THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

MOST ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS.

Southern Secessionists and Northern Abolition Disunionists Rallying upon James Buchanan.

POWERFUL ARGUMENT IN BEHALF OF A GREAT INCREASE IN THE CASH VALUE OF NIGGERS.

The Richmond Enquirer Enlarges upon the Speech of Governor Wise.

The Disunion Nigger Worshippers, Pure and Simple, Reject Fremont and Prefer Buchanan.

CONSISTENT WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND WENDELL PHILLIPS,

&c., &c., &c.

Slavery Extension Beneficial to the North.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, a leading Southern democratic organ.]

Why does the North expose the extension of slavery What possible injury or loss can she sustain from either the existence or the extension of slavery? What injury will result to the slaves by such extension? How does it advance the cause of either humanity, philanthropy or abolition to confine slavery to its present limits? In fine, what earthly provocation have we given to the sons of the North for flying into a furious passion simply because we assert our equal rights to the common Territories? We do wish that dispassionate men (if there be such among them) would take these questions into calm and sober consideration, and give calm and sober replies to them. It is high time that the public should be apprised what all this sound and fury, this passion, rage and storm at the North means. We want to know the exact character, measure and extent of the crimes and offences with which we stand charged as having committed against our neighbors and brethren. We desire to be just and equitable, to advance the cause of practical humanity and philanthropy, to promote the prosperity of our common country, and to live in peace and amity with our neighbors. We are prepared to listen calmly to their list of grievances, and their charges of aggression and injustice against the South, provided the grievances are stated, and the charges are preferred in decent terms; and we will endeavor to reply, after due deliberation, truthfully and respectfully.

So far, the complainants have been so overcome by rage that they have, in great measure, lost the faculty of deliberate and continuous speech, and only sputter and stammer forth abusive epithets and blasphemous interjections. When the paroxysm of passion has subsided, and the fit passed off, they will probably find they have not been treated quite so badly as they at first supposed. Possibly they may discover, as pacified children often do, that in thwarting their schemes of mischief we have been but promoting their real interests.

Meanwhile, until the philanthropists have recovered their temper and their speech, (for now they fume and stammer worse than Hotspur, and talk thicker than Moses or a young Dutchman,) meanwhile, we will suggest answers to our own interrogatories.

We propose to introduce no more slaves into the country, but by their dispersion and diffusion over a large space to increase their value. It is notorious that all men whatever take most care of that property which is most valuable. It is obvious, then, that the extension of slavery improves the condition of the slave But what shall we reply to those whose intense affection for the negro is like that of Virginius for his daughter, and who would coop him up and starve him, in order to relieve him from slavery by visiting him with death? All we can answer is, "Your scheme is impracticable." After several centuries you might avert the increase of slaves by forcing the masters, in self defence, to use such cruel and inhuman means as would be necessary to bring about a stationary amount of negro population; but you would not abolish slavery. By rendering slaves burdensome, or of little value, you might make slavery a curse to master and slave, whilst by aiding to extend it you would be certain to improve very much the slave's treatment and condition. However valueless slaves might become from excess of numbers, emancipation would not be resorted to, because their numbers would then render emancipation a dangerous, if not a desperate measure.

We cannot pass over this part of our subject without protesting that the Southerner likes his slave, not merely and solely because he is his most valuable property, but more still, because he is a man and his fellow being; and most of all, because he is a slave—dependant on him and obedient to him. Northern men can understand the powerful influences of these latter sources of attachment, for they well know that all the family affections proceed from them. But why cite the family as an argument for slavery to men who have resolved to break up the family in order to carry out their principles and to preserve their consistency?

If we have succeeded in quieting your consciences, by satisfying you that slavery extension is best for the slave, and is opposed by no considerations of humanity or philanthropy, we are quite hopeful that in addressing ourselves to your selfish interests we shall make you propagandists of negro slavery extension as the newest and loveliest scheme of philanthropy. Possibly, too, we may signalize our gallantry and confer a favor on the ladies by suggesting to you a train of thought that may result in drawing closer the bonds of marriage, instead of relaxing or dissolving them. You now, by your lectures and your writings, encourage wives to maintain their equality, or falling therein, to desert their husbands; and yet, with singular injustice, treat the "grass widows" or "fugitives from matrimony" with contempt for adopting your advice. Why not make heroines of them, whilst you are feasting and lionizing Burns? Their cases are alike in principle.

