se, without them brother would be arrayed prother, and blood would run down the streets

not necessary for me to declare to you, who sed of transpiring events, that they are both r, and that neither of them will be preserved resolves. The time has rather arrived for an expression. No man can maintain the of this Union by popular assemblies, declarotion to the Constitution. The time has come every man has got to define his position in the struggle which is about to come off between ections and rival interests. No greater truth ver proclaimed in the hearing of the American than that there is an antagonism between om and slavery. [Applause.] And let no man le himself with the reflection that this antago-And let no man n is to be quieted by the palliatives of compro [A voice. Or by public meetings.] You canform truces between them, which will last. It is

ossible as to dam up mighty rivers, and to say from such a point dry land shall appear. As as the free sentiment of the North shall invade territory of the South, so long the South will omplaints; and you have now to make up your s whom you will serve—whether you will serve

or Belial. [Applause.]
is is not the first time in our history that these lities have come upon us, and when the safety ne country has been imperilled. In 1820 we omised, in 1832 we compromised, in 1854 we omised for the purpose of making peace bethese rival and conflicting interests, and in instance in which compromises have been d into, these compromises have been followed posed to us, with all the experience of the past, we shall again endeavor to make a lasting truce

een freedom and slavery. I have said at anothime, and in another place, that air lines may dirival States, but they can never bound conflictments. The lights of the press, the waves cient craft, the mechanical tendencies of highactive art—these will always make an imupon the weak and the impotent. My felizens, I put it to you, sober, staid, sensible to give to me if you can, the lines of comprowhich shall give to us rest. Will you restore Missouri Compromise line [A voice, "No"] ted in 1820 at the demand of the South, and re-1854 at the same demand? Will you re-Not by any means. No, I would rather suffer my at arm to be severed from the shoulder [cheers] an place upon myself any such mark of humiliatio ad disgrace. [Renewed cheers.] Are you willing at this game of battledore and shuttlecock shall ger be played between the South and the North? ou are, I am not, and the line is drawn between distinctly as it is drawn between the North and TA voice, "He's exactly right," and As for myself, I say it here, and I say it , desiring not to be misunderstood by any n-and you will find I will carry it out through life-no more compromise. • [Cries of "Good," d vociferous and long-continued applause.] Ilove

an who does not exclusively own them. d cheers.] If the Constitution and the secure the fealty of every right-minded it to be expected that a flimsy comproched up by members of Congress, is going what they cannot effect? My motto is, "Milfor defence, not one cent for tribute." [Cheers.] proper, my fellow-citizens, that we should look realities of the times. South Carolina declares has already seceded from the Union; that the bonds have been severed which bound us together. I contend that if South Carolina is out of the Union. there is no State in it, [cheers,] for there is not vitality or power in the bonds which we supposed held But I give it as my opinion, as my conviction, that she is not yet out of the Union, and I also give as my conviction that, with the blessing of ty God, she never will be out of the Union. ause and wild enthusiasm.] If you

e Constitution and the Union equal to that of any ner man, [cheers,] but I will not buy them from

will never be out of the o-night what I have the eighteen millions who monopolize all e of the country, are me, paralyzed and moulded into shape as without these auxiliaries.

friends, we have fallen upon evil times. t magnify our danger, nor would I in any sh the aspect which it presents. We have rayed against the Union a sovereign State. the sympathies of five or six other States so ng to South Carolina that, in my judgment, ady to join her at any advantageous mo-I am by no means certain that all the borwill not be found in affiliation. We have, n to this, a traitor President, [loud cheers] and rotten Cabinet, [cheers] and for aught we may have the regular army against the nasmuch as the President is the commanderof that army; but I declare to you my solemn n, to-night, that with all these fifteen States, al Administration, and the army and navy gether, the mighty millions of the North nd and save the Constitution and the Union. If I did not believe so, I should despair intry, for I look at this thing as I know that -I should despair of my country, and I aloud to my God, "Oh! give me a city of

