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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

VOL. IX. NO. 34.

BOSTON FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1839.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. ISAAC KNAPP, Printer.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the N. Y. Sunday Packet.

The Antinomists, a very singular with what pretends to be a very pious people will throw themselves headlong into the arms of the devil,—and all, if we are to believe their own words, for the sake of the Lord! Thus it is with the Hindoos, who commit all sorts of sins in the shrine of their deity. This with the Greeks is the storm of both sides of the question. Religiously acted as if they thought the only way of getting to heaven was to make themselves miserable on earth; and thus it happens at the present writing with abolition editors, who, in the heat of their holiness, let loose the reins of their hypocrisy of their holiness, and they had laid a wager on the world—that they had laid a wager on the father of lies to see who could lie fastest.

Two papers are, indeed, the chief sinners of great enormity and forged fabrications—one column will have a doleful account of the whipping of a slave, whenever either of them *can find a slave to take care to be flogged and evidence a black*)—another, the lynching of some missionary, who was never heard of by any other editor, and who, of course, forges the tale of his lynching, for the purpose of raising the wind by stirring up the sympathies of the sect. A third—generally the author of some story of a cargo of slaves that have mysteriously massacred and thrown into the ocean, in the way from Africa—this man has been so long at his trade, and so fond of frolic had chosen to make a merry chest of the bottom of the Atlantic, for ever and ever, a thousand dollars; and so on to the end of the paper.

Their amiable predilection for falsehood, however, has never been put to so much use, as at the present time, as in connection with the subject of the recent emancipation of British slaves in the West Indies. They are continually singing their hosannas on account of that affair—and stating it in the very best of all credible accounts that the new system of labor is the very best for the mutual interests of master and servant than the old one, and that the people hold prepared at the change. They say that the demand for labor is augmented in value—that business is on a run—and that the colored population have plenty of work, and abundant wages—and that the planters are generous with which they were formerly regarded their 'pale faces,' has given place to those of respect and esteem. We wish, for the sake of truth, but alas! it is the very reverse of the actual picture. The fact is that plantations have declined in value every year since the abolition of the 'bad system.' Planters and attorneys are complaining for want of employers, and have to put up with a mere pittance in return for their labour, and to come down, in the end, to a mere subsistence, who sympathized with the negro as slaves, grow jealous of, and dispise them as tyrants and hence, treat them like tyrants.

Indeed, the manner in which the 'free labor system' works in the West Indies has been the severest rebuke to the conceited abolitionists that it ever was; for it is now known to all persons who have taken any interest in the matter, that the immediate emancipation of the slaves of the British West India Islands would gladly exchange their modern acts and solely generally, for their ancient condition of abject bondage. And this is no more than might have been, and was expected—for while the colored people were slaves, they had the interests to feel, and they and take every care of them, if for no other reason than they own interests; but now that they are free, there is no power left to them of hindrance to their will, and consequently, idleness, dissipation and poverty are the results—for it has turned out, that the negroes of the African race, in the West Indies, are so incapable of taking care of themselves as the majority of those in New York and elsewhere, so that the stimulus exerted upon them by too much liberty is merely a matter of course.

INTERESTING FROM THE SOUTH.—From the 'Evangelical Universalist,' published in Hen. (Gen.) and edited by Jno. L. F. Andrews to heating him. We could have told John at the outset that it would never do to meet the 'wagoners half way.' He asking for bread, they should either have kept entirely clear of them, or gone the whole figure.

Most of our readers are aware that Mr. Adams lately addressed two letters to the signers of the numerous petitions sent to his care for presentation to Congress, praying the immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. In these letters he declared himself opposed to the object of the petitions, i. e. to the immediate abolition of slavery in the District, and by so doing has roused the ire of the whole fraternity. In particular Mr. William Goodell, Editor of an Abolition paper in Utica, has taken the Ex-President in hand, and in the opinion of the Boston Liberator (doubtless a very competent judge,) has made a fool of himself. 'The Ex-President himself,' says that organ of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 'can hardly fail to see and *feel* that he has *blundered up*, and put hers *do combat* by the iron-linked argument of his clear headed antagonist.' Bah!—*Journal of Commerce.*

THE NORTHERN MAN WITH SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES.—The following paragraph appeared in the N. Y. Van Buren, is copied from an address issued by the State Democratic Convention of Virginia.

'There is, too, a feeling of importance which ought to bind Southern men to him by indissoluble ties. We allude to the stand he has taken against the insane and misdirected designs of the abolitionists in the very commencement of that fearful excitement. He declared, before his election, that if he came into the Presidential chair, he would feel himself bound to veto any bill which interfered with the rights of slaveholders in the States where the institution of domestic slavery existed, or in the District of Columbia. He did not wait to see whether he could derive any personal advantage from that fanatical spirit which was spreading so rapidly, but with a generous devotion to the obligations of the Constitution, and to the rights of the South, he placed himself at once in uncompromising hostility to the fanatics, and, by a strong declaration, and made them his bitter, unrelenting foes. From that time to the present, while abolitionists and Whigs joined, he alone, in the intimate personal and political friends, his 'dependants' and 'vassals' (as they have been called) have stood firmly by Southern men, in resisting all the attempts made at agitation by those misguided enthusiasts and their political prompters in or out of Congress. So notorious is this, that it brought upon him the reproach from a Whig Ex-President, that he was 'a Northern man with Southern feelings.' And yet his opinions and acts have anti-slavery prejudices of the North against its magnanimous son, for doing nothing more than what just, honest and generous, he ought to do, and what he would and we who owe so much to his personal and official influence in checking an outbreak which might have dissolved the Union, and Abolitionist, who have been deprived us of our rights, are to abandon him on account of a single difference of opinion on a mere constitutional point, and that too, while the fires of Abolition are still raging?! It does appear to us, that nothing can be more unfortunate than such an arrangement of this difficulty; nothing would tend so directly to inspire the Abolitionists with hopes of eventual success in their designs, and to induce the hearten our faithful Democratic friends at the North, who have stood by us 'shoulder to shoulder,' at the risk of being denounced as Slave-holders, to the desertion of their candidate and our own, at the present juncture.

ABOLITION.—Several idle, strolling Abolitionists have been for some time in this neighborhood, to the boys, women, and blacks in our town with their lectures and speeches. So large a majority of the community are jealous of the dignity and reasonable doctrines of modern abolitionism, that it is very *unfortunate* they are allowed to discuss the subject among us. In this country, where public opinion is the supreme law of the land, no man has a right to outrage the feelings of a community, and the laws are too *jealous* of the people of *any* town or neighborhood, by demoralizing practices, or the discussion of incendiary topics, to permit any body, who may have a right to prevent it if they choose, being of course responsible for any breach of the public peace.—*Penn. Keystone.*

BURNSIDE, July 26th, 1839.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON: Boston.—Your paper is just received, and for your impertinence in daring to send me such a paper, I would (if I had you here) tie you up to a tree, and give you what you deserve—a good round hundred lashes. Your paper I return without condescending to read a sentence of it.

JAMES BOWER.

'MORAL MACHINERY EXEMPLIFIED.'

Extract from a Discourse, delivered in Andover, July 4, 1839, by Rev. Jonathan Cogswell, D. D.

'Suppose the principle of promiscuous combination, in reforming works, is itself an absurdity and the parent of absurdities. Such an infidel as Thomas Paine, and such a Christian as Lyman Beecher, cannot pure notes and find they agree, as to the way of abolishing slavery. So they draw up a declaration of sentiments, and form a society, and form a society on a basis. So, when we have this christian-infidel society in operation, we have Brainerd quoting in Paine's Christianity, so far as he can, to prove that Paine will do one christian work in a christian way. And we have Paine confuting in Brainerd's infidelity, so far as to prove that his brand of Christianity, in a way to bring no detriment to infidelity. While the expectations of God, are the source of disorder, and this absurd, if, inherent in the nature of the enterprise, has had some edifying exemplifications. The abolition society, has proved the source of disorder, in churches enough in one man, one would think, to cure an age. But let me not be ill-treated so speak disparagingly of that individual. His enterprise I charge to the account of the absurd principle on which he is working, and so allow all that his admirers claim on the score of his personal qualities and character. I have not the happiness of being either one of his personal friends or admirers. But I will argue *ex concessis*, and bring into view a portion of the fruits of frolic had chosen to make a merry chest of the bottom of the Atlantic, for ever and ever, a thousand dollars; and so on to the end of the paper.