But we will proceed to treat this subject in its true and practical aspects. *The extension of slavery greatly benefits the North, by increasing the field of its commerce, keeping down competition, and enlarging the market for its manufactures.* It also furnishes to the Northeast a more abundant and cheaper supply of food, and cheaper raw materials for its workshops and factories. It will enable the North to confine herself chiefly to light, easy, in-door work, and to skilful occupations, which pay well, whilst the slaves, on more fertile soils, are producing by hard out-door work, (which best suits them), increased quantities of grain and raw materials to exchange with her for merchandise and manufactures of all kinds. *Thus the increased value of the slaves will be shared by the North and the South—the North, no doubt, getting the larger share.* All the while the negroes will be improving in treatment and condition. Northerners will extend or settle themselves alongside the slaveholders, as they have done in Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and the whole South.

It is always well for men of diverse occupations and pursuits to live near each other, in order to facilitate the interchange of products and commodities. Northern men were formerly in great demand at the South, to fill a thousand respectable, industrial and intellectual positions—thousands still come and get profitable situations, rendered less pleasant, however, by the jealousies and suspicions which intermeddling abolitionists have excited. Whilst the North is in every way directly benefitted by the extension of slavery, it *is equally and directly injured by the extension of free society to the exclusion of slavery.* Instead of more markets and more customers, these additional free States become rivals and competitors, and glut and depress the old markets by increased supplies of manufactures and other products, which are usually made in free States and sold in slave States. Nor do these new free States afford so good employment and outlet to the intellectual young men and ladies of the North as slave States, for choice schools soon produce such young men and ladies in abundance at home.

But, urge some, new slave States will give the South the control of the government. So much the better, so long as she exerts that control to improve the condition of the North and the South, the master and the slave. Would to heaven we could see any prospect ahead of Southern ascendancy, for then, and not till then, we should entertain hopes of continued peace and amity, union and conservatism.

We have not argued our points elaborately, because to us they appear obviously true and wholly unanswerable. When the isms get through with their hysteric fits, sardonic grins and spasmodic convulsions, and are quite restored to speech and hearing, we would like to have a little quiet talk with them on the various topics which we have but touched. Like spoilt children, they will see that they have been crying for poison instead of candy, and that both the refusal and the flogging, which we gave them, "was all for their own good."

Anti-Slavery Celebration of the Fourth of July, 1856.

[From the Boston *Liberator*, pure and simple abolition disunion organ.]

In accordance with the invitation of the managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather—rain falling heavily during the time of assembling—a large number of persons came together at Framingham, on the morning of the anniversary of National Independence, to spend the day more in accordance with those sentiments of humiliation which the American people ought to feel, in view of the utter subjection of their national government, in all its departments, and of the entire Union, to the ignominious service of the slave power which now rules the land.

As the falling rain and wet grounds made it impossible to occupy the Grove, at the time of the arrival of the cars from Boston, Worcester, Milford and Marlboro', the company proceeded to the Town Hall at Framingham Centre, being conveyed thither in the cars of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, which were kindly furnished for the purpose by the Superintendent of the road.

At 10½ o'clock, the meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, who, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, proposed the following organization:—

President—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Vice Presidents—Francis Jackson, Boston; E. L. Capron, Worcester; Josiah Hayward, Salem; Charles F. Hovey, Framingham.

Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester; James M. W. Yerrington, Boston.

Finance Committee—Joseph A. Howland, Sarah H. Wall, Lewis Ford, Pliny B. Southwick, Charles Brigham.

The meeting accepted, without a dissenting voice, the above as their officers.

Mr. GARRISON said—My friends, we are disappointed to lay by the lowering clouds above us, and the rain that falls around; but we are not peculiar in that respect, for thousands, doubtless, in every part of the State, are subject to like disappointment. It seems to me peculiarly appropriate, that while our land is fast verging to civil war, and blood and rapine are riding rough-shod over our free territory, and all the bonds of society seem to be loosening—I say it is symbolically appropriate that at a time and on an occasion like this, the sun should refuse to show us his countenance, and all nature should be in tears. This is no time for revelry or festivity, which would be as much out of place now as at a funeral.

The audience then joined in singing the favorite anti-slavery song:—

"Come all who claim the freeman's name."

Mr. GARRISON presented a poetical effusion, which one of the true hearted anti-slavery women of Massachusetts had written for the occasion, and which, he said, he would read as an appropriate introduction to the exercises of the day.