is your determination? You have declared Constitution and the Union. How do you save them? There is, in my judgment, but vay known under Heaven and among men, by ch they can be saved; that is, by such an expresas will go out from this hall to-night, that bandeason, no matter how strong, shall not destroy ["Good," and cheers.] Neither merchants manufacturers, however respectable they may be own meeting assemblies, can do anything for the cause which we have at heart, and much less can they give us safety by a truckling, mean, dog-like subserviency to the South. [Cheers.] The day will come to all such men, and it will come quickly too, when they will call for the mountains to fall upon and hide them from the gaze of their fellownen. [Cheers.] These are the men who would bind the Constitution and the Union by tape and They have offered their price to the South, I we have seen how the South has spurned them. The only plan to save the Constitution is by a union of hearts and of hands, [cheers] of resolute, detered men, who will meet the last issue. [Cheers.] bt that I speak very far in advance of I have never measured ons by present prevailing opinion, nor do I would not degrade myself earing before any body of men in Christen m, to express opinions which I know are false I tell you that the South believe that the orth is craven, and those men, to whom I have alluded, have but afforded them stronger ground for this belief. [Cheers.] I want to know of every man I meet, here or elsewhere, if he belongs to that body of men, or whether he belongs to another. want to know whether he is going to purchase peace meanness, by betraying his own people and his vn interests, or whether he is going to defend the [Cheers.] My fellow-citizens, the Constituon and the U m should be upon the lips of every fended by the valor of every man. [Hurrah! and eers. | Unless you think as I do-unless you speak I do as sure as we have met here to-night the stitution and the Union are lost forever. [Cheers.] I call upon you to save them. I call upon you uster all your manhood, and to meet the issue, hat you have framed, but which the South has d upon you. To meet it boldly and determi-, not defiantly, and if you shall do so, you will the satisfaction to know your country is again [Cheers.] And soft as the tones of the seraph, ud as the thunder of heaven, the cry shall come

prospers the Republic. All is well!" The applause during Mr. Hickman's remarks was, at times, deafening. When he uttered the sentiment of "no more compromises," the shouts were dous; cheers rang confus

from the sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty, "God

He was no advocate for force, except as the last dread arbitrament. He would bear with his brother to the last moment. He sought no war against There was no feeling in the North of hostility to their Southern brethren. The North had no desire for war, but if it is forced upon us, then the feeling here must be unanimous that no traitor must be allowed to breathe in Pennsylvania. [Cheers.] He did not believe there was a citizen of this State who voted for Mr. Lincoln, who would refuse to battle for the Constitution and the Union. In regard to the matter of force, that was discretionary with the constituted authorities. When called upon by them, let the people respond. Prior to such call, it would not become members of the People's party to make offensive threats, or to boast of their strength and power. The country and its resources were known; from the Atlantic to the Pacific, thousands would be found ready to perish in obedience to the call of the officials. The mighty army of the North was capable crisis in our national affairs; but, as our printed terms of defending the interests of its section. It was indicate that payment is to be made in advance, we are against all history for a Southern nation to encroach sure if, instead of rigidly exacting it, we allow (as we upon a Northern one. It was for the interest of both North and South to keep the fraternal tie permanent, that all the people might be protected. Tear it asunder, and the world would not know a period of equal violence. The tie was not yet dedulgence, we have known various instances in which metto people, the Union was yet intact. Their Com- personal affront! What ideas have they of the sacredwho, it was possible to hope, might yet prove himself to be something of a man. Mr. Mann then related a remark which Mr. Douglas had made in the President's hearing, relative to the sterling virtues and courage of Andrew Jackson: "He is dead!" sad it was to know that his olden worth had no place in the heart of James Buchanan! He (Jackson) would have clutched rebellious Carolina as a stee

glove clutches a handful of hornets. Jackson had regretted to the day of his death that he had not quite enough law on his part to enable him to hang Calhoun. He was a soldier and a man of action Mr. Mann paid a copious eulogium to Gen. Jackson. The spirit of Jackson still lived, and was ready to The People's party would preserve the Union as it had preserved the city and the State. It would give justice to the South with an open hand, and was a conservative party, which would, nevertheless,

[Philadelphia U. S. Gazette.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

"But I may be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to human freedom, since the world began. It has been consecrated by the blood of our forefathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most prosperous, and ere long will, if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe, the title of American citizen is held in the highest respect, and when pronounced in a foreign land, it causes the heart of our countrymen to

It was one of the boasts of the Roman State, when in the height of its grandeur and power, that the solemn declaration, "I am a Roman citizen," was a protection in foreign and barbarous lands. Cicero, in his great invective against Verres, the tyrant of Sicily, made it an aggravation of his cruelties, that undaunted in spirit, and resolute in your purpose to he had disregarded this plea of Roman citizenship. St. Paul, at Jerusalem, made the same effective ap- tional suffering and danger!