Their amiable predilection for falsehood, however, has never been put to so much use, as at the present time, as in connection with the subject of the recent emancipation of British slaves in the West Indies. They are continually singing their hosannas on account of that affair—and stating it in the very best of all credible accounts that the new system of labor is the very best for the mutual interests of master and servant than the old one, and that the people hold prepared at the change. They say that the demand for labor is augmented in value—that business is on a run—and that the colored population have plenty of work, and abundant wages—and that those of the African race, who, who sympathized with the negro as slaves, grow jealous of, and dispise them as tyrants and hence, treat them like tyrants.

Indeed, the manner in which the 'free labor system' works in the West Indies has been the severest rebuke to the conceited abolitionists that it ever was; for it is now known to all persons who have taken any interest in the matter, that the immediate emancipation of the slaves of the British West India Islands would gladly exchange their modern acts and solely generally, for their ancient condition of abject bondage. And this is no more than might have been, and was expected—for while the colored people were slaves, they had the interests to feel, and they and take every care of them, if for no other reason than they own interests; but now that they are free, there is no power left to them of hindrance to their will, and consequently, idleness, dissipation and poverty are the results—for it has turned out, that the negroes of the African race, in the West Indies, are so incapable of taking care of themselves as the majority of those in New York and elsewhere, so that the stimulus exerted upon them by too much liberty is merely a matter of course.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Herald of Freedom.

RHODE-ISLAND DEMOCRACY.

We hail with unmingled satisfaction and refreshing the nomination, by the professed democrats of Rhode-Island of Thomas W. Dorr, of Providence, one of the executive committee of the State Anti-Slavery Society, as candidate for Congress. We hail it as a rare sight, in these days, to see it. It comes, too, from little Rhode-Island—the Roger Williams republic. We love the spirit of setting democracy, or *sterling any thing*, from her sooner than from any where else. Magnanimous little commonwealth! with the spirit of Roger Williams, in her bosom, and a heart too big for the whole Empire State, still all New-England to boot, (beside herself.) She has, in times past, been a refuge for the oppressed, and it becomes her bold character. Let it be remembered as an era in anti-slavery history. Now, whig abolitionists, of Providence plantations, promptly and faithfully to the rescue. Hand above hand intermingled, grasp that flag-staff with your gallant leader, and bear it bravely in the van. The gales will try the *bearing* and the *toughness* of that noble staff. Sustain it by your aid and prayers. Let the oppressed, and the poor Van Buren brethren, (let us no longer give them the degrading title Rhode-Island,) that their anti-slavery reverence for the slave. Let us see if *whig* abolitionists will back them up now when they offer their partisan a sacrifice on anti-slavery's altar. They have gone far in sacrificing to the Moloch, whig abolitionists will *go with them*. Thomas W. Dorr is a *Democrat. Every true whig can therefore* support him, for genuine democracy is anti-slavery, and genuine anti-slavery whig is bona fide, practical, honest, democracy. All anti-slavery hands then, up for Thomas W. Dorr! Shall we see the Democrats of Rhode-Island, nominated by the adversary party? The party that nominates an abolitionist is *not adversary*. A party that *dares* to be free, is *not* our adversary—your whig and your democrat too! On with your manhood—your anti-slavery—your patriotism! Let assemble, ed and patriotic anti-slavery men of Rhode-Island abolition, tism moving in Spartan phalanx—(*Grecian* rather, *Ashes and Sparta combined and united*,) up to the rescue, stemming the waves of party and throwing them aside, like the Great Western or the British Queen, when she encounters the billows of the Atlantic, and fresh and unwearied from her ocean traverse. Cheers from all New-England for the anti-slavery democracy of gallant little Rhode-Island!

POLITICAL ACTION.

We have long been satisfied, that one of the principal obstacles to the progress of any kind of reform, is the present political organization of parties. So completely *enslaved*, is the great body of the people, to party, that all other subjects are cast into the shade. The mandates of political leaders must be, at least they are, almost implicitly obeyed. Whatever the character of the man, who is presented for suffrage, if there is strength enough in the party to elect him, it must be done. And it usually is done. Party, we do not know a more degrading servitude than this. Rather than submit to it, we would *black up*, and go and dispose of this piece of flesh and blood, to some despot of the South, for just what such a *chattel* would bring. We would be a slave *in earnest*.

In the present state of political parties, we can speak on this subject without hesitation or delicacy. However it may be in limited sections, and in many cases, Martin Van Buren nor Henry Clay can receive the confidence of the genuine abolitionist. The inaugural address of the first, and the speech, the speech of the other, must be blotted from existence, and erased from the memory, before religious can be placed in the scale of Christian confidence. Mr. Clay and Mr. Each has taken his stand on the side of the oppressor. —*Advocate of Freedom.*

CLERICAL INFLUENCE.

With regard to the sin of slavery, it is one belief that a large portion of the people of our land, in this as well as in other states, occupy a position of fearful peril, to themselves and the community. Slavery is a sin, and a sin of the deepest dye. We are going up to heaven, and calling for vengeance on our guilty land, instead of raising the warning voice, to the people, that all other sins, and all other sinners, are going to hell, unless they repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, they are speaking something worse than sin, they are speaking a lie, in the face of the world, and crying, peace, peace, when there is no peace. We do not believe our belief, that they have *grievously sinned*. And we cannot admit the plea of ignorance, in this matter. We do not believe that the people are not responsible if the influence of the clergy is thrown into the scale against them, the evil, if it were sin evil. However it may be in commercial communities, where a pile of lumber, or a few bales of cotton, influences are held as of more consequence than thousands of oppressed and down-trodden slaves, the mass of the community will see and understand this matter. They must see and know, that it is *sin, gross heinous daring sin*, to rob man of himself, and degrade him to the condition of a beast of burden. We trust in God they will understand this subject, whether we speak, or whether we hold our peace;—and they will not long remain respect for a minister, that so outrages the plain dictates of common sense, as well as the gospel. They have sworn faithfully to declare, as to throw the characters of ministers of the gospel, into the unpalatable system of iniquity. We contend, then, that the way, and the only way, in which the ministry can be consistent, and escape the scorn, and ridicule, and contempt, into which it is in danger of falling, is to employ the appropriate means, for bringing it back to the faithful discharge of its duty.

It is, furthermore, our conviction, that clerical sinners must be dealt with, in the same way as other sinners, and that we must trust *plainly*, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. With all kindness and fidelity, their sin must be set before them. They are to be conveted and flattered into a conviction of their sin, and brought in with a kind of half way adoption, and then, the opprobrious epithet, 'Brother,' would not be satisfied with such a conversion; neither can we. Let them come out like men, and like Christians, or we should have reason to fear, they have *done wrong*, and that they are sorry for it; that hence forward their voice shall be heard, and their influence felt, in the cause of the oppressed, and that the oppressor shall no longer be permitted to find shelter under their admission and apologies. They will feel the lash, and they shall yet, ye—and so will the poor slave.—*Advocate of Freedom.*

ANTI-SLAVERY CHURCH.

The United Brethren in Christ' are a Christian community distinct from the 'United Brethren.' Their churches are considerably numerous in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Western Virginia. The Conference, at its last session, passed resolutions respecting their soundness on the *great question* of Christian morals now before the American people.

Dr. Beman in England. It is known to our readers that the Rev. N. S. S. Beman of Troy, N. Y. is now on a visit to England. We find in the N. Y. Evangelist a speech made by him at a meeting of the Congregational Union, on the 7th of May, at Exeter Hall, from which we make the following extracts:

'A great feature in the present relation to the unity of feeling that ought to pervade every English bosom and every American, a feeling of desire for continued harmony between these two nations. I have always felt the necessity of this union. I was in the ministry when preparations were making for the last war, and I lifted up my voice in the pulpit against it, saying in the language of Abraham's expostulation with lot—'Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren.' (Loud cheers.) The fraternal feeling has increased as years have multiplied upon us since that time. I have felt the influence of the enterchange across the Atlantic, which is now become as it were, a narrow stream, will be to make the government of this country cannot feel that through the moral power of Christianity we cannot fight one another,—*then the sin, spite of heaven, hatred and revenge, is to burn* the Bible, is not worth the blood, the tears, and wretchedness which must always follow in the train of war. (Great cheering.) These sentiments I bear with each other. Let us then say, and let heaven and earth hear it:—*England and America for the world*,' for the cause of enlightening, purifying, and saving the world. (Cheers.)

You have not forgotten the time when Mr. Breckenridge paid a visit to this country. The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, one of the most eminent men of the Scotch Presbyterian, and Mr. Wardlaw. I was his colleague, but *I had stood on the same platform with Mr. Breckenridge, and had met with George Thompson.* (Loud cheers.) Strange as it may seem, it is true; I should have met with him, I with all my heart. Dr. Wardlaw, on that question, as Chairman of the meeting. (Cheers.) My colleague, Dr. Patton, would have done the same. I believe *it is a Christian duty, to consider abolitionist, though he has not yet made a profession.* (Laughter and cheers.) What men and what country have given heart to that small portion of the world that enjoys liberty! The dissenters of England have been the standard bearers on all occasions.

