the public conscience, enlarging the popular heart, and enlightening the national mind, that, by the practical application, through legitimate channels, of the acknowledged religious and political principles of this country, slavery might be abolished, and the whole land made happy and united; not through enforced emancipation, but by voluntary enfranchisement.

There is no longer any need of defining or describing the brutal system of slavery that, since 1789, has been demoralizing the country. A lifetime—under violence, loss, and continual annoyance—has been spent in doing that. The people know, now, that it is no distant, imaginary evil, but one that overshadows every life with danger and dishonor. While fulfilling even the simplest duty of humanity to any perishing fellow-creature who has taken refuge in the sanctuary of their own homes, their whole nature is outraged by the thought that he may be mercilessly seized as a slave, from the very hearth. They cannot protect a hunted child from a fate worse than death, without the risk of being themselves broken down for life by fine and imprisonment.

Of course, the pious refusal of free Northern populations to obey such diabolical mockeries of Constitutions and laws, with the simultaneous determination of slaveholding ones at the South never to permit their amendment, necessitates revolution. And now, a qualified observer, surveying the country, can hesitate to acknowledge the great work already done by the American Anti-Slavery Society. It has enabled the Northern populations to meet the present crisis with calm and intelligent resolution; and if the American Anti-Slavery Society had been earlier sustained, to diffuse its deep human feelings, its true counsels and accurate knowledge, more extensively, the masses of the people would betimes have been so warmly and wisely devoted to this magnificent cause, that revolution would have been purely moral, and no disturbing crisis like the present could have occurred.

But the wrong a few just and generous persons have been unable to prevent, may still, by timely co-operation with them, be retrieved.

In the very nature of things as they here exist, it will always rest with disinterested persons in private life to initiate every change for the better. Under its present cherished institutions, the country must always look beyond its Church and State dignitaries, its political and ecclesiastical servants, for the previous preparation indispensable to national progress; for how can a Governor, a Senator, a Judge, a minister of any denomination or religious society, take the lead? Every such public functionary is engaged by the people not to lead, but to serve; not to make creeds and constitutions, but to administer under them; not to make things that they should be, but to take them exactly as they are.

Hence the need of an auxiliary, private, voluntary service, like that which for the last seven and twenty years the American Anti-Slavery Society has by its anniversary helped to fulfil. Its claims to popular support begin to be felt. The moral vanguard of the people, whether in a sovereign or a functionary capacity, begins to see the mistake of sending a noble official servant to reap where no generous voluntary service of good and thoughtful men has previously sowed. Let all now unite to sustain such a service—the only possible means of peaceful national progress—the only possible condition of national growth or guaranty for continued national existence.

After having for a life-time done what we could in this behalf, have we not established its claim upon every thoughtful, just and noble soul? On all such we cordially and confidently rely for both moral support and pecuniary aid. Both will be afforded by the act of subscription to which we now invite.

We entreat our friends to remember that, however advantageous and indispensable the largest sums subscribed, none confer on us a higher obligation than the smaller one which the guest offers, regretting that it is the largest in his power.

In behalf of the Twenty-Seventh National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LIBERTY ACT.

NUMBER III.

It is admitted by nearly all persons in the free States, that slavery is intrinsically and fundamentally wrong, that it is a violation of justice and natural rights, at war with the laws of God and humanity, and that no government has a right to legalize it, and make it one of their civil institutions. But it has been claimed, that by reason of the right of sovereignty, any government has the right to exercise a jurisdiction over all subjects pertaining to the welfare of the people under its control, and that, by virtue of this right of sovereignty, it may legislate slavery into existence, and may maintain it by legal enactments when it is created. But, in my judgment, a great mistake is made, and a great fallacy uttered, when such a doctrine is advanced, and such an extensive application of the right of sovereignty is claimed. This right, like all other rights, is bounded by the principles of justice and equity, and cannot transcend them. No State under it has the right to legalize crime and wickedness, and to make it legal to commit murder, theft, piracy or slavery. No State has even the moral right to do such a thing, certainly not the political right. No State has the right to pass a law, allowing an act which is "malum in se," that is, in itself intrinsically wicked and criminal. It has undoubtedly the right to pass a law, allowing an individual to do, or prohibiting him from doing, an act which is or is not "malum prohibitum," or a crime, according as it is, or is not, allowed by the State. By "malum prohibitum" is meant, an act which in itself is not criminal, but may become so by being prohibited by the State. To such acts, the sovereign power of the State extends, but not beyond them. Slavery, then, being a crime, "malum in se," like murder, theft and piracy, cannot possibly be legalized by government, but must remain such, whether the government attempts to legalize it or not; and should be so considered and treated by every one.