"The chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know wherefore they cried

And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said to centurion that stood by, 'Is it lawful for you rge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?' When the Centurion heard that, he went and told the chief Captain, saying, 'Take heed what thou doest,

'Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, 'Yea.'
And the chief Captain answered, 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom.' And Paul said, 'But I was

Then straightway they departed from him, which should have examined him; and the chief Captain was also afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."-Acts XXII, 24-29.

Such was Roman citizenship and its immunities even in Judea, eighteen hundred years ago. Mr. Buchanan extols the power of the United States and into a war with Austria, in behalf of one Kozta, an Austrian subject, not even a citizen of the United States, but who, having declared his intention to become so, was sojourning in Asia Minor. The country

Within no very long period past, the case of naturalized American citizens travelling in their fatherland, and there held to supposed claims to military services, attracted much attention. Their rights were vindicated, after considerable doubt and hesitation on the part of our Government.

in any country of Europe, or even in the Barbary States of Africa, a single citizen of our country were seized and subjected to torture or other indignity, instant redress would be demanded, and insisted on; that without such redress there would be just cause of war, and actual war waged with our might. Were stitutions, there would be no bounds to the universal

Suppose the Rev. Dr. Cheever (a well-known clergyman now in Europe) should be there arrested and lynched, by hanging on a tree, for no other of- because we have declared chattel slavery to be diafence than because he is an American-would it be metrically at war with the spirit and teachings of passed by in silence? A government which fails to Christianity, and that into the true Church enter neiprotect the lives of its citizens, and their persons from ther the enslavers nor despisers of their fellow-men insult, even by arms if need be, has no rank among For thirty years, we have subjected ourselves to eign power to say, this was the act of a lawless mob. the nations of the earth. It would be idle for a forzenship of the United States is respected in all foreign tained that liberty ought to be "proclaimed through-

countries pretending to civilization. How is it in the States of our own Confederacu? The newspapers daily give us accounts of the mal-Throughout the cotton States—indeed, in several of as quite unfit to live, because we have "remembered the border or breeding States—the life of no Northpreacher of the Gospel from that section—the teach- the Golden Rule! er, male or female—the traveller for health or busi- For thirty years, the Abolitionists have been mobbed ness, is in much greater danger than he would be among the Bedouin Arabs, or the roving tribes of Sahara! So frequent have these cases become, that every day brings us new ones, often with some new in business, and cut off from all preferment—because form of atrocity and barbarism. Not a citizen of they have endorsed the language of John Wesley. Ohio to-day can travel in the cotton States, and register his name and address, without exposing himself with Thomas Jefferson, in regard to the enslaved to scourging, tar and feathers, or hanging. It is only a few weeks ago that Stephen A. Douglas and his wife were pelted with eggs at the State Capitol of Alabama. Not to be forgotten either, is the hanging of the Rev. Mr. Bewley, in Texas, now authentically known; this, for no crime, no misdemeanor, but justice cannot sleep forever"! simply because he was a preacher of the Gospel, and came from a free State. It would require columns to enumerate the cases where the parties are known, and the facts unquestionable. We have not chosen to fill our paper with stories of hangings and minor tortures, -of the driving men away by brute force, because of simple Northern birth. They are wearisome and painful reading; humiliati who calls himself a citiz

The Diberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 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 STANDING 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 do) a credit of fourteen months to delinquents, they can have no cause of complaint when their papers are stopped for omitting to make settlement; yet, with all this instroyed. Notwithstanding the deeds of these Pal- such persons have taken this treatment almost as a missioners had not been recognized by the President, ness of contracts? And, surely, our subscription list is always too limited to make us willingly lose a single subscriber. Exceptional cases there will be, calling for special consideration; but it is absolutely necessa-How ry that we should abide by the rule we have laid

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Massa-CHUSETTS 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 was a conservative party, which would, nevertheless, yield no single right fought or voted for.

Spirited speeches were also made by J. R. Flanigen, Esq., David Newport, Esq., John E. Latta, Esq., Dr. Frank Taylor of Chester County, Gen.
William F. Small, Mr. Charles Wilson, and others. 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, Mr. Buchanan, in his Message, appealing to the people of the Union, says:—

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 espouse 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 seek the speedy removal of the cause of all our na-

Able and eloquent speakers will be present as usual. [The list will be given hereafter.]