It was unanimously voted that the poem be printed with the report of the proceedings of the meeting.

Mr. GARRISON then addressed the assembly as follows:—

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. PRESIDENT—The land is rocking with an unparalleled excitement. The conservative and prudent admonish us to measure our words, and to speak with calmness and deliberation. To be sure of my language, and to run no hazard of rashness, I will not trust myself to the impulse of the moment, but utter only what in the quietude of my study I have prepared for this occasion.

Eighty years have passed away since the cry of "Independence" was heard throughout all the colonies, and the gauntlet of defiance was thrown down to the colossal power of the mother country. A long and sanguinary struggle ensued, ending in the triumph of "rebellion" over loyalty, of "treason" over submission, and the formation of a government based upon compromise, and cemented with blood. In all that pertains to material wealth, to augmentation of physical strength, to extension of territory, to increase of population, to internal development, how vast is the contrast between that period and our own! Thirteen multiplied to thirty-one States—three millions to twenty-seven millions of people—a limited boundary, to an extent of territory now reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But how astounding has been the decline of public virtue, the demoralization of the entire country, the growth of the slave power, during the same term! Nine new slave States have been added to the Union—half a million of slaves increased to four millions—and all constitutional liberty lies trodden in the dust. We are a betrayed and ruined people; over us is a despotism incomparably more awful and exacting than our fathers ever knew; all the old landmarks are removed out of the way; the waves of licentious usurpation and wild misrule break over all the land; and "the end is not yet."

What is left to us as free, rational, accountable beings? In one half of the country we may not deny the right of property in man, nor urge the duty of emancipation, nor circulate an anti-slavery tract, nor arraign the slave code for its unequalled cruelty, nor attempt to enlighten the benighted bondman, nor give the Bible to the destitute, nor interpret it on the side of impartial liberty, nor expose the most horrid barbarities, nor denounce the accursed traffic in human flesh, nor protest against the abrogation of the sacred institution of marriage, nor remonstrate against plundering the laborer of his wages, except at the peril of life or the certainty of imprisonment. With more impunity may we arraign Popery in Rome, or autocracy in St. Petersburg, face to face.

I see before me a noble army of the friends of freedom, who are entitled to constitutional protection, in the full exercise of freedom of speech and of conscience, wherever they stand on the American soil. On this anniversary of our national independence, let us, in imagination, take up our line of march westward, and enter into the Territory of Kansas, proclaiming the "self evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence. What awaits us? Outrage, imprisonment, assassination, death! Here is a portion of the bloody code enacted for that Territory by the Missouri banditti:—

Sec. 4. If any person shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of this Territory, any slave belonging to another, with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, or with intent to effect or produce the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

Sec. 5. If any person shall aid or assist in enticing, decoying, or persuading, or carrying away or sending out of this Territory, any slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.

Sec. 11. If any person shall print, write, introduce into, publish or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating within this Territory any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinions, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or insinuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than five years.

Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

Fleeing from this doomed Territory, let us enter the national capital, and speak our minds freely as to thisdaring overthrow of all the safeguards of personal liberty; and while bending over the prostrate body of the bleeding Senator from Massachusetts, felled to the floor of the Senate Chamber by ruffian blows, we shall be saluted by the Virginia press in the following terms:—

"These vulgar abolitionists in the Senate are getting above themselves. They have been humored until they forget their position. They have grown saucy, and dare to be impudent to gentlemen. Now, they are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit and honor as a pack of curs"

"The truth is, that they have been suffered to run too long without collars. They must be lashed into submission. Sumner, in particular, ought to have nine-and thirty early every morning. He is a great strapping fellow, and could stand the cowhide beautifully. Brooks frightened him, and at the first blow of the cane he bellowed like a bull-calf."

There is that blackguard Wilson, an ignorant Natick cobbler, swaggering in excess of muscle, and absolutely dying for a beating. Will not somebody take him in hand? Hale is another huge, red faced, sweating scoundrel, whom some gentleman should kick and cuff until he abates something of his impudent talk.

Southern gentlemen must protect their own honor and feelings. It is an idle mockery to challenge one of these scullions. It is equally useless to attempt to disgrace them. They are insensible to shame, and can be brought to reason only by an application of cowhide or gutta percha Let them once understand that for every vile word spoken against the South they will suffer so many stripes, and they will soon learn to behave themselves, like decent dogs—they can never be gentlemen.