If this position is a sound one,—and of this I have no doubt,—it follows necessarily, that no State in which slavery does not exist has any right to consider slavery a legal institution in any State where it does exist, but a crime there and everywhere. And such being the case, it has no right to bind itself by any constitutional provision to recognize it as a legal one, and to engage that a fugitive slave shall be returned to his master; for by so doing it becomes participes criminis with the slave State itself.

To illustrate these views, and make the case a very clear one, I will suppose that, at the time the Union was formed, piracy was an authorized and legalized practice in the Southern States—that a large number of vessels were permitted by law to engage in this enterprise, and that the vessels and cargoes taken by these piratical expeditions were considered by the law of these States as the legal property of the captors, and were adjudged such by their legal tribunals. It is now proposed by them to form a union with the North; and in doing this, they maintain that it is necessary that the North should recognize this right in them to engage in these piratical expeditions, and their right of property in the vessels and cargoes they should capture; and that if any of these vessels and cargoes should find their way into the Northern States, and be claimed by those from whom they were

captured, they should not be given up to them by the North, but to the pirates who had captured them; and that they should insist upon a provision in the National Constitution making such a stipulation. Would the North, I ask, feel justified in making such a stipulation; and if they did make it, would they feel bound to observe it? Would they feel justified in countenancing the doctrine that property obtained in this way should be considered and treated as property obtained in any other way, and given up, not to its real and bona fide owner, but to those who had no other claim to it than that founded upon piracy? I do not think they could be brought to consider it in this light, or to make such a constitutional stipulation; or, if they made it, that they would consider themselves bound to carry it into execution. I believe that the State would decide that it was a stipulation that they never had a right to make,—that it was a clear invasion of the rights and property of others, as founded in justice and the laws of all other countries of the civilized globe, except these piratical governments; and having so decided, they would proceed to declare this provision of the Constitution null and void, leaving in full operation all other parts of the Constitution, which were considered moral and just. And no judicial tribunal, National or State, would consider itself bound to enforce a law, made under such a constitutional provision, but would treat it as a dead letter, totally to be disregarded and contemned.

Now, the doctrine is maintained by those in favor of executing the laws made under the provision of the National Constitution relating to fugitive slaves, that all provisions of the Constitution, of whatever nature, must be recognized and enforced, without any regard to their justice or injustice, and that all States which have adopted this Constitution, and the individuals composing them, are bound to carry out these provisions, and can in no way be released from them. Now, we have put a case, putting to a test the soundness of this doctrine, and shown it to be clearly unsound, and that there may be cases where a provision of the Constitution would clearly not be binding; and by so doing, we have completely overthrown the whole ground upon which the binding force of the Fugitive Slave Law rests, so far as it relates to those who believe in its gross injustice and criminality. For if one provision of the Constitution may be rendered invalid for such a cause, so may another; and their whole doctrine is overthrown.

But to continue the parallel between piracy and slavery. I say that the views expressed above in relation to piracy apply equally well to slavery. This institution, here at the North, is viewed as criminal as piracy, and the property held under it as wrongful and unjustifiable; and even more so, as the one is the asserted right of property in the souls and bodies of our fellow-men, and the other in mere inanimate matter, as goods, wares and merchandise. And not only so, but that slavery is the actual result of the slave trade, which is now legally piracy, as it was always morally such, so that the only claim of the owner of a slave to a property in him is one founded on piracy, either directly, or through a remote ancestor of the existing slave. What such a right of property is worth is easily understood by those who can appreciate the source from which it proceeds, viz., piracy. Why, then, entertaining such opinions here at the North, have we any more right to recognize the right of property in slaves than in vessels captured by piracy? And why have we any more right to stipulate, by a constitutional provision, to return slaves to their masters, as their just property, instead of allowing them to own themselves, than to return vessels and cargoes captured by pirates to the latter, instead of their true owners? And why is the State or its citizens, or any tribunal, whether State or National, any more bound to carry this constitutional stipulation into effect, than such a stipulation in regard to pirated property? I must confess that, for myself, I do not see even so much reason, as the enormity of the crime in the case of slavery is so much greater.