British Abolitioist Protection Society.—At the Second Annual Meeting of the 'Aboriginees Protection Society' held yesterday, Mr. P. Buxton repeated the observation of an African Chief, made more than a hundred years ago, and, unfortunately, the observation still applies with the same force. 'I find,' said that Chief, 'that the great curse of our race has been the visit of Europeans; that wherever Christianity goes, there the musket and the sword—and that our greatest affliction is, that we ever saw the faces of the white men.' All the native inhabitants of the New World could the question be put, would answer in one voice; and heap curses on the memory of him who first introduced to them the white man's religion. In every part of that world the result has been nearly the same, and what from tyranny, cruel, and unrelenting hatred, or, or the love of gain, they have been harrassed, oppressed, and finally expelled or annihilated by those men who came to them with the words of Christian peace and good-will on their mouth. To remove this stigma from the British name in the object of this Society, I but in vain, if those men of the same name and lineage, and the same perseverance, with those who, fifty years ago, began a work apparently more hopeless and never ceased, till the slaves were emancipated, are detested from an attention to the subject by the apparent hopelessness of the vast task; but those men are not ashamed of the slaves of the West Indies

naturally become the fit instruments to corrupt and enslave their fellow citizens of the non-slaveholding states. Said the illustrious Earl of Chatham, exulting in his place in the British Parliament at the resistance offered by these colonies, "Three millions of subjects in America, willing to be taxed, would be fit instruments to enslave the rest." The Congress of the United States, to whose legislation the whole nation is subject, is thus composed: "*A people who are not themselves free, of the representatives of a people who enjoy not perfect free;* of legislators who cannot embrace nor understand the principles of liberty and inalienable rights, stated in the Declaration of Independence; and as laid down in the Constitution, of a people who cannot be supposed to seek or desire more liberty for the people of the North than is enjoyed by their own constituents at home."

The Slaveholding Power, thus constituted, having gained such concessions in the formation of the frame of government, by blustering and threatening to leave the Union, has found the same policy successful in gaining all the material points which seemed needful for the consolidation of its dominion. The grossly oppressive and in some respects unconstitutional Act of Congress of 1793, for the delivery of fugitive slaves, having no respect of color, and the Act of 1797, for the protection of the domestic slave-trade through the U. S. regulation of the commerce among the States, and other S. custom-houses, are Congressional Laws, however, was not secondarily of the celebrated compromise of the Missouri and until the celebrated compromise of the Missouri Question. From that date, its aggressive strength has been gained only by the will of its directors; and it has controlled the general policy of the Federal Government, in a manner highly dangerous to the nation, inconsistent with the public interests, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

The prominent statesmen of the South, in the early days of the government, such as Washington, Jefferson, Wythe and Henry, who have manifestly favored the equal rights of the white race, in the North, slaveowns expressed strong desires for the extinction of slavery. The modern school, such as Calhoun, Leigh, M'Duffie, Pickens and Hayne, who have defended the perpetuity of the slave system at the South, have generally manifested their complicated experiments and something similar would be extended to the white laborers of the North.

The events of the last five or six years leave no room for doubt that the SLAVE POWER is now waging a deliberate and determined war against the liberties of the free States. The rewards of office, the emoluments and patronage of the slaveholding States for the abduction of free citizens of the free States, guilty of no crime but that of having a dark complexion, cause of universal liberty,—the fraudulent attempts to bring northern citizens to trial under the slave codes of the South,—the demands made on the legislatures of the free States for the despotic suppression of freedom of speech and action,—the pillage of the United States Mail, and the plot almost successful to establish a censorship of the press,—the stifling of the freedom of debate in Congress,—the virtual annihilation of the right of petition,—the systematic combination of over public opinion in the North, through mercantile cupidity and the venal servility of the press,—the open demand of the Slave Power, and the subservient endeavors of its northern minions to overawe the freedom of speech and of the press, and deprive the people of their inherent right of assembling to discuss questions of public interest,—the hasty and crafty recognition of the independence of Texas, and the efforts, now suspended but not relinquished, to annex to our union immense territory, laden immediately with the curse of slavery, —the appointment of slaveholders or of northern men known to be entirely subservient to slavery, to all offices whose functions in any way affect the interests of slavery,—the prostitution of the national diplomacy to the concurrence, for the benefit of slaveholders, while questions of great national importance are neglected or postponed,—the refusal to recognize the independence of Hayti,—the plots against and the attempt to release Cuba from colonial bondage,—the refusal to adopt any effectual measure against the African slave-trade, while professing to treat it as piracy, and to desire its extermination,—the frequent and injurious changes of the national policy respecting commerce, manufactures, and other subjects, in palpable subservience to slavery,—these are a part of the innumerable proofs of the encroachments of the SLAVERY POWER, and to deter mission for the future; of the secondary it has already acquired, and of the utter impossibility of securing the freedom of the North, without the speedy abolition of slavery at the South. The Constitution is in effect destroyed, and the Union is virtually dissolved, so soon as it is made plainly to appear that they no longer subserve and protect these inalienable rights, which our fathers proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. The Slave Power has in effect declared a deadly warfare against those high principles and objects and aims,—and in this contest it is plain that either slavery or liberty must give way; it follows that opposition to slavery, and active efforts for its opposition, are the appropriate and indispensable antidotes of attachment either to liberty or to the Union.

It is idle to suppose that the power of slavery can be curtailed, or its control circumscribed, by any efforts which are not directly aimed at its extirpation. The experiment of fifty years ought to convince every mind, that slavery cannot maintain itself in a free country, without overturning and annihilating the liberty. There can be no compromise. There is no standing still, no middle way or middle ground. No man can be considered as an efficient opponent of the political ascendancy of the SLAVE POWER, who is not willing to engage in direct, open and determined efforts for the abolition of slavery. Cutting off the branches will do no good, while the trunk of the tree is guarded from harm and carefully nourished. The political dominion which slavery has gained, is not only a principal source of corruption and danger to the liberties of the free; it is also a main pillar of support and tower of defence to the system of slavery itself. Shorn of political power, slavery would fall by its own weight, and the of its own imbecility. It is the political power of slavery to only to be met by political action on the part of the true friends of liberty. It is to this duty that we now call your special attention, and invite the co-operation of every freeman.

That slavery, if it goes on unchecked, will soon prostrate the liberties of the country, is too plain an argument. The vital principle of liberty is the doctrine of the inalienable rights of persons. The vital principle of slavery is that persons are fit to be deemed property, and therefore if the law declares certain persons to be property, those persons no longer possess any rights; this property becomes the paramount right of man, and its protection and advancement the supreme end of government, in other words, adopting correspondent to the vital principle of human society. Who does not see that a people thus sectioned cannot remain free? They might retain the forms of liberty, as Rome continued for a long time the farce of electing her consuls, by the gracious permission of her emperors, but the rights and liberties of the people are sold and gone. Rival candidates and rival parties may arise, each with words of liberty; but (as we already see) they are secondary in the councils of the nation, that we owe nearly all the violence of party warfare, and all those distractions of public peace, to injurious jealousies of the interests of industry, to the stability of credit, and to the progress of improvement. The SLAVE POWER has at length thrown off all disguise, and boldly avows the principle of changing the course of public measures with a view to advance the interests of slavery, by sacrificing other interests. Thus, in the language of President Monroe, 'we have found this evil to prey upon the vitals of the Union.'

Slavery, then, is the greatest political evil in our nation, and should be treated accordingly. The question, is the abolition of the greatest political evil now before the people for decision. And resistance to slavery is the highest political duty and rectitude upon every freeman. From the very first, the idea of political ascendancy in which it is now so firmly entrenched, it must be driven out and destroyed if the only force which can reach the citadel—THE BALLOT BOX. We call, therefore, not upon a sect or class of men, to act for the aggrandizement of a party, or for the success of a scheme. But we call upon EVERY MAN, who cherishes a love for Human Rights, to unite in destroying this grand enemy of Human Rights—every man who venerates the Declaration of Independence, to apply the principles of that Declaration in annihilating an institution which annihilates those principles as an unmeaning flourish;—upon every man who loves the Constitution of the Union to employ his power to prevent that constitution and the superior advantages yet afforded by that Union, in destroying a system which has already made the Union a rope of sand, and the constitution a broken bow of iron;—upon every man who loves liberty for himself, or desires to leave to his blessings to his children, to employ the liberty he has left in overthrowing the most dangerous system of despotism the world ever saw.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES!

