- IS PUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

-AT-221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN

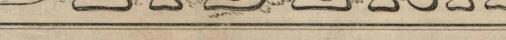
DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be

directed (POST PAID) to the General Agenta Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per

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

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



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

sion."-JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Print

VOL. XXXI. NO. 1.

BOSTON, JANUARY 4, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1568

The United States Constitution is "a

"What order of men under the most

nonarchies, or the most aristocratic of republi

invested with such an odious and unjust priv

of the separate and exclusive representation half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of

in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presic sion? This investment of power in the ow

species of property concentrated in the highest of the nation, and disseminated through thirtee twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a p

order of men in the community, more adverse to t

of all, and more pernicious to the interests of th

than any order of nobility ever known. To call g

ment thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the

standing of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with

infection of riches and of slavery. There is no nam the language of national jurisprudence that can define

no model in the records of ancient history, or in the cal theories of Aristotle, with which it can be like

by an equivocation-a representation of property und

name of persons. Little did the menters of the

tion from the Free States imagine or foresee wha

fice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of t

was introduced into the Constitution of the Unit

with death, and an agreement with h

Refuge of Oppression.

HOLIER THAN THOU!

Mr. Wendell Phillips is certainly entitled to the sympathy of all kindly-considerate persons. He has made the Anti-Slavery reform what the advertising doctors call "a speciality." He is like a man who has invented a pill, and believes nothing in the world greater than his orbicular marvel of scammony and gamboge. He sometimes reminds us of the dog in the Prologue of Rabelais. "Did you ever," says that facetious philosopher, "see a dog with a marrow bone in his mouth, the beast of all others, according to Plato, the most philosophical? If you have seen him, you might have remarked with what devotion and circumspection he wards and watches it; with what care he keeps it; how fervently he holds it; how prudently he gobbles it; with what affection he breaks it; and with what diligence he sucks it. Anti-Slavery is Mr. Phillips's bone; and no man can venture to indulge in a little philanthropy without provoking from that gentleman a sub-acidulous snarl. He dotes only upon those who disagree with him, and all his converts immediately become the objects, not perhaps of his jealousy, but certainly of his suspicion. He loves his enemies, because it is so delightful to pummel them, and he dilates with pleasure over some fresh and uncommon wickedness, just as a surgeon admires a large ulcer better than a cheek which health has incarnadined. D'Israeli says somewhere that the Jews shrink from a convert

as from a calamity; and very good Abolitionists may be very good Jews in more ways than one. Mr. Phillips is a close communion reformer. You must take the wine out of his cup, or you shall not have a drop; you must receive the bread from his plate, or you according to his prescription, and eaten uncommon and better notes of humble pie, Mr. Phillips admits that you may possibly have a blinking idea of the sin of judicially blinder to combat it; but what he does not by any means admit it, that you hate it as he hates it, that you hate it as he hates it, that you are single in the care of an impressible, nervous particles of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants and better notes of the city has to be judicially blinder to care a blinking idea of the sin of an impressible, nervous particles of an impressible, nervous particles of an impressible, nervous particles of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants are better supplied. To him the gospel is preached, and better notes of an impressible, nervous particles of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants are better supplied. To him the gospel is preached, and better notes of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants are better supplied. To him the gospel is preached, and better notes of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants are better supplied. To him the gospel is preached, and his religious privileges are much greater than those of the power to preserve its integrity, and the discussion of unpopular by the white man in many portions of the city has to class anywhere else, but his moral and religious wants are better supplied. To him the ears of an impressible, nervous powers to reserve its integrity, and the class anywhere else, but his power to preserve its integrity, and the class anywhere else, but his power to preserve its integrity, and the class anywhere else, but his power to preserve its integrity. The white the variety of the white the variety of the white the variety of the white the power to preserve its integrity. The whole are the cut of the care of an impressible, nervous power to preserve its integrity. The whole are the cut of the care of an impressible, nervous power to preserve its integrity. T cere as he is sincere, or that you are consistent according to his code of consistency. He puts you instantly upon the defensive; he challenges your right to assist in the good work; he carps, sneers, and undervalues; and having quibbled you into the cate gory of man-stealers, he makes cruel speeches about you, upon all possible occasions. A mind so warped