There can be but one possible ground that furnishes even a specious justification of slavery, and that is, that the African race are not in fact human beings, but brutes, and therefore, like other brutes, are justly subjected to the dominion and control of the white race, who are, in fact, the only human beings. But no one, even the most inveterate slaveholder, will attempt to maintain such a ground as this. There are differences in intellectual capacity among the African race, as there are among the white race, and the highest order of the former stand higher in the scale of intellectual development than the lowest of the latter; so that if intellect is to be made the standard according to which men are to be made slaves, a large part of the white race should be reduced to slavery, as well as any portion of the African race. And not only so, upon the ground that the whole African race are naturally inferior to the whole white race, and therefore may be reduced to slavery, it would necessarily follow that there should be no free colored people, as there are at present, but all indiscriminately should be made slaves. And the fact that a large portion of the African race, even in the slaveholding States, are allowed to remain free, shows that even in these States, they have no confidence in this doctrine as a justification of slavery, and do not act upon it. In fact, there is no ground upon which slavery can stand but that of gross and unmitigated wrong. Its only title is that of piracy, and that committed upon a human being; and it is equally criminal with other piracy, and much more so.

I hold, therefore, that the National Government have no right in any way to recognize the institution of slavery as legally existing in any territory under the jurisdiction and control of the National Government; for they have no authority given to them by the Constitution, from which they derive all their authority, for this purpose, but that they are bound both by the letter and spirit of this instrument to abolish it wherever it exists in the National Territory and in the District of Columbia, and by a law of Congress forbid that it should ever be introduced into any of the Territories of the United States; and that no compromise ever should be accepted by the free States, with a view of conciliating the slave States, let the consequences be what they may, which should recognize the legal existence of slavery in any way whatever within the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the National Government. If the Union cannot be saved but by a sacrifice of justice and right, and the enslavement of the colored race, let it fall! My maxim is this, as in all other cases,—"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum!"

W. S. A.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL AND ANNIVERSARY.

We trust it will only be necessary to remind the friends of our cause, that the Annual Subscription-Festival will be held on Wednesday evening next, at Music Hall, to insure a large and brilliant assembly, ready to testify their abiding interest and unwearied zeal in behalf of the grandest movement of the age, by contributing generously of their means for its completion, whether it be the widow's two mites, or donations on the largest scale. For particulars, see advertisement in another column; and do not fail to read the admirable statement of the case from the pen of Mrs. Chapman.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will commence in the Tremont Temple, on Thursday morning next, at half-past 10 o'clock. Its members and friends in the various country towns will, it is hoped, be strongly represented.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS.

The petitions for putting an effectual end to slave-hunting in Massachusetts should be immediately forwarded for presentation to the Legislature. They can be sent either to the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, or to the Representatives of the various towns from which they emanate. Those who have not yet put their signatures to them should do so with all alacrity. Before God, and by the law of eternal justice, what moral difference is there between the act of kidnapping on the coast of Africa, and consenting to the re-capture of the panting fugitive on our own soil!

MOBORAUCY AT WESTFIELD WEST FARMS.

In last Saturday's Springfield Republican, I read that "Charles C. Burleigh, a rabid Abolitionist, delivered a political address at a school-house in West Farms, Westfield, Thursday evening, and uttered sentiments so offensive that a mob gathered and broke up the meeting, and celebrated their triumph by making a bonfire of the school-house and its contents."

This statement gives the mob more credit—not much, at that, it is true,—than they deserve, for it implies that their riotous demonstration was provoked by something "offensive" which they heard in the address. The truth is, they did not wait to know whether its "sentiments" would be "offensive" or not; but began the disturbance before a word of it was uttered, and even before the speaker had reached the place of meeting. It was enough for them that he was "an Abolitionist," [they filled the blank with a different epithet from the "Republican,"] and that the appointment had been made by "a [epithet repeated] Black Republican." Between these two pestiferous classes of persons, they evidently saw no appreciable difference; for their malcontents were distributed between them with entire impartiality, as well as the utmost liberality. If you think your readers would care to see a correct account of the affair, the following is at your disposal.

On Wednesday evening last, I went to Westfield West Farms, to meet an appointment, which, at my request, had been made for me there. Having repeatedly, within the last two or three years, had a quiet and attentive hearing there, I went, anticipating nothing else at this time. But, on reaching the school-house, at the appointed hour, I found a scene of unexpected confusion, and soon saw evidence of a purpose to make disturbance. The house was nearly full—some were sitting, some standing—there was a buzz of voices—the stove had been thickly sprinkled with some substance like pepper, which, in burning, gave out a pungent odor, annoying to all in the house. Most of the company had come to hear the address; a few—five or six, I think—to prevent its being heard. The well-disposed had opened a window to correct the air, but could keep it open only by taking the sash entirely out.

