can Association for the advancement of Science to hold their meetings in the State of New-York, and tendering the public buildings at the capital for that purpose, was adopted.

By special order, the Senate then went into a *viva voce* ballot for a Regent of the University in place of Jabez D. Hammond, with the following result:

For Mr. LEAVENWORTH—Messrs. Bellinger, Bradford, Clark, Halstead, Huntington, Lee, Madden, Noxon, Patterson, Ramsey, Richardson, Rider, C. P. Smith, Towne, Upham and White—12.

For Mr. KIRBY—Messrs. Briggs, Brooks, Ferdon, Hale, Harcourt, Hotchkiss, Nichols, Petty, A. M. Smith, J. A. Smith, Sweet—11.

For Mr. CLINTON—Messrs. Kelly, Sickles, Spencer and Wadsworth—4.

The Senate then proceeded to nominate a Regent in place of Peter S. Van Rensselaer, resigned.

For Mr. CLINTON—Messrs. Bellinger, Bradford, Clark, Cuyler, Halsted, Huntington, Lee, Madden, Noxon, Richardson, Rider, C. P. Smith, Sickles, Towne, Upham, Wadsworth, White—17.

For Mr. KELLY—Messrs. Briggs, Brooks, Ferdon, Hale, Harcourt, Hotchkiss, Kelly, A. M. Smith, J. A. Smith, Spencer, Sweet—11.

For Mr. SELDEN—Mr. Patterson.
For Mr JULIAN—Mr. Ramsay.
For Mr. D. K. OLNEY—Mr. Nichols.
For Mr. GROW—Mr. Petty.

Mr. CLINTON was then declared nominated.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Mr. LEE in the chair, the Committee of the Whole took up the bill relative to forcible entries and detainers. Progress.

The Committee then took the New-York Registry Law bill; and Mr. CUYLER was first heard in opposition to it.

Mr. SICKLES followed, first expressing his regret that necessary absence had prevented him from listening to the previous debates had upon this measure, and expressing his acknowledgments of the courtesy of the Senator from the VIth (Mr. Brooks), in consenting to delay the final action upon it, in order to enable him (Mr. Sickles) to be heard in opposition to it. He admitted that there was good reason for the complaint, that much fraud was practised at elections in New-York City; but no man can maintain that frauds of this character are confined to the city. They were practised more or less throughout the country, and although justly a cause for regret on the part of all good citizens, yet he denied that they were of such numbers or grossness of character, as to demand so arbitrary a measure as is now proposed for their remedy. [Mr. S. was here interrupted by the announcement of a committee from the Assembly, who informed the Senate that that body was prepared to compare ballots for Regents of the University.]

At 2 o'clock Senators returned to their seats, and the President announced that in joint ballot Messrs. Robert Kelly and George W. Clinton were chosen Regents, which fact was ordered entered on the journal. The Senate then adjourned.

ASSEMBLY.

The following Select Committees were announced:

To examine into the affairs of Insurance Companies—Messrs. Wakeman, Trimmer and Northup.

To examine into the manner of the construction of tenant-houses in the City of New-York—Messrs. Reed, Shea, Curtiss, Duganne, and Hanford.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, and took up the following-entitled bills:

To authorize the Commissioners of the Land Office to sell certain lands and to convey the same.

Mr. DESHLER moved to insert a provision requiring the Commissioners to sell the lands at auction to the highest bidder after thirty days advertising in two of the Oswego papers.

Mr. FOWLER moved as a substitute, providing for the sale to the Oswego and Binghamton and New-York Railroad Company, or to any other Railroad Company having a termination on the spot, of so much land as the appraisers may deem necessary for the purposes of the Railroad Company at the appraisement made.

Mr. FOOT moved to substitute the words Commissioners of the Land Office for that of Appraisers.

Mr. ROBINSON moved that the Committee rise and report progress. Carried.

The Committee also reported progress on the bill to amend the revised Statutes relating to Weights and Measures and to prevent fraud in weight.

ELECTION OF REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

At 12 o'clock the Speaker announced the special order of the day, which was to nominate the Regents of the University in the place of Jabez D. Hammond, deceased, and Philip S. Van Rensselaer, resigned.

Mr. NORTHUP nominated Moses Crow of Ontario to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Jabez D. Hammond.

Mr. B. BAILEY nominated George W. Clinton of Erie.

Mr. DESHLER moved that the House proceed to elect by ballot. Lost.

The roll was called, and each member rose in his place and nominated his candidate, with the following result: E. W. Leavenworth (Rep.), 32; George W. Clinton (Dem.), 42; Moses Grow (R. N.), 33. No choice.

Another vote was had, with the same result except that Mr. Bachlin changed Mr. Kirby to Mr. Grow, and Mr. Prescott from Mr. Grow to Mr. Clinton.

There was no choice, and another vote was had.

Mr. GLOVER proposed the name of Isaac McConihe of Troy.