and twisted, a judgment so inequitable and dislocated, a character so essentially and incessantly unamiable, is the more to be pitied, when traces of its original generosity are still perceptible, and when, in spite of its standing protest against being admired, we cannot help admiring its better qualities. The contest in which Mr. Phillips has passed his life has been a cruel one; we wish, with all other sacrifices, that he had not felt himself obliged to sacrifice his catholicity and kindness of nature. A bigot of liberality, a sectarian anti-sectarian, a sour philanthropist, is not a pleasing object. Mr. Phillips should remember that hostility to human bondage cannot be monopolized by seven men in Cornhill, Boston; and that a Presidential Election is of more conse quence in the world's turmoil than six "Anti-Sla very Bazaars," with a stock of virtu from the Duchess of Sutherland, and of ninety night-caps embroidered by the hands of Lady Byron herself. It is one thing to work actually in public affairs, and to have immediate social results depending upon practical discretion and diligence; it is quite another to fight folly and wrong in the abstract, to be bold upon a platform, but never to be seen at a poll. The best philosophers become in time mere amateurs, and have

no honors but those of quotation. Gentlemen who

begin by ignoring citizenship, are not the best judges

There is one ramification of Mr. Phillips's well-

of those who still recognize political relations.

rooted spleen which perhaps we are not disinterested enough to consider with charitable equanimity. He is afflicted by a great and chronic grudge against newspapers; and we suppose that of the thousand sheets emitted daily or weekly in the United States, he regards as worthy of respect only two. For the Tribune we are sorry to notice that he has little affection; and it is really painful to observe what circuitous journeys he is, once or twice in a year, in the habit of making, merely that he may have his gibe at us. If any journal rises to the honor of being named in his speeches, it is always the Tribune; and the impression of us which any auditor would receive from these amiable allusions would be, that we are in conspiracy with Keitt, Slidell and the ghost of Mr. Preston S. Brooks to preserve the Union and postpone emancipation. We are, as a matter of good taste, almost defenceless against this kind of attack. It is not for us to say how much we have been enabled to do; how many minds we have convinced, or how many men we have led in the path of right action. But we have certainly the right as we have not less the inclination to speak for the general Republican press of the country; and to declare that in earnest and practical advocacy of the Rights of Man, and in educating the public thought up to a healthy abhorrence of Slavery, the Republican newspapers have done and are still doing a no-Mr. Phillips, who knows nothing at all about the conduct of newspapers, cannot understand this. He has never used them. His experience of them is confined to the occasional contribution of half a column to the Liberator. When he was a very young man, all the newspapers were against him, and he fancies that they are all against him still. He lacks largeness of view to that deplorable extent, that he cannot conceive of a tempest on the outside of a tea-pot. A little Convention in a little village passing a little series of little resolutions, and just a little disturbed by the lewd and base, is to Mr. Phillips the most august of all possible human gath-He wastes upon a score of drunken rioters more indignation than he has to spare upon the assassination of a Senator. It is his misfortune, as it is that of the handful who concert with him, that they look at large events through the large end of the telescope; while, when little affairs are to be scrutinized, there is no microscope powerful enough to satisfy their appetite for magnificence. They cannot work conveniently except in a corner. The reform which is legislated—the ripe result of popular conviction demonstrated in the election returns the hope of honest work initiated by an honest Congress, and consummated by an honest President -these are, according to Mr. Phillips, impossible Everything must be done in the routine of a clique. You must subscribe for the Liberator. You must be nobbed twice in a year-once in New York, and once in Boston. You must think as Mr. Garrison thinks, and you must not think as anybody else

you are esteemed faithful in all. It is, we confess, melancholy to find this poor result of really honorable and praiseworthy exertions. Something, we suppose, must be conceded to honest mula, and work, alas! to small purpose. Our only doubt is, whether it is even worth while to try to put them right. Perhaps it would be most merciful to leave a mill-horse to stagger in his circle to the end; for he will fall down if he is taken out of it, and even if he should survive transplantation, he would be utterly useless for the plain and straightforward highway .- New York Tribune.