The chief rioter, whose name I was told was Tyler, and whose face bore, in Nature's plain hand-writing, a certificate of his fitness for the work he was about, sat at the teacher's desk, no doubt to prevent my standing there; and with him sat an old man, of countenance no way prepossessing, puffing tobacco-smoke from the stump of a pipe blackened by much use. I passed in, and not at first suspecting the purpose of their sitting there, laid on the desk a bundle of books and roll of portraits, and had hardly more than turned to take a survey of the room, when both were violently hurled against the stove, and fell to the floor. I took them up, and held them in my hands during the remainder of my stay in the house.

The head of the riotous gang now began to vociferate that no lecture should be allowed there, protesting, with sundry expletives more emphatic than elegant or reverent, that we had no right to use the house for such purpose. Others replied and remonstrated; voices grew high, oaths were frequent, and fists were shaken. Seeing the impossibility of making myself heard to any advantage, I stood a silent spectator of the tumult for a few minutes, then accepted the invitation of the occupant of a dwelling-house near by, to go and give my lecture in that. As I began to move toward the door, a small specimen of a man met me, rudely seized my arm, gave me a push more spiteful than forcible, and said something about tar and feathers. I walked on as if he had not been in the way, and nearly all present went with me to the friendly neighbor's house, where we had an undisturbed and pleasant meeting.

At the close of my discourse—as I had no engagement for the next evening—I proposed to speak again somewhere in that region, and, being promptly invited to do so at the same house, made an appointment accordingly. But the next day, some who were indignant at what they considered a violation of their right to hear peaceably in their school-house, resolved to try again to assert that right. They got permission of the District Committee man to use the house, and announced that the meeting would be there. [I learned in the morning, what I did not know before, that permission had not been asked for the first evening, because, as I was told, it had been customary to use the house for meetings without that formality, and no objection was anticipated, as none had ever before been made.]

When we met the second evening, no disturbers were at first present, and it was said that the mob-leader had declared that he should not molest us. But either the report or his declaration proved false, for I had spoken hardly more than fifteen minutes when he appeared, and standing in the door, with his gang behind him, began a clamorous interruption. Some within tried to prevail on him to be quiet, and to let the door be shut, but he only grew more noisy, till a large portion of the young men, provoked beyond their power of self-restraint, (some "Democrats" among them, not liking perhaps that the reputation of their party should be compromised by the bully's conduct,) rushed upon him to put him out. A scene of wild confusion followed; struggling and pushing and blows, swearing and threats and defiance, making altogether a tumult in which it was, of course, useless to try to proceed with my address, and I stood looking on in silence. In the strife, one rioter seized some of my books which were spread on the desk before me, and hurled them furiously at his antagonists; but my friends gathered them up, and returned them to me. While the battle raged, one of the mob snatched the loose legs of the stove from under it on one side, and overturned it, pouring the fire out upon the floor, and filling the room with smoke. My friends speedily replaced it, and, as they supposed, gathered up and put back all the coals. It having become manifest that the rioters were strong enough to prevent my being heard, I again decided to leave the house, and repair to the kind neighbor's, (the invitation being renewed,) where we met the evening before. I had packed my books and put on my coat for this purpose, when a new phase of the affair appeared. It seems that, doubtful of their success in one way, the mob had planned another—had sent to Westfield for a lawyer who was also a Justice of the Peace, and a police officer, and that these dignitaries had been in the house during a part of the time of the struggle just described; the man of "a little brief authority," the magistrate-lawyer, had made out a warrant to arrest me on a charge of assault, using as complainant the fellow who had assailed me; and the Justice of the Peace, as if he were not personally identified with it, seems, become so confused in the tumult, that mistaking me for himself, and himself for me, he swore to a complaint against me for his own act upon me. The officer came to me, warrant in hand, but, instead of making the arrest, told me that the rioters of the prosecution would withdraw it, if I would leave the school-house. I replied, in substance, that if he wished to give me a motive for going, he was too late, as I had already resolved to go for another reason, the impossibility of making myself heard there; if he wished to hasten my going, he was too soon, for now I must stop a while longer, to inquire into this new shape of the case, and that I was curious to see the man who had sworn to such a ridiculously false accusation. The man was called out, and stood forward, not—I thought—with the greatest alacrity or an air of the utmost confidence, and I subjected him to a brief cross-questioning which he evidently did not enjoy; although, of course, with his instigators and backers about him, he still stood to his lie, and they echoed it. But he soon slunk back among the crowd. Having given his associates a concise expression of my estimate of the whole affair, and then invited all who wished to hear me further to follow me to the neighboring dwelling-house again, I led the way thither. Some followed; some stayed to speak their minds also to the rioters. On reaching the house, I found the evening so far spent that I concluded not to resume my discourse, and after passing