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

THIRTY YEARS COMPLETED

We have completed thirty years of editorial life con-Then the chief Captain came, and said unto him, nected with the Liberator. We commence a new decade with the same confidence in the principles we espouse, the same assurance of success in the cause we advocate, that we felt at the commencement of our labors,—only greatly strengthened by the experience gained, and the progress made toward the goal of final victory. It has been a long, desperate, and (humanly speaking) most unequal struggle with the organized religious sentiment, the political power, the combined wealth, the recognized respectability, the the value of American citizenship abroad. There is popular feeling, the business selfishness, the satanic something to predicate such a boast upon. It is not malignity, and the universal brutality and rufflanism many years ago that Capt. Ingraham (a native of of the country; but, from the hour the bugle of free-South Carolina.) nearly plunged the United States dom first sounded its notes in favor of immediate and universal emancipation, the movement has advanced with slow but irresistible power, under Divine guidance, confounding the wisdom of the wise, contemning sustained even that arrogant pretension, so jealous the might of the strong, taking the cunning in their are we of any aggression upon the rights of American own craftiness, unmasking the hypocritical, swallowing up all the rods of the magicians, breaking sects and parties into fragments, vanquishing all opponents, its poverty more than a match for all the wealth of the land, its conscience outweighing Church and State, its spirit sublime and unconquerable, its truths self-evident, and its results glorious in the annals of We suppose there can hardly be a doubt that if, historic achievement;—and still,

"Against the wind, against the tide,

outstripping all competition, and with the haven of righteousness and peace full in view.

For thirty years, we have been the target of popular he so seized and maltreated, upon the ground that he scorn and violence, for imploring the nation to "undo was an American, and was in favor of American in- the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the op-

pressed go free"! For thirty years, we have been ignominiously branded as heretic and infidel, disorganizer and fanatic.

outlawry in all the slaveholding States, and have had should reply, "Have the perpetrators been brought no common country to recognize our rights and ac-Happily, however, it is true that citi- cord to us equal privileges, because we have mainout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof " [

For thirty years, we have been held up to public abhorrence as a monster of iniquity, and represented those in bonds as bound with them," refusing to comern man is safe. The merchant from the North—the promise their cause, and carrying out in their behalf

fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose"-and trembled with him. when they "reflected that God is just, and that his

The "head and front of our offending," and of theirs,

'hath this extent-no more." So stands the record of impartial history.

But the Anti-Slavery cause being of heaven, not of men, and guarded and defended by the arm of Omnipotence, no weapon formed against it has been able aan to prosper. In vain have been, and will be, all compromises between the North and South. The "irreconflict" sweeps every thing before it, the fulminations of priestcraft, and All Union-saving

LETTER FROM DR. A. BROOKE.

Marlboro', Ohio, Dec. 14th, 1860.

source calculated to carry any personal weight, and as no conference or consultation whatever was had with the long-tried advocates of the anti-slavery cause, who, if they had in both cases. been consulted, would have suggested a very different mode of procedure, and who had nothing to do with it directly."

cious, to say the least, in such a remark, under the circlaimer of any part of their course, which could not ing such a provision "against natural right and the ask our opinion of the "how to do it," or no?

Yours, with true regard, A. BROOKE.

REPLY. We deem it neither unfair nor improper to let every tub stand upon its own bottom," or to state facts truly as they exist. The reason why we used the explanatory language, referred to by Dr. Brooke, was, that the meeting at the Temple was falsely repreented by the press and telegraph to have been a "Garrisonian" convention, and especially under the guidance of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, who were taunted with cowardice (!) by the Courier for not having been present. While we shrink from no responsibility of our own, we are not willing to have that of others thrust upon us against our consent. We fully vindicated the right of those who called the meeting at the Temple to do so, against all disorderly interruption, and have ever since been assiduously endeavoring to deepen the infamy of those who riotously broke it up, by recording our own views, and the sentiments of various manly journals in different parts of the country. We still think, however, that it would have been not only courteous, but judicious, on the part of the young men who signed the call, to have conferred directly with those older in the struggle, as to the best mode of procedure upon an anniversary calculated to arouse the demon-spirit of slavery, far and wide. There can be no good objection to "personal weight,' or to the presentation of the most influential names, when these can be obtained in the cause of ostracised liberty. Nevertheless, it is for each and all to labor as they may. Our only aim was, to make a simple explanation in order to correct a wide-spread misrepre sentation. What would have been a comparative failure, has resulted in a meeting for the whole country, commanding millions of hearers, owing to the efforts of Messrs. Fay, Howe, and their mobocratic associates.