Mr. MAHEN proposed the name of Robert Kelly of New-York.

Mr. DUGANNE proposed Frederick Douglass.

GEORGE W. CLINTON of Erie was declared nominated.

A vote, in the same manner, was then taken to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Philip S. Van Rensselaer, with the following result: Robert Kelly (Dem.), 67; E. W. Leavenworth (Rep.), 35; Stephen B. Kirby (K.N.), 6; Isaac McConihe (Dem.), 4.

ROBERT KELLY of New-York was declared duly nominated.

On motion of Mr. FOOT, a Committee was ordered to notify the Senate that the House was ready to compare nominations, and Messrs. Foot and B. Baily were designated for that purpose.

Mr SNOW rose to a question of privilege and stated that Robert Kelly, the gentleman nominated, was ineligible, from the fact that he is a Trustee of the Rochester University.

The committee appointed to wait on the Senate returned, announcing their duty discharged.

The members of the Senate then entered the Assembly Chamber and took seats.

The PRESIDENT of the Senate announced that the Senate and Assembly were in joint session to compare nominations for Regents of the University in place of Jabez D. Hammond, deceased, and directed the Clerk of the Senate to read the record of the Senate respecting the nomination by that body.

The CLERK of the Senate read the record.

The SPEAKER of the House directed the Clerk of the House to read the record of the House respecting the nomination made by that body.

The CLERK of the House read the record.

The PRESIDENT of the Senate announced that the nominations of the two bodies were found to disagree, and called on members of the Senate to prepare their ballots to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Jabez D. Hammond.

The roll of Senators was called, Senators Upham and Wadsworth acting as tellers.

The calling of the roll of Senators having been finished,

The roll of members of the House was called, Messrs. Prendergast and Odell acting as tellers.

The ballot was declared as follows: Whole number of votes cast 142; necessary to a choice 72. George Clinton of Erie County received 86 votes; Chas. W. Leavenworth of Onondaga County 48; Robert Kelly of New-York 3; Joseph Juliand of Chenango County 3; and Moses Crow of Ontario 2.

The PRESIDENT of the Senate declared GEORGE W. CLINTON of Erie County duly elected Regent of the University, in place of Jabez D. Hammond, deceased.

The Convention then proceeded in like manner to fill the place made vacant by the resignation of Philip Van Rensselaer, with the following result:

The whole number of votes cast was 143. Necessary to a choice, 72. Robert Kelly of New-York received 84 votes; Elias W. Leavenworth of Onondaga, 54; Isaac McConihe of Rensselaer, 2; Stephen B. Kirby of New-York, 2; and Henry R. Selden, 1.

The PRESIDENT of the Senate then announced that ROBERT KELLY was duly elected Regent of the University in place of Phillip S. Van Rensselaer, resigned.

The joint meeting was then dissolved, When the House adjourned.

THE ELECTION OF REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

From Our Own Correspondent.

ALBANY, Thursday, March 6, 1856.

This was the day set apart by joint resolution of the State Legislature to make choice of two Regents of the University to fill the vacancies occasioned by the death of Jabez D. Hammond and Philip S. Van Rensselaer. As is customary, each party held a caucus to nominate its candidates. The Republicans nominated Elias W. Leavenworth of Onondaga, late Secretary of State, and Joseph Juliand of Chenango. The Democrats united upon Geo. W. Clinton of Erie, the Hards' candidate two years ago for Controller, and Robert Kelly of New-York, the Softs' candidate for Controller at the last election. The Hindoos nominated Moses Crow of Ontario and Stephen B. Kirby of New-York.

At 12 m. to-day the House proceeded to nominate its candidates, preparatory to comparing them with the Senate's nominations. The Senate did the same, and finally, after several votings—members rising in their places and naming their candidates—that body agreed upon Clinton, Dem., and Leavenworth, Rep.

The House, however, on the third vote nominated Clinton to fill the first-named vacancy—the Republicans, to effect a choice, voting for Clinton. On the next vote, the Republicans having voted for Leavenworth and the Democrats for Kilby, the Hindoos changed their votes from Kirby to Clinton, and thus nominated him.

Of course the nominations did not agree with the Senate's, and it became necessary for that body to go into a joint meeting with the House, where, in convention, the election would take place by ballot. The result was, the Hindoos voted both times for the Democratic candidates—Clinton and Kelly—and elected them. This, too, when they but a short time since evinced so much horror at the action of the Republicans when they effected the organization of the House.

Here is more evidence of the dissolution of the Know-Nothing organization as a party. They have got into such a position that they are entirely reckless, and exist only to deal random blows. They are nothing more than a third or make-weight party, without the shadow even of an influence.

THE SECRET OF BRITISH RECRUITING

Soldiers sent from New-York to Halifax.

DAMAGES AND ARBITRATION.

A BRITISH CONSUL MULCTED.