half an hour or so, in social converse, we departed. When I passed the school-house, with the friends who made me their guest for the night, the company had gone, and all was still and dark. Two or three hours later, the voices of my host and his family roused me from sleep, and looking out, I saw the school-house on fire, and evidently too far gone for any chance of saving it. Probably at the overturning of the stove, a few coals had fallen unperceived through the floor, and from them the fire had kindled; though, as I heard next morning, there were suspicions that, after the people had gone home, some of the rioters returned, and purposely set the house on fire. Be that as it may, one thing is certain, that, in one way or the other, the demon-deity whose worship is the suppression of free speech for freedom. And what could be in better keeping? If thought is to be stifled and utterance choked, in order that slavery may go unrebuked, what is the need or use of school-houses? Why should not ignorance go with barbarism?

C. C. BURLEIGH.
Florence, 1st mo. 8th, 1861.

CORRECTION AND ANNOUNCEMENT.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1861.

EDITOR LIBERATOR: In your last issue, you announce that the Dial is to be discontinued. Please correct this as soon as you can. The Dial is changed from a Monthly to a Quarterly Magazine, but counts yet on a long battle for the liberty of Man. It hopes to give good papers, during the year, from Emerson, Curtis, Thoreau, Sanborn, Howells, Furness, Joel and Myron Benton, and O. B. Frothingham. It claims to be the freest magazine in America; and if it dies, 't will be of telling the truth to despoils of mind and body. From all who care to the extent of two hundred cents whether such an organ "is voted up or voted down," I shall hope to hear. Yours for good drainage, whatever frog-pods be broken up.
M. D. CONWAY.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Ladies who have for so many years received the Subscriptions of their friends to the Cause, ask the favor of their company, as usual, at this time of the year, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 23d of January, in Music Hall, Boston.

As accidental omissions are almost unavoidable, even of those whose company is most desired, the Ladies hasten to say that ALL who hate slavery, and wish to become subscribers to the funds for its peaceful, immediate abolition, without expatriation, may obtain special invitations (without which no party is ever admitted) at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street, and of the Ladies at their respective homes.

- MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, L. MARIA CHILD, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ANNE WARREN WESTON, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, HELEN ELIZA GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, CAROLINE WESTON, MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, SARAH P. ATKINSON, ELIZA ANDREW, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, SARAH P. REMOND, SARAH RUSSELL MAY, ABBY KELLEY POSTER, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, EVELINA A. SMITH, ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA ATHORP, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY E. STEARNS.

The friends of the Cause in distant cities, or in country towns, with whom we have been so long in correspondence, are earnestly entreated, for the sake of the Cause, at this moment of hope and cheer, when the very evidences of progress make it difficult to raise money in large sums,—to take up collections in their respective neighborhoods; using all diligence to make the amount of smaller subscriptions supply any deficiency the hard times may possibly occasion in the larger ones. Now, as the very time for the most efficient expenditure, should be the time of most devoted effort. It is to be hoped that not a town in any State where we have ever had correspondence, nor an individual whose heart is in union with ours on this subject, will be found wanting to our list. We have ample opportunity to know that there are many such at the South, as well as at the North, for we are not exclusively of Northern birth, nor all free from the painful remembrance of having once been slaveholders. We hope to welcome as many as possible at the evening reception;—at all events, to receive their subscriptions by letter. Some of the ladies will be ready, while directing the arrangements for the evening reception, to welcome and receive the subscriptions of all their friends who prefer to make their calls during the day.

The Germania Band will fill the pauses of conversation in the evening. The guests may leave cloaks and shawls in the care of the attendants at the entrance and in the ante-rooms.

Each invitation must be countersigned by the guest, as last year, before presenting at the door.

The guests who have not already received special invitations, will find them at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street.

NEW SERIES OF TRACTS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE Anti-Slavery Offices, 5 Bookman Street, New York; 107 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia; 15 Steuben Street, Albany; and 221 Washington Street, Boston.