Let us treat slavery as it really is, as the enemy of the Union, the enemy of the Constitution, the enemy of liberty, and the enemy of human rights, the enemy of God and man. Let us solemnly resolve that we will vote for no man in any office of trust or power, who either holds slaves or upholds slavery; since no man is worthy of office in a republic, who is too ignorant to comprehend or too base to maintain the first principles of liberty. And because our public men, of both parties, have gone so far in subserviency to slavery, and are so accustomed to barter away the interests of liberty for the honors of office or the aggrandizement of party, that we know not whom to trust, let us determine that we will support no candidate who will not publicly avow his opposition to slavery, his desire for its speedy and peaceful extinction, and his purpose to use his influence, if he has any, in the legitimate means, to encourage and hasten its entire abolition. We will not reward a vote for candidate whatever, suitable, who are known to be right on this question, notwithstanding they may differ from us on any minor political questions.

Let us offer up our party spirit to the altar of liberty. Our fathers, in the days of the revolution, had their party differences, but they suppressed them during the vital struggle. Let us bury their animosities, and whenever a sense of duty impels us to oppose what appear to us the erroneous principles, or oppose the improper measures, pursued by those with whom we are united with us in this holy cause, let us aim to do it in a manner that shall not weaken the unity of spirit and purpose which should be our bond of union in this paramount object of our desires. And in case neither of the political parties are able or willing to present fit candidates for office, let us give our votes, be they ever so many, for good men who are known to be right on the subject of slavery. The question, whether such votes should be given to men who are known to be right, is best determined by the discretion of the friends of liberty in their districts, according to the circumstances of each case. But by all means let our votes be given. Where majorities are required, they may defeat or control elections, and compel a regard to the interests of liberty. And in case of very large majorities, they will at least be counted, and will be a witness to party men, of the numbers of free citizens who consider slavery and those who will not partake of their base subserviency to slavery.

Why should not every citizen of the free states be ready to adopt this rule? We ask our fellow citizens of all parties seriously to consider, whether every interest and interest of liberty, within the sphere of legislation, may not be more safely entrusted to enlightened and honest men who are true to the principles of republicanism, and who may be in their views on minor points, than to men of your own views on these points, but who are penetrated with the spirit of slavery, or willing to make the inalienable rights of others to the claims of property. Men who are sound at heart and in principle would 'be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord,' and in the Lord's fear, would, even at inconvenience, measure to dangerous extremes. On the contrary, the venal parasites or cowardly vassals of slavery cannot be safely trusted on any subject which the slave power proves that they will sacrifice every other interest to the demands of slavery.

We would earnestly undervalue nor discourage the other means employed for promoting the abolition of slavery; but we are sure that the firm and faithful discharge of the duty of the polls is absolutely necessary for the *peaceful* accomplishment of this object. Slavery must come to an end. Its destiny is fixed, and it only remains to be consulted, to our discretion respects the means and the mode of its termination. The issue is now joined between the anti-slavery party and the Slavery party. The controversy is to be decided in the last resort, by the ballots of freemen, or the brand and knife of insurrection, goaded to madness by oppression, and driven to despair of all human aid but that of of their own right arm. As American citizens, it is our duty to endeavor, by the force of a common country both to the enslavers and the enslaved, we ask you to choose the alternative. Choose deliberately, choose intelligently, choose firmly—and stand by your choice.

JOSHUA LEAVITT,
S. S. JOCELYN,
HENRY GIBBONS, } *Secretaries of the Convention.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

'THE BOSTON CONTROVERSY.'

Viola. Pray you, sir, what do you know of this matter? *Fabian.* I know the knight is incensed against you, even to the death, upon this argument; but nothing of the circumstance more. SHAKSPEARE.

BRO. GARRISON:—The 'Abolitionist' of the 1st inst. contains a long editorial article, headed the '*Boston Controversy*,' which I wish to make the occasion of some remarks upon the subject of division in the anti-slavery ranks. Not that I intend to make a formal reply to the article aforesaid. I am not 'tall enough' to do it. For with my poor brains, I can see neither wit nor logic in it. The real point of the production is, either above or below my comprehension. The Phrenologists say we have but a small share of *ideality*, and this may be the reason why I cannot see its force and beauty. It is well filled with tropes and figures; and a good deal is said about somebody's having a 'spice of egotism and suspicious;' and of 'not knowing the *ins and outs of friends*.' (Quo. who?) Then again we hear of '*white weed*' and 'Canada thistles;' of 'precursive moonshine;' 'interminable legions of logical nightmares;' the 'king of day,' armies of non-resistance, turning 'their swords into ploughshares,' 'beating horses' back,' &c. Now these may all be excellent in their way, but as I cannot see their special use, I may as well pass them over.

My principal object in referring to this article, which I have quoted and alluded to as a *sort* of reply to the recent address of the BOARD OF MANAGERS of the MASS. A. S. Society to the abolitionists of Massachusetts, is to take exception to the tone of the editorial aforesaid. This is another evidence of that false sense which the opponents of the Mass. A. S. Society are endeavoring to make before the world. Such a course may be good policy for them, but its adoption will require a person to have a very small share of conscience. They seem to think, and no doubt with much truth, if they can make the friends of the slave throughout the country believe that the division here is merely a local affair—a 'Boston Controversy,'—they shall escape that unqualified condemnation which they would otherwise be entitled to, and be enabled to carry forward their disorganizing schemes with comparative hope of success. Their great object seems to be to make the question which divides the abolitionists in this State local in its character, identify 'Garrison and the two or three popular men' advocated by some in our ranks, 'non-resistance' and the 'perfect equality of women,' and thereby secure its overthrow by arraying against it the religious opinions of a large portion of the professing christians in our country, and all the selfishness and depravity of the human heart.

The 'Boston Controversy'! It is not a question confined to Boston, nor to any other particular location. It is a question which affects vitally the anti-slavery enterprise—a question which has been the occasion of retarding the very existence of our whole organization. A large number of abolitionists know as little of the real cause of this division as Fabian pretended to know of the quarrel between Cesario and Sir Andrew Aguecheek. Others, I suppose, really think the Mass. Society has gone over to 'non-governmentism' and 'women's rights.' In this state of the case, I propose, with your leave, to take what friend Wright would call a '*crop of oil*' or brief chapter of the whole controversy, in the hope that I may do something to clear away the fog which has been thrown around the question by those who have gone out from amongst us, and present it in its true light, as it stands on the unwritten record of actuality.

The Mass. A. S. Society was formed for a single object—the destruction of American slavery. The great desire of those who formed it was to combine as much moral power as possible for this purpose. Hence the sole aim of the association was to abolish the relation of master and slave. They did not undertake to sit in judgment upon any other relation in society. The single principle of their organization was that 'slavery is a sin, and ought to be immediately abolished.' They were agreed in this, in every sect and grade, and complexion, to unite with them in its support. It is obvious the Society could not undertake to settle any of the disputed questions in religion and politics which divide the world of human mind. They overstepped the bounds of their organization, and broke down a wall of common rights for a common humanity. They did not know each other as Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, or Quakers; as Whigs or Democrats; friends of non-resistance or woman's rights, but simply as abolitionists upon this single point. Upon this single point, they labored together, shoulder to shoulder, for years, with but little jarring in the machinery, scattering the light of truth with an unsparing hand, in the midst of brickbats and rotten eggs, and multiplying converts to abolition with a rapidity at which they themselves were surprised, and which caused the demon of slavery to howl in agony at the prospect of a certain and speedy death. But this harmony was destined to be broken. As our numbers increased and our principles began to take effect, it was seen that the cause of emancipation, as it moved onward, would probably injure some of the various sects and parties, in consequence of their connection with slavery. An effort was then made to turn it aside, or obstruct its further progress. There rose on the 'Original Appeal,' issued by some *few* of the clergy of Boston and vicinity,' calling themselves abolitionists, objecting to some of the anti-slavery measures, and dealing pretty largely in insinuations against 'certain leading abolitionists.' They did hard to create a division in our ranks; but they were disposed of in a summary manner, 'went off in the smoke,' and are now nearly forgotten. But the spirit which dictated this 'appeal' still lived, and soon manifested itself in protesting against the equal action of women with men in our organization. This protest was first made in the New England Convention of 1838. The Convention very properly decided that women were entitled to the same privileges there with men. They could not, it was said, rightfully undertake to settle opinions and practices for others, in this public place, for could an anti-slavery meeting be made an arena for determining disputed points in theology. With the opinions of its members upon religion, whether orthodox or heterodox, it had nothing to do. It did not undertake to control the action of the sexes, or to act with man in deliberative assemblies; but that in the society, all had equal privileges, which they might exercise according to their own sense of propriety and duty. With it he said that this is going counter to the religious opinions of some of our orthodox brethren? We don't know any body as orthodox in our society. Our course on these subjects is no more determining the appropriate sphere of woman in Church and State, than it is the character of the law prohibiting slaveholding, or declaring that they are twenty years of age, by allowing them to speak and vote in our meetings. And if it is, it results from the very nature of our organization. Every step taken by abolitionists in calling for the action of woman is contrary to the principles of some of our orthodox brethren!