Some time in March, 1855, the Hon. Joseph Howe of New Brunswick, then in this city as recruiting agent for the British Government, entered into a negotiation with Capt. Brownlow, of the British bark Louisiana, then in New-York, to convey three hundred men from this city to Halifax, Nova-Scotia. The preliminaries were all gone through with, the terms agreed upon, and nothing remained to be done but to conclude the charter or agreement. For his first trip Capt. Brownlow was to receive $2,700, or $9 a head for each passenger; and a second trip was agreed upon for which he was to receive $2,400, or $8 for each passenger. Accordingly, Capt. Brownlow fitted up his vessel for the trip, laid a steerage deck, put up a large caboose, bought a number of water casks and filled them, and otherwise prepared for the expected passengers. The consignee—and, by virtue of a mortgage, part owner of the vessel—was given to understand that the men Mr. Howe was about to send out to Halifax were laborers engaged to work upon a railroad. In answer to a note of inquiry he was informed by a note from Mr. Stanley, Secretary of the British Consul in this port, that "it was all right." Subsequent to this, however, it appears that the consignee of the bark learning that these pseudo railway laborers were in reality recruits for the Crimean army, declined moving further in the business, and threw the responsibility of all further action in the matter upon the captain, leaving him to conclude or cancel the bargain at his pleasure. Capt. Brownlow, less cautious than the consignee, determined to consummate the agreement if possible, and accordingly proceeded with his preparations. Having got ready for sea, the vessel was cleared for Halifax by J. McNeil, on the 30th of March, 1855. Capt. Brownlow kept his vessel at the wharf for several days awaiting the 300 passengers, but they did not appear. Then, in pursuance of orders from Mr. Howe, dropped down the bay and came to anchor near Staten Island, where he waited nearly a week longer for the British recruits. Meanwhile *The Halifax Journal* published an official order, signed by Lewis M. Wilkins, Provisional Secretary of Nova-Scotia, to provide rations and clothing for 500 recruits expected from the United States for the army in the Crimea, and the same journal stated that 3,000 men would be obtained from the United States, and kept at Halifax long enough to be drilled and disciplined. A St. John's paper about the same time stated that the visit of Mr. Howe to the United States, (from which he had not then returned,) was in relation to the same matter. These announcements, together with other circumstances, caused the arrest of Mr. Bucknall in Philadelphia, about the 1st of April, for enlisting soldiers for the British army, and the implication of Mr. Mathew, the British Consul at that port. About the same time, (April 4,) we find Mr. McKeon, the United States District-Attorney for this district, visiting one of the Fall River steamboats, and finding a party of fifteen or twenty recruits bound for Halifax, who were dispersed. On the 5th of April a party of twelve men came to this city from Philadelphia in the steamboat Joseph Belknap, and succeeded, together with some forty others, including the officers, in getting off to Boston, and thence to Halifax.

From the vigilance of the officers of the Government Mr. Howe was compelled to remain incognito, and the proposed expedition to Halifax by the bark Louisiana was abandoned. The consignee claimed the $2,700 for which the captain had bargained. The British Consul here (Mr. Barclay) refused to pay him that amount, but offered to refer the matter of compensation to arbitrators. The consignee on his part named Capt. Dunham of the firm of Dunham & Dimon, while Mr. Thomas Tileston of the firm of Spofford & Tileston was named by the Consul. Capt. Dunham decided that the owners of the bark ought to receive $1,500. Mr. Tileston, however, thought that the amount of the outfit of the vessel (some $500 or $600) would be enough, leaving to the owners as compensation the fittings up and stores. The two, being unable to agree, called in a third party, Capt. French, who coincided with Capt. Dunham. The owners of the bark accordingly received $1,500, which was paid over a few days since by Mr. Barclay.

A German correspondent of the *Algemeine Zeitung*, writing from New-York on the 12th ult., describes very minutely the defenceless condition of the seaboard towns of this country, holding it as his opinion that a few minutes fire would be sufficient to silence our batteries and asserting that a thousand European regulars would be easily able to overcome several times their number of American troops. His idea is that Long-Island could be taken with scarcely any difficulty whatever, and the enemy, by establishing their batteries on Brooklyn Hights, would hold the entire harbor of New-York at their own disposal. By the same system of tactics the writer of the article thinks that an enemy might obtain easy possession of Boston, entering the city from Roxbury. These two important cities and harbors once in their hands the invaders would command half the United States with their fleets, and would be able to keep open their own communication with Canada, thus making the United States the only sufferer by the war.

ELECTION AT LANSINGBURG.—The town and charter election has resulted in a glorious victory to the Republicans. They have elected their Supervisor by over fifty majority. Their greatest triumph, however, has been in the election of charter officers. The great contest was for President. The candidate of the Hindoos was their strongest man, whom they elected last year by an overwhelming majority. He is a Silver-Gray Fillmore man; has been very popular, and was regarded by *himself* and his friends as invincible. The present Republican candidate was defeated last year. The struggle on both sides was desperate; but victory crowned the Republican banner. Their candidate was elected by upward of ninety majority. Sam is truly looking up—being flat on his back.