- No. 1.—Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. pp. 28. 5 cents.
- No. 2.—Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Toqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lahayette, &c. pp. 34. 5 cents.
- No. 3.—An Account of some of the Principal Slave Inmigrations during the last two Centuries. By JOSEPH COFFIN. pp. 36. 5 cents.
- No. 4.—The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1850 and 1860. pp. 144. 10 cents.
- No. 5.—Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. pp. 48. 5 cents.
- No. 6.—The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 95. 10 cents.
- No. 7.—Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper's Ferry, with his Address to the Court. pp. 16. 3 cents.
- No. 8.—The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. pp. 47. 5 cents.
- No. 9.—The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislators of Massachusetts. By L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 36. 5 cents.
- No. 10.—The Indebility of Abolitionists. By W. LLOYD GARRISON. pp. 15. 3 cents.
- No. 11.—Speech of John Fremont, commander of a Vigilance Committee of the Fugitive Slave Act at Chicago, Ill. pp. 12. 3 cents.
- No. 12.—The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L. MARIA CHILD. pp. 65. 5 cents.
- No. 13.—No Slave-Hunting in the Old Bay-States: An Appeal to the People and Legislature of Massachusetts. pp. 24. 3 cents.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Collections by Saline Hilley: Millbury, 3 50; Brookfield, 7 50; Andover, 7; Mrs. E. B. Chase, 5; A. Friend, 1 50; Newburyport, 7 25; Danvers, 5; Westford, 5; West Ferrisburgh, 4 21; Barre, 2 50; North Dennis, 3 75; East Dennis, 4 25; Harwich, 5; Myanville, 6 02; Centerville, 4; Mrs. Russell Marston, 8 37; Otterville, 6 37; Provincetown, 6 37; Otterville, R. I., 3 43; East Greenfield, 4 30; North Berwick, 3; James N. Buffum, 10; Franklin, 3 57; West Medway, 5 53; friends, 3; Fall River, 10; a friend, 1. 150 22
Collections by A. T. Fox: Contributions at Fall River, 410; Wm. Barker, 1; Wm. Howland, 1; New Bedford, 20; Lawrence, 4 91. 836 91
EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION.—The Fourth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Albany, in Association Hall, Monday evening, Tuesday and Wednesday, afternoon and evening, Feb. 4, 5, 6. Hon. Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Beriah Green, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Oliver Johnson, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony and others will address the Convention.

Afternoon sessions will commence at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission, 10 cents.

SIXTEENTH COURSE.—The Eighth Lecture before the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be given by Rev. FREDERICK FROTHINGHAM, of Portland, on Sunday evening, 20th January, in Lyceum Hall, at 7 o'clock. The Ninth Lecture will be given the following Tuesday evening, 21st inst., by Rev. J. M. MANNING, of Boston, in a same place. Admissions free. Mrs. C.

MANCHESTER, N. H.—A. T. Foss, HENRY C. Wright and J. M. HAWKS will speak in Manchester, N. H., Sunday, Jan. 20, day and evening.

H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at Neponset, Monday evening, Jan. 12.

H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak at East Abington, Sunday, Jan. 17, afternoon and evening. At Bridgewater, Tuesday, Jan. 31.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.—The Second Annual New York State Woman's Rights Convention will be held at ALBANY, in Association Hall, Thursday and Friday, afternoon and evening, Feb. 7 and 8. Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Hon. Gerrit Smith, Rev. Beriah Green, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others will address the Convention.

Afternoon sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission free. Evening sessions at half-past 7 o'clock. Admission 10 cts.

FREE DISPENSARY, for Women and Children, 274 Washington street, Boston. Open every day, from 11 to 1 o'clock.

The above institution (in connection with the Ladies' Medical Academy) is now open for the gratuitous treatment of Women and Children, and for Surgical Patients of both sexes. Different cases may have the benefit of a Consultation on Wednesdays, at 12 o'clock.</

Poetry.

LIBER TO NEW ENGLAND. BY THE OLD COLONY BARD. Stand firm, New England—calm and cool...

From the Harvard Magazine. EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE. Bright year of promise! ushered in by ransomed millions' loud acclaim...

THE VOICE OF THE DYING YEAR.

As within my chamber musing, Watching the departing year, Listening to the tread of angels...

IF WE KNEW.

If we knew the cares and crosses, Crowding round our neighbor's way; If we knew the little losses...

REBASON.

Remember him, the villain, righteous Heaven, Thy great day of vengeance, and blast the traitor...

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Are you for Liberty, or for Slavery?—The Mighty Issue—The one Great Test of the Nineteenth Century—The Doom of all who befriend Slavery.

Even now the people can hardly believe that slaveholders can be the embodiment of the 'sum of all villainy.' They are amazed at such fraud, treachery, lying, theft, robbery and plunder...

Before this God-appointed test, down went the Methodist church, as a national organization. Then down the Baptist denomination. Then followed the Presbyterian combination. The entire South went for the 'sum of all villainy,' the North for liberty...