BOSTON:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1839.

☞ The friends of the slave generally will rejoice to hear of the safe arrival of Messrs. Scobie and Thompson at Hull. Probably, no young man has ever left this country with a larger number of friends and admirers behind him, deeply solicious for his safety and welfare, than Mr. Phillips. The following letter from his pen, announcing his arrival, contains much interesting information, and will be read with interest. We expect to receive other communications from him, as he shall find opportunity to write. The health of his lady, we are glad to hear, has been improved by the voyage. May they, in due time, be restored to their home and friends in safety! The labors of Mr. Phillips are greatly needed in this Commonwealth at the present time; but he will do much for the slave and for humanity abroad. It seems he has seen one of loved Tennessee, with whom he had no personal acquaintance in this country, and whose health, thoughts and will be pleased to learn, is excellent, while he still continues to be in labors most abundant. And what a mighty and glorious enterprise is that which he has espoused!

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

LONDON, July 31, 1839.

DEAR GARRISON:

On my arrival here, I delivered the letters I brought, to all the individuals I could find, and put the rest in the way of reaching their destination. R. Martineau is in France; so I lose the pleasure of seeing her, and a great deal of information I sought at one or two anti-slavery 'homes,' before I could find trace of him. At Aldermanbury, they could tell me nothing of his whereabout, except that he was probably near London. Indeed, I found Aldermanbury silent, lonely, almost deserted, except the venerable veteran from his Secretary, Mr. Stokes; but the associations of the place make me linger awhile, looking around on its well-filled presses, its long piles of documents, its busts and books—the scene of so many sacrificial counsels, and triumphs. Our cause will stretch over both hemispheres, and into ages to come.

I found news of our friend, at last, at the British India Society; and on Wednesday called at his rooms. He looks well, seems strong—busy, deeply engaged, just setting off for Glasgow, to address a meeting there on the 1st of August—whither he urged me to go with him: but it was impossible—much to my regret. We are afraid to stay longer than absolutely necessary in this damp, cold climate. He has been very kind in introducing me to persons and places. I saw him daily while he remained in town: yet, owing to his multiplied engagements, correcting the proofs of the account of the great India meeting, attending committee consults, &c. we had not a great deal of uninterrupted intercourse. I was glad, however, to be able to give him, what he had not seen, a file of the Liberator since January. He left us on Saturday, with repeated charges to give his best love and kindest remembrance to you all. I remember, said he, 'every time I see you, I creep in a little closer—every man that I saw: they are all dear.' Tell them I am not, perhaps, able to judge yet about the present differences. My heart is knit to them all, but especially to the Massachusetts abolitionists.

We were together at the House of Commons. I have heard some of the principal speakers—Hume, Russell, Spring Rice, Peel, Lushington, Sir James Graham. It was cheering to observe the constant vigilance and earnest attention on every subject which could bear, in any possible way, on the slave question; and this from both sides of the House. That foul stain on the English government—the apprenticing of the negroes found in the captured slave ships—(after which they were declared free by the British government) in the slave population, especially in Cuba,) was commented on and pledges given by the colonial Secretary, that it would be discontinued in future. Lushington introduced the subject of the Coolies. It excited an animated discussion. The Whigs and Tories and all the speakers demanded that the contracts made by those unhappy men, should be annulled by government, at any cost, and the importation forbidden in future. O'Connell was present awhile, but took no part in the debate. He left us to go to his home in second admission to the House. No one enters, even into the galleries, without a permit from a member.

The friends here are deeply interested in the great meeting of next year, fixed for 12th June, 1840. Nurses and his connexion, I hear, are deeply attached to the cause of the British and Foreign A. S. Society, in which it was discussed. Surge presided. They are very anxious to have a large representation from America. Thompson insists on your coming, accompanied by some of the men and women of our ranks. A large body of questions have been prepared, suited to every quarter of the world where slavery exists, or has just been abolished, which, if attended to by the delegates, will place before the world a more valuable body of information than we have seen hitherto. The committee voted a delegation to wait on Webster, who is now in the city.

The friends here are most deeply engaged in the investigation of the India question. Thompson is swallowed up in it. You will see by the pamphlets, (a large stock of which are sent with his and Miss Pease's contribution to the Ladies' Fair,) that it has the most direct bearing on the West Indies. It comes from the testimony of India Stockholders, India Governors, English cotton and sugar merchants, that labor in India is less than *two pence a day*; and sugar may be produced by free labor, cheaper than by *pilfering per lbs*—while the American and West India is selling at £12. Such is the testimony of the rich Fleming of Glasgow. Cotton, also, can be afforded at *three pence a pound*, while our's sells at *nine pence*.

Gladstone, the great Liverpool merchant—famous for having originated the importation of the Hill Coolies,—contessed within a month, that his investments in the East yielded double what they did in the West Indies; and in his own words, '*It is all up with slave labor!*'

Brougham and O'Connell have exerted the finest of all a great meeting here, they both spoke with great eloquence: Brougham complimented our friend Thompson more than ever. A host of philanthropists are marshalled to claim for India *the liberty to work*—for, it seems, an oppressive law has fettered, like a mummy, the hands of the Hindoos. Yet, notwithstanding this, the prices of the cotton and sugar have been stated above. It is whispered, also, that several capitalists are embarking largely in the cotton trade in East India. The first ship that enters a British harbor, freighted with the fruit of such investments, bears with her the death-warrant of slavery in the United States and the Brazils!

They tell us of Eastern magic, which changed gold into slate stones in your very hand. Perhaps we can unseal from their imprisonment, some of these gems of the East, like the fisherman in the fairy tale, and before their march Mr. Clay will find his $1200,000,000 of *property is mere* changed to dust in his very grasp.

It is not only the abolitionists who are anxious in regard to India at present. English statesmen, here, and in the East, are aware that oppression has driven her iron so deep into starved and plundered Hindoostan, that there may be reaction at any moment. One of the Governors observed, he should not be surprised 'to wake any morning, and find the bubble burst;' and I heard Sir Robert Peel assert, in the House of Commons, that the state of India was such as to authorize an increase of the military force. Hence every thing seems to conspire to call the movements of our friends—by directing public attention to the subject, by encouraging India produce, and freeing it from excessive taxation. And the material ground has been prepared, by bringing free India produce, and free labor, and free manufacturers, for the great staple of their manufactures. God grant the plan may succeed; and then that large class of men, upon whom moral influence is thrown away, will find Anti-Slavery starting from their lodgings. We can hardly out conversations in deserted counting houses, and our society need publish only the price current.

We shall see the South, ready now to nullify an 'unconstitutional and oppressive' tariff, beg protection for her great staple, to enable our manufacturers to compete with England, and uphold the slave-drivers, and, doubtless, we shall see the North accede to the plan! But, protected or unprotected, before the sunny gales of that tropic, 'whence merchants bring their spicy drugs,' the letters of the slave will be swept away.

Sturge thinks that the late stakeholders in the West Indies require too much watching, to allow the abolitionists to take their eyes from that spot. He takes, therefore, no great pair in the new movement. Scobie and Stuart are in the Tyne, and I shall accompany them to Glasgow, Edinburgh, and very favorable. We spent an evening with the Peases. They remind us more of the American friends than any others we see here.

By the bye, I met yesterday in the Strand, a white colored man walking arm in arm with a lady of fairly respectable appearance, laughing merrily. Looking round, and seeing no appearance of a mob, gave me the most realizing sense I have had, that I was no longer in America!!

Remember me affectionately to all the friends in that land which, homelings, from this little world we name.' There are no meetings, after all, like our Board meetings, and no gatherings like the gatherings at 25, Corn hill. Remember me to them all. I hope you have, by this time, received a letter from Mr. Ellis, of Connecticut. To Collins, my fellow-laborer, I send my best wishes. He needs no spur: on the contrary, there are swords which wear out their scabbards.

I feel that my letter tells you little. Yet we are here in a most interesting crisis. At the moment, when the anti-slavery host seemed falling asunder for want of some definite object, Providence has opened a fresh field for exertion,—given a new impulse to their zeal. The footmints of the great moral deep are just breaking up. The dews of the morning seem breaking over us. The friends of the slave have cheerfully buckled on their new armor. They have not forgotten the negro,—only changed ground to serve him more effectually. Into the dark chambers of degraded India, the hand has not yet reached, but the light of mind can hardly penetrate. Our efforts with some men seem mere beating the air—hewing porphyry with lead. But India speaks—and a Thompson says, 'We need not wait till Portugal is honest, till America is consistent.' Our friends have long and nobly laid new sacrifices on the altar of humanity. George Thompson is known to have put aside the most flattering offers of worldly aggrandizement and wealth, to throw *himself* a rich and willing offering into this new cause.