REPUBLICANISM IN MICHIGAN.—The 22d of February was celebrated at Coldwater, Branch County, Michigan, by the formation of a Republican organization, with Lieut.-Gov. Cos as President, and Franklin T. Eddy, esq., as Corresponding Secretary—both stanch Republicans.

FOSSIL HEAD.—A singular fossil was discovered some time since in Pompey, Onondaga County, New-York, in the shape of the profile of a man's head and shoulders, perfectly formed, with mouth, nose, eye, &c. It is described as "about the size of a peck measure," the lower part of limestone, and the upper portion of some other stone rather darker in hue.

THE DUTY OF THE NORTH.

LECTURE OF THE REV. THEODORE PARKER AT THE TABERNACLE.

The Tabernacle was crowded last evening by a very large and intelligent audience to listen to the lecture announced to be delivered by the Rev. THEODORE PARKER. At 8 o'clock Oliver Johnson, Secretary of the New-York Anti-Slavery Society, appeared on the stand, accompanied by Mr. Parker.

Mr. JOHNSON said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There is in Boston a clergyman, who, within a very short period, has given to the world a South Side View of Slavery, vindicating it in the name of Christianity and philanthropy. His praise is in every slave-pen from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande; in the camp of the Border Ruffians of Missouri; in the mouth of every slavecather and kidnapper in the land. There is another Boston clergyman who loses no opportunity, whether in his own pulpit or elsewhere, to give a Northern view of Slavery, to testify against it as a sin against God, and a crime against humanity. The slavebreeders and the slavecathers don't think very well of that clergyman; they are all agreed in denouncing him as an infidel, a fanatic, a disorganizer; but praise is uttered by every outraged free colored man, by every flying bondman who thanks God for such a brother and for such a friend [Applause]. By some hocus-pocus, the first of these men is counted as an eminently Evangelical, pious man; the latter is generally estimated as an infidel. How it has happened in this case that the grapes have grown upon the thorn-bush and the figs upon the thistle-bush I don't know; but so it has it seems. I have the pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, of introducing to you the Rev. Theodore Parker of Boston [Loud cheering].