"From seeming evil, still educes good."

FAMINE IN KANSAS.

With all the relief that has yet been extended, the thousands are in a state of destitution closely border- their injustice and evils, except by the exercise of a skill to make the most of their great natural advaning upon starvation. The number is estimated at moral influence; but it is bound in any way to exe- tages, and could they once for all be entirely relieved thirty or forty thousand. This is truly appalling; for they can realize nothing for themselves until another harvest. On our last page, we give a highly interest. On our last page, we give a highly interest. harvest. On our last page, we give a highly interest and a discount in wearth, but it is obliged itself not to do wrong.

Again: see the absurdity which follows from considering a man a slave who comes into Massachustis in the south were made sensible of the importance of the interest of dissolution; that she should be a south were made sensible of the importance of the interest of dissolution; that she should be a south were made sensible of the importance of the interest of dissolution; that she should be a south were made sensible of the importance of the interest of dissolution; that she should be a south were made sensible of the importance of the interest of dissolution; that she should be a south were made sensible of the importance of the interest made in the Territory to sacredly and judiciously dis- horse. In the latter, he is considered a freeman, en- mense advantages she has enjoyed in times past by her

of the suffering people in Kansas! CONCORD, Dec. 16, 1860. DEAR FRIEND,-Reading in the Liberator of the 7th inst. an affecting account of the sufferings of the people at Neosho Falls, Woodson County, Kansas, I thought it would be well to read it to our Sunday School, which I accordingly did. We then and there voted to take up a collection on the 16th inst. It amounts to \$10.62. It would have done your heart good to see the bright eyes of the dear little children sparkle when the amount collected was announced to them, because it is so much more blessed to (be able to) give than to (be obliged to) receive. May God in mercy grant that every one who has

the means may be kind and generous to the poor sufferers, not only in Kansas, but wherever they may be! Yours, truly, WM. WHITING.

I take, however, an entirely different ground from them, and would prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, whether it is constitutional or not, and those natural and inalienable rights which belong to whether the Liberty Act of this State is a violation of the whole human family, whether black or white, this provision of the National Constitution or not.

The ground I take—and I think it is an impregnable natures. one-is, that the States had no right to make this provision a part of this Constitution, nor adopt it; and the latter case, that they must be returned back again doing! to a state of slavery. To perceive this inconsistency in principle, we must examine the ground upon which they are declared to be free when coming with the consent of their master, and see whether these grounds do not equally apply when they are fugitives from another State. The Court, in giving their opinion in

"Without making inquiry further, it is sufficient for the The terms of the 1st article of the Declaration of fending their lives and liberty, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property.' It would be difficult to select slavery. bring-

nd! Now, if these were the grounds upon which slavery ness.

was abolished in this State, and can no longer exist THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION AND here, why do not they apply as well to fugitive slaves as any other? Why is it not as "contrary to natural My DEAR FRIEND,-Your remarks upon the late right and the plain principles of justice" to hold them mob in Boston, in the Liberator of the 7th, include the in bondage, or return them to bondage, as slaves who have come here by the consent of their masters? "It was our impression that the Convention would prove These principles apply to the system of slavery in comparatively a failure, as the Call did not emanate from a itself, and not to the mode by which they came into see, before the present agitation subsides, the utter and the State. The rights of the slave must be the same