THE SOUTHERN CHURCH.

Rev. W. O. Prentice, Episcopal rector at Columbia, S. C., has preached a discourse in favor of seces- its tremendous framework of iron. It follows the sion the fourth time, at the earnest request of the preacher to his closet, the artist to his studio, and people, who do not seem to want to hear anything the poet to his Parnassian haunt; and it lays its else. He proves not only slavery, but secession, to be scriptural, and draws a magnificent picture of the speak, sing nothing which does not square with the t anquillity and glory of South Carolina out of the Union. One of the amusing things in the discourse this freedom? Is this the boon our fathers came is a version of the Lord's prayer suited to Southern | across the ocean to seek? Is this the sort of society wants. The preacher said that the South, rich and Washington and his great compeers forecast? Is poor, kings and paupers, poured out their petitions this chain, drawn around liberty of thought, opinion, to the Almighty to "give us this day our daily cotton." expression, made out of the old muskets and bayo-

tion is given by the Rev. Mr. Fleming, as follows:-"If slavery in itself is a sin, then Abraham, the father of the faithful, was a great sinner, for he owned hundreds of slaves. If it be the 'sum of all villanies,' then many of the saints of the Old Testament and New were 'sinners before the Lord exceedingly.' And Lynch, in the form of an irresponsible mob, either if to return a fugitive slave to his owner be a crime, of "gentlemen of property and standing," or the then St. Paul, who sent Onesimus back to Philemon refuse of society from Ann street or Five Points? his master, and the angel of the Lord, who bade the We do not believe that those who thus trample the runaway Hagar return to her mistress, were not guilt-

The Providence of God brought the negro to our shores; and whatever may have been the motives that influenced those who conveyed him hither, it is cerain that his condition here is vastly better than it is in of men, of the justice of their cause, by renouncing any other part of the world. Not only is he better fed, reason and right, and appealing to club law. They are sowing the wind to reap that they are sowing the wind to reap that they are sowing the wind to reap that they are sowing the wind to reap that, on two occasions, the police of the city has to

ists between us. I believe, before God, that not only the institution of slavery, but the preservation of the negro race on this continent, depends upon resistance, ous and cowardly assault upon the freedom of speech on the part of the South, to Northern domination." The "irrepressible conflict" has invaded not only the churches, but touched the Bible itself. The Southern Bible Revision Association has withdrawn from co-operation with the Baptist Bible Union, because in the revised edition of Paul's epistle to Philemon, "doulos" is translated "servant." The Tennessee Baptist says, "Just as certainly as immersion

cation; any other destroys the sense.' DOWN WITH THE EVIL TREE.

is the primary and proper signification of baptismos,

slave is the meaning of doulos. It signifies a bond

is used in the New Testament, it requires this signifi-

The irrepressible conflict has commenced in good the four following propositions:-I. Abolitionism has no foundation in the Scrip-

II. Its principles have been promulgated chiefly by misrepresentation and abuse III. It leads, in multitudes of cases, and by a logi-

cal process, to utter infidelity. IV. It is the chief cause of the strife that agitates and the danger that threatens our country.