Forsaking the capital, we make an experiment of free speech in Carolina, and are menaced by the Charleston *Telescope* in the following style:—

"Let us declare through the public journals of our country that the question of slavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too deep rooted among us, and must remain forever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dung hill."

Next, with the "stars and stripes" waving over our heads, we proceed to Georgia, to assert our constitutional right to speak our thoughts freely; and the Georgia *Constitutionalist* tells us, one and all:—

"The cry of the whole South should be—Death, instant death to the abolitionists, whenever or wherever they may be caught on our soil."

Finally, we turn our steps to Louisiana, to prove the exact value of "our glorious Union," and it is given to us by the New Orleans *True American*, as follows:—

"We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate their crime of interfering in our domestic institutions by being burned at the stake."

Such is the personal liberty granted to us on our own Territory of Kansas, in our national capital, and through out the South. In vain shall we make our appeal to Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord; in vain shall we boast that Revolutionary blood is flowing in our veins; in vain shall we point to the Declaration of Independence, or to the provisions of the constitution, or to the commands of God in the Bible; in vain shall we plead our educational views on free soil, and disavow all hostility to the person or interests of the slaveholder; nothing remains for our heads but bludgeons, nothing for our hearts but bowie knives, nothing for our necks but halters.

And yet, I reverently call the God of the oppressed to witness, we have not in anything transcended the claims of bleeding humanity, the duties of good citizens, the rights of patriots, or the obligations of Christians. We have assailed no man unjustly or by violence; we have sought the injury of no slaveholder; we have been law-abiding, in the highest sense of the term; we have not been guilty of treason, nor plotted insurrection; we have sought only a peaceful and voluntary emancipation of those in bondage; and we have vindicated Christianity as the religion of freedom, humanity and love.

Let not those who defend the act of slaveholding, on any pretence, complain of any atrocities committed by the South, either upon her slaves or upon Northern freemen. Given her right to enslave in any case, and all that the slave system has brought forth legitimately follows. She is neither wanton nor gratuitous in any of her enormities, but only faithful to her position and necessities. In no means to perpetuate slavery, she does not go too far, nor exact too much. Her sleepless vigilance, unwearied persistence and bold determination; her nightly patrols, her vigilance Committees, her border ruffian leagues; her yokes, and fetters, and whips, and thumbscrews, and branding irons, and bloodhounds; her suppression of free speech and her bloody enactments; her outlawry of the free colored and white anti-slavery citizens of the North; her enforced mental darkness, and moral degradation, and savage barbarism; her burning of slaves alive by a slow fire; her invasions of Kansas, and sacking of its villages, and subjugation of its population; her ten thousand thousand crimes and horrors, are all, all necessary, if she would perpetuate her terrible system of chattel servitude. She must be perfidious to all her engagements; false to all her oaths; full of bravado and insolence; equally brutal and cowardly; reeking with pollution and violence; insatiable as death, and remorseless as the grave. She must rifle the public mails, subject every one true to freedom on her soil to the "tender mercies" of Lynch law, suspect every stranger of being an enemy in disguise, proceed from one stage of villainy to another tread beneath her feet all the principles of justice, and set at nought the law of the living God. She can neither be honest nor pure, neither merciful nor magnanimous, neither enlightened nor civilized. Her fertile soil must gradually turn to ashes, her laborers be without skill or industry, her subsistence little better than that of pauperism. She must clothe herself with curses as with a garment, and plunge deeper and deeper in barbarity and guilt. There is no help for it. The eternal law of Divine retribution must be executed; they who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind: God is not mocked with impunity. "O, give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever: to Him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea; for His mercy endureth for ever. He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

But to think of our alliance and union with such a race of tyrants and barbarians! To think of our glorious North, with her free soil and free labor, and free institutions; with her wonderful enterprise, matchless skill, inventive genius, remunerative industry, admirable thrift, unequalled liberality and boundless resources; the pliant tool and submissive vassal of the Vandal South, helping her to smite freedom to the dust, and getting nothing in return but scorn, ignominy, insult and outrage of every kind. What loss of self-respect, what lack of principle, what hardness of heart, what blindness of mind, it indicates on the part of the people of the North even to this day!