But in reply to this it may be said, that, in the case

of fugitive slaves, the State of Massachusetts has, by Inasmuch as you acknowledge "the right of the adopting the National Constitution, bound themselves young men," alluded to, "to call the meeting in their to recognize slavery in the Southern States, so far as own way," is there not something needlessly ungra- to deliver up fugitive slaves when claimed by their masters, but have not bound themselves to deliver up astances? While perilling much in a struggle for slaves who come here under other circumstances. free speech for all, and smarting under undeserved vionce, was it wise towards our cause to enter a dis-to bind themselves by adopting a Constitution containbe condemned as a moral delinquency? Is there not plain principles of justice"? What right have they reason to feel encouraged by, and to encourage every to assume dominion over the lives and liberty and evidence of uncompromising hostility to slavery, welfare of a race of men who were not parties to this whether the actors in it pronounce our shibboleth, or Constitution, and who had no voice, either in fixing its provisions or making the laws under these provisions—who were not represented in the Convention that framed it, or in Congress who made laws under it? If there is any truth in the assertion made in the Declaration of Independence, "That all just laws maintenance in the past, under the impression of its proceed from the consent of the governed," they are certainly not bound by these laws, for they never gave their consent to them in any manner, either directly or through their representatives. And I would further ask, what right had the States to bind themselves by an instrument, which, under certain circumstances, requires them to rob a fellow-man of all his rights, personal, domestic and civil, and to reduce him again to the condition of a brute and a chattel? If they have the elements of either intellectual or national strength, no right by the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts, grounded upon "natural right and the plain principles of justice," to deprive a fellow-being of all to become parties to a National Constitution which is ntended to produce this effect. This principle will apply to the one as well as the other.

But it is said by the Court, in this case, that the Constitution of the United States partakes of the nature time, of forcibly removing from the body politic so of a treaty between foreign powers, and that it would hurtful an excrescence. be perfectly competent for one foreign power to stipulate by a treaty to deliver up the fugitive slaves of are irreconcilable terms. Nothing like a Union in any another foreign power. This position of the Court I rational sense has existed, or can exist, in the face of would respectfully dispute. In my judgment, it is such facts as have been forced upon our contemplation never competent for one foreign power to bind them- for twenty-five years past. Whatever efforts may be selves by a treaty to do that to another foreign power, made by the shuffling politician and statesman, unwhich the party stipulating confesses will, in its con- worthy the name, to force together what God and sequences, lead to something "against natural right | nature intended should be forever antagonistic, will be and the plain principles of justice." If it were com- futile in all time to come. petent, it would be competent for a nation to do what Union by force of law or by external pressure, as is an acknowledged wrong, and a violation of justice. opposed to the laws of nature and reason, is inconsis-

this: that though a government has no right forcibly power of the North. Whatever may have been the to interfere with the laws or institutions of another exigency existing when the thirteen States entered State, within that State, though such laws or institu- the Confederacy for Union against foreign and intions may be unjust and oppressive, yet it ought not, ternal aggression, no such necessity now exists with in any way, to cooperate with the other State within the free States, which of themselves are a power suffiits own jurisdiction and territory, in the support of cient to command the respect of every civilized counsuch institutions and laws. It is not bound to reform try in the world. They are amply able to hold their famine in Kansas continues to be sorely felt, and and purify the laws or institutions of another State of place among the nations. They have the inherent principles of law, I do not know what would be such. essential nature, are eternally disjoined? I have often thought that the habit of studying the

think of making them, and carry the subtleties of our good will. Let the separation, if it must come, special pleading into the great and fundamental princibe amicable; give them all the United States property ples of justice. A man may make a good lawyer, and a now located within their present boundaries, pay all miserable statesman. The one allows his reason to be the existing national debt, and then make them a reashackled by the rigid and often arbitrary rules and sonable gratuity in ready cash to meet the smaller principles of law, in all the views he takes of great | contingencies connected with setting up the new national questions. The other takes a broad and ex- government. This would be a good outfit for a panded view of these questions, in reference to their influence upon the welfare of society, and the great principles of justice and humanity. No other circumstances will explain the illiberal and irrational views FUGITIVE SLAVES AND THE LIBERTY ACT, which pervade the speeches of many of our legislators in Congress, and the opinions of many of our distinguished lawyers and judges. There are views ex-There will, undoubtedly, be an attempt made, in this pressed, in many of these speeches and these opinions, State and the other States, to repeal the so-called which are totally abhorrent to all the first principles of Liberty Act, with a view of conciliating the South, justice, and even to the plain principles of common and preventing its secession. It has been stated in sense. These persons talk with great flippancy about the newspapers, recently, by high legal authority, that the rights of individuals to hold property in human the Liberty Act of this State is unconstitutional,—as beings, and the political rights of States to determine conflicting with the National Constitution, and for their own institutions and laws, while they totally igthis reason should be immediately repealed. How nore, and treat with the utmost contempt, the doctrine this may be, I do not know, and I will not undertake that these human beings have any property in their to call in question the legal opinions of men so eminent as lawyers, as many of these gentlemen un- of their faculties for the acquisition of other kinds of property as they themselves have. They can prate about civil rights, which are the mere creatures of a your beloved "institution," and lay the foundation of political frame of government, but disregard, totally, which are the gift of God, and inherent in our very