God bless you.

Most affectionately yours,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

W. L. Garrison.

☞ Luke Deo! The information contained in the following letter from a well-known abolitionist and Philanthropist is of very great importance. The total abolition of slavery in the French Colonies is an event not far distant! The ordinances of the French King, if carried out in this country, would make sweeping work of the slave system at the South! They cannot nail so affect its stability.

D. L. Child.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

Louis Philippe has recently issued two ordinances, which may be considered as the beginning of emancipation in his dominions.

The first requires a census and registry of slaves in the several towns, in which they are held, and provides that a slave, who shall not be registered, shall be free.

The object of this ordinance is explained by the French papers to be, that the government may be able to control all the mutations which may take place in the condition of their population.

The second ordinance enfranchises in the island of Martinique, Guadaloupe, French Guiana, and the isle of Bourbon,

1. All slaves, with whom their masters or mistresses have contracted marriage.

2. All slaves, who, with the consent of their masters, have contracted marriage with free persons; and if the parties have had natural children, these also are free.

3. All slaves, who, with the consent of their masters, are married to free persons, with whom they have contracted marriage before the date of this ordinance.

4. All slaves adopted with the consent of their masters by a free person.

5. All slaves who shall have been made general legatees by their masters, or appointed executors or guardians of his children.

6. Natural children, who are the slaves of their father or of their mother.

7. Parents, who are the slaves of their children.

8. Brothers and sisters, who are slaves of their brothers and sisters.

You will perceive that some of these provisions are of considerable importance. If they were applied to our slave states, they would remove the sanguinary law of the country, which makes it a crime to marry men of our ranks. A large body of questions have been prepared, suited to every quarter of the world where slavery exists, or has just been abolished, which, if attended to by the delegates, will place before the world a more valuable body of information than we have seen hitherto. The committee voted a delegation to wait on Webster, who is now in the city.

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LITERARY.

From the Christian Witness.

SONG OF THE BROTHERHOOD.

The steady subsidence of the agitation.—Intelligencer.
Correspondent of the Natchez Intelligencer.

"Abolitionism is rapidly dying away."—*Pro-Slavery papers—passim.*

Dying away—day after day—
This is the burden of our lay!
And louder yet shall the chorus ring—
For southern votes we'll strain our throats,
Till the air shall thrill with our servile notes,
For the 'sunny South' hath bidden us sing.
What care we that the press be free!
Freedom and slavery cannot agree—
Muzzle the press!—for the South hath spoken—
Down with petition! kill Abolition
With addled-egg logic and club-ammunition!
Discussion must cease, or the compact is broken.
Dying away—day after day—
This is the song we sing for pay!

True, we oppose, as every one knows,
The 'abstract' system of kicks and blows,
But—slaves are contented and masters kind.
True, we believe to plunder and thieve
Is not the best thing that a man can achieve,
But—the system has flourished for—time out of mind.
We know 'tis an evil, a child of the devil,
But to tell the South so would be thought hardly civil;
Besides is sanctioned by Peter and Paul—
All good men—what?—but the *Bible* is for 't,
And our hearts are at ease under pleas of this sort—
And Colonization's the 'cure,' after all!
Dying away—day after day—
This is the burden of our lay.

The 'fanatics' are few—they are gaining, 'tis true,
And the time may be near when our course we shall rue—
But still we'll protest they are 'dying away!'
Our consciences bought, we will *lie*, as we ought,
Nor give to the future a serious thought—
Sufficient the evil thereof to the day!
With the money we'll shout, when the time turn about,
For 'tis easy to wear our coats either side out;
And we've learned from the schools that '*expedience is right*.'
Old Time will disclose we are now aroid Jim Crows,
And can veer like a vane when the wind as it blows—
While the South *pays* best, for the South we'll fight!
Dying away! dying away!
This is the song we sing for pay!

From the Christian Witness.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

Where laugh the bright Antilles
Amid the Southern main,
Oppression long in pride had ruled,
With bloody scourge and chain—
The negro, crushed beneath his hand,
Bent at his cheerless toil,
And poured his unavailing tears
Upon the thirsty soil.

Curses and groans went upward
Continually to God,
And shrieks did vex the quiet air,
Where'er the tyrant trod—
The negro's sons dragged with tears,
And—darkest, dreariest fate—
His fetters clanked within his soul,
And made it desolate.

Year after year of bondage
The self-same story told
Of guilt, and woe, and severed hearts,
Mothers and children sold—
Hopes crushed, affections blighted, ties
The holiest, rent in twain,
And myriad victims dung upon
Thy bloody altar, Gain!

God saw it all!—the record
Was traced before His eye—
And in His own good time He sent
Deliverance from on high!
For the oppression of the poor
He rose, and shook the earth;
His hand unlocked the prison door
And led the captives forth.

Then swell'd the choral anthem
Those sunny isles among—
The freedman shouted in his joy,
And songs were on his tongue,
Songs of thanksgiving—hearts of prayer,
On every hill were heard;
The vales were vocal, and the air
With melody was stirred!

Praise to thy name, Jehovah!
Who hath deliverance wrought!—
We view the wonders of thy power,
With reverential thought;
We cry to Thee in faith—oh Lord!
Stretch forth thy helping hand,—
Break the strong fetters of the slave,
And spare our guilty land!

From the Emancipator.

LINES,

Written on leaving Porto Rico, via the United States, for Great Britain.

BY REV. PAUL BOBBLE.

Land of the Pirate and the Slave,
Where every virtue finds a grave,
And every vice triumphant reigns,
That man, in all his vileness, stains;
I hate thee! though thy mountains rise,
In solemn grandeur to the skies:
I hate thee! though thy valleys gleam,
With beauty in the morning beam:
I hate thee! though thy plains unfold
More precious wealth than mines of gold:
I hate thee! lovely as thou art,
And joy to hear the word, depart!
Land, which the Tyrant long hath trod,
And dared to stamp the throne of God;
Land, where the Slave no respite knows,
From tolls, and stripes, and bitter woes!
Land, where the murderer finds a home,
And avarice delights to come:—
Degraded in thy majesty,
Land of the vile, I hate from thee!
Propitious gales! bear me away,
Over the bright and bounding sea,
To Britain's fair, and much loved isles,
Where Virtue reigns and Freedom smiles!

HYMN,

Sung at the celebration of the First of August, by the National Anti-Slavery Convention at Albany, and written for the occasion by the Rev. John Scoble.

Hasten, O Lord, we pray,
The great and glorious hour,
When from the river to the sea,
The earth shall own thy power;
When thy pure Gospel light
Shall brighten every hale,
And, gilded by its radiance bright,
The Wilderness shall smile;
When from the Plains below,
Unto the Heights above,
The heart of every man shall glow
With Liberty and Love;
When solemn praise and prayer
To thee shall ever rise,
And Earth itself become once more
A blissful Paradise.

THE EDEN OF LOVE.

How sweet to reflect on those joys that await me,
In you blissful region, the haven of rest,
Where glorified spirits with welcome shall greet me,
And lead me to mansions prepared for the blest;
Encircled in light, and with glory enshrouded,
My happiness perfect, my mind's sky unclouded,
I'll bathe in the ocean of pleasure and love.
I'll range with delight through the Eden of Love.

W. C. TALLOW.

NON-RESISTANCE.

PROGRESS OF NON-RESISTANCE.

BARNSTABLE, Aug. 16, 1839.

MY BROTHER:

Having held fourteen public meetings in Nantucket, and having met as many social circles, from twelve to twenty-five persons, mostly for the discussion of the principles of non-resistance, in all their applications to individuals, nations and governments, their bearing on military and slavery systems and establishments; having visited several public schools and addressed them, (and better public schools, and more interesting and intelligent children, I have never seen)—having frequently met the colored people, and addressed them on abolition, non-resistance, temperance, and other subjects, and seen abundant evidence of the malignant prejudice against them among many whites—and having formed many associations here that will never be forgotten—I left the island the 2nd day of August, and came to Sandwich, on the north side of Cape Cod.