This is a regular clerical Paixhan! His introduction contains a classification of the preachers of this doctrine of Abolitionism into two divisions: those who denounce slavery at home, and those who act like John Brown; but thinks it don't belong to him to say which is the most heroic man. Mr. Vandyke

"It is not for me to decide whether the man who preaches this doctrine in brave words, amid applauding Life in America would soon become cheap and of multitudes in the city of Brooklyn, or of the one who in the stillness of the night, and in the face of the law's terrors, goes to practise the preaching at Harper's Ferry, is the most consistent abolitionist, and the most heroic man. It is not for me to decide which is the most or Turkey, at once, than live in a society which mportant part of a tree; and if the tree be poisonous, which is the most injurious, the root, or the branches, or the fruit. But I am here, to-night, in God's name, not reading the Declaration of Independence, or and by his help, to show that this tree of abolitionism

There is no namby-pamby here, verily: this goes to the root of the whole matter. This is the sort of no favor, even in our most commercial and cotton talk the hour demands. All good parties should make ized cities, among the great masses of our people it their chief business to hew this Bohon Upas down. but a swift and sure condemnation. The school-

A CLERICAL DISUNIONIST.

Extract from a Thanksgiving (!) Discourse, delivered in New Orleans by Rev. William C. Dana, son of the late Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana, of Newburyport:-

The same principles that impelled our great ancestors, in their day of trial, to shake off (not without sundering many pleasant ties of early recollection) a foreign and hostile government, now dictate the same course to their sons.

Those States in which the dominant majority, whether from misguided conscience or party virulence, thus deliberately set at naught those provisions of the Constitution which were placed there as the special safeguards of the South, and without which the Union would never have existed-those States have no right to exercise one particle of sway our necks under any yoke, foreign or domestic. over any Southern State. Not one of them ought to Christian Inquirer. have any share, directly or indirectly, in governing

The Northern and the Southern States are, by their different institutions, so far distinct nations, that the possession of the Federal Government by a their natural resources of defence.

thinks. If you are found faithful in these things, has shown itself to be!

Selections.

SLAVES

HORSES

OFFER

CATTLE

a lors re

FREE SPEECH, PREE PRESS, FREE PULPIT.

The question of freedom, once started, is not restricted to one race or color. It instantly sweeps whites as well as blacks into its ample verge. does not restrict itself, either, to the point of bodily servitude, but it forthwith comprehends mind, morals, religion, literature, speech, press, pulpit, up to the highest spiritual interests, and the loftiest thought, in He proves not only slavery, but secession, to commands upon them, each and all, to pray, design, The Southern ministerial view of the slavery ques- nets that did such execution at Bennington and Germantown?

The late outrages in Boston, and the threatened violence in Brooklyn and Philadelphia and New York, raise the question, Are the people in these cities free? or are they at the mercy of Judge laws under their feet, and strive to put a chain on the tongue, the press, and the pulpit, know what John Browns on the other side of the question. Let bered for many generations. If it is said that the speakers were abusive in speech, let it be borne in aind that it is precisely such acts that exasperate the most extreme denunciators, and "make even wise men mad." Have we got to fight the battles of freedom all over again? Cannot citizens meet and freely discuss any subject in our country? Are we to have a censorship of speech, forum and pulpit? slave, a chattel,' strictly one born so. Wherever it a reign of terror to be inaugurated at the North, as well as at the South! We do not believe a word of We have not the remotest apprehension of it in the world. But we are heartily ashamed that, at this time of day, and in the boasted Athens of America, the civil authorities should not have decision and firmness enough to say, "Liberty to speak, print and preach shall never suffer at our hands, in earnest among the clergy. Rev. Mr. Vandyke, of the good old Puritan city." We have committed to New York, in a sermon printed in full, maintained heart too faithfully the proud lessons of the olden time, the Miltonic strain of freedom, the liberty of conscience, the rights of Magna Charta, the sublime Declaration of 1776, to allow them now to be dragged in the dust at the heels of a mob, no matter ether that mob is dressed in rags or in broadcloth. Ill fares the day when any city parts with its manhood, its civil order, and right of free discussion, at the beck of any master, domestic or remote. We know full well that this freedom is unfortunately too often abused, but we cannot help that result. There is an unavoidable imperfection in the working of all institutions, but that incidental evil shall not justify us in abandoning the institutions themselves. free press, pulpit, or lyceum may be abused. But we could not respect the preacher, editor, lecturer, or debater who spoke, or forebore to speak, as "King Cotton," or any other authority dictated, not as his little worth, if only those sentiments are allowed utterance which please the populace for the time We had rather remove to Austria, Russia, should thus undertake, not to enslave the body, but celebrating any Twenty-second of February, or is evil, and only evil, root and branch, flower and leaf Fourth of July, until we can better appreciate the spirit of '76, and honor its immortal heroes. But we have no fears. The mob spirit will find

