THE LIBERATOR

IS PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,

AT NO. 25, CORNHILL.

Oliver Johnson, General Agent:

To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.

TERMS.—$1.50 per annum, payable in advance; or $1.00 at the expiration of six months.

ADVERTISEMENTS making one square will be inserted three times for $1.00. Other advertisements at the same rates.

NOTE.—The pecuniary concerns of the Liberator are under the direction and supervision of a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen: FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, WM. BASSETT.

VOL. IX. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. NO. 19.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. ISAAC NNAPP, PRINTER.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1839.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

A NORTHERN DOUGHFACE.

The following is an extract of a letter from a Cincinnati merchant, whom business or pleasure calls to the South. It was addressed to the editor of the Cincinnati Whig.

"Although I have ever regarded slavery as an evil in the abstract, I confess that I have ever much to admire in the character of the South—such a marked difference of condition between the miserable free negro population of the North and the well provided for and happy slaves of the south; that I believe true philanthropy would be promoted, if they (our free negroes) could be transported to southern masters. All opposition to slavery ceased upon the plantations with the masters and carried on upon the Abolitionists. In the morning, noon and evening of a clear, cloudless day, in the full meridian of life, I saw the slave with hands instantly come to a stay upon the labors of the day, and by sunset, they are in the field. Their clothing is good, and they are abundantly supplied with provisions, of a plentiful and substantial character. Each family has a hut, and they have opportunities of making money by their labors, sufficient to purchase them many of their luxuries. They cut wood for boats, raise poultry, sell eggs, &c. by which means they acquire money at their leisure during the year. In sickness, every care and sympathy provided for. I never have been more agreeably disappointed than I have been, in my observation, in the manner in which slaves are treated in the South. The humanity of their owners is in every respect highly creditable to them. Abolitionists are founded on true philanthropy, it would be utterly prostrated by a thorough knowledge of slavery as it exists in the South. Among the Creoles, they have been stigmatized as cruel masters. But the abolitionists are not influenced in their hatred to slavery by philanthropy, but by pride. On the contrary, the wild zeal (as they have done in Cincinnati,) a negro boy his owner, rob them of the little money they might have at the time employ them in their family without rewarding their services, and turn them upon the world a penniless fugitive, exposed to be a body the most powerful speeches that ever lived in any age. Public indignation is running with a mighty current against them, and if Mr. Clay, in his recent letter, in Ex-President's disclaimer, and the masterly speech of Mr. Clay, leaves them nothing to hope for. By the by, I have read the letter of Mr. Clay but not the question of the next Presidency. It has drawn a halo of glory around his name in the entire South, as statesmanlike, and it cannot be other wise, than entirely satisfactory to the lovers of the Union in the North. In a word, it will make him the chief of a nation, of whom he is the noblest Roman.

How this hater of slavery in the abstract came to love it so ardently in the concrete, may be learned from another brief extract.

"I have passed my time most delightfully among the planters, and I can be no more an enemy to slavery in the world can be known. The most of them live in business, and indeed elegant style, and their kindness and attention to me, I shall ever feel. I have seen in a liberality which can no where be surpassed, and with an ease and blandness of manner which make you feel that you are more than a doubly welcome guest."

From the Newburyport Watch-Tower.

FREEDOM OF THE PULPIT.

The subjoined extract from the pen of Rev. Parsons Cooke is simply and emphatically true. We wish it could be read by men who are so many laymen, and we are sorry to add, *women*, feel authorized to tell the clergy what they may or may not, or what they are to be *inspired* that the professed teachers of religion least of all, understand the business and duties of their profession. We are glad that some of the clergy are found willing to vindicate the freedom of the pulpit, and to assert their right to freedom of thought, speech, and action. The clergy are the *guardians of infallibility* whether it is claimed by a sect or by an individual,—and who have the discernment to see, and the boldness to declare that there is no very little difference whether one's creed and course of conduct are *prescribed by a pope or a pope.*

"If the Christian ministry has done such service to the cause of freedom, it is itself entitled, to be free. *The freedom of the press* is a phrase of familiar sound, for the exercise of it is so much in the thought of men of ambition views, who are compassing sea and land to ride into popular favor, have usually felt the importance of the power of the political influence of the pulpit in favor of their enterprises and their parties. And they have often brought influence to bear, to compel the Christian ministry to give in his adhesion to a party. Nothing is easier, than to surround the pulpit with effectual checks to its freedom. Let it be so to we are the ministers of Christ placed in such a condition, that he cannot speak out the honest sentiments of his heart; he cannot speak the honest sentiments, on all subjects, without raising a storm that will very him from his post. One man or one set of men, having free discussion, and the liberty of using their standard of right as to principles and measures, and we to him who utters a syllable that varies from this standard. Where is the free discussion? But it is all upon one side. Their freedom of discussion consists in most free denunciations of all who dare to doubt the infallibility of the oracles of their party. But this is a spirit with which the true ministry of Christ can keep no terms. It has no such spirit. Genius manifests itself in independence and freedom, it ceases to be the ministry of Christ. Its divine energy is gone; it works under the laws of heaven, and not according to earthly lords, and because it has become the cowardly tool of selfish men. The freedom and independence of the pulpit are among the last attributes to be surrendered. For when these have gone, you have not in it the man of God, giving those utterances to the truth of God, and giving the dictate of an enlightened conscience; but you have a machine, an automaton, a puppet, which is obeying the wires pulled by those who have purchased it. The man who voice you hear is the mere mouth-piece of others, whom he dare not offend. And when the pulpit suffers this degradation, it is the last stage of the world.

All those who at all regard the treasure of the gospel ministry, are anxious that it preserve *the freedom of the pulpit*; minor interests must be waived, to preserve this, because it is vital. It is essential to the ministry to commit a capital offence against the institution of God. He who would sway the action of Christ's ambassadors, by his influence and patronage, and his ascendancy, virtually obstructs and perverts the embassy. It is incumbent on all, then, if they can first be satisfied that there is no such attempt, to suspend their views; that he seeks to be faithful to his trust, that he inculcates no capital error, to give him just that freedom in forming and expressing his opinions, which they claim for themselves. Under no other circumstances can the ministry answer its end as a body, and it is honest and dishonest in consent to hold it. If the one ever comes when any man, or body of men, whether popes, presidents, governors, legislators, or leaders of factions, are desirous to dictate to the ministry, and say on what subjects it shall preach and pray, and on what it will be silent; it shall boldly denounce the sects and what party interests it shall espouse, and when all shall be found obedient to the mandate, then will be the date of the overthrow of this divine institution. If God had not intended that the freedom of the pulpit should be entire, he would have appointed a censorship over it. But, as he has instituted no such office, let no one claim it."

TERMS.—Professor Cross, whilomas an occupant of one of the chairs in the Ohio Medical College, then churches abolitionists in a late speech delivered in Cincinnati.

"A body of men made up of materials the most heterogeneous, absurd and incompatible. Paradox, the most ignorant of causes, than the most profound of reasoning out their consequences—knaves, seeking power by appealing to despotic passions, and fools, who have not sense enough, to see to accomplish that by fraud, which they have vainly essayed to do by violence.

"With as much propriety might a lunatic asylum and penitentiary, as they are ferocious and cruel, be boasts the humanity and of his enlightened benevolence, and would overturn a government not only embodied in the affections of the greatest mass of the people, but the success of which the fairest hopes and brightest prospects of mankind depended. He would shower back political science amidst the errors and absurdities of hopeless, rayless fanaticism. He would turn back the carnival of hell, and let the furies of a servile war, such as deluged both Greece and Rome in blood; —he would renew all the atrocities of civil commotion, and revive the sanguinary and inhuman policy of the dark ages;—he would convulse this favored land with deep, envenomed, and implacable animosities, and pollute it with scenes of dissipation and debauchery, at which decency would crimson, and humanity turn pale;—he would make the Christian world and pagan life with acts of turpitude and treachery, at which prodigacy would blush, and perjury itself would tremble.

"If the dark and bloody spirit of abolitionism, which is roaring and raving around every bulwark of liberty, like an infuriated tigress, bereaved of her young, cannot be extinguished by the diffusion of learning, and the sacred impress a sound and rational sentiment of moral responsibility is calculated to make upon the heart, all we hold to with undying tenacity, will be swallowed up in the burning crater of that volcano, upon which we are now with a strange infatuation, heedlessly treading.

"Professing the faith of the meek and lowly Jesus, and pompously arraying themselves on the side of equal rights, these sanctimonious fanatics, while they desecrate the one, blast the national prospects of the other. While they reach religion, they soil its purity, by enkindling to rage the worst passions of human nature; while they endeavor to extend the sphere of liberty, they dig the grave in which national liberty is to be entombed; while they expand the democratic principle, they root up and eliminate the conservative principle; while they attempt to make man happier, they only heighten and exasperate their miseries; while they elevate the slave, they degrade the master; while they shed crocodile tears for the oppressed, they thirst for the blood, and howl for vengeance on the oppressor; and while they profess to be the supremacy of mind, they are bringing it into a state of abject and absolute subjection to the domination of matter.

"Keen and sagacious as they are, they do not, of all the attributes of national greatness, mere material power is the most fearful and uncontrollable. They know it is the eyelens of a Cyclops, it is ever shooting from its cavern, or thundering over the hills and waters.