Thus must it ever be from this day forth and forever; for, in this conflict between Liberty and Slavery, the friends of Liberty can never retreat, nor stay their warfare...

formula, the secret of your power, and the weapons of your warfare; i. e.—

- No co-operation with slaveholders in politics. No fellowship with them in religion. No affiliation with them in society. No patronage to slaveholding merchants. No gaiting in slave-waiting hotels. No fees to slaveholding lawyers. No employment to slaveholding physicians. No aid to slaveholding mechanics. No recognition of pro-slavery men except as ruffians, outlaws and criminals.

Thus applying the simple test, you and your co-laborers have laid low in dust the pro-slavery organizations in Church and State, as national institutions; and the people are driven to reconstruct their ecclesiastical and political institutions on the new basis—i. e., WHOLLY FOR LIBERTY, OR WHOLLY FOR SLAVERY.

For liberty! or for slavery? The issue is distinct. No man, no church, no government, no god, can be for both. All in heaven and earth must be wholly for one, or wholly for the other. No god, no man, no Bible, no constitution can befriend both, and succeed.

There is great and general satisfaction throughout the State, so far as I can learn, that the Legislature promptly refused to repeal her Personal Liberty Bill. Can it be that the dear Old Bay State will repeal her laws for the protection of personal liberty on her soil...

At the close of next Sunday, Jan. 6th, I shall have lectured in Vermont twenty times in sixteen days—besides attending three conferences. All ears are open to hear—all hearts open to feel. Consternation is in all the land.

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

LAWRENCE, Jan. 3, 1860. DEAR SIR—The Essex County Anti-Slavery Society held its quarterly meeting at Lawrence Hall in this city, on Sunday, 29th ult. It held three sessions, at all of which Mr. A. T. Foss spoke.

He then said slavery was like a pyramid standing on its apex, supported on either side by the Church, the Constitution, and commercial interest; and his work was to knock away these props, and let the wicked institution fall to the ground.

Resolved, That the Union of these States was formed by a compromise of the rights of man, and was therefore wrong in its inception, and could only be disastrous in its progress, and sure of an ignominious end.

In support of the resolutions, he referred to the articles in regard to representation, and the imporation of such persons as any State should think proper, and the rendition of fugitives, &c., and claimed that therein was a compromise of the rights of man.

did not have no reason to cease from their labor, at the seeming approach of the dawning of that day for which they have so long looked, but that they should work on until their hopes were fully realized.

At the close of the meetings, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed, tendering the thanks of the audience to the speakers for their faithful, earnest and eloquent addresses.

Yours, for the cause of humanity, H. L. S.

Selected Articles.

THE 'CONVENTION' AT ST. JAMES HALL.

According to previous announcement, this convention met at St. James Hall, yesterday afternoon. A very limited number of persons were in attendance, most of whom had been drawn to the place by curiosity.

In the evening, an audience, very little larger than that in attendance in the afternoon, assembled, among whom were to be noticed several colored men, and a few ladies. Susan, as usual, opened the ball, called the house to order, and introduced Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Elizabeth Stanton, immediately her manuscript, and forthwith proceeded to inform those present of the horrible state of things which now and always had existed in the world generally, and in this country particularly.

At the conclusion of her remarks, ex-Judge Hinson arose, and expressed a desire to offer a resolution. Birdseye Wilcox, Esq., objected, and moved that the meeting adjourn, accompanying his motion by some very emphatic remarks.

After Mr. Green had finished, a young gentleman, who was introduced as Geo. W. Taylor, of Erie Co., came forward and attempted to speak, but the confusion was so great that he was obliged to stop. His speech was cut off by one of the speakers, and a hymn, a virtuous and inaudible voice, commenced to sing a hymn, in a low, almost inaudible voice.

The confusion here became so great, that Mr. Taylor was no longer heard, and Miss Anthony, after announcing the programme for to-day, and expressing her disgust at the treatment she and her associates had received, declared the Convention adjourned.

Mr. Hinson moved a re-organization of the meeting, and proposed Mr. B. Wilcox as chairman. Mr. Wilcox was elected, and proceeded to mount the stage, where he seated himself with much dignity. He was followed by Mr. Hinson and others, but just as proceedings were about to commence, the person in charge of the hall shut off the gas, and those who were yet in the hall were left in almost total darkness.

We hope never to see the proceedings of last night repeated. To speak of the whole thing in its proper light, it was a disgraceful and a disgraceful scene. Susan B. Anthony and her coadjutors have an undoubted right to express their opinions, and that without molestation or hindrance, the policy of holding these mis-called 'conventions' is very questionable.