master and preacher have not been abroad in vain. We discern a vast but silent reaction taking place. Freedom, more than ever-a calm, just, constitutional freedom, is to take the control of our destinies. Men will say less about it, but they will do more. If we are threatened with any more of these disgraceful scenes, we shall fall back upon the people. and we believe that the steam fire-engines and the metropolitan police will be able to extinguish any mobs which unscrupulous demagogues can raise. Or, if worst should come to worst, the mass of the yeomanry under executive authority would soon be able to control the worst localities, and to make it everywhere felt and understood, that the cause of law and order and freedom would be maintained, at whatever cost. As children of Washington, we are not going, in an idle caprice of fear or folly, to throw away the magnificent inheritance of constitu-

FREE SPEECH.

Northern political party implacably hostile to South- culmination of tyranny. A denial of freedom of ern institutions, and persistently reckless of constitu- speech involves a denial of the right to think, freely tional restraints, is of itself the most odious and most and manfully, for one's self. Those who would fetdangerous form of foreign aggression; the most odi- ter the utterance of a thought, would lay an injuncous, because the forms of free government are made tion upon the formation of that thought, if they had and indeed warmly pressed in the North, subservient to purposes directly antagonistic for power to do so. Out upon the craven hirelings who which that government was constituted (a "more think to kill Truth by setting mobs upon peaceful perfect Union"); the most dangerous, because that assemblages of citizens convened in her name! aggression is gradual, stealthy, insidious in its move- What examples have recently been presented to the ment, so as least to alarm and arouse to united re- world of American manhood, culture, liberty and sistance those whose safety is threatened, whilst yet civilization! In Boston, a little handful of men as long as nominal Union lasts, they are despoiled of hired Tremont Temple, and came quietly together, again on the 3d of Dec., to discuss the great evil of slavery What a position for the South! To hang depen- and the best means to secure its discontinuance in dent on the justice, or the mercy, of a party foreign America. They are crushed out by a mob in broadto her soil, and hating her institutions; and such a cloth—violently hurled from the premises they had well party, in respect to constitutional restraints, as this hired with their own money-hounded through the streets like miscreants—and their homes, in many What may have seemed, but fifteen days ago, a instances, partially demolished by the rabble. Something, we suppose, must be conceded to honest purpose; some allowance must be made for that infirmity of vision which follows too close a scrutiny of South alone should govern the South." Only under the Music Hall were disturbed by riotous and control of the Sunday follows. men may work by for- her own protection are her rights and interests safe. clamorous interruptions; and on the Sunday follow-

their victim. On the same Sabbath, Henry Ward Beecher preached from his own pulpit, while police- no Northern man is safe in those States, be he there men were pitched within and without to ward off from what motive or for what purpose he may. To threatened violence. And in Philadelphia, Mayor be a citizen of a Northern State is to be an outlaw. Henry declines to allow Geo. W. Curtis to pronounce a literary lecture before an Association that on earth, and their citizenship will protect them. had engaged his services! Such craven, toad-eating | Can they not have the same right at home—in their humiliation before the Cottonocracy of the South own country, under this guarantee of the Constituis disgraceful in the extreme. Is this the sort of tion? The power of the Nation has been put forth manhood we inherited from our Pilgrim ancestry? to retake a fugitive slave, and men have been per-Is this the progress we have made in our four-score secuted and hunted by the officials of the General years of national development and unfolding? Is Government, for doing an act of humanity, of Christhis the way we hallow the memory of dead sires tian charity, because it was forbidden by Slavery. who laid down their lives in defence of freedom of In justice, we now demand that an act be passed by speech and of opinion?