We hope the Professor feels more comfortable after this timely caution.—*Philanthropist.*

COLONIZATION. A Convention of delegates from different parts of the State is to be held in this city on the 8th of next month, with a view to the formation of a State Colonization Society. This noble enterprise of Colonization is going forward, reliantly, in spite of misrepresentation and detraction. It is almost always so with a good cause, when public sentiment has had time to reflect. The opposition to the project of the scheme is deep interest throughout the country in behalf of the colored race,—and as the impracticable scheme of immediate emancipation, of Mr. Clay has no bottom, the sympathies of its adherents, many of them at least, will be turned into the proper channel.—*Jour. of Com.*

ANTI-SLAVERY.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The last Pennsylvania Freeman contains a very interesting sketch of the life and character of this distinguished statesman and philanthropist, from the pen of the editor, from which we extract the following paragraphs:

"Even at the period of his greatest popularity, he protested against the tyranny of slavery, and in the full tide of his eloquent soul in stern reprobation of a system, fell upon the ears of the Liberator, and fell deep and rankled with blood. His speech, on the motion of Thomas Fowell Buxton for the immediate emancipation of the slaves, was a most noble production, and produced an effect, which, in the Liberator's opinion, was the cause of his premature death. He entered into no petty pecuniary details;—no miserable computation of the shillings and pence, which he brings into the market of the land of God. He did not talk of the expediency of continuing the evil, because it had grown monstrous. To use his own words, he could not admit that the evil was to be abolished; not merely an evil to be palliated.' He left Sir Robert Peel and the tories to eulogize the emancipation act, which, in spite of its pretensions, in common with those of a tythe-reaping priesthood, building their houses by oppression, and their chambers by wrong, and spoke of the negro's interest, the negro's claim to justice, demanding sympathy for the plundered, as well as the plunderer; for the slave as well as the master. He transferred his dust under his feet the blasphemy that obedience to the law of Eternal Justice is a principle to be acknowledged in theory only, because it is right in theory. He would, he said, enter into no compromise with slavery. He cared not what cost or cress or color it might assume;—whether personal or political, intellectual or spiritual, he was for its total, immediate abolition. He was for Justice—justice in the spirit of humanity and according to the righteous law of the living God.

Ardently admiring our free institutions, and constantly pointing to our free institutions, and constantly pointing to our free institutions, and constantly pointing to the perseverance of his own countrymen in their struggle against oppression, he has yet omitted no opportunity of rebuking our inexcusable sin. Ever ready to pay enthusiastic admirer of Jefferson, he has often regretted that his practice should have so illy accorded with his noble sentiments on the subject of slavery, which so fully accorded with his own. In truth, wherever man has been oppressed by his fellow-man, O'Connell's sympathy has been extended—to Italy, chained above the very grave of her ancient liberties, to the Republics of Southern America, to Greece, dashing the foot of the infidels' Ottoman from her neck, to France and Belgium, and last, not least, to Poland, driven from her cherished nationality, and dragged, like his own Israelite, bleeding and weeping, to the deadly embrace of her oppressor. American slavery but shares in his common denunciation of all tyranny; as wherever he speaks of his common pity for the oppressed and persecuted and the trodden down. Attempts have been made to prejudice the American mind against him by a republication on this side of the water, of the false and foul slanders of his Tory enemies, in reference to his visit to the Liberator, and a sum placed annually in his hands by a grateful people,—and which he has devoted scrupulously to the great object of Ireland's political redemption. He has acquired no riches by his political efforts—his heart and soul and mind and strength have been directed to his sublime purpose, and he has left no inheritance to his children. For this he has deservedly a place in the heart and affections of every son of Ireland. One million of immortal souls in Ireland, have blessed him, and taught their children to repeat the name of O'Connell, with that of Wilberforce and Clarkson. The name of O'Connell and cause of liberty shall have passed from our country, he will be regarded as our friend and benefactor, whose faithful and fearless warnings and eloquent appeals to our pride of character, borne to us across the Atlantic, touched the guilty sensitiveness of our nationality, and through shame, reposed the way for repentance.

DR. CHANNING.

Some excellent brethren, in whose opinions we have very great confidence, do not concur in our incidental remarks of last week respecting the influence of the lawyer profession is under to this great literary luminary of America. We have received them, and although they need explaining, we have not yet changed our opinion. We, for our part, feel bound to dissent from those who think the Doctor's splendid writings have done service to the cause of freedom, and have contributed to the promotion of most of all by the advance of anti-slavery associations based on the stern principles of immediate emancipation. We have, on the contrary, felt that the Doctor's writings as favoring. Every man who becomes a decided, uncompromising abolitionist, receives a severe blow from the Doctor's pen, and formidable authority. To be sure, he writes powerfully against slavery; but he sets the abolitionists down in his conference. He concentrates his fire upon the blame of it, and casts it all upon the system. He makes this abstraction, the apology for the sin of the slaveholder, and lays the sin upon—and they can relieve their conscience upon its head a thousand years to come, were nothing to reprove the sin of the slaveholdings of the Doctor.

What we particularly find fault with is, the Doctor's gentlemanly reproduction of abolitionists as an extreme. With deference to so great a man, we do not yield him the prerogative to settle the character of the abolitionists. We claim to be the best judges of our own principles, and we do not yield to the Doctor the right to pronounce us extreme. We have been left out to him. He speaks with an authority not delegated to him—and he gives opinions manifest to us, and to the world, of our principles, which abolitionists. If he will undertake to discuss that, and to argue down its principles, its *manners* or its spirit—so that he can be recognized properly, we will, instead rant him prompt and bold opponents, who would not shun to meet his lance at the lance end—and who, if he should overthrow our principles, we would give him full occasion for all his mental superiority. In truth, the Doctor could not maintain himself outside the abolition walls. Embarked in the field against abolitionists, he attacks them while fighting their own battles against slavery, and it falls upon them as if they were shooting an ally. But he is not ally in the eyes of the enemy. The Doctor's writings are some of our sentiments, and if he is a friend, we are abolitionists, all that has been said against us by pro-slavery is true, and our organization ought to be disbanded and dissolved.

Why cannot the Dr. reproduce slavery without conferring the abolitionists for their 'spirit and measures?' Why must he say, aside to us, that we do his bidding, and by general assertion? Let him *specify* what is objectionable in abolitionism. Let him point it out so he can be met, and let him show it is as honorable enemy, not stab it in the side, as he plays the ally in the field.

As to his objection to associations, we find no fault. He objects to *all* associations. In this he is consistent with himself. But he is manifestly wrong. An abolitionist is not an association. Not at all. But his half complimentary censures about spirit, zeal, severity, &c., realize the worst spirit of persecution against our cause. It comes with authority, and if he is a friend from a professed opponent of slavery. We don't object to censure, if it is frank and just. But the Doctor's spirit and measures are just spirit attacked, but not smitten under the fifth rib by one hand while the other takes anti-slavery by the throat to kiss it. We don't so understand friendship. Perhaps Dr. C. feels friendly to abolitionism. We have no doubt of his opposition to slavery. But we think his influence unfavorable, so far as it weighs at all.—*Herald of Freedom.*

From the Herald of Freedom.

COLONIZATION IN THE WEST.

Notes of preparation have been for some time considered in reference to a Convention of the Colonizationists of Western Pennsylvania and the adjoining parts of Ohio and Virginia, to be assembled on the 5th inst. at Pittsburg. Thirty delegates, all told, thirteen of whom were from the city itself, were in attendance. Judge Hemphill was called to the chair (which he has spent the past winter in preparing) to the Convention, of which our friend Burleigh, of the Witness, who has a fine sketch of the proceedings in his paper, was secretary. He thus describes the second evening of the reading:

'The evening came—starry and balmy as evening need be—and with it came twenty-four men, one boy and six women to hear the Judge read another portion of his book, about one third of the whole number present were abolitionists, and assembled in a spacious church a few minutes before eight o' clock, expecting that the exercises of the meeting would be in full blast. We were disappointed. Scattered over the church were some two dozen individuals, looking more as if they had come to bury colonization, than to listen to its apology. We were disappointed in the Judge's book, it was a melancholy scene—very. In a pew near the pulpit was the orator, or reader of the evening, and by his side, in solem silence, his Excellency Governor Pinney. Forlorner specimens of humanity we have rarely seen. The Judge read about two *chapters* of the question, and then addressed two *chapters* of the question in deep cogitation as to the best means of getting out of the house, in which he succeeded admirably. Occasionally some colonizer from without, would steal timidly to the door, open it by stealth, cast a hurried glance over the pews, and disappear, as if those present, then quietly slink away, leaving the patient company within to wait in silence as before. This was certainly the most interesting state of affairs, but it couldn't always last. Eight o'clock was just at hand. The propriety of commencing the exercises at eleven, ing was suppose to be the time, and to bring the scattered congregation into something of a focus, that the Judge might have some assurance that he was not reading exclusively to empty benches. An invitation was given to those who sat in the back part of the house to come near the pulpit, the chairman very facetiously remarking that there was 'plenty of room forward!' But two individuals heeded the request. The Judge began. One by one, some auditors continued to drop in, and at eleven one the weary and impatient dropped out. When we left at forty minutes past eight the Judge was wandering in Africa, over the trest that is Denham and a Clappeton had trod before him, finding what they had found, and describing what they had described. Scattered over the church sat those that must have been gratifying to the admirers of these distinguished travellers. There was a Mr. Samuel Yeiler would have called, if a very remarkable coincidence' of view between them and the Judge. To a person, however, who has not read the Judge's book must have been very interesting and instructive.'

The Convention seems to have been a very decided failure—and yet it came unexpectedly upon the Judge Brackinridge's book, was rejected. Dr. Elder, well known for his eloquent advocacy of Colonization in this city, thought the Judge Brackinridge should also be responsible for the sentiments of his address—that his Convention could not and ought not be considered responsible for the Judge. He had been a member of the manuscript the evening before, and there were sentiments contained in it which he could not subscribe to. He was much pained that the Judge should sing the Convention and hand others were too much *pre-disposed* to do so—so that it was idle to think of proceeding. The Convention was dissolved for what Judge Brackinridge might have written.'

The Witness says:

'Dr. Elder, though desirous of being ranked as a colonizationist, was little better than a thorn in the side of the Convention during its sittings. On one occasion he was called upon to speak of forming the colonies on the coast of Africa had broken up or greatly obstructed the slave-trade for a long line of coast. Dr. Elder was certain that this was a point with a relish, but this action was too monstrous for him to gulp down. Considerable discussion ensued, a portion of which was very warm, and the conclusion was, that the Convention was not prepared to adopt the sentiment. The doctor however, had the better of the argument, for he produced statistical information showing that the slave-trade was increasing rather than decreasing, and that it was growing more and more powerful every year till 1829, when he died; when my respected opponent, this very gentleman, who now sits beside me, was in the midst of Cuba, and expressed his eulogy, saying among other things, that he had always 'been governed by the noblest feelings.'