To me the path is plain. To-day I disown the American flag as the symbol of unequalled hypocrisy and transcendant oppression, and, casting it into the broad Atlantic, defy all the waters thereof to wash out its bloody stains. To day I renew my accusation against the American constitution, *that it is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," which ought to be annulled now and forever.* To-day I pronounce the American Union a league of despotism, to perpetuate which is a crime against our common humanity and a sin against God. To-day I affirm the "higher law" to be the rightful and paramount law of the land, to the subversion of every statute, agreement and compromise inimical to human freedom. Tosday I stand outside of this tyrannical government, a seceder on principle, a revolutionist with Hancock, and Otis and Warren, but upon a broader platform, with a loftier spirit, with better weapons, and for a nobler object. "For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, say ye not a confederacy to all them to whom this people shall say, a confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and he shall be for a sanctuary."

Let the howl of "Treason! treason!" go up from the throats of governmental mercenaries, designing knaves unscrupulous demagogues and murderous oppressors! It is music to my ears. I tear the masks from the faces of all these conspirators against justice and the right, and reveal their hideous faces to the gaze of a loathing world Their profession of patriotism is a lie; "they that are led of them are destroyed;" the treason which they falsely charge upon the incorruptible friends of freedom, they themselves openly commit. They are tories beyond all of Revolutionary infamy; contemners of all human rights; scoffers at the Declaration of Independence as "a blurred and tattered parchment;" advocates of "border ruffian" supremacy and universal slavery; revellers in corruption, crime and blood. If such are the leaders, what must be the condition of the led? When the wicked are exalted on every side, well may the land mourn and tremble.

The preservation of the existing Union is the certain triumph of the slave power in whatever it may seek to accomplish. Within that charmed circle, under that sorcery spell, we shall find ourselves powerless. There are a thousand weightier reasons why the North should separate from the South, than our revolutionary fathers had to secede from the mother country. Here the language of no rash spirit, no impatient soul, but of the calm and deliberate Channing, while the question of the annexation of Texas was pending before the country:—

"To me it seems not only the right, but the duty of the free States, in case of the annexation of Texas, to say to the slaveholding States, 'We regard this act as the dissolution of the Union.' * * * A pacific division, in the first instance, seems to me to threaten less contention than a lingering, feverish dissolution of the Union, such as must be expected under this fatal innovation. For one, then, I say that, earnestly as I deprecate the separation of these States, and though this event would disappoint most cherished hopes for my country, still I could submit to it more readily than to the reception of Texas into the confederacy. I do not desire to share the responsibility or to live under the laws of a government adopting such a policy. If the South is bent on incorporating Texas with itself, as a new prop to slavery, it would do well to insist on a division of the States."—Vol. ii., p. 239.

If Dr. Channing could regard the Union as no longer worthy of continuance, the government no longer deserving of respect, in such a contingency, what would he not say, were he now living, to urge an immediate dissolution of the Union, in view of the appaling strides of the slave power since the annexation of Texas! Assuredly, upon his banner would be inscribed the motto under which we rally to-day, "No union with slave holders!" and no effort of his voice or pen would be wanting to effect the separation.

The passage of the Fugitive Slave law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, elicited from the Rev. Dr. Wayland, late President of Brown University, a declaration equally emphatic and revolutionary:

"I value the Union as much as any man. I would cheerfully sacrifice to it everything but truth and justice and liberty. When I must surrender these, as the price of the Union, the Union becomes at once a thing which I abhor. To form a union for the sake of perpetuating oppression, is to make myself an oppressor. This I cannot be, for love liberty as much for my neighbor as for myself. To sacrifice my liberty for the sake of union, is impossible. God made me free, and I cannot be in bondage to any man." * * * Taking Christ, then, for my example, and striving to imbibe his spirit, can I do otherwise than take to my bosom every oppressed and down trodden child of humanity? Jesus Christ, my master, is not ashamed to call them brethren, and can I have any partnership in an attempt to trample them under foot? The Union itself becomes to me an accursed thing, if I must first steep it in the tears and blood of those for whom Christ died.

What other Union than this was framed by our fathers, or is now in existence? What other Union will the South consent to maintain? Our Southern masters and overseers have given us their terms. Listen to their language, as uttered by the Alabama Democratic Convention:—

"That the State of Alabama, in the judgment of this Convention, will, and ought to resist, even (as a last resort) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any action of Congress upon the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in places subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, incompatible with the safety, the domestic tranquillity, the rights and honor of the slaveholding States, or any act suppressing the slave trade between the slaveholding States, or any refusal to admit as a State any Territory hereafter applying, because of the existence of slavery therein; or any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico; or any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves.