that it is entirely null and void, as such. I will now call special attention to the series of Anti-Slavery endeavor to prove the position I thus take. And to Conventions to be held in Western and Central New do this, I will review the decision of the Supreme York, commencing this day at Buffalo, and extending Court of this State, in the case of the slave Med, through the entire month of January-culminating in which came before them more than twenty years the anniversary of the State Convention, to be held in since, and which decision was given by Judge Shaw, Albany, February 4th, 5th, and 6th. It will be seen in his own language. I say, then, that there is an that a strong array of speakers is advertised, among evident inconsistency, in principle, between the law as whom we are highly gratified to see the names of it was decided by the Court in that case, in reference Gerrit Smith and Beriah Green. In all the various loto slaves brought here voluntarily by their masters, and calities named, every effort should be made to secure a the law in relation to slaves who are fugitives from full attendance, by giving extensive notice of the meetother States, under the provision of the National Con- ing. It is by this process of "agitation" that the stitution. In the former case, the Court decided that chains of the slave are to be broken, and the impending they are entitled to their liberty immediately, and in judgments of Heaven averted. Therefore, be up and

torial article we have copied on our first page from the Tribune, caricaturing Mr. Phillips for his noble devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause, has not a particle of editorial columns, so that it is often a matter of guesswork as to the authorship of particular articles. In purpose before us, that by the Constitution, adopted in 1780, slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, on the ground this instance, it is not difficult to identify the writer; ntrary to natural right and the plain principles of and whatever intellectual smartness he may possess, his well-known habits are such as to render him as equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable incompetent to measure the philanthropy, and moral rights, among which, are the right of enjoying and de- elevation, courage and disinterestedness of Mr. Philwords more precisely adapted to the abolition of negro peare or Milton. In this he is out of his element. perusal of our paper from week to week; for, to be ap-

THE "SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY."

It were a "consummation devoutly to be wished" that the citizens of this country could be brought to understand the true character of our boasted Union. There are indications that Northern men, at least, will eternal incompatibility of freedom and slavery.

For the last quarter of a century, the changes have been rung so incessantly on the "inestimable value of the Union," the might of its power, the dread consequences of its rupture, that we at the North have not ventured to breathe a possibility of its disturbance, however slightly, even to ourselves. In direct violation of our finer instincts, we have been persuaded to press the viper of slavery to our bosoms, and suffer it to suck out our life-blood, as preferable to a dissolution

It is only within a few short weeks that most of us have been made sensible of a marked modification of our proclivities in this respect. The possibility, nay, the probability of a dissolution, will we or nill we, has been precipitated upon us by the South; and whatever may have been our previous misgivings, as to disunion, we have no choice but to look its responsibilities, if there be any, fully in the face. However cheerfully Northern men would have sacrificed for its incalculable benefits, the facts we find ourselves pondering in this season of anxiety force upon us all the question, whether the Union, under any such circumstances as we have been compelled to behold it, is, after all, so valuable a boon and worthy of so great

A few weeks more of opportunity to observe the Southern temper, as well as Southern weakness, in will not fail to convince most of us at the North that the presence of the South in the Union can well be dispensed with. It may be well for the South to unhis rights, and treat him as a slave, they have no right derstand, first and last, that the North, so far from dreading her threats of secession, has occasion to rejoice that she has taken the initiative, and proposes of her own accord to go out of the Union, and thus relieve us of the unpleasant necessity, at some future