(Tears) I am not sure whether the president of this Society did what my opponent here calls a crime against his feelings, but I have only to consult the Testimony of that day, in which Judge Washington publicly admits the charge, and justifies his act of separating families in the sale of his slaves.'

SLAVERY IN ITS MILDEST FORM. We have the testimony of Mr. Clay, in his speech that the SLAVERY in Virginia is in its mildest form. Mr. Clay is a SLAVEHOLDER himself. We are opportunely furnished with a recent illustration of that *mildness*. In the Richmond Enquirer of Friday, we find the following, at the time when Mr. Clay was at Richmond:

MR. GOODELL.—A friend of mine writes me from the city of Washington, 7th inst. Below is an extract from his letter. YOURS, &c. GERRIT SMITH.

'Yesterday witnessed a more revolting transaction than while at the capital of the old Dominion. Gregorie, who, for the first time, I saw a sale of human beings. He is a fine looking fellow. Gregorie (commonly *sold*) to the highest bidder at $950; the next a female about 35 years old, with a proposition of her to accompany the 4 Gregories with her children, commenced at $300 —sold at 310—the next about 30 years old, said to be sound, though she screamed, fainted, &c. &c. Her last child, a girl, I heard said she was warranted sound—commenced at $250, sold at $475. Then came to the block a fine looking boy, about 12 years old. I shall never forget the cries, (who will start this man at $1000? Soon $900 were bid,—910, 915,—and he was struck off. Last but not least, a little girl, CHARLES, was driven past the Capitol (IN WASHINGTON,) for Baltimore, to be shipped South together with about 20 more, all in a close coach, with iron bars, like a Pennsylvania wagon. Yesterday I witnessed an exemplification of the spirit of slavery. Twelve months ago, I was a quiet, orderly, law abiding people. And therefore, they are exceedingly incensed—not fit to have their freedom, if they could be made to see the propriety of, and engage in, all the vices of their neighbors. I would elevate the morals of Norfolk in the scale of intelligence! They, and all the world, then, would see that slavery is a good institution, except in the article of color.—*Gerrit Smith.*

From the Friend of Man.

MADNESS BE-CRAZED!

"STUPIDITY STUPIFIED!!

'What do the anti-abolitionists mean? Are they without common sense and reason? Do they not know they adopted the sentiment of Senator Leigh who affirms that the people who earn their daily bread by their daily labor are *Slaves*; do, never will, never can, be independent public affairs? One would judge so, from the self contradictory nonsense they print for the edification of the people! 'Look at the Farming!' The people of the Northern and Middle States, we are first told, '*are not united enough, nor active!*' But in the next breath we are told that if this same anti-slavery society ventures to abolish slavery in the district where it is, '*there will be no end to the jar, the jealousy and the rash men*' who dare to put forth a single anti-slavery exertion! A noble 'anti-slavery society' it is, indeed!

From the Hampshire Gazette.

We see frequently new anti-slavery societies are formed in the Northern and Middle States. This is very singular; when it is perfectly well known that, for fifty years past, all the population of these states are one united anti-slavery society. There is not a man or woman, boy or girl, in these states, who does not belong to an anti-slavery society.

But wise and intelligent people know that all meanings, by which the Anti-Slavery Society is called, (1) short of bloodshed, will be utterly fruitless. The first attacks on the south by Garrison and Co. in the shape of abolitionists, were pronounced by slaveholders, and vilified with every species of abuse, roused a spirit of indignation which put an end to every effort in the south, and made the name of abolitionist a reproach. (2) Nothing that the anti-slavery men can now do will give success to their efforts. All the resets and poisonings of the poor, weeping women and children in the north will have no more effect toward putting an end to slavery in the south, than the sighing against the north wind, which blows, and nothing marks the weakness and folly of the abolitionists so strongly as their continued efforts to effect their object by disturbing the people of the north. (3)

Should the attempts of the abolitionists following the resolutions of the Vermont societies succeed in sending a representation to Congress which should abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, this measure puts an end to our Union! This is as certain as the revolution of day and night. If we are prepared for that event, let it come; but we be to the men whose rash proceedings lead to such a catastrophe.

MONITOR.

(1) 'Wise and intelligent people' know no such thing. They know that six years have not rolled by since the same wise predictions were made by our American anti-abolitionists respecting the efforts of abolitionists in Great Britain in favor of West India emancipation.

(2) Every man of common information knows better. Why else the panic manifested by John C. Calhoun and Gen. Duff Green, lest the 'consciences' of the southern people should be reached?

(3) Nothing betrays the weakness of our enemies more clearly than their constant crying out in such a manner as to tell all passers by, just where it is and how it is, that our ammunition is hitting them! Oh! oh! don't disturb us so much at the north! We northern abolitionists are afraid of the 'catastrophe,' should the Vermont societies and the Vermont delegation succeed in sending a representation to Congress from the district of Columbia

From the Herald of Freedom.

We give an account of the recent fugitive slave who passed through here to Canada. Whether it is all true or all false we can't vouch. We saw him. He was black—looked like a slave, and acted like a fugitive, and looked out for his pursuers behind. Some of his story strikes us as unnatural—though there can be much nature in slavery or slaveholders. His talk with senator Clay don't sound like that orator's speeches in the Senate. But if this narrative is true, Mr. Clay has grand notions of humanity. He call a man a thing is not so bad as to treat him as one,—that Clay does. He is a great advocate of human liberty in talk, and a human enslaver in practice. He has been a famous republican in his day, and all the while trampled on man's breast and spit upon his face. Perhaps this should be laid to the age, and the country and not to Mr. Clay. We lay it to the age and the people of the age—but to Mr. Clay too. There is no excuse for a man of his talent and pretensions *holding slaves*. It is a monstrous outrage on humanity. We do charge the fault on the system as to bear on the men who sustain the system and create it. The system is nothing without the sustainers. Dr. Channing calls it an abstraction. We hope it will soon *become*, so, by being unlike to exist.—*Ed. Herald.*

THE SLAVE, HOME OF MR. CLAY.—Mr. Parker, of Mayville, Kentucky, His parents, brothers and sisters were slaves in the same place, and it is believed, to the same man. His master, whose name was Dudley, was known in the habit of whipping his slaves—was what is called a good master. Robert served in the capacity of a cook and coachman—travelled a good deal with his master, both in the slave and free states, and had considerable knowledge of persons and places, but could not read a word, and knew the names of but two of the states of the year. He was raised, he said, near the residence of Mr. Thomas, Mr. Clay's brother-in-law. Companion of Jos. Hornsby Kimball in his tour to the West Indies.) He knew James when he was at that high, (3 feet) said he was a good man, but he had liberated his slaves—and would get out of his bed in the middle of the night to help runaway slaves out of the reach of slave hunters. He said he was often asked his money and sent them across the Ohio river. He was very rich, he said, or he could not live there, meaning, it was understood, that he was a man made by slaveholding neighbors afraid to injure him. He knew the Hon. Henry Clay, who resides in Lexington, Kentucky. He had often seen him in his city evening excursions and carried *bottles of brandy and wine to his chamber*—says he is a great gambler. *Men in the country*—said he—*don't gamble.* One day he attended Mr. Clay and his master on a pleasure excursion, and Mr. Clay asked him, as he was standing in a group, if he would like to be free? He answered yes. What would you do if you were free? Do as you do. How would you like to be a free man? I would like it very well. Do you think you are a man? Yes, what am I? You are a thing. A thing—I am no thing, &c. Immediately after this conversation, Mr. Clay says to his master, I have been talking with your boy to-day, (now they call slaves boys—men, at least, after a thousand years old) and he is a shrewd fellow. He says he is no thing, &c. And, said Mr. Clay, if I was a slave I would think as you do, and would run off, without ice, for freedom. (Probably the orator had taken a glass of wine.) Don't talk so loud, (said the master) he'll hear you. O, it is dark, he can't hear, said Mr. Clay, sportively. He has got a long head, said the other. On reaching their stopping place, the coachman has nothing to do with taking the horses (of the horses) he went with the gentlemen to their chamber, to wait on them. Mr. Clay says to him, well my lad, have a fine time to ride—did you hear any thing that we have been talking about? Hear anything? no, it was *dark*, I couldn't hear.

His master, on the marriage of his daughter to a young lawyer, gave her his slave for a coachman. He was ordered to attend to his master's horse, and his new master attempted to whip him—he would not bear it and caught the whip from his hand and threw it in the road. The young lawyer ordered him to be whipped, he resisted the whip from him and threw it in a pond. A third attempt was made with a stick, which a son of his old master took from the hand of his brother-in-law. Robert then escaped to the woods, where he stayed a week. His young master told him that he would return to school, but he never did. He did so, and was soon sold to a slave-driver for the New-Orleans market. He was chained with the gang, and marched. He was carried to the house where his wife and children lived, (4 miles distant) he saw his wife at the window, (tattle with grief, he was not allowed to speak to her, or to see such behaviour. In Kentucky he had been allowed to attend meeting, and belonged to a Methodist church—he appeared to be very pious. Mr. Parker was a good man, he said, and preached right when he could get a chance. Turning to Mr. P. he said, you would not preach, sometimes, if you preached *right*. The slaves there are *obliged* to attend at a large ground, &c. He heard Mr. Parker, walking round this place, some time ago, with a gentleman, but New-Orleans was a Sodom—he did not know but it would be sunk. The slaves were told that by going to that ground and hunting in its horrid recesses, they were worshipping God, and those who had been born and brought up there, believed it, but those who came from Kentucky did not. The poor man, he made to believe that the better they serve their masters, the brighter they will shine in heaven. His New-Orleans master has 300 slaves. The worst whipping he ever had, was for giving one of his slaves some cold victuals. The house servants are generally punished by the mistress. She has a steel instrument with a ball at both ends, with which she keeps knocking their heads till they are full of bumps. And we must stand, you know, said he—I had rather be whipped. He had a bad scar on his cheek, which his mistress made with the hot iron. He had a little sister her daughter, 13 years old, across the street, because it was muddy. He said he should think a girl that old might go without being carried, and for this the crime for which he was thus punished. There was another scar on the back of his neck which she made with a hoe. She ordered him to take a dish off the table, (there was company, gentlemen and ladies present) she touched it with her elbow and caused a little scalding, upon her dress. She caught a butcher knife and cut his neck so that the blood ran a stream. This, he said, he could never forget in his spirit—he could not forget it. His master gave her a scolding, but that did him no good, he said. (Was this lady in the Lord's own apartments and delightful communion, mangling her servants with the hot tongs and big carving knife, and for what she did herself?)