Aug. 4th, (Sabbath)—lectured three times in Sandwich, once in the Methodist house, once in the Unitarian, and at half-past 5, P. M. in the Town Hall. After the lecture at 5 1-2 o'clock, a discussion arose, that continued till 10 in the evening. On the 5th, I lectured in the Town Hall on human rights—showing the connexion between slavery and the man-killing principle; that the right to liberty will never be respected while the church, the state, ministers and people, lawyers and legislators, countenance the system of murder; took the ground that war is wrong as well as right to make the laws by which they are to be governed, and to affix the penalties under which they are to suffer, as the men. All *human* rights belong to all alike. Considerable excitement and interest here. The militia—our Christian (?) system of ruffianism, which Edward Everett and our unnamed Christian legislators and ministers and churches, are so anxious to sustain—is not in very good repute here, though one of the ministers recently assured the people that a soldier's profession was perfectly consistent with Christianity—quoting the centurion, to whom Peter was sent to prove the assertion!!

On the evenings of the 6th and 7th, lectured in Barnstable town, once in the Methodist and once in the Unitarian house. On the 8th, lectured in the Methodist house in Yarmouth. The 9th, in the Orthodox house in Centreville. The 11th, in the Baptist house in Hyannis. The 12th, a discussion in the Orthodox house in Centreville, on the inviolability of human life, and the necessary consequences of the principle. I took the following position:

A sin, in all cases, and under all circumstances, for man to take the life of man. This being established by arguments drawn from the Christian Scriptures; from the sympathies and principles of human nature; and from the history of individuals and governments; the following are necessary consequences. It is a sin to *endanger* human life; a sin to *threaten* life; a sin to *propose* to take life; a sin to incorporate the man-killing principle into our *governments*; a sin to create an *office*, the execution of which leads to the destruction of life; a sin to *fill* such an office *ourselves*; a sin to *elect another* to such an office; a sin to consent to be *invested* with power to declare war and kill men; and a sin to invest others with such power. Of course, the military system is a system of murder; the martial spirit is the spirit of rapine and murder; martial deeds, deeds of plunder and murder; martial glory, glory attained by arson and murder; monuments, orations, funeral sermons, poetry and odes, to commemorate martial deeds, victories and heroes, so many efforts to eulogize and commemorate wholesale robbery, educated revenge, scientific villany, and premeditated murder; all military schools and academies, colleges and academies to teach the art and science of human butchery and to create ruffians and assassins; all national penal codes and systems, based on man-killing, codes and systems of deliberate murder; and all who aid to execute such codes and systems as sins or necessarily tend to the destruction of life, are, in fact, abettors of arson, robbery, murder, and all unutterable wickedness.

All these consequences must follow, if it be sin under all circumstances—a violation of the holy law, THOU SHALT NOT KILL, for man to kill a man! I was, thus particular in stating the consequences, that all might see the everlasting importance of the fundamental principles of non-resistance, its potent effects on the existing institutions of mankind, and the sacrifices to which those may be called who embrace it, and consistently carry it out.

One of my opponents admitted, that it was a sin to take life as a penalty, or in defence; another admitted that it was *inexpedient*; but both doubted whether all the above inferences were legitimate and necessary. So the discussion rather turned on what were the necessary consequences of the principle. It is indeed a boon of destruction to the blood-cemented fabrics of protection and defence devised by men. Church and State put themselves under the protection of murder and ball, dirks, swords and guns; and for salvation to property, liberty and life, look to a conscious villany and deliberate murder. My language may seem hard, but my soul is in agony for imbrued, butchered *humanity*. I war not with *men*, but against *principles* and *systems*. Fidelity to God and man impels me to denounce the whole system of *homicide for defence*, or as a penalty, by individuals, nations or governments, as a system of deliberate, scientific ruffianism and murder, eternally opposed to the fundamental principles of the Divine government, repugnant to all that is kind, brotherly and magnanimous, in the human heart, and inadmissible at the last day in a court of equity. I would bring HUMANITY under the protection of the law—THOU SHALT NOT KILL. It is safe no where else.

On the 13th inst. a discussion in Oysterville, in a meeting house, similar to the one on the 12th in Centreville. The 14th, a lecture in Yarmouth. The 15th, a lecture in Barnstable.

How is it? My most strenuous opponents seem to marshal under the banner of the Massachusetts Abolition Society; and to regard that society as bound into being mainly to put down non-resistance! The agents and friends of that society, many of them, embrace every opportunity, in their lectures and public meetings, to misrepresent and denounce the principles of non-resistance. Elizur Wright, Jr. Editor of their official organ, reaches his hand for defence, and phrases to denounce non-resistants and their principles—*Downright absurdity.' 'Confusing, dogmatic, pugnacious warriors.' 'Hobby riders!' 'Canada thistles.' 'Pervasive moonshine.' 'Cloud phalanxes.' 'Physical persistence.' 'Interminable legions of logical cobwebs.' 'Fine-spun cobwebs.' Such are the phrases by which the Massachusetts Abolition Society, through their official organ, designate the commands of God, 'Thou shalt not kill,'—'Resist not evil,'—'Love your enemies'—'Forgive one another, as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you'—'Avenge not yourselves'—'Return to no man evil for evil'—'Overcome evil with good'—and those who believe and advocate the principles of these holy commands. Truly, if the martyr spirit of Jesus, the self-denying principles of the gospel, and the pure and bloodless banner of non-resistance, could be struck down by low and impertinent jests and insinuations sneers, by buffoonery and scurrility, then would Elizur Wright, Jr. and the Massachusetts Abolition Society win the race against non-resistance. But we shall see. These phrases, coined by brother E. Wright, for the benefit of that Society, are eagerly caught up and bandied about, by those who delight to pour out their contempt, and vent their spite and malignity against the long-suffering, meek, non-resisting spirit and precepts of Him who both loved us and died for us. May Heaven lead their erring brother, and all his coadjutors who are in bondage to Christ and his Cross, to a better mind, and to a calm reflection on the influence of their course on the cause of humanity. Brethren, CONSIDER THE END FROM THE BEGINNING.

There are many true friends of humanity on the Cape, who love the cause of abolition and also of non-resistance. H. C. WRIGHT.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.

NEW BEDFORD, Aug. 12, 1839.

'Are you a non-resistant?' 'No—I go for the new organization—the Massachusetts Abolition Society. This is a common reply to the above question. Ask a man what are his views of the principles of non-resistance—he considers it sufficient to answer, that he favors the new organization. So, after all, in the opinion of those who favor the Massachusetts Abolition Society, that society originated in hatred to non-resistance, and in a selfish hostility to woman's taking any part in the anti-slavery cause, except such as the men see fit to assign her; and its great end, is not the abolition, not of slavery, but of non-resistance, and the exclusion of women from the privileges of membership in our public meetings. I find this to be the view taken of that society wherever I go, by abolitionists. The society is spoken of by ministers and politicians, as *a society formed to oppose non-resistance, and to keep women in their 'appropriate sphere'*—i. e. where they may not think, speak, vote, deliberate, or act, except as men give them liberty!

Are there not good reasons why the community should not like the new organization? The first and great argument for the necessity of a new society was—the Massachusetts A. S. Society and the N. E. Convention refused to pass a vote, excluding women from deliberating, speaking and voting in our public Anti-Slavery meetings, and in our conventions, and in the state and national societies. By the constitution, they had a right to act in the business meetings. They chose to exercise that right. Because the Mass. A. S. Society refused to exclude its female members from the exercise of their rights, it follows out that a new society must be formed. Then came non-resistance—laying down two great principles, i. e. that man has no power of life and death over man, and that it is a sin for individuals or nations to do to others what cannot be done in the spirit of Christ. Because the Massachusetts A. S. Society refused to pass a sentence of condemnation on non-resistance, and to exclude non-resistants from the abolition platform, it was said a new society must be formed. These were the only *avowed* reasons for forming a new society.

Since the Massachusetts *Abolition* Society was formed, its agents and editors, and ministers who favor it, have held it up before the people as opposed to non-resistance, and to the admission of women to act in Anti-Slavery meetings. To interest the people in the new society, and to obtain support, appeals are made to their hatred of non-resistance, rather than to their abhorrence of slavery! So constant and uniform are these appeals, that many, all with whom I converse, regard the Massachusetts *Abolition Society* as an antagonist to the New England Non-Resistance Society. Many of its supporters regard the Massachusetts Abolitionist as opposed to the Non-Resistant, rather than to slavery. It is frequently quoted by its readers as the great champion of an armed and bloody resistance to aggression. Elizur Wright, Jr. its editor, says the instinct which leads to such a resistance, is a 'heaven-born' instinct. The remark is quoted by the new organizationists with much emphasis. They appeal to Elizur Wright, Jr. as the great champion of armed and bloody resistance to oppression, and quote him to prove the right to draw the 'sabre of revolution' to overthrow slavery.