Mr. PARKER said: Ladies and Gentlemen, your friend, Mr. Johnson, has introduced me to you as one who labors under the name of an infidel, while others get the praise of orthodoxy by taking the South side view of the iniquity of Slavery. If I, through taking a Northern view or wickedness, and rebuking the wrongs of the oppressed, earn a different name, I trust I shall bear it with becoming meekness. Sufficient is it for me if the blessing of those who are ready to perish rests on my head. THE BATTLE between SLAVERY and FREEDOM—WHAT SHALL THE NORTH DO? That is the theme, ladies and gentlemen, to which I ask your attention to-night. A few weeks ago we were startled by a strange tale, yet not a strange one, which came to us from Cincinnati. We were told that a mother, rather than suffer her child to go into bondage, overcame in a moment what is supposed to be the strongest instinct in a woman's heart—the love of her child—and slew with her own hand her first-born son. When she was asked whether she would go back to bondage or be tried for murder, with a chance of being hanged, she said: "Rather than go back to bondage I will go dancing to the gallows." Ladies and gentlemen, she did not have an opportunity to go dancing to the gallows. The United States Judge Livingston decided that if a fugitive slave commits a murder in the State of Ohio, the slavemaster's claim takes precedence over Ohio law, and the murderer must be delivered up into bondage, and the laws of Ohio trodden under the hoof of the Slave Power. Just now, the great question before America—the greatest question she ever had—is, What shall we do with Slavery, or what shall Slavery do with us? It is very plain that either Freedom must go down or else Bondage must perish, and this generation is to decide which of the two shall prosper. Now, Slavery exists by the act of the American people. It is a Federal institution; it has been the favorite of the American Government for seventy years. I know it is common to suppose that Slavery belongs to the individual States, and they alone are responsible for it. No mistake can be greater. The Constitution, in the fourth section of the fourth article, has these remarkable words: "The United States shall guarantee to "every State in the Union a Republican form of gov-"ernment." That clause puts Slavery completely in the power of the Federal Congress. Whensoever that Congress shall declare that Slavery is not a Republican institution, down Slavery goes. If South Carolina shall establish a Government like that of Catholic Rome, absolute power vested in an infallible Pope with a body of Cardinals whom he appoints as his Privy Council, then without doubt it would be the duty of Congress to interfere and establish a republican form of Government in South Carolina. If North Carolina should establish a Government like that of Russia, then Congress would be called upon constitutionally to interfere and guarantee a republican form of Government to North Carolina. Which is the most anti-republican, Papal Government, the Czar's Government, or that state of things where twenty thousand men, as in South Carolina, own 400,000, and buy them as cattle, breed them as cattle, scourge them as cattle, mutilate them as cattle, and as cattle sell them from hand to hand. That clause of the Constitution puts the institution of Slavery as completely into the hand of Congress as it puts piracy on the high seas into that hand [Applause]. Slavery exists, not by the act of Carolina and Mississippi and the other Slave States, but by the act or the acquiescence of the whole people of the United States. It is not the Slave States who extend Slavery: it is the United States. It is not Missouri who puts bondage into Kansas; it is the people of the United States acting through their Government; not the Border Ruffians, but the central power, legislative, judicial and executive. Read your President's proclamation and his message; read the defense of Border Ruffians made by Northern Senators, and you see this is plainly so. Missouri—why those Border Ruffians, they were only the cat's-paw which the other animal at the City of Washington made use of [Laughter and cheers]. Now Slavery, which is existing by the act of the United States, gives everything to some 300,000 slaveholders; it gives them a pecuniary and ecclesiastical and political power which they could otherwise never attain to by themselves. These 300,000 slaveholders own 4,000,000 of boudmen, whose market value is at least $2,000,000,000. These slaves are engaged chiefly in agricultural labor. They produce cotton and tobacco, which form considerably more than one third part of all the exports of the country. Now, as the 300,000 slaveholders own the $2,000,000,000 and furnish a $100,000,000 of value to be exported every year, that gives them great power in the money market. Accordingly they control the money markets in this country; they control the leading capitalists, the great merchants and the great manufacturers. There are some very honorable exceptions, but as a general thing Slavery controlled the great capitalists. Controlling these, Slavery is Lord of most of the great commercial centers. It is master of Baltimore, New-Orleans, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New-York and Boston, with all the vassal towns which are subordinate to these. Wheresoever the soil is paved over with stone—the stone of commerce and concentrated wealth—there Slavery is the master. This is the way it gets its pecuniary power. Now controlling the pavement, master of the purse, it easily controls the wealthy pulpits of all denominations. There are some very honorable exceptions, and I need not go a great way from the City of New-York to find some of them [Applause]. But as a general thing the same power which controls the press controls also the pulpit. Speaking philosophically, there are three great Protestant denominations in this country. There is the sect of Trinitarians, who worship God as Three; that of Unitarians worship God as One, and that of Nothingarians, who worship God as Nothing and Nobody. It is a very large sect, and popular and famous, this sect which worships the Divine Nullity, counting God as Nothing and Nobody and Nowhere. Now in the pulpits that are bottomed on the dollar, Slavery is Pope. I know it is common to suppose that the creeds of our churches are derived from the Bible, that this is a symbolical book. No mistake could be greater. They are found in our slaveholders; he is the hope of these churches, and Slavery is translated out of the original tongues and appointed to be read in churches [Laughter and applause]. I did not know it until 1850 and 1851, and then one great minded man—I mean a man of great power of understanding—stood up in the Senate of the United States, and said: "there is no higher law." Then Trinitarians and Unitarians and Northingrians lifted up their hands and said: "it's all right; there "is no higher law. Down with humanity "and up with the Fugitive Slave bill. I'd send back "my own mother to keep the compromises of the Con-"stitution." Now, Slavery controlling the market-house and the meeting-house, does not find it difficult to control the Senate-house. The same power which is lord of the market is lord also of the pulpit and the forum. There have been two great political parties within the last five-and-twenty years. They have disagreed in talking only. One party was in favor of a tariff, and the other for Free-trade; one against the Bank, and the other loving the Bank after the Bank was dead in its trespasses and sins and buried in its own rubbish. At heart they were one in bondage; there they perfectly agreed. Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, how widely they were unlike in their principles and their politics, but whenever there was a question about Slavery they were shoulder to shoulder, and there was unity of nature in a trinity of political persons. Even the Know-Nothing party, which we did not understand at first, as soon as it gets fairly on its legs, is found to have the same spirit, and joins with Whig and Democrat for the sake of putting Freedom down and making Slavery national—spreading it everywhere. There are without doubt two forces in this country; one is the power of Freedom and the other is the force of Bondage. These two have been recognized, but it is an old saying that if two will ride on the same horse, one must ride behind [Laughter]. Ladies and Gentlemen, these two parties have been on one horse ever since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and all the time Slavery has sat in the saddle, and Freedom has been glad to sit on the crupper [Renewed laughter]. During this time, for seventy years, there has been a constant strife going on between Slavery and Freedom. Ladies and Gentlemen, there has been one victory of Freedom—one only. It took place a little more than a month ago—when Mr. Banks was placed— [The remainder of this sentence was drowned in applause]. "There is no North," said Mr. Webster four or five years ago, and when we turned our eyes in every direction we saw only little specks of North. But this Winter, when the Mississippi has been frozen clear down to New-Orleans, there has been a North and northern Banks [Loud applause]. You may well applaud at it; it is the only victory Freedom has had over Bondage in seventy years. Slavery has been master continually since 1778, very clearly master since 1820, and very plainly and obviously master since the annexation of Texas in 1845. During this long period Slavery has had the masterhood; the Slave Power has ridden foremost and Freedom behind. Now see how our masters at the South have used the power which we have given them. First, Slavery appoints the President. Of twelve Presidents, eight were born in the Slave States and four in the Northern States; and of these the one most Northern in his birth is Southernmost in his principles [Laughter]. For he who was born in the Old Granite State of New-Hampshire, nearest the North Star of Liberty has gone down like the serpent in the Book of Genesis, crawling on his belly, that he may do his master's will and eat the devil's dust. Of the eight Southern Presidents, five have been re-elected; of the four Northern, not one has been chosen twice. The South has had her sons for President 52 years; the North 16. But there never has been an Anti-Slavery President. As the Vice-President, however, is only the fifth wheel to a cannon, while the South has had six, the North has been allowed eight, and one of these was actually put on the Presidential axle, and served to carry the Federal cannon where it did most efficient service for Slavery. In consequence of that service the new American party has just nominated Mr. Fillmore. Slavery next appoints the Judiciary. Out of thirty-five Judges of the Supreme Court, nineteen have been from the South and sixteen from the North. And the Chief-Justice who molds these vessels of clay—I had almost said into vessels of honor—into vessels of dishonor, just as he will, the Chief-Justice is almost always a Southern man. It was sixty years ago that the North had the Chief-Justiceship. The North has held it for eleven years and the South for fifty-five years. There have been thirty-five Attorney-Generals, and to eight from the North there have been fifteen from the South. In 1854 there had been two hundred and sixteen men appointed to diplomatic offices; of these ninety-nine were from the North and 117 from the South. Our masters almost always have the largest number. But these figures do not describe the enormity of the fact. For at the present day in all our diplomatic offices there is not a single man abroad who was known even to have uttered an anti Slavery word. And if the next steamer should bring word that a man of them had spoken a word in favor of American Freedom, the next steamer would carry out his recall. In the House of Representatives the South had 90 members and the North 144, while if the South were equally represented with the North, she would have only 69. The South has had the Speakership for 42 years and the North but 24. But when was there ever an Anti-Slavery Speaker in that Chair until the North was so cold that in Kansas, in the latitude of Washington, the thermometer sunk to 27 degrees below zero, and the great river of the West froze clear down to the Gulf? Mr. Banks is the first Anti-Slavery Speaker there since the memory of man. So, too, it is with the Committees. Mr. Pugh is on the Committee on Judiciary, and Mr. Sumner is left off, although Mr. Sumner has written more law than Mr. Pugh has ever read. Unquestionably your own Senator Seward [Immense cheering]—I am glad you read in my heart what I was going to say. Unquestionably he is the profoundest and the ablest statesman in the United States. Mr. Seward is put at the tail of a Committee on Pensions, which is about as important an office as it would be for the City Government to appoint him to fill the tumblers of water on the desk in the Cabinet. This is but one specimen of the way the authorities use the power which the people have given them. Slavery is advancing. In 1776 it only reached on the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to the Gulf of Mexico; but in no case did it go 250 miles into the interior. Now it has spread over all our territory; it has crossed the Alleghanies, and finds a home in the great basins of the Mississippi. It is to be found even in California; and, notwithstanding their Constitution prohibits bondage, yet I tell you slaves are to be found there, and their masters are protected by the authorities. It is the boast of Great Britain that a slave cannot breathe her free air for a moment—instantly on touching her soil his shackles drop from his limbs, and he is no longer a bondman. It is the boast of Yankee land that a slavehunter can kidnap his man wherever he will. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence gave to all our territory an ideal freedom. Of all that land there are now only five thousand square miles where all men must be free. That is the territory which Daniel Webster surrendered to Great Britain. It was lost to American Democracy, but was regained to Universal Freedom; and the slave takes from the hand of a born Queen what the Democracy would take from him. In Boston the United States forces have been called into active service once. Once did I perceive a portion of the United States army, with its swords, muskets and cannon, and I saw the cannon loaded with a six-pound shot, all to make Anthony Burns a slave. Neither the Pope of Rome nor the Czar of Russia would have ventured to assume such power. Yet the American Democracy would call out the United States army to make a man a slave. Our masters are no better satisfied now than they were in 1787. The tiger who tastes blood once never loses the thirst for it again. Slavery first came as a groveling worm; and when Mr. Jefferson was about to put the foot of the colonies upon it the twisting worm cried out, "Do not kill me now for I shall die soon;" and, shame to our fathers, they took pity on it, and that small worm has increased in size and power until it is about to swallow up all the liberties of the people. The South now claim that Slavery is right, and they justify its extension. We have not only doctors of divinity, but we have doctors of medicine, who join in the cry; and I am sorry that the latter transfer the shame of the clergymen to themselves. Is it not enough for them to kill the body [Applause]? One reverend doctor declares that he has searched the Bible all through, and natural religion beside, but he cannot find in either any rights accorded to a black man. Another doctor (not reverend) declares that he has dissected his whole body, from his heel to the crown of his head, and he, too, cannot discover the smallest particle of the rights accorded to the smallest of lyceum lecturers [Laughter]. That is the doctrine of the Slave Power to-day. One of our most accomplished scholars, second only to Wendall Phillips in eloquence—I mean Mr. Everett—when he comes to speak a eulogy on Washington, he leaves out from the story the brightest act in his history—the fact that when he closed his mortal career he made every one of his slaves a freeman [Prolonged applause]. American politicians say, Let slave power alone; American capitalists say, Let it be; while the American Press—with very honorable exceptions, it is true—the most servile in the world, cry, Let bondage prevail [A voice cried out, Hear! Hear!] While the Press is thus servile, the commercial pulpits of the three denominations of which I have before spoken supply us with clergymen who mount their platforms and turn over the leaves of the New Testament culling arguments in favor of bondage. In New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Boston we have had ministers who in the time of peril stood in their pulpits and said: "Suffer great kidnappers "to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is "the kingdom of Heaven" [Applause and laughter]. There is a Satanic Democracy which is founded on the selfishness of man. Its votaries hug Slavery, and thus ride into wealth and power. It is composed in part of raw Irishmen. Just free from the oppression of his own land, he loves to tyrannize over somebody, and weary of beating his wife, he seeks an opportunity to beat a black man. We see this every day in Boston; but I can pardon a poor Irishman who has been borne down for so many years that it will take a generation to change him into a true Democrat, or rather Republican. Then there is also the vulgar snob. He is the man who starts poor, becomes rich without becoming humane or manly. The satanic Democracy is made up of the raw Irishman and the vulgar snob. Their aim at present is to completely destroy all Democracy in America. Some declare it; others know but declare it not. Their first treason is to restore Slavery to all territory that is now free. The fugitive Slave bill is one step to that, and now the decision is the Slave-holding and Slave-surrendering States. The South, though few in numbers, but imperative, demands the North to surrender their slaves; and the North, which is populous and strong, says, "I will;" and further, if they commit murder on our soil we will send them back. The slave-hunter has his lair in the South, but is going North and then South. His dog lives in the North. The Fugitive Slave bill is the hunters call to their dogs. We have whole families of dogs in Boston. [Laughter.] The last Congress, as a measure, determined to put Slavery into the whole of Kansas. It was not the Border Ruffians—for they were the instrument. Four times did the Border Ruffians make an invasion. Once they took cannon with them. Once they broke the United States Arsenal. Who protected the settlers? Not the General Government, but it was Sharp's Rifles; and a merchant of Boston invested $2,700 in Sharp's Rifles and sent them to Kansas labeled pen, ink and paper. Perhaps you do not know what a Sharp's Rifle is. It loads at the breech—can be loaded and fired twenty times a minute; and an ordinary man can load and fire at this rate for a half hour. A third measure is to give to the slaveholder the power to take his slaves into the States and keep them there as long as he wishes. That is the meaning of Judge Kane's decision, dictated by Caleb Cushing. Next, the Slave Power aims to extend the area of Slavery through filibusterism; and, notwithstanding the great hue and cry made for a time, yet fillibusters now leave by the hundreds unmolested—and for what? To extend the area of Freedom? No. But to extend Slavery. The next measure is the restoration of the African Slave-trade. The South says that slaves cost from $800 to $1,000, while they could be imported for $100 each from Africa. They say, too, it is not fair to have free trade in cloths and merchandise and to have protection given to negro-traders in Virginia and Kentucky. The next argument in favor of this is the theological argument, which is subdivided into two branches. They say the negroes should be made slaves because of the curse of Noah pronounced against Ham, though Ham was as white as the father; and, second, they want to Christianize Africans, and, as they cannot send over the machinery to work the result there, they want to impart the raw material and manufacture Christians here upon this soil [Laughter]. If Slavery progresses for the next eighty years as it has for the last eighty years, there will be thirty-two million slaves—three quarters white. If this be realized, the fate of America is the fate of the Republics of old. Free Church, free schools and free every thing will go down. Massachusetts will be like Georgia, and New-York be like Arkansas. Ten years like the last and we are undone. There are men who think this will be our fate. Their