right to his own opinions, and to the expression of territory to be made the hunting ground of the arrothem. Each man claims this right for himself, and gant bullies of the slave interest; to be called out if so, he must freely accord it to all others. In admitting another's right to express his individual cuted for disobedience, while we dare not also over opinions, it by no means follows that you endorse the line of a slave State for the most laudable purthose opinions. His opinion, may be false—if so, meet him with the force of logic and respectful argu
If the spirit of the free North is not w ment: never with brickbats or blows.—Erie True crushed out, it will be folly to talk of compros

THE MOB SPIRIT IN BOSTON. nothing in reprobation of the mob spirit which has been recently manifested in that city. It is true is time for the Nation to yield up its existence. But public meetings shall be summarily abated, while | Sentinel. they have given countenance by their presence to the attempt to wrest the conduct of a meeting from the control of those that called it, while the baser mob, encouraged by these fine gentlemen, has undertaken the dirtier part of the business, throwing stones, chasing and beating inoffensive negroes, filling the air with their cries for blood, and seeking to murder the leaders of the anti-slavery party, making the Sabbath hideous, the press of Boston looks quietly on, and has no word of reproof, of indignation, of instruction, of argument against the mob spirit. The papers fill their columns with accounts of the barbarous treatment of Northern men in the slave States, and are excessively shocked and indignant at it. But they have not a word against similar attempts right at home. What wonderful consistency It is a pity they would not use the microscope as well as the telescope, and have something to say in reproof of a Boston as well as of a Charleston mob. The people cannot help drawing from this conduct

the inference that there is very little real indepen-dence in the Boston press. It displays great enterprise in getting the news, but there its merit ends. t cannot be relied on for honest, persistent, unselfish adherence to principle and defence of popular When the wealth and "respectability (how we loathe that word in its present acceptation! of Boston requires it to yield to the demands of expediency, of trade, of selfish interest, of the narrow views of the day, without regard to ultimate consequences, it has always been found ready to do so. reflects accurately the opinions of a small but dominant class, ever varying as that fluctuates, now loud-mouthed in pretended zeal for freedom, but the next day showing its insincerity and hollowness by an abject readiness to sacrifice all that it professed to have been struggling for. It is always engaged in a most painful attempt at preserving its equilibrium between opposing forces, and if any credit is due to the man who, by long continued practice, had acquired the power of standing on one leg as long as a goose could, the Boston press is fairly entitled to the same.—New Bedford Republican.

THE MOB AT MUSIC HALL.

We certainly cannot trust the keeping of free speech in Boston to the dictum of a mob. If men are to be punished or put in peril of person or life. for speaking boldly, or even madly, the experiment ought to commence in some other meridian than in the metropolis of New England. Mr. Phillips did not, in his wildest utterances, parallel that of a Senator from Georgia, who recently invoked in a speech, in his place in the U. S. Senate, the rise of a Texan Brutus to assassinate the Governor of Texas; and yet, for the venting of this murderous outbreak, we do not read that he was even so much as called to order! That was at the Capitol in Washington; this, that evoked a mob, was at the Music Hall, in -Christian Watchman.

FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT .- DISUNION.

Whatever may be said of the opinion of the conervatives of the North, of the Constitutional obligaion to obey the Fugitive Act of 1850, every think tional freedom which he bequeathed us, and bow ng man admits that its requirements are unreasonaidea, several of the Northern States have passed and their tools-Maine Temperance Journal personal liberty bills, for the protection of their inhabitants. At this time, when the slaveholders of certain States are threatening disunion and seces sion, we find a proposition of compromise start repeal of these personal liberty bills the Union men of those Star

ing, Wendell Phillips, having addressed the people be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citi-at the same hall, was escorted to the threshold of zens in the several States." Under this clause we seen the bottom of atheism. The fool he his residence by an armed police force, while a mob are entitled to an act to protect our citizens of of hundreds howled along the streets, foiled of the North in Southern States. As it is, a perfect