He had never heard of abolitionists in Kentucky. In New Orleans they DO use, he says, and tell us that abolitionists are *dreadful creatures*, and they stay out of reed. ——and when they once get them it is a gone case. They will give a great price for nigger's scalps, he said, for fifteen dollars. (The black fur collars they were told, were made out of negro's hair) and they believed it, for they saw northern men were them and southern men did not. They have seen northern men buy them, how. And when they saw a man with such a collar, they thought it must be an abolitionist, and would run for their lives. He was in St. Louis when Lovejoy was murdered, asked what the great mob was got up for—what the man had done? He was answered that he was a rascal, an abolitionist, &c. He said, he accompanied his master and mistress to New York. And that at the time, he says, when they bring their servants south, to free them, they take them up into the Union shore, eight dollar bat, &c. Having passed from the State of Ohio into that of New York, he noticed, at the first place at which they stopped, Schenectady, a difference in his treatment. His master seated him at the table with himself and family, and treated him as man, and, &c. But, said he, I did not like that, I could not sit enough, it was all dry. I did not know what to make of it. I was afraid they were playing a game on me. At New Rochelle he gave me $10, one Sabbath, to go out to a tea party and be like other folks. He told me to that if any body should ask me who I was to tell them so. The next day the question was asked him, in presence of his master; he said no, when in his heart he wished to be free, he was afraid. He was left him at a hotel to go to Albany, to a great bank meeting, as he called it. He was in charge of the bar keeper. Said the bar keeper to him, what are you doing here? I'm with my master. Master! you've got no master. I have got a master. Did you ever see your master? Yes, I see him every day. Did you ever in heaven? No, I never was in heaven. Then you have not got a master—you have no master but God. Would you like to be free? Yes, (it is believed) was the reply. Will you go with me? Here the bar-keeper gave him a dollar. Mr. Stewart not to talk so to that man—he was left in his care, and he wished he would leave the house. Mr. S. said it was time we were going, we have been long enough. Mr. S. then gave some one a dollar to go and ask Mr. Gerrit Smith, who was then in town, to come in. He came, and said, what, what are you doing here? as he sang pretty much the same conversation with him that Mr. Stewart had had, they walked out. Soon a gentleman came and said, I want to talk with you. Talk with him. The bar-keeper said he might go—that was a clever fellow; he knew him, he lived near. When he got to the colored man, said he, Robert, Mr. Stewart and Mr. Smith were there. They asked him if he wished to be free—he answered yes. They stripped his fine clothes, gave them to the colored man, and put another suit on him. Mr. Smith gave him $15 and sent him out to Peterboro', 25 miles. Mrs. S. gave him a letter to the friends of humanity, to whom he would come, and they would dressing him up in the truth of his story. She was well acquainted with many southern people of whom she could hold on to the truth of his master's family.

Mr. Smith gave him the name of Mr. Taylor, who resided between Peterboro' and Syracuse, and lived in Canada, to go to Boston, to Mr. Garrison, that he might be secreted in his house, and be sent on the road, and after he reached Mr. Garrison, he was fever. He put up at the house of Mr. Lewis, and he was taken sick. Mr. Lewis followed him, and sent him to Salem. Mr. Garrison, thinking it safe for him to come in Boston, sent for him to come to Boston, and he came. The colored man then stepped up to the master, and in a low tone asked him, as the slave supposed, if he was his slave, and he answered yes. Now, said he, I know here owning slaves, and knocked him down. While this was transpiring, the slave ran (out, as he called it) to the house of Mr. Dodge. The master and friends followed, but was not permitted to enter. Mr. D's son (his father being absent) met him at the door and told him not to enter. He went for a constable and returned, and while entering the front door the slave went out at the back door, was met by lawyer C——, and conveyed into a coach and carried to Boston. Mr. Dodge's daughter had, during this scene, furnished him with a letter to Mr. Perry, of Bradford, but he was conveyed another way, and received no letter. From Boston he proceeded with all speed to Lowell, from thence to Milford, to Mr. Darling's, not Darling, but the father of Jas. A. Thome, Mr. A. Mr. A. though professing to be an abolitionist, could do nothing for him—he was very busy—told him it would be wrong for him to stay there, as a very wicked people—he was trying to make them better. He could not even write one line for him—he did begin to write one, in a very cold manner, (as he had advised him to come to him) made part of a letter and gave it up. He reached this place (Dunbarton) Saturday evening, and was kindly received by abolitionists, who received the above from his lips. Money was given him here to defray his travelling expenses. He was forwarded to Concord Thursday morning.*

In Boston his master went to a colored barber's to be dressed, and enquired of the barber about the slave man, and, your friend Garrison is a fine fellow, I like him; you have a good many clever fellows about here and a good many abolitionists. You've got a place here to hide runaway slaves, have you not? I should like to send some to you if I knew where to send them. I would send them here in the Salem, if he could get the escape of the slave he was stoned by the boys in the street. On being asked if those slaves who had been sent here were not free? he said he was. The worser contented than any, they all the time expecting to be sold; every gentleman they see coming with their wives, they think are coming to buy them, and then when their masters go out to gamble they don't know but they will loose money and have to sell some of them.

If slaves were liberated would they come here? O no, I would rather work for my master for six dollars a month than for twenty—I would go right back, if I could be free—dont like this climate.

Slaves can convey intelligence from one plantation to another and so on any distance, quicker than a horse can go—one goes to the next plantation (coming out of one there to the next, &c. At one time they let a colored man know that he was to be taken up for something a day and a half sooner than a man arrived in the place, and he escaped. Scores were off. They were called to an account, to know how it was done, but know nothing about it.

He was sent to Kentucky with his master once and had to sit close by his side; some gentleman from this country got in and said, what are you here for, this is slave country? Yes, I know it, I live here. Gentlemen I don't know what I should get outside for! The gentlemen were uneasy, and he was asked, said he, if I was free, if you can't ride with him you can't ride with me. Beg you pardon, sir. They could ride with him very comfortably then. Slaves are treated better than they have much better off yes are than a free negro, you would have to ride outside if you were free.

Mr. Parker said, he was a Democrat, but he dare not preach what he was taught, for fear of being driven away, for that give me a chance to cut, but I did not want him hurt.

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*From Concord we gave him a letter to brother Jona. Cummings of Plymouth. He took the stage, and he was carried to Boston, and sent by them to the live's comfort or his own, we don't know. We don't know who drives. Some of our drivers are too generous to pay a man for carrying a fugitive. He is a liberty and decent, and there are no *low-bred* people in side, who would be ashamed to be seen riding with a fugitive. He was in Plymouth, Mass. Mr. Cummings raised him $3 in the evening, after nine o'clock, and at four next morning he was under weigh for Pranquin. I secret by his sister in this place, and the Herald that he is *free* in Canada.—*Ed. Herald.*

☞ No account of the late meeting of the Norfolk County A. S. Society has been sent to us, we copy the following from the Quincy Patriot.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

The Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society held a quarterly meeting at Weymouth, Rev. Mr. Bunker's meeting house in Dorchester, April 24th, 1839. S. Philbrick Esq. one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, took the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Thayer. On motion of Rev. A. St. Clair, a committee of five was appointed to bring forward business for the meeting, consisting of the following gentlemen, Rev. A. St. Clair, Mr. Collings, General Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, Rev. Mr. Colver of Boston, Rev. Daniel Gage of Weymouth, and Mr. T. P. Bailey of East Bridgewater. The following resolution was presented by Rev. Mr. St. Clair, chairman of the committee, see on behalf, and advocated by Rev. Messrs. Colver, Wise and Thayer;

Whereas, God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, therefore,

Resolved, That to be prejudiced against a person merely on account of a difference of color, is unphilosophical, unchristian, and in direct opposition to the spirit of christianity.

On motion, adjourned to one o'clock in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

The Society met according to adjournment. S. Philbrick in the chair. On motion of R. Clapp, Esq.

Voted, That all members of Anti-Slavery Societies and friends of humanity, in the state of Slavery present, whether from Norfolk County or from abroad, be respectfully invited to participate in the proceedings of this meeting.

The resolves which follow were reported by the committee and very ably sustained by Mr. T. P. Ray, Rev. Mr. Colver, Rev. Mr. Wise, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the doctrine advanced by Hon. Henry Clay, that a property, made by the law declares *to be property*, is in opposition to the whole spirit of Christianity, and a violation of the principles of eternal truth, since property is not created, but only *protected* by law, and no man can have a right to be what the law declares he shall be.

Resolved, That if the assertion be correct, that that is property which the law declares *to be* property; then men have no right to be opposed to forming a property, but must yield unreservedly to the will of despots and nugrinciples rulers.

Resolved, That the proposal of that distinguished patriot and statesman, John Quincy Adams, to rid the land of the curse of slavery by a process of gradualism, is one of cruelty and of the most unchristian, and in direct opposition to the laws of righteousness, and though it may prove the sincerity of the mover, yet it does not, could not, obviate the slight objections against immediate and unconditional emancipation.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the action of the Legislature of Ohio in the United States Senate, in answer to the infamous speech of Henry Clay, in his defence of the perpetuity of the chains of the slave, we regard as the fruit of the heart and sympathy of a christian freeman, but has placed him second to few among the statesmen of our country, and as such, we thank God for the Christian emancipation.