"That any interference by Congress for the prevention of slavery in any of the Territories would be an inexcusable and unconstitutional infringement on the rights of the South, which, it is the deliberate sense of this Convention, it would be the duty of the people of Alabama to resist, even to a disruption of the ties that bind this State to the Union!

"That the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line by Congress would be a great wrong, resistance to which even to the extent of a disruption of the Union, would be a sacred duty with all who cherish the essential principles of constitutional right and State equality.

What party at the North dare meet this issue? Will the republican party, even to save Kansas? That party avows its fealty to the Union, come what may. *What does it propose to do in regard to slavery in the District of Columbia? Nothing What as touching the abolition of the inter slave trade? Nothing. What in reference to the repeal of the fugitive slave law? Nothing. What, if Kansas as a conquered province, is admitted to the Union as a slave State? Nothing.* Nothing, except to submit to it all, endorse it all, and shout, "Our glorious Union! it must and shall be preserved!!" The republican party has only a geographical aversion to slavery. Its morality on that subject is bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude. It is a complexional party, exclusively for white men—not for all men, white or black. See what one of its organs, the *Hartford Courant*, says respecting its spirit and purpose:—

"Republicanism is the white man's party. It is not because we feel any burning zeal in the black man's cause that we resist the progress of slavery in this country. We like the white man better than we do the black We believe the Caucasian variety of the human species superior to the negro variety; and we would breed the best stock, and fill this noble land of ours—this broad country that the Almighty seems to have providentially (!) preserved as a blank sheet, upon which the noblest and loftiest thoughts, only, can be properly inscribed—with the noblest race of human beings possible. Color is not the trouble; thick lips and woolly hair are not the objections. It is, that the Caucasian variety is intrinsically a better breed, of better brain, better moral traits, better capacity, every way than the Negro, or the Mongolian, or the Malay, or there American. If the negro race had the mental superiority, we should consider the color, hair, or odor, matters of no account. * * *. To our minds, the republican cause is intrinsically aristocratic; it aims to save the country to the white man. * * *. The republicans mean to preserve all of this country that they can from the pestilential presence of the black man."

This is far from being the feeling or language of all who are members of the republican party, but it indicates the precise position occupied by the party. Witness the forcible exclusion of all the free colored citizens of the North from the soil of Kansas, by the free State settlers there in, in flagrant violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, and as a cowardly concession to the infernal spirit of border ruffianism! How can such a party successfully grapple with the slave power on any issue?

We must separate, or lose our liberties. Slavery is the concentration of all forms of despotism in one. It can have no more affinity with true republicanism than death with life. It is continually proclaiming doctrine at which ancient toryism would have stood aghast. It has long since discarded the Declaration of Independence as ridiculous and untrue—as the product of infidelity, at war with the Bible, and the enemy of the Christian religion. Hear what the North Carolina *Biblical Recorder* says of it:—

"Dr. Wayland has taken Mr. Jefferson's infidel dogma in the Declaration of Independence for his motto; and the halo of that false light has seemed to exclude from his field of vision God's revealed instructions on the institution of slavery. Indeed, the whole phalanx of abolition leaders have planted themselves upon that unfortunate and irrational sentiment of Mr. Jefferson as their standard in their anti-slavery movements, both in this country and in England. They refer us to our declaration of national rights, and not to the Bible. The declaration of Mr. Jefferson, that all men are created equal, is in itself both false and without meaning. Wayland has evidently forsaken the great platform of Bible truth; and whenever he quotes the Scriptures to support his false theory of human liberty, seldom fails to torture and distort their meaning."

What would have been the fate of the man who has uttered such language in "the times that tried men's souls?" Now it is published with impunity, heard with complacency, and represents the spirit of the whole South. We are fast tending to a military despotism. The Richmond *Whig* says:—

"We are heartily sick and disgusted with the cowardly and mercenary hypocrites of Yankeedom. This war will enable us to get rid of them, or turn the tables upon them, and render them a source of profit instead of expense. It will enable us to regain our own—plundered from us by many a sharp transaction. It will enable us to build up our country by the recapture of the millions of which we have been plundered. It will enable us to get rid of Yankee Presidents, and to preserve Anglo Saxon freedom, by reviving the old connection with the mother country. (Who would not rather be ruled over by a lady like Queen Vic, than by any nasal twanged gentleman that Yankee land can produce) It will enable us, with the United States South, on one side, in close alliance with England, and Canada on the other, very speedily to bring these long prayed sharpers to their senses, by confining them to the starving soil on which they were born, and to the thin air around them."