Congress and enforced by the Executive, for the The Truth never suffers from the fullest investiga- protection of the personal liberty of persons who tion. On the contrary, it courts the fullest investi- are sojourning in States of which they are not citigation, and claims it as a right. "Error of opinion may well be tolerated," said Jefferson, "so long as fully executed, and the Fugitive Slave Act might be Truth is left free to combat it." Every man has a more tolerable. But to ask us to suffer our free

If the spirit of the free North is not wholly with the South on any such basis as is talked of. Justice between the States must be respected; and the rights of the citizens must take precedence of all else. If the slave party cannot submit to right It is to the burning disgrace of the Boston press that with at most a single exception, they have said made to. If the power of the Nation is only to be

spirit that requires the interference of the officers of but the higher duties we owe to humanity and our the law, that needs to be reproved. And this the press of Boston has entirely failed to do, and so has come short of its high duties. While men of wealth and vaunted "respectability" have assumed to say that free speech shall be suppressed in Boston, and not, his party has the grit to leave him.—Ashtabula

RENDITION OF FUGITIVES.

It is as much a matter of regret, as of astonishment, that Northern journals claiming a respectable legree of candor and fairness, should be so ready to commend concession to the insolent demands of Southern fire-eaters, that we shall repeal the laws that have been passed by several of the free States | and improvement which agitates-it is n to protect their citizens against the outrageous provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, while not a word s uttered in relation to the villanous enactments which preceded the existence of that most abominable statute, incarcerating the citizens of other States guilty of no crime, unless to have a black skin is a crime, and compelling their employers to pay their board or permit them to be sold into slaery, and to hire their slaves to do the very work their men might and should have done. Not a word do these journals have to say about this violation, not only of the Constitution of the United States,

but of justice and humanity. It seems to us these fire-eaters should first begin the work of conciliation, and wipe their statute books clean of all their unconstitutional acts, purge the Fugitive Slave Law, passed at their beh its outrageous and insulting provisions, afford the same protection to Northern men going South that Southern men enjoy North, and a general reformation of their manners and morals, before asking anything of us. They are not the men, with the his tory that they have left behind them, to ask us to ecede, or propose measures of conciliation. If the concession is to be all on one side, and the

North called on merely to bow down to the demands of the Democratic leaders of the South, and the doughfaces of the North, we fancy it will require a good deal more than threats of dissolution to bring the people to it. It is quite unendurable enough to see these men lord it over the negroes, without submitting to the same treatment ourselves. It is quite bad enough to submit to the rendition of a fugitive after he has enjoyed all the benefits of the forms of law in defence; but repugnant as this would be. such is the respect for law, that the people of the North would bear it. But to see a man, though black he be, seized like a dog, and on testimony not sufficient to establish a claim to the smalle niary value, dragged into perpetual bondage, the men of the North will never submit to, and they ought not. Let the South pay some decent respec to the moral, religious and humane sentiments of the North in doing an odious thing, and not attempt to trample under foot and spit on all this, and on our persons, too, in pursuit of their chattels human, if they mean to get along peaceably in the abominable Then we can turn our backs and shut our eves on the detestable thing because it is law, and executed with the least possible offence; but we

must be permitted to hate the whole thing with our Boston. The pen of History will note these things. whole heart, soul, mind and strength. This is the least we can ask. If, in addition to this, we are to be forced, under pains and penalties, to hunt their slaves for them, betray them when they come to our dwellings for food and protection from an iron despotism, shut our bowels of compassion against their ntreaties, it may be written down as certain, that the decent men of the North will never submit to it, though the heavens fall. The unrighteousness and in many particulars. A large class of our the humiliating character of the deed are too great to Republican politicians contend that such an act is be endured by any one having any sense of justice not contemplated under the Constitution; but that or any manhood left in him. We are not yet all of the rendition of fugitives is a matter strictly be- us such slaves or heathen as this, however it may be longing to the States; and, in pursuance of this with the whiskey-drinking and debauched politicians

MRS. H. B. STOWE ON THE PRESIDENT'S

had, it seems, raised the question. It had to him as a possibility. It was left for the i century to show a specimen of a State pa posing to a Christian nation to become, m ally than ever they had been before, robb nappers and pirates—without betraying thr line that a God had ever been heard of in A

-unless it be in certain customary ries.