The memorials presented the resolves which follow, were ably advocated by Rev. Messrs. Colver, Thayer and St. Clair, Messrs. Oliver Johnson, Whiting, Ryder and others, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That those ministers and members of churches whose months are sealed upon the great question of slavery, and who continue to uphold it, are related or present the work of God in the salvation of men, are violating the principles upon which the Christian church was established, and widely departing from the spirit and precepts of bible christianity.

Resolved, That according to the ancient maxim which have made people to asperse and reproach those ladies who signed petitions to the Legislature of this State for the rights of the slave, we claim to have the color, they are nevertheless worthy of all praise for their noble and christian conduct.

THE MARRIED MAN.—Mr. Ryder said he was ashamed that the married men should be the last to offer their petitions, for they were under the most powerful obligations to do so. Although it is now half past 3 o'clock, P. M., the exercises of the meeting have not yet closed, and as it is later none be mailed within an hour, or fail of reaching Boston in season for this week's paper, it cannot be expected of me that I shall do more than present a very rough and imperfect sketch of what has transpired and of the particular facts and particular facts, I will say in general terms, that the meeting has been one of unanimous interest and power. The speeches were uncompromising in sentiment, eloquent in language and refreshing in spirit.

Prayer was occupied by the President, Arthur Tappan—Scriptures read by Rev. Geo. Allen of Shrewsbury—and prayer offered by Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Worcester. An abstract of the annual report was read by Elizur Wright, one of the Corresponding Secretaries, from which it appeared, that more than $47,000 have been received into the Treasury the past year—a sum larger, by more than $4,000 than that received the year previous; and this notwithstanding the increased amount expended by the Slave Societies. So much for 'dying away.' Of other statistics I have not time to speak.

GERRIT SMITH moved the acceptance of the Report, with but a single remark, which motion was seconded by Rev. John Rankin of Ohio who made a brief speech, which we regret we have not time to insert in full, on the evils of slavery; and coming as they did from a native of the South, and one who has spent nearly his whole life in that region, they must have made a deep impression upon the audience.

Rev. Jonathan Stearns, a Methodist clergyman, made a bold and energetic speech on the inherent sinfulness of slavery, which was every way worthy of a follower of John Wesley. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in a few brief and pertinent remarks.

Mr. Harris, a colored graduate of the University of Vermont, acquitted himself honorably not merely as a colored man, but as a man. That speech would have done discredit to no white speaker on the platform. Mr. Harris is a native of Western New-York, and resides in N. Y., a member of the Society of Friends, who gave utterance to some noble thoughts in words that burned.

H. B. Stanton made a speech on a resolution declaring that the people of the free States have political power sufficient to abolish slavery, which paid him a crowned to a demonstration, and set home to the hearts of voters by clear and forcible illustrations and appeals.

He was followed by Lewis Tappan, who electrified the assembly, by an exhibition of slaveholding, Bowie knives, and facts, which were as illustrations as well of the subserviency of northern merchants and manufacturers, as of the murderous spirit of slaveholders, and the latter as furnishing conclusive evidence that the whole North is corrupted with the bloody system. The speech was powerful and effect.

I have only time to add, that when I left, the Rev. Mr. Colver was making the concluding speech.

OLIVER JOHNSON.

'The House Divided.' Rev. Amos A. Phelps of Boston—a tried and devoted friend to the cause of humanity—a prominent and active member of the abolition party in the Legislature, and Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, has resigned his connexion with the same, in a letter to the editor of the Boston Mercury, from which we copy. Never an early comer, I, for one, shall be as ready (1) for the time upon that as upon any other man or body of men, to sacrifice the slave on the same shrine. Till then, I presume the paper will hold on the even tenor of its ways, reflecting the sentiments of the slaveholders of those who 'seek its life,' and 'spare no pains to represent' the spirit in which it originated, 'whence they go,' and in whatever they say of it.

Yours, &c.

A. A. PHELPS.

(1) It was published by us, and not by direction of the Board.

☞ A mere assertion, respecting which it was so less to multiply words. The charge that the Society has become a woman's-rights Society has no the foundation than a simple compliance with the false and unjust charge of abolitionism.

'Aug. 3. Any PERSON, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars in a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society.'

It appears by the last annual report that there are eighteen life members, who are females. Probably there are many more, and that a still larger number are members by the payments of an annual subscription. The simple point to be determined is, is such a person, whether female or male, a member of the Society consistent with the same, and treats them accordingly, and this it will probably continue to do. Mr. Phelps and the Pastoral Association to the contrary notwithstanding. It has nothing to do with the question of woman's rights, and cannot, any sooner than the slaves, those who 'seek its life,' and 'spare no pains to represent' the spirit in which it originated, 'whence they go,' and in whatever they say of it.

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HYPOCRICY REBUKED.

No member of the New School party in the Presbyterian Church has displayed to advantage in severer terms the tyranny of the Old School, than the Rev. Mr. Converse, for many years the editor of the Southern Religious Telegraph. He is a native of New Hampshire, and a graduate of Dartmouth College; but he has spent the greater part of his ministry, when it happens to fall upon a "very Land" notwithstanding his New England birth and education, he is a strenuous defender of the morality of slaveholding! The Telegraph was united, some time ago, with the Presbyterian Herald, published in Philadelphia, and Mr. Converse, moved to that city and became the editor of the new paper. On taking his seat in the northern editorial chair, he declared that slavery would not be discussed in its columns, because it was a political question, with which the publications of the church had no concern! The act of extending a few Synods into the Presbyterian Church was an immorality which his pious soul abhorred, and against which he felt bound solemnly to protest; and the crime of robbing the image of God, and holding human beings in chattelship, was perpetrated by members of the same Synod, was merely a *political affair*, with which he should have nothing to do! Such a man may pretend to be a christian and a friend of religious liberty, but he is a coward of a sentiment like this is

"A rent,
Through which the well-accustomed eye can see
The rottenness of his heart."

This hypocritical straining at a gnat, after having deliberately swallowed a camel, is well exposed in the following remarks by the Rev. Mr. Chester, formerly editor of the Cincinnati Journal:

Mr. Converse puts himself in the attitude of a leader in opposition to all certain kinds of reform, and of a champion of liberty; and yet he authoritively announces his opinion in relation to the right to personal liberty, and holds himself in readiness to publish to the world the grounds of his opinions, nor suffer others to mount it in his columns!

The champion of religious liberty, prepared to assert a system of unmitigated personal slavery, not by argument, but by crushing every attempt to bring the subject before the public! The champion of the press, and the christian church to look at—to investigate—to consider the subject!

The man who would not stir heaven and earth—to stir their aid every rallying word in the vocabulary of christian liberty—to drive the long, deep, loud, and fearful alarm of apostolic power—to wake up every all who have nerves that vibrate to the music of freedom, the indignant rebuke of every man who is in the image of God, and who is worth nothing to others—he orthodoxy but as it touches them and their friends.

Mesters Editors, this is the spirit of the age. Men are waking from their slumbers, and are rising in the strength of their old ancestors, to demand the right of personal liberty. Men are beginning to be ashamed of their life-blood into money, feed on their tears and sighs, prefer to see their children sold to the highest bidder, than to see their children sold to the highest bidder, than to see their children sold to the highest bidder, than

LITERARY.

THE SHIP ABOLITION.

A poetical description of Mr. Drew's splendid painting, in which the spirit of enterprise is represented under the figure of a ship, full rigged, urging her way against opposition, towards the port of Liberty. Upon her pendants, which are flapping in the breeze, are inscribed appropriate mottos. In the back ground, the Colonization Enterprise is represented under the figure of a ship stranded upon a reef. Heavy black clouds, charged with the elements of destruction, are seen lowering around her,—her masts are cut away,—her sails are shivered by the tempest,—and her freight and crew are left to the mercy of the waves. A boat, sent from the ship Abolition to the relief of the perishing crew, is seen returning, filled with those whom it has rescued from impending death.

I.

Standing on Freedom's peaceful strand,
I saw a ship approach the land;
I hailed:—'What name? in what condition?'
'All's well,' they cried,—'*Ship Abolition!*'

I paused and gazed, as nearer drew
The noble ship with gallant crew—
And saw her, with her sails spread wide,
Urging her way 'gainst wind and tide.(1)

Her pendants floated high in air,—
I saw these motos written there:—
'The world's my country—all mankind
My countrymen,—*for all have mind.*'

'Break every yoke, and let go free
The oppressed's who sigh for liberty;
'What you'd have others do to you,
Be sure to them you always do.'

I soon could hear the captain's voice,
Bidding his gallant crew rejoice:—
He who has kept in calm and storm,
He said, will all His word perform.

I ask'd the noble captain's name?
His destination?—whence he came?
He said, '*my name's Philanthropy,*—(2)
I'm from the land of the *boasted free!*'

I left that land, because in chains
They bind the man within whose veins
There flows a drop of *Africa's* blood,—
And say he's not a child of God.

My heart grew sick at sin so foul,—
Against it all my powers of soul
Indignant rose,—and bade me flee
To seek a land where *all* are free.

II.

REIGN OF MONOCRACY AND WORLDLY EXPERIENCY.

I ask'd, 'what luck since leaving port?'
The captain said, 'we've been the sport
Of many a *storm*,—but each has brought
Us nearer to the land we sought.'(3)

Soon after we from port had sailed,
A *pirate*(4) craft our crew assailed,—
And threaten'd, if we still persisted,
That we should have our *necks well twisted.*

We told them they were robbing God,
And soon most fled His vengeful rod.
They hurled at us *brickbats and eggs,*—(5)
Then left us in a dreadful rage.

Some(6) of our crew then rose and said:
'To call men *thieves* we always dread;
'Had we not called them by such name,
It might have pleased them well enough.'

One man(7) rose up,—his speech was brief:
'If he who steals my coat's a thief,
Much more it is he who steals a man:—
Disprove it, ye who think you can.'

Perceiving they could not prevail
To make us take in *part*(8) our sail,
They left the ship,—to land withdrew,
And sought to *initiate*(9) our crew.

Our berk pursued her onward way—
Nor could our foes her progress stay:—
Her compass, God's unchanging truth,—(10)
Her deck well mann'd by age and youth.

III.