If such things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?

More even than this. The Southern organs now proclaim the right to enslave all laboring people, without regard to complexional distinctions! They declare free society and free institutions an utter failure here and everywhere; and advocate the universal establishment of chattel slavery as the remedy. Hear what the Richmond *Enquirer* says:—

"Until recently, the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists—for they were merely apologists—took half way grounds. They confined the defence of slavery to mere negro slavery, thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong, and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices and experience of mankind. Human experience showing the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society, was unavailing to them, because they were precluded from employing it, by admitting slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro slavery involved them in still greater difficulty. The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding white men in slavery, provided that through the mother they were descended, however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in slavery.

"The line of defence, however, is changed now, and the North is completely cornered, and dumb as an oyster. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary. It shows that all divine, and almost all human, authority justifies it. The South further charges that the little experiment of free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. While it is far more obvious that negroes be slaves than white—for they are only fit to labor not to direct—yet the principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion. Difference of race, of race, of lineage, of language, of habits and customs, all tend to render the institution more natural and durable, and although slaves have been generally white, still the masters and slaves have generally been of different national descent. Mosesd an Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorities in favor of the difference of race, but not of color."

Ponder well the following extracts from a work published in Virginia, entitled "Sociology; or, Free Society a Failure," by George Fitzhugh:—

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and he would be far better off." "Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti!" "Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Say the abolitionists:—'Man ought not to have property in man.' What a dreary, cold, bleak, inhospitable world this would be, with such a doctrine carried into practice!".... "Slavery has been too universal not to be necessary to nature, and man struggles in vain against nature.".... "Free society is a failure. We slaveholders say, you must recur to domestic slavery, the oldest, the best, and most common form of socialism."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery the healthy, beautiful and natural being which they are trying unconsciously to adopt.".... "The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better."

"We do not adopt the theory that Ham was the ancestor of the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes; and to confine the justification of slavery to that race would be to weaken its Scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of profane authority, for we read of no negro slavery in ancient times.".... "Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary."

"Nature has made the weak in mind or body slaves." ...."The wise and virtuous, the brave, the strong in mind and body, are born to command.".... "Men are not born entitled to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say, that some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them—and the riding does them good. They need the reins, the bit, and the spur.".... "Life and liberty are not inalienable.".... "The Declaration of Independence is 'exuberantly false, and aborescently fallacious.'"

Finally, read the following eulogy upon one of these marauders and bandits from the South, who have overrun Kansas with rapine and blood, as bestowed by the Richmond *Examiner*:—

"The 'border ruffian,' the farmer of the far South and West, is the noblest type of mankind. In his person is revived all the chivalry and generosity of the knights of the middle ages. He is equally noble, but far more useful. He is the pioneer of a high and honorable civilization. He is planting a master race—men like the Greeks and Romans—on a new soil; not buying up white men at the shambles, to remove them from slavery to capital in Boston, to make them in a few generations slaves to capital in Kansas."

Such is the spirit which we of the North are attempting to conciliate! Where is the Union? What is the Union? "The fact is," says the Charleston *Mercury*, "the people of the South and of the North have never been one people, and nothing can ever make them so. All compromises and patched up truces are in vain."

Such are the proofs I adduce, on this occasion—to which volumes might be added—to show the hopelessness, the madness, and the criminality of attempting to perpetuate an alliance so unnatural and monstrous between principles and interests so utterly irreconcilable.

Let us, then, to-day—rejecting as wild and chimerical, all suggestions, propositions, and contrivances for restraining slavery within its present limits, while extending constitutional protection to it in fifteen of the thirty-one States—register our pledge anew, before heaven and the world, that we will do what in us lies to effect the eternal overthrow of this blood stained Union, that thus our enslaved countrymen may find a sure deliverance, and we may no longer be answerable for their blood. Let us not be drawn off by any side issue in regard to Kansas, nor be deluded by the cry of "Liberty national slavery sectional"—seeing it is the existence of slavery in the South which is the root of all our troubles, the cause of all our dangers, the source of all our perils. Away, then, with all nostrums, concessions, compromises, expedients, traces, and the like. But one course is to be pursued—one object aimed at, one blow struck:—The North must separate from the South, and organize her own institutions on a sure basis—enabling each one of us exultingly to shout—

O, the land for me, the land for me,
Where every living soul is free;
Where winter may come, where storms may rave,
But no tyrant can lord it o'er the slave. (Cheers.)