The North and the South, or freedom and slavery,

The plain distinction in the case appears to me to be tent with the intelligence, the freedom, the wealth and

heart-moving facts are communicated respecting this setts as a fugitive, and a freeman when brought here potency of her threats of dissolution; that she should terrible visitation, and a strong appeal made to East- by his master. In the former case, he is considered open her eyes to the causes of her own ignorance, a mere chattel—a movable—personal property attached | poverty and weakness; that she should be forced to in vain. The most reliable arrangements have been to his master, which may be reclaimed as a stray understand, and if possible to be grateful for, the imtribute the charities given, according to the necessities titled to all the rights of a freeman. Yes, the same connexion with the North; and that when bereft of of the parties presenting themselves for relief; so that individual, having the same natural rights, which he the vitality and support which she draws from union there need be no apprehension on that point. Think has never forfeited or transferred, is to depend for the with superior forces, she must soon sink to decay. of a bare-footed population in the inclemency of win- character, in which he shall be treated, whether as a Let Northern men but once become conscious of their ter, to say nothing of rags instead of clothing for a horse or a man, upon the mere mode by which he strength and of their immeasurably superior advantashall have found his way into the State-a circum- ges, and they would have less occasion to tremble bestance not at all affecting the fact whether he is a hu- fore the phantom of dissolution. The cry of Union is Col. Whiting of Concord, Mass., characteristic of his man being, endowed with all the faculties of a human generated in pride, cowardice, and the consciousness spirit, which we publish in this connection as an in- being, and entitled to all the rights of a human being. of a bad cause. Whence comes the necessity for etercentive for others to "go and do likewise." Blessings If such a doctrine is not absurd and destitute of sense, nal preachment of the value of the Union, but that in on the heads of the juvenile benefactors in Concord and such as never would have entered into the head the depths of our being we know the utter nonsense of of anybody, but those who are wedded to the artificial attempting to force together elements which, in their

Let the North duly appreciate its own strength, and law has an effect in obscuring the mind from the per- the justness of its cause. In no spirit of defiance, ception of the clear principles of common sense and but in the calmness of its own self-respect, let it afford common justice, which are so readily felt and under- to be generous; and if the South, either from taste or stood by people in other occupations. Lawyers often by force of its geographical position, desires to try the make artificial distinctions, where no one else would experiment of an independent existence, let it go with Southern Confederacy, and all connexion of the North with slavery forever ended. It would be the best bargain the North ever made, and perhaps the poorest for the South.

Let the great truth be made to stand prominent before the civilized world, that the Northern section of this country alone embraces nearly all that is valuable in a material, moral and intellectual point of view: that it is to the vastly superior civilization of the North that the United States are entitled to respect abroad and at home; and if the character of a people, rather than the extent of its domain, furnishes a criterion by which to estimate its magnitude and power, then the sixteen Northern States, once made independent of slavery, are richer in all the elements of greatness than the present thirty-three burdened with the cost of supporting an institution which can operate only decay and final destruction wherever it goes.

Yes, gentlemen of the South, take your cotton and your Southern Confederacy; lash up your slaves; draw on your own loins for their increase; swell by every means the product of your one great staple; go forward in your stupidity and ignorance in the labor of exhaustion of your soils; establish your military rule; tax yourselves most liberally, as you will be obliged, to do to maintain vast naval and army establishments; enlist the flower of your new-fledged nobility, as well as your "mud-sill" constituency, in the glorious task of preserving order within and without. With your thousands of miles of frontier, both on the land and the sea; with your vast plans for the conquest of Cuba and the dismemberment of the Mexican Empire, the robbery and pillage of the present territories of the United States, for the protection and maintenance of the high road from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, the reopening of the African slave trade, for possible conflicts, not only with your immediate neighbor,-so recently your copartner,-but with the mighty powers on the opposite side of the Atlantic, to say nothing of the glorious opportunities you offer to one or more Anglo-African Garibaldis in your midst, and to John Browns on your borders and in the fastnesses of your mountains.

Go, we say, ye chivalric gentlemen, ye worshippers of yourselves, and of the "divine institution"! Go, and inaugurate your darling experiment of a Southern truth or wit to redeem its coarseness and assurance. Confederacy, before which all Christendom must The Tribune has many anonymous contributors to its "pale her ineffectual fires." Give it a fair trial; and when you have suffered enough, and become wiser, knock at the doors of your abused brethren of the North, and we will not turn you away penniless. W.

NEW DRESS. The Liberator makes a handsome appearance in its new typographical dress. Our fonts of type were obtained at the foundry of Phelps & Dalton, lips, as a Hottentot is to judge of the merits of Shaks- 52 Washington Street, Boston. We ask for a careful Let him learn to speak "the words of truth and sober- preciated, a paper must be read, as well as readable and good type is a great indu