OPPOSITION TO THE ACTION OF WOMAN.

Scene(11) frowned, because upon our deck
Woman was seen, with form erect,
Planning the best means to promote
To make the vessel sail with ease.

They said it was not so of *yore*:—
That woman's work's within the door
Of her *domestic domicil*,—
To do her *lord* and *master's* will.(12)

Or she may sometimes circulate
Tracts,(13) such as *D.D.*'s approbate;
Such work not otherwise appear
In public,—for 'tis not her sphere.

Perceiving no such doctrine taught
By *Him* who man's salvation brought,
This dogma we behind us cast,
And onward sped before the blast.

IV.

MURDER OF LOVEJOY.

E'er long, a cloud, surcharged with wrath
Of men,(14) o'erhung our vessel's path;—
It threatened death to all our crew,
Unless we from our *posts* withdrew.

A lion-hearted sailor rose
And said, 'I fear not all our foes;—(15)
If God be with me, I'll abide
The coming storm, whate'er betide.'

With that, the men who charged the cloud,
Did curse the sailor long and loud,
Who dared their forces thus defy,—
And swore that he, ere long, should die.

They rallied on a certain night,
(Such deed(16) as their's ne'er sought the light,)
Took deadly aim at where he stood,—
Lovejoy fell weltering in his blood.

Throughout our ship the tidings flew,
That one had fallen of our crew
By murderous hands,—we knelt in prayer;—
God heard—and saved us from despair.

V.

THE DESTRUCTION OF PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

We built up, in the land of Penn,
To light our storm-tossed countrymen

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(1) The abolitionists have had to contend with *opposition* in every stage of their enterprise, but in spite of it they have gone forward steadily and rapidly.

(2) The anti-slavery enterprise is in the highest sense philanthropic, inasmuch as it seeks both the temporal and spiritual happiness, not only of the colored, but also of the white population,—not only of America, but of all mankind.

(3) Opposition has greatly facilitated the progress of the anti-slavery enterprise, and will do so hereafter. Praise is due to God, who has made 'the wrath of man to praise him.'

(4) Southern slaveholders and their northern *tools*.

(5) Southern arguments and conviction northerners that slavery is an institution of God.

(6) Authors of the 'Clerical Appeal,' and 'Protests.'

(7) Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

(8) Never could succeed in persuading the abolitionists, as a body, to speak in *tones* and *manner* tones against the sin of slaveholding, and the sin of apologizing for it, than they had done.

(9) They sought to divide the abolitionists by effecting a '*new organization*.'

(10) The anti-slavery enterprise stands upon the *Bible* as its indestructible foundation.

(11) The Massachusetts Pastoral Association of Congregational Ministers.

(12) i. e. her husband. Paul says, 'If they (women) will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home.' 1. Cor. 14, 35, as quoted and applied by modern Divines.

(13) Rev. Hubbard Winslow.

(14) Alton rioters.

(15) Rev. E. P. Lovejoy's last speech.

(16) Abolitionists, in general, have generally persisted in their deeds of sitting under covert of night, and they have always 'loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.'

Across a dark and troubled sea,
A Dome(17)—inscribed to *Liberty*,
There congregated *Freedom's* host,—
To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
They gave the noble *Dome* in prayer,—
And sought their country's blessing there.

Blush, as the painful truth I tell—
While they engaged, a fiendish yell
Was heard without,—it rent the air,—
The hosts of darkness muster'd there.

The evening torch soon burned and blazed;
The cry of '*fire the house*' was raised,—
And though entreated in God's name,
The building soon was wrapt in flame.

Thus God our faith and patience tried;
But we in Him did still confide;—
And so we prayed, I'ds do, thy will,'
He said, '*Go ye*, I'm with you still.'

VI.

OPPOSITION IN CONGRESS.

The wind now blew a fresher breeze;
We hasted onward o'er the seas,
Propelled by scenes we'd lately past,
Towards where we hoped to meet at last.

It now was found our ship would go,
Whatever fervent the wind might blow;—
So *Congress* thought it best to chain
The winds,—*nor let them blow again.*

To prosecute a work so great
Was formed a grand *triumvirate*,(19)
Who sought to make the breezes *lag*,
By 'plying to the winds a gag.

When it was found the winds were free,
And would lag, 'spite of man's decree,
Then southern tyrants raved and foamed,(20)
And slavery, in torture, groaned.

The wind now blew a hurricane;—
With double speed our vessel came,
And all on board sung joyfully:
'The Lord doth give the *victory*!'

Our watch-word's '*free!*' 'free!' we'll be' aside,
We're vowed that we will all abide
Within the ship, till storms are o'ed,
And men in bonds shall sigh no more.(21)

VII.

THE WRECK OF COLONIZATION.

I next the noble captain asked,
What vessels in his course he'd passed:
He said, 'we've kept our spirit a-*wreck*,(22)
With *signals* hoisted on her deck.'

We mann'd our boats, and sent relief;—
We found her stranded on a *reef*;—(23)
Her masts were cut—her sails were torn—
And her last hope of rescue gone.

Her *freight* was floating round about her,—
New-rum and Dupont's best *gun-powder*:(24)
Her men were in a dreadful plight,—
Bailing the waves with all their might.

With joy they hailed the little band,
Sent to extend a friendly hand,
Them from impending death, to save
Their bodies from a watery grave.

The boat was fill'd, and soon returned,
And hope in every bosom burned;
That all, henceforth, would be secure,
Our bark the coming storms endure.

We swiftly glided on our way,
Cheer'd by the blessings of the day;—
And gath'ring round a pleasant fire,
Of those we'd saved did thus inquire:

'What was your pursy(25) vessel's name?
And what the land she hailed from?' came
'Who your commander?—whither bound,
When on the reef you went ground?

One rose and said, 'our vessel's name,
(Given by the *nation* whence we came,)
If you, kind friends, desire to know,
Was rightly call'd '*The black man's foe.*'(26)

Our captain hailed Ethiop's race,—
His name was 'Mr. Prejudice;'(27)
We came from the great mart(28) of slaves—
Bound to a land(29) beyond the waves.

A *north-east*(30) storm around us lower'd,—
The captain and his crew all cower'd,
And gave the ship up to the seas—
To go where *winds and waves* might please.

The cry soon rose above the storm,
'The ship has struck! all hope is gone
Of seeing friends, or native land:'—
Just then the cry, '*help, help*, at hand.'

Our hearts leaped up, and filled with hope;—
The gloomy spell of death was broke:
We raised our eyes—'*help, help*,' we cried,—
You took us in—our wants supplied.

May Heaven protect your ship and crew,
And guide you all your voyage through:
He truth and wisdom to your firm pilots,
God speed the good ship Abolition.(31)

THETA.

BOSTON, April 30, 1839.

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(17) The object of Pennsylvania Hall was to furnish a place where the friends of humanity and of God might meet, and freely discuss great moral subjects, and so lighten the burden upon the subject of the evils which threatened its destruction, and to arouse her to action for the remedy of those evils, by rousing conscience and reflection, that her ruin might be averted. It was designed to be to the American Republic, in a *moral sense*, what the *Ark* was to the Hebrews in a *natural*.

(18) The efforts of friends and the opposition of enemies combined, have constituted a mighty propelling power to urge onward the car of universal freedom.

(19) Pres. Jackson, of S. C., Patton of Va., and Atherton of N. H., each of whom was the author of a set of resolutions designed to gag free discussion.

(20) Southern slaveholders know that free discussion is work'ing the *death* of their 'peculiar institution;' and hence, when they perceive that they cannot prevent it by any thing short of a civil war, they rave and foam to think that slavery must die in spite of its friends.

(21) 'Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.'

(22) 'Pieces of the wreck have been seen in different parts of the N. E. States, where Messrs. *Gurley* and *Ormsby* have presented the *claims* of the A. C. S., and could get hardly enough together (if we except the abolitionists,) to say—we!'

(23) Worldly expediency.

(24) (Rev.) C. H. Waring and F. Taylor offer for sale the cargo of the ship Ethiopian Olive, from Liverpool. 500 kegs powder, 500 muskets, 150 cutlasses, 10 bags shot, 10 puncheons rum, 2 do. brandy, 6 cases Dupont's Rifle powder, 2 do. Sporting do., 10 do. brown stout, &c.—*Liberia Herald, March* 22, 1839.

(25) An an evidence that the colonization enterprise has been and still is, unpopular, take the following: 'In 17 years it removed from this country to Africa a number of the colored population only equivalent to its increase in 3 years.'

(26) The colonization scheme has been one of the greatest curses to the colored population, both bond and free.

(27) The colonization enterprise had its origin in, and has been perpetuated by prejudice against color.

(28) U. S. of America.

(29) Africa.

(30) Colonization has been most strongly opposed in the N. E. States.

(31) This is the language now held by those who have long been the friends of the cause of Colonization, on board the good ship Abolition.

SENATOR CLAY and SENATOR MORRIS.—*Mr. Clay*, in his speech, which we have given in favor of Texas, has covered himself with disgrace, and proved himself unworthy of the suffrages of a free and Christian people; and must go down to the grave under the accumulated curses of those, on whose necks he plants his hordes. SENATOR MORRIS, in the same cause, has cast a cloud over the brightest rays of glory to adorn his manly brow; has wrapped in the sadness of every true-hearted American, who has the splendid delusion of his talents, his noble Morris! May the spirit that warned and admonished thy Christian heart, on the floor of the Senate, be spared to thy country, through thine own Ohio, and bring to speedy repentance, her recreant, benighted, despising sons! Had we room in our paper, we would publish both of the speeches referred to.—*Union Herald.*

NON-RESISTANCE.

INFIDELITY OF JACOBINISM—NO-GOVERNMENT, OMNIS VERITAS.

Vincit Omnis Veritas.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK.]