The South is all in an uproar, he tells us-t cannot sleep nights for fear of servile insurred and, of course, somebody is to blame for this, a something must be done. Who is to blame?

There are four million men and women-so them black, and some of them white-whom Southern law, systematically, and with logical a racy not to be misunderstood, has stripped the name of human beings, and declared n sons but things; they cannot sue or be suedcannot buy or sell-they cannot own a foot of they cannot form a legal marriage-they ca own or educate their own children-their fa loves are all accidents of bargain and salecannot learn to read or write-they cannot ra hand against the will of any white person wil choose to insult or dishonor themselv

children, on pain of death; and mass of struggling, repressed human tudes of men-more vigorous, physica masters—with all the energy given by the habit of work—with all the fire and pr comes from being born of white fathers; repressed, the South herself is constantly to with and stimulating them to insurrection.

What are these madmen now doing, as they their powder magazine, and fire hot shot to right and

In the theatres of South Carolina, they are singing in the ears of an impressible, nervous pe who are quick to catch both tune and words, that furious Marseillaise which seems to breathe the

Is it credible th go ringing and eche slaves? and then is the North coo State papers that the South cannot

servile insurrections, and that it is her liberty that is the reason? It is not the fault of the South-no. laws which forbid marriage which agita the rending of families which agitatesposing four million human beings witho tection to any insult which four million devise that agitates-it is not forbidding ing a class of white sons and daught houses, whose talents and beauty are and who with all the pride of their maste

posed to all the insults of the slave-it

that agitates! It is not that with all this outraged, abused mass around, they go round Marseillaise in their ears, and adver public speeches and private conversati coln's election is likely to break their wish it were.) It is not the murderous barism which tars and feathers, burns up without judge or jury, and afterwards causes excitement. No; none of these vile insurrection—not a bit of it—it's the wicked, truculent, horrid North, who are declaring things they have no business to mons, magazines, poems, and speeches.

The North keeps expressing an opinion on delicate points as adultery, robbery, piracy, ki ping. They are not convinced yet, and don't s likely to be, that these are reputable courses North will hold that a man is a man-that all were created free and equal, and have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The North holds that it is wicked to forbid marriage to a whole community; that men ought to have rights to their wives; that it is a shame to sell children from their parents' arms; that it is a greater shame for a man to sell his own sons and daughters. They have these opinions in common with all civilized nations, and mean to act upon them-and the President thinks it is the defending of such ideas as these has made all the difficulty.

The remedy he proposes is quite as remarkable. He says, "After all, the Constitution gives only suc an ambiguous foothold to this state of things, the is impossible to convince the main that it supports them ail. The wa the Constitution of the United Sta freely, and clearly to admit and legalize sl

agitation will cease." Agitation cease! It reminds us of an anec of an old black slave-woman calling herself "Sojourner Truth," who sat in the front ranks once in an Abolition meeting, when Frederick Douglass, fired with the wrongs of his race, and the despain of the white race, declared that there was neither hope nor help for the slave but in their own right arms. In the pause that followed this appeal, So journer lifted her dark face, working with inte feeling, and said, in a low, deep voice, which

heard in every corner of the room "Frederick, is God dead?" Let that old black slave-woman through this nation, as then it rang through Far To all who hope or dream to put down ag tion by a covenant with death, and an agree with hell, old Africa rises, and raising he maimed, scarred hand to heaven, asks us-" I DEAD?"-New York Independent.

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PA

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN HICKMAN.

Last evening, at 8 o'clock, a "social re-union" of the People's Party operatives had a public dinner at-Samson street Hall. About three-hundred persons were in attendance. Most of them were well-known cians, and some of them hold promine