logic is, that man is a selfish animal, and, this being his nature, he should have an opportunity to exercise this nature. That this Government should be a limited monarchy. The man who said that is now high in the Cabinet. Republics have never had old bones, but Despotism, supported by bristling bayonets, is ancient. One thing is certain: Slavery is to exist everywhere, or else Freedom is ever to prevail. Such is the character of Slavery that it must exterminate or be exterminated. A little while ago the question was, Shall Freedom or Slavery sit in the Speaker's chair? The question is next year, Shall Freedom or Slavery sit in the President's chair? I think that Freedom is to triumph—that it is to put down Slavery. The blood of Hengist and Horsa, of Luther, of Cromwell, of the English Puritans and Quakers, and of American freemen of the Revolution, is opposed to Slavery. Three great battles have been fought. First, between the Anglo-Saxon people in the sixteenth century and the Pope. The Saxon conquered. In the seventeenth century the question was: Shall there be a limited monarchy, and in which the powers of the throne shall be limited by the representatives of the parliament? How did that turn out? Oliver Cromwell hewed off a neck of one king, and stout William the Dutchman banished another. Kings were taught that they had joints in their necks. Anglo Saxon blood prevailed. Next came the question of the right of a people to self-government, which was settled here. Three times has Anglo-Saxon blood fought for human rights and conquered. What if these questions had been answered differently? A different world would we have now. If our forefathers had submitted to the exactions of the British Government, we should have been like the British provinces. If the people had submitted to the Stuarts, Great Britain would have been under the yoke. If the encroachments of Rome had not been resisted, the Inquisition would now have existed in England. Now, in the nineteenth century, comes the fourth great question for Anglo Saxon blood to decide; and shall it, who has three times striken down oppression, now turn and strike down freedom? Shall 30,000,000 of men aid 300,000 wicked men to keep down 3,000,500 of poor boudsmen? I say the Anglo-Saxon is not going to "cave in" before 300,000 slaveholders. But the question must be soon solved. The North has a duty to perform—to put Slavery down, "peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must." There are two ways to go to work to do this: One is to dissolve the Union, and leave the South to settle the matter for itself. Mr. Garrison, my friend, goes for the dissolution. He is a great man, and I love him [hisses and cheers]. The nation does not yet quite appreciate him, and it does not surprise me that there are some who hiss as well as applaud [Hisses and applause]. But when they who hiss are beneath the ground the world will be searched for marble white enough and gold pure enough to build his monument and inscribe his epitaph [Applause]. I do not agree with my friend Garrison, in the dissolution. To do it now would be attended with bloodshed. But it is contrary to the instinct of the Anglo-Saxon race to remain together a long time in large bodies. I believe that in time there will be a great Pacific Republic, a great Canadian Republic, and a great Atlantic Republic. I think, too, if it were to be proposed to dissolve the Union it would be difficult to draw the line. It would have to draw east of Boston and north of Concord. But rather than one more fugitive slave should be sent back I would let the Union be broken into fragments no larger than the space upon which this building stands; and then I would place myself upon a little piece of free soil which was not contaminated with my brother's blood. But it seems to me that the dissolution of the Union is unnecessary. Let us see what we can do without disturbing it. The Free States can choose for its officers men who are men—men made by Nature and not by Nature's journeymen. Then let New-York pass a Personal Liberty bill refusing to give up a fugitive slave, and that every slave shall be free when he steps upon our soil. Then pass a law to punish kidnappers by imprisonment in the State Prison. Then punish those who are in the American slave trade the same as you do those who are in the African slave trade. All this they could do in Albany without violating the Constitution—for you are a sovereign State and have a right to interpret the Constitution for yourselves. Then in national point of view repeal all Fugitive Slave bills. Then abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia and all the Territories. Abolish the entire State slave trade and make it piracy. Then make slaveholding incapacitate a man from holding any office. Then reconstruct the United States Judiciary—they need not remove the Judge from office, but remove the the office from the man. Then in their places I would take honest men who love God and love men, and then the Constitution would no longer be a Pro-Slavery document. There are things in that document that are bad things, which I would tread under my foot. But there are other things which are noble, and they preponderate. Then, at last, I would decree a day, fixed and certain, when each State shou'd abolish Slavery, and if they did not do it, the Government should take possession of them and form a Republican Government. In the next six months we can place a Republican man in the Presidential chair, and if that is accomplished, Freedom will triumph. But if Slavery is to triumph, let us go back to Lexington and amend the first battle-fields of the Revolution, and break to pieces the little monuments built there, and grind them to powder; go to Bunker Hill, and blast and tumble over that great monument erected there. Let it not be with British gunpowder—it would not take fire in so unholy a cause; nor with French gunpowder that is fitly employed in blasting to pieces the bulwarks of despotism at Sevastopol; but let it be with Russian gunpowder, for that alone is of such Tartarian character as to do the work. Then let the present Administration go down to Plymouth and dig up their forefathers' rock, which so much abhors the despots' race, break it into pieces—ay, grind it into powder—but not cast it on the waters, for some St. Christopher may carry it to lands where again its influence may be felt; but let Mr. Caleb Cushing carry it to Rome, and in mutable solemnity, in the presence of the head of the American party there, give it to the Pope. Let him then deliver it to the Jesuits to carry to Madrid, and under the Inquisition bury it full forty fathoms deep in the bowels of the ground. But even then despotism could not sit secure, for the blood of our patriot fathers would cry out from the sky "Where is thy brother Cain?" and the sky would answer with a curse [applause]. Slavery is weak, but her armies are united. It has commonly happened that when the a