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION AND ITS FINALE.

The Abolition Convention held its second day's session yesterday, in St. James Hall. It did not assemble till late in the afternoon, nor was there apparently any stronger show of Abolition strength than that manifested on Thursday.

In the evening, about two hundred persons assembled in the Hall. Chief of Police Best, with twenty policemen, stood in readiness to repress any attempt to break up the meeting. His Honor the Mayor, though suffering from sickness, was also present. Miss Anthony called on, and attempted to call the assembly to order, and introduced Mr. W. Green again. His appearance was the signal for renewed turmoil, which the police tried in vain to quell.

Miss Anthony, after the speech was over, addressed the crowd with all the sarcasm and stinging invective she could command, and at the close of her remarks announced that she would proceed to take up a collection to defray expenses, which she did. Returning to the stage, she introduced Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a venerable looking lady, with gray hair in curls, who proceeded to read from a manuscript. The uproar was redoubled, and she was at last obliged to retire.

Cady Stanton, a venerable looking lady, with gray hair in curls, who proceeded to read from a manuscript. The uproar was redoubled, and she was at last obliged to retire. Susan B. again took the stand, amid the howls and stamping of the crowd. At last, somebody found the way to the gas meter, and in a moment shut the meeting off into total darkness.

It was moved and carried that a Committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions. E. R. Jewett and John L. Talcott were named among others, but peremptorily declined. The following gentlemen accepted: Chas. Sherman, Horatio Seymour, Thos. Truman, Wm. Monticelli, and C. S. Macomber.

Resolved, That in view of the deep feeling and solicitude of our people, and the threatening aspect of our national affairs, we regard the calling of a meeting at this place to give utterance to the wild theories of fanatical Abolitionists, with unqualified disapprobation. Resolved, That if this class of people attempt to utter their treasonable sentiments, we trust that they will in future select some other locality than the city of Buffalo.

THE A. S. CONVENTION—ANOTHER DISGRACEFUL DISTURBANCE.

St. James Hall was the scene of another tumult, last evening, even more disgraceful to our city and more outrageous than that of the night before. We shall not describe it in detail, for we feel too much shame on its account to be willing that more publicity than is necessary should be given to the occurrence.

At the conclusion of her remarks, ex-Judge Hinson arose, and expressed a desire to offer a resolution. Birdseye Wilcox, Esq., objected, and moved that the meeting adjourn, accompanying his motion by some very emphatic remarks.

After Mr. Green had finished, a young gentleman, who was introduced as Geo. W. Taylor, of Erie Co., came forward and attempted to speak, but the confusion was so great that he was obliged to stop. His speech was cut off by one of the speakers, and a hymn, a virtuous and inaudible voice, commenced to sing a hymn, in a low, almost inaudible voice.

The confusion here became so great, that Mr. Taylor was no longer heard, and Miss Anthony, after announcing the programme for to-day, and expressing her disgust at the treatment she and her associates had received, declared the Convention adjourned.

FREE SPEECH IN BUFFALO.

The Union is saved! The danger of secession is passed, if you can only let Carolina know as speedily as possible that our Northern Buffaloes have come forth in their might, trampled the right of free speech in the dust, and cut the jugular vein of Abolitionism, by mobbing one slender gray-haired man, and two strong-minded women.

On the adjournment of the 'convention,' its opponents organized a meeting, on motion of ex-Judge Hinson, by electing E. H. Howard, President, and Oscar Ford, Secretary. The President imperatively insisted that reporters had no business to make the proceedings public. We maintained our right, but we now waive it, inasmuch as nothing occurred for which we are disposed to take space from our matter—Buffalo Express, 5th inst.

QUEST OF SLAVE TERRITORY.

As our dear Southern brethren are unable to break up the Union because they cannot rule it forever, and as they complain that the free States, we have not done our duty to the slave, we call attention to the following figures, showing how much money has actually been paid by the United States Government to extend the area of slavery on this continent.

Table with 2 columns: Territory, Amount. Includes Louisiana (8,265,000), Florida (2,000,000), Texas (10,000,000), Texas (for indemnity) (7,500,000), Texas (for creditors, lost Congress) (5,000,000), Indian expenses of all kinds (5,000,000), To purchase and settle the Indians (2,000,000), All other expenditures (11,575,575), Mexican War (15,000,000), Florida War (7,000,000), Soldiers' pension and bounty lands (4,000,000), To remove Indians (100,000,000), Paid by treaty for New Mexico (100,000,000), Paid to extinguish Indian titles (3,000,000), Total (882,764,000).