If, then, all government originates with the people; if the magistrate, according to the common theory, receives his penal power from the people, and is to exercise it only in obedience to their will; and if any member of individuals, united and moving together, and calling themselves a state, a nation a commonwealth, or a republic, may not do any thing which it had been a sin for any individual member of the state to have done before he united with the state; if it be a principle, that a nation or government cannot of right do any thing which the individuals who established it might not do in their private capacity. The fact that men move in masses, as states, or nations, or kingdoms, cannot alter, increase or diminish individual moral obligation. An action does not acquire any new or qualities by being the desire of *one thousand* persons rather than of one. There may be more *danger*, indeed, in disobeying one thousand, than in disobeying one, *but not more sin!*—*Brown's Philosophy of the Mind.*

An individual sin cannot, by being the act of millions, become a national virtue. What is theft, robbery, murder, or piracy, when done by an individual, 'in his private capacity,' cannot be manufactured into moral excellence by being committed by three millions calling themselves a nation, or a republic. What is villainy and infamy in one man, acting alone, 'in his private capacity,' cannot be moral greatness and glory in millions, acting as a state or kingdom.

Nor can individuals, of right, authorize a magistrate to do that for them which they may not do for themselves.

'The supreme power, being not the joint power of every member of the society, can be no more than those powers of all the members, which they have entered into society and gave it up to the community. For no body can transfer to another more power than he has in himself; and no man has not power over his own life, cannot give another power over it. No man can, by agreement, pass over to another that which he hath not in himself; a power over his own life.'—*Locke.*

'The power of society over the individual, is derived from the possessions of every individual.'—*Wayland's Moral Science.*

This is the doctrine, implied or expressed, in all our State Constitutions and in the Declaration. The people who originally, in their sovereign capacity, conferred, under authority the government, which they originated, to do that to them which they had no right to do to themselves and to each other, before they formed the government; or can they confer on the magistrate power to inflict on them penalties for crimes, which they had no right to inflict on themselves and one another, for similar crimes. If I may not make, sell or drink intoxicating liquor myself, I may not authorize another to do these things. If I may not return injury for injury to any one myself, I may not employ another, or join with 15,000,000 of men, to employ another to do it for me. I cannot transfer to another what I do not possess. This is plain common sense—a logical and a necessary inference from the prevalent theory respecting the origin of the penal power in human governments. Would you ascertain whether human governments have a *moral* right to exercise any penal power? Whether, rightfully, or not, they are invested with power to inflict physical suffering and death on evil-doers? What offences they may punish, and what kind and extent of penalties they may inflict for each and every offence? Resolve society, or the state or nation, into its original elements, and ascertain what individuals were those to and for himself, and what each individual may do to and for each and every other individual. Define the power which each has over his own body, and which each has over the body of each and every other. See what offences each one, acting as an individual, may punish, and what penalties he may inflict. Then you may know precisely what penal power the government has, and whether it has any. Must not we determine how individuals are to treat evil-doers by the spirit, precepts and example of Jesus Christ?

But Joseph Tracy says—'This doctrine concerning the origin of civil authority—of the right of a nation to govern its individual members—is the very foundation, or doctrine of jacobinism; and that the name of jacobin, significant of all that is mean, brutish, treacherous, ferocious, murderous and atheistical, and rendered detestable and infamous by the heart-chilling, blood-freezing horrors of the French Revolution, belongs to all who hold to it—i. e. to Locke, Blackstone, Franklin, Washington—to nineteen twentieths of the citizens and ministers and ministers and christians of the U. States; for these all believe that 'all government, of right, originates from the people, and that all power is derived from them.' If they deserve this, friend Tracy, put it on to them. Spare them not. Cry aloud. Let not their standing, reputation, professions or titles shield them from merited rebuke.

But do the non-resistants embrace this doctrine? Do they believe that a government thus originated, thus principled, and thus administered, is a *christian* government, entitled to support as an approved minister of God? Far otherwise. By its fruits it is known. They say—'we cannot acknowledge allegiance' to such a government; such a government 'cannot be *approvingly* ordained of God;' the declaration of independence is a document which by its spirit and principles, 'cannot be a *christian* document, containing all the elements of a *christian* government, originating with men, endowed by God with a divine authority,' a discretionary penal power over the lives of men, are entirely contrary to the spirit and precepts of Jesus Christ. They hold that the sovereign power over men, whether constituted individuals, or a nation, single and alone, or as communities, states or nations, is solely in God—that our supreme Ruler, our Heavenly Father, never did lodge on earth in the hands of any individual, or of any number of individuals, called a state, nation or kingdom, a discretionary penal power, 'which is supreme, irresistible and uncontrolled authority' over man—that Christianity leaves the whole power of punishing in the hands of the King of kings, array's Omnipotence against evil-doers, as the only power in the universe which they must submit to, and that it is in spirit and principle, 'to put down all (non-*made*) magistrates, princes and rulers,'—to put all rulers, who derive their power from men under his feet, as enemies to his cause, and 'to break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms of this world.' A state government, or magistrate, presuming to set as an approved minister of God, to establish his authority and to bring us back to our allegiance to him, and beginning by requiring us to swear allegiance to itself, and threatening to inflict upon us fines, imprisonment, personal injuries and death, if we do not comply with its behests, we cannot recognize as a christian government. It has not the spirit of Christ; it returns evil for evil; it will not leave vengeance to God; it assumes an avenging power over men; thus invading the prerogative of God, the only true sovereign power of nations; and though it is never to be resisted or assailed by carnal weapons, it must and will be destroyed by those spiritual weapons which are mighty through God to demolish this and all other strong holds of iniquity. To that government, which recognizes God as the only sovereign power to whom allegiance is due—which aims to establish only his dominion over this world—which *practically* leaves vengeance to him, and overcomes evil with good—and which 'is ordained of God to the nation, to the world and the universe,' the Lord is your Lawgiver, the Lord is your Judge, the Lord is your King, he will protect you,' I cordially acknowledge allegiance, call it by what name you please; and pray to the government which Christ came to establish, over mankind, and which he will establish, and that on the ruins of all others.

Who then are jacobins? Not indeed the advocates of non-resistance, for they reject with strong abhorrence, the very doctrine which our opponents themselves say is the foundation doctrine of jacobinism. Mr. Tracy says—'God has made it the duty of every people to form a government—arrange a magistracy and enforce wholesome laws, as its judgment may dictate, from time to time; and made it the duty of man 'to form' any other government than to submit, heart and life, to his own government.' To arrange, 'to form' any other than to submit, heart and life, to the Lord Almighty as their 'Lawgiver, Judge and King?' Or to enforce' any other laws, by any other penalties than those laws, and by those penalties which Jesus Christ has down in the spiritual kingdom of God? Such principles, sentiments and laws are bound 'to form,' so individuals and nations, or rather to obey. Such a spiritual magistracy, they are bound 'to arrange,' and such spiritual laws they are bound 'to enforce,' not with prisons, dungeons, fines and cannon, but with those spiritual weapons with which Christ has furnished his champions in the fight of Faith, and with which, under his guidance, they will conquer this world. May we 'form' any other government,'—'arrange' any other magistracy,—'enforce' any other laws?—*Vincit Omnis Veritas.* Truth conquers all things.

H. C. W.

From the Herald of Freedom.

ORANGE SCOTT.

Our editorial density is not broad, but we give place in it again to our brave fellow soldier, though he is not augmenting his renown, we apprehend, by his and contributions. We wish he had, or to have been settled a little, by some impulse or other, from his mental equilibrium. He seems to be prodigious almost in his resistance towards human governments,—'no human government' abstraction. And what governor has brother Scott his enamored eye on, that he should be so fierce in his opposition? We cannot be moral without authority in the abstract, that should so kindle his passion. He must have some concentrated object in view. There does not a petty justice, in all the world or the new? If in our own peculiarly happy land, what portion of our superior wisdom, virtue and piety, nominally, he may be in his eye on Congress or the Pennsylvania legislature convened at Harrisburg—Ohio passing her kidnapping resolves in honor of slaveholding? We shall not answer brother Scott in his rhetoric, or philosophy, we think; but we will, and we do it, *preaching all conclusions* as to our opinion of the theory. We are amused that brother Scott should demand (17)

Query—(in the abstract) might not a no human government man, innocently and rightly, vote? Does it become a man with the non-resistant principle, to petition Congress to abolish slavery, or to vote against the Atherton candidate, for the purpose of contending against proslavery candidates, and to prevent their election? No—he necessarily a human government man, who signs a petition to Congress to repeal a slavery law (provided any existed) or to vote between opposing candidates to prevent *any* election? But we append a note or two to brother Scott's text.

THE NO HUMAN GOVERNMENT THEORY.

Friend Rogers, we have taken you 'by the editorial collar without mittens,' I believe I will hold on for a while. I did not intend to trouble you with anything further, but your correspondent, and to my view, most grievous and exceptionable reply seems to demand another chapter.

I am very glad you took my remarks so *kindly*; they were certainly so intended. I would not handle either you or friend Garrison with a 'rough hand,' though provoked, for my pen is little unruly sometimes. But as for the 'no human government theory,' I will to do, if you will, bear with me. The matter is being a subject of much frightful mien, that to be hated needs but to be seen.

You say you 'don't discuss that theory in the Herald at all.' This is right. I hope you never will. But whether that is a sufficient reason for refusing to state *definitely*, whether you do or do not hold this theory, or in favor of it, I know not. (1) Had you never introduced it into the Herald (2) it might be, perhaps. But this you have done several times, and have not spoken a 'characteristic' word in its merits or demerits; but have avoided committing yourself in a way which has given your influence in its favor. I conversed last evening with one of the sturdy sons of New-Hampshire, who known as an able correspondent of the Herald, a high-toned abolitionist, and a firm friend of Mr. E. Rogers; and he says the readers of the Herald, so far as his knowledge extends, believe you are *leaning very strongly* towards the human government theory. Now (1) if they are deceived, ought you not to undeceive them? (3) It was because you was *understood* to favor the no human government theory, that I was sorry that this should be the case, and yet if you were in fact a Garrisonite, in this respect, I for one wished to know it. Prejudice and bigotry, is, you know, a characteristic of abolitionism; but especially of N. P. Rogers. Hence I was a little surprised when I read your editorial remarks, that you had not so much of the non-committal, connection with a strong *apparent leaning to a certain direction*, which other anti-slavery editors have generally contrived to give their opinions definitely of this theory without discussing it at all, and why cannot you do the same? I believe you can and will, if you wish. I must therefore respectfully invite you once more to give us your opinions of that theory, either with or without discussion, and I hope you will choose the latter question, nor to admit any discussion of it into the columns of the Herald. (4) Far from this. We want to know what you have intimated you or not. You seem to admit that the anti-slavery enterprise may be involved in the no human government notions. How then can you find it consistent to give your influence in favor of it, or even seem to do in another place? And have not the abolitionists of even New-Hampshire a right to know the ground on which you have given your influence to a matter in which 'the anti-slavery enterprise may be involved' and in which it certainly is involved? Is it fair to the anti-slavery candidates—and I hold to questioning editors, (7) and surely you will not refuse to be'governed by your own principles. You will not refuse to answer questions—questions which most of your readers believe to be intimately connected with the prosperity of the anti-slavery enterprise—questions which respectfully proposed by 'sturdy abolitionists!' I think Garrison would not refuse to do this.