J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Newburyport, addressed the meeting in a very spirited and effective manner. [We give a sketch of his remarks next week.]

Before Mr. S. had finished his speech (it being 12 o'clock) a loud peal of bells commenced ringing from the neighboring churches, and a cannon planted in the centre of the square commenced its noisy salute—all in honor of that union (!) which binds Massachusetts to the hideous form of slavery, which compels her to see her noblest sons stricken down by assassin blows, for simply speaking the words of freedom, and which disables her from defending them, or redressing their wrongs and her own. On account of the deafening and (under the circumstances) absurd noise, out of doors, Mr. Swasey suspended his remarks; and the meeting joined in singing the hymn—

Hark! a voice from heaven proclaiming
Comfort to the mourning slave.

After a brief discussion, it was

Voted, That when this meeting adjourns it be to meet in the Grove.

[This was in consequence of the more favorable aspect of the weather—promising a bright and clear afternoon.]

PARKER PILLSBURY, being called for, came forward and was cordially greeted. [We are reluctantly obliged to defer a prepared sketch of his speech, which was listened to with deep interest—until next week.]

Adjourned to meet in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON.

Called to order at 2½ o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, when the meeting joined in singing the hymn—

"Children of the famous dead."

Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS spoke, with much eloquence, of the value of the anti-slavery movement, as a test of every man's principles and sympathies, a genuine and infallible discerner of the thoughts and intents of his heart. For himself, he said, he recognized every man as a true Christian, or the contrary, just in proportion as his sympathies are, or are not, alive and active in the cause of anti-slavery. He contended, earnestly, that no help or hope could come to the country from any party, or any political movement in it; that, in the present Union, slavery, with all its attendant atrocities, must necessarily triumph; neither Fremont nor any other person, nominated against the wishes of the slave interest, could be elected; or, even if elected, could save us from slavery's despotic and destructive grasp. He honored true manliness everywhere; he honored it in Charles Sumner; but if, by the blows which he received at the assassin hands of the slave power, he and his supporters could be driven out of this inquitous Union, he should deem it a subject of thankfulness—though he desired no harm to come to any one. He felt exceedingly hopeful of the overthrow of the Union—light is spreading fast and slavery and the Union cannot bear the light.

Mr. GARRISON called attention to the proposed work on the fugitives in Canada, about to be published by Mrs. Knox, of Boston.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then took the stand and delivered an address of noble thoughts and eloquent appeals. In the unfavorable circumstances under which the speech was made and heard, all standing crowded under a tent, for protection against the rain which had again commenced falling—it was not easy to make a suitable report; but the unrivalled phonographic skill of our friend, J. M. W. Yerrington, surmounting all the difficulties, enabled him, without the aid of chair or table, to make a pretty full report of it, as follows:—

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. CHAIRMAN—I was glad to hear the speech of my friend Pillsbury, this morning, and also that to which we have just listened, from Mr. Foss. I do not think we can do any better work than to examine the positions of the political movements of our day. As I said at the hall, I think we are to understand our friend Pillsbury's direction to let the republican party alone in the light of his example, and leave it alone just as he does. (Laughter and cheers.) When I was making this remark to one who is now in this audience, he said to me, "It is very easy to criticise the work that other men do." That suggested to me a word to say to the abolitionists about me—that mere criticism, merely undertaking to criticise and expose the wrong positions of politicians—becomes impudence, nothing but impudence, unless we see to it that we earn the right to criticise by unflattering devotion and activity in our own field. I hold that no Garrisonian has a right to criticise Henry Wilson or Charles Sumner, until he feels he can honestly say, "I do all I can in the moral field." These men are wrong in their position. What our friends have told us is very true. I do not know a greater harm than, I think, has been done to the anti-slavery cause, even by the unequalled merit, in one sense, of Charles Sumner. It will lead those who love him, into blindness, I think, as to the bad influence of his political and civil position, but no man who has any self respect has a right to stand up among his fellows, and call these men to account, who has not, by sacrifice, by contributions, by labor, by self devotion, shown that, in his own field, he is willing to cover all the ground he can. I always feel, except from the lips of one whose labor recommends him, that such criticism is very ungraceful. I warn you, therefore, that in all our discussions with the political parties, in regard to their leading men, each of these discussions should be a memento to us of a better, more earnest, more thorough performance of our own duty. Let it be a spur in our sides. Let no