You say you 'do not apply anti-abolitionism of Mr. Garrison' of which I complain, 'is its asserting from pulpit and press, a state government, of right, divinely ordained.' Here is a little mistake. He not only 'abusive' but opposed to such an approved ministerial human politics—all political, legal, civil and ecclesiastical institutions. (8) I know not how you do your work, but it is right, I think what consistency he says this, I leave for others to judge.

I think you are a little mistaken in supposing that the declaration of sentiments put forth at Philadelphia did not demand voting as well as petitioning. Nothing is said about petitioning. The resolutions are irresistible, uncontrolled authority,' a discretionary penal power over the lives of men, are entirely contrary to the spirit and precepts of Jesus Christ. They hold that the sovereign power over men, whether constituted individuals, or a nation single and alone, or as communities, states or nations, is solely in God—that our supreme Ruler, our Heavenly Father, never did lodge on earth in the hands of any individual, or of any number of individuals, called a state, nation or kingdom, a discretionary penal power, 'which is supreme, irresistible and uncontrolled authority' over man—that Christianity leaves the whole power of punishing in the hands of the King of kings, array's Omnipotence against evil-doers, as the only power in the universe which they must submit to, and that it is in spirit and principle, 'to put down all (non-*made*) magistrates, princes and rulers,'—to put all rulers, who derive their power from men under his feet, as enemies to his cause, and 'to break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms of this world.' A state government, or magistrate, presuming to set as an approved minister of God, to establish his authority and to bring us back to our allegiance to him, and beginning by requiring us to swear allegiance to itself, and threatening to inflict upon us fines, imprisonment, personal injuries and death, if we do not comply with its behests, we cannot recognize as a christian government. It has not the spirit of Christ; it returns evil for evil; it will not leave vengeance to God; it assumes an avenging power over men; thus invading the prerogative of God, the only true sovereign power of nations; and though it is never to be resisted or assailed by carnal weapons, it must and will be destroyed by those spiritual weapons which are mighty through God to demolish this and all other strong holds of iniquity. To that government, which recognizes God as the only sovereign power to whom allegiance is due—which aims to establish only his dominion over this world—which *practically* leaves vengeance to him, and overcomes evil with good—and which 'is ordained of God to the nation, to the world and the universe,' the Lord is your Lawgiver, the Lord is your Judge, the Lord is your King, he will protect you,' I cordially acknowledge allegiance, call it by what name you please; and pray to the government which Christ came to establish, over mankind, and which he will establish, and that on the ruins of all others.

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H. C. W.

Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the interstate slave trade—and that it will be done without a civil war. A abolitionist, who knows not what is by their no-human government notions, or something else. Let abolitionists all go to the polls and do their duty, and the time will come when government will soon be brought to act upon the question of slavery. But the Lord have mercy on the slaves, if abolitionists should wait for their 'republican all human politics'—acknowledge allegiance to no human governments,' &c. &c. (12)

(1) Do you not know, that no human anti-slavery law is needed than 'we have in our constitutions. Here again I must differ from you. I admit, that slavery is a sin, and that it ought to be made criminal by legal enactments. Let Congress pass a law, the moment it shall be constitutionally convened, which shall (14) the slaves in the metropolis. This one be done; this ought to be done; this must be done.

Did I believe with you, that we have anti-slavery law enough now, and as much as we ever shall have, I would never sign another petition to Congress. There are other measures, which I think, need (13) 'moral agitation,' and modes which to my mind appear far preferable. (15) If therefore we have no other object, let us no longer waste our time and energies, not to say hypocrisy, of asking for what we have not the least expectation will ever be granted; and which I believe ought not to be granted. (16) What doctrine is this to go out to the world, that we have no expectation that any anti-slavery law will ever be passed by Congress—that we have enough—and yet are making the land groan with our petitions, and are constantly complaining because they are not acted upon? If we have anti-slavery law enough now, we cannot say that in justice, they ought to be acted upon. A mode of '*moral* (1) *agitation*' this, from which I pray to be delivered.

And now, my dear brother, I have done. I must say, that there are some of your expressions and tones I do not like, and by abolitionists, calculated to *distract* and *divide*, and that too by leaders in the cause, that my conscience tells me, will hinder the success of the enterprise. The man who first sounded the note of alarm, and first urged *moral* and *political* action, as a means for abolition, was a man of great and a sore *provocation*, and one which has so purified his conscience that he cannot vote for the holiest man on earth. Another, no one higher in the world, has found out that we have anti-slavery law enough—and as much as we ever shall have. Are not these things *encouraging*? What will come next? Well, the battle is the Lord's—this is our comfort. (17)

If I have misunderstood you, I doubt not your willingness to explain, and to defend your positions, or honorably retract them. This I hope ever to be willing to do.

With a sense of my inability to *teach*, but willingness to *learn*, I subscribe myself your well wisher and fellow-laborer in the cause of bleeding humanity. (18)

April 18, 1839. O. SCOTT.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

(1) An expression of opinion on a subject is to some extent discussion. It would at least enlist ourselves editorially in the question—which we do not incline to do. We have given our opinion; we should feel bound to give the reasons. These are all that would make our humble opinion of any weight at all. We should be loth to be considered as undertaking the task of demand. We are not the soliciting party, but in deciding and *willing* party. It is for Congress to decide when we speak of anti-slavery law enough. They also implicitly. They will do any thing to keep the places, that is not prejudicial to party.

(17) Then let brother Scott fight on. Let him not to the battle and not turn aside to fight other foes. If laws are wanted, let our cry be for laws. Let the 'a wicked man' be taken from the better for him. He thinks slavery lawful, we ask him to *point out to us* the *law which perfects it.*

(18) We subscribe the same to bro. Scott, and we let us go into the battle, and have at the enemies on every by the side of the Lord and of his mighty power. We shall find our match to keep pace with him in slaughter. Let Garrison strike in his own way. We memory yet remains to us. We have not forgotten, let us not. And so of every other champion in the field. When the enemy applauds our warriors it is time to double their warfare.

THE OMITTED PASSAGE. Brother Scott has written us a communication on the subject of our having omitted a part of his article from the Herald of Freedom published in our last editorial week before last. In the passage itself will occupy less room than a controversy on the propriety of leaving it out, we have concluded to give it a place, italics, capitals and all. True, the quotations which it embodies have appeared in the Liberator two or three times before, but nevertheless, there is nothing like free discussion. We hope our friends will all read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the same, for brother Scott and all. Perhaps we may keep the type standing a while, in that another edition, if our second be wanted within few weeks, may be published with greater convenience.

Abolitionism from the very beginning has not contemplated, but emphatically condemned, the unnatural and *political* action. Mr. Garrison and the Liberator have formerly done this. But how is it now? Why, *if you go to the polls, you might*; but don't *dare to go to the polls.* This has not always been the tone of the Liberator; nor has it given this certain sound for years past. Let us quote a few words.

The Declaration of Sentiments drawn up by Mr. Garrison and put forth at Philadelphia in the year 1833, contains the following language: 'There is a *party* at the present time, the HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS to remove slavery by moral and POLITICAL action, as part of the Constitution of the American Republic. Acting upon this principle, we petition our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to the territory, and to God, in *religious* language, to bring down the chains of the slaves, and to bring down the distinction of slavery'—and that 'the society will endeavor, in a constitutional way, to obtain the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and abolish slavery in all those portions of our country which come under its exclusive jurisdiction.' Such are the sentiments of the Declaration of Sentiments drawn up by Garrison and put forth at Philadelphia in the year 1833, contained in the Liberator of that year. Such are the sentiments of the State Society, which was formed under the HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS to remove slavery by moral and POLITICAL action! All the State Societies are founded on similar principles, and have differed but little from the same sentiments. But the Massachusetts Society has *formerly* adopted resolutions very similar to the foregoing, and the preamble of the constitution the Society reads, 'by all means sanctioned by law, hasten the day of its overthrow.' Nothing can be more explicit than the declaration of sentiments, and in the First Annual Report drawn up by Mr. Garrison, and adopted by the society, it was declared that 'if any other means or measures are wanting, we will not be slow to adopt them; OUR MEANS ARE MORAL AND POLITICAL, and we will never cease to use them, until we NEVER CAN BE FOUND ON MAN OR CHILD, WITHIN THE BORDERS OF THE PEOPLE of New England are we found guilty of the sin of holding our fellow-men in bondage.' Our means are the *moral* and POLITICAL POWER of the people of New England. Other measures are not to be used, but these are sufficient to effect the end proposed; but the above are sufficient to effect the end our first principles were. Since we have departed from these principles, it least in part, it has been by doing this, it appears to us, we are proved guilty of sin. Nothing can be clearer than this, we say thing. Nothing can be clearer than this, we say thing. Nothing can be more simple than this. Nothing can be more simple than this. Nothing can be more simple than this. We have built up; viz. the position that we are POLITICAL HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS to remove slavery. It was our POWER to remove slavery. It was our duty to do so. The solemn duty to go to the polls—we have the ultimate that it is the duty of all to exercise the right of suffrage!

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