Whatever may be the feelings of those brethren who formed the new society,—however sincere and intense their hatred of slavery, and their desire for its immediate abolition,—it is certain that, owing to the reasons which they have assigned for their recent movements, the spirit they have manifested and the objects they have sought, have directed their efforts, they stand before the world, not as abolitionists—the settled and eternal enemies of slavery, but as the advocates of the right and the duty of the slave to attempt his deliverance by the sabre—the sword of revolution!—by the destruction of the slaveholders—as the open and avowed enemies of non-resistance! Wherever I go, the opponents of the principles of non-resistance—the advocates of blood and slaughter—of the right to take life, to avenge wrongs and blot out the image of God in man, and mingle his noble form with the dust—gather under the wing of A. A. Phelps, Elizur Wright, Jr. and Orange Scott. To these brethren they look for support in their attempts to uphold the right to make a brother his brother, and arrest the progress of non-resistance!

It is deeply to be deplored that these brethren, who have hitherto so consistently and faithfully advocated the cause of human rights, and done such service upon slavery, should now have abandoned the slave, *in the opinion of the people*, and become known only as the enemies of non-resistance; and that they should have organized a society to execute their purposes the more effectually, and should now attempt to convert all the town and county and state societies of the State into anti-non-resistance societies. They have entered upon this crusade against non-resistance, without an attempt to disprove the principles on which alone the society is based. They are acting exactly the part towards non-resistance, which abolitionists have acted and are acting towards abolition—not daring to meet us to discuss its principles, but trying to prejudice the minds of men against it, by a fearful array of supposed direful consequences. We have but one or two great principles in the Non-Resistance Society—

'I. e. THE ABSOLUTE INVIOLABILITY OF HUMAN LIFE—*that the penal power over man is in the hand of God alone—that man is never to seek his own benefit, or the benefit of others, by inflicting suffering and death on his fellow beings.*' Brother Elizur and Wright wished to oppose non-resistance, and to organize the State and all New England into one solid phalanx to crush it—why did they not first come out and discuss the principles? This would have been manly, honest, and Christian-like—more like a believer in truth. But this they have never done. Not an argument have they offered to show that man is invested with the power of life and death over man—the very corner-stone of non-resistance.

These, then, are qualifications in public opinion, to join the Massachusetts Abolition Society—1. To believe it 'a sin for women to speak or vote in the public meetings of the Anti-Slavery conventions and societies'—2. 'To hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred.' 3. To believe that the instinct which prompts to an armed and bloody resistance to tyrants is a '*heaven-born instinct.*' 4. To believe that it is the right and the duty of the slave to appeal to the '*sabre of revolution*' to gain his liberty. At least, in the estimation of many of the supporters of that society, no other qualifications are needful. H. C. W.

NOT ADAPTED TO THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY.

MY BROTHER:

Few objections to non-resistance are urged more frequently than this—by those who admit the principles to be fundamental principles of christianity, and by those who 'hate them with a perfect hatred,' as Orange Scott does. The latter argue that they cannot be put in practice, because they are intolerable to the *existing* condition of society; the former affirms, with Elizur Wright, Jr. that 'the solid globe will as soon be melted by moon-beams,' as these principles be endorsed by men, however true they may be.

The same objection was urged against temperance. Though a sin to drink alcoholic drink, yet there is no use in preaching it while men are as they are. Such is the prevalence of drunkenness, and the thirst for strong drink, that there is no use in urging total abstinence. It is a sinecure villany to hold and use man as property, and slavery ought to be immediately abolished; but the people are so in love with cruelty, injustice and robbery, that there is no use in urging immediate abolition—the nation is not prepared for it. The people are all liars and blasphemers, and ought to stop these sins—but they will not, and there is no use of preaching truth and righteousness. The people are so wicked, it is not adapted to their present wicked condition for them to be holy. The people are so full given to idolatry, and it is not adapted to the existing state of society to tell them to stop serving idols, and worship the true God. When the people all stop bowing to idols, then will I see it is a sin to serve idols, and that all ought to worship Jehovah.

So the objection says, society is not yet in a state in which it will do for men to stop shooting, stabbing, and hanging each other. Men are too full of murder, to obey the command, 'Thou shalt not kill'—too full of revenge to leave vengeance to God, and to overcome evil with good.' Thus we must wait till men have ceased lying and stealing—till we tell them it is a sin to steal—till men must wait till slavery and the slave-trade are abolished, before we declare it a sin to make merchandize of our brother; must wait till men have ceased to kill each other, before we say it is murder to kill a man; and wait till men have ceased to hate after dominion over man, before we proclaim that governments of human will and brute force are treason against God.

The principles of non-resistance cannot be carried out in the *present* state of the world! That is true. They cannot be honest, while they are dishonest—to cheat and steal; cannot be peaceable, while determined to live by violence; cannot cease from robbery and piracy, while determined to continue slaveholders. So, they cannot be non-resistants, while they are determined 'to kill, slay and destroy' each other in self-defence, or as a penalty; cannot pay due allegiance to God, while they acknowledge allegiance to human governments; cannot trust in God, while they trust in man; cannot follow Christ, while they follow the devil; cannot establish the kingdom of God on earth, while they are determined to act the part of traitors to God, and establish the kingdom of human will and violence. We do not expect the kingdom of God will come, while a deceived and deceiving church is determined to make swords and guns, and teach the art of murder, and call it a time-serving, Christ-rejecting clergy stimulate the people to robbery, piracy and murder.

But non-resistance aims to change this state of violence, anarchy and blood, in which men are now divided, and ever must be, while men are impiously usurping a penal power over man, into a state of love, and peace, and safety; to bring men out of the kingdom of swords and guns, of human will and violence, into the peaceful, bloodless kingdom of God; to bring men out from under the iron despotism of sin, and put them under the loving, eternal dominion of the Lord Almighty. Governments of human will and violence are just as necessary as human wickedness—no more so; they are essential parts of human wickedness—they are the concentrated power of human wickedness—the consummate fruit of human wickedness. Non-resistance calls man out of this state, and enthrones in him Christ as King of kings, and Lord of lords. Its mission is to change this field of blood into a paradise of love—to dethrone from the heart of man his brutal rule, and bring all to sing, 'Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.' H. C. W.

SANDWICH, (MASS.) Aug. 13th, 1839.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

We of this lethargic little village have had a visit from brother H. C Wright, who discoursed to us in strains of simple eloquence, (such as is admirably suited to enlighten the understanding and soften the obduracy of the human heart,) on the subject of Non-resistance and the Human Rights. The first of these was entirely new to most of his hearers; and the felicitous manner of brother Wright's illustration of his subject excited a desire in many to know more of the matter—several remaining by invitation after the close of the lecture, for the purpose of proposing questions, and receiving answers to their objections. The result has been greatly to weaken the force of the objections existing in the minds of many, and all admit the doctrine of non-resistance to be that which must prevail among men, in the present state of moral and spiritual perfection, of which their nature is susceptible. But each one seems disposed to wait till *his neighbor* becomes perfect, ere he will venture to tread in the paths of perfect righteousness, though every footstep is a medium with light beaming from the example of Jesus, his perfect Savior!

The latter subject was ably presented by brother Wright, in the light of the Declaration of American Independence—the sentiments of which he very forcibly illustrated, showing it to be identical with the sentiments of modern abolitionism. He showed that the existence of slavery in this republic is at war with all the self-evident truths set forth in that remarkable instrument, and indelibly stamps its guilty blot upon every national page, that truths he uttered sank deep in many a heart, whose every throb is a deep response to the justice of those sentiments; and if their voices could fall on the ears of southern and western slaveholders, they would be constrained to cease their abhorrent and the foul and hateful system, by faithful unceasing of the fearful admonition, 'Immediately repent, or perish.'

May the God of peace and love, of justice, truth and mercy, take up the glorious cause you advocate, and, with his special keeping, silence the enemies of his truth, and speed the blissful period when war and slavery shall give place to the universal prevalence of liberty and love!

Yours in the bonds of peace and love, and universal liberty. T. P.

CENTREVILLE, (MASS.) Aug. 13th, 1839.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

I wish to say to you, that brother Wright is with us, exciting much interest on the momentous subject of non-resistance. He has delivered five lectures in this town, and it has been the people almost by unanimous request, as in other places, there are a scattering few who cherish the principles. But how plainly is the war spirit made manifest, by developing the simple precepts of Jesus! Last evening was devoted to a free discussion of the following position of his lecture of the same. The discussion is to be continued at Osterville, this evening. Brother Wright stands like a man, planted on the rock of principle, unmoved. Dear brother, there are many non-resistants on the Cape, I think, all ready to hail the flag. Pray send him. We want him to live in the Cape. Some of us feel it in our hearts to live and die with such; but we are a scattered body, like partridges on the mountain.

Bro. W. will lecture in Yarmouth the 15th, and then will leave for Plymouth. I would suggest, that the Congregational meeting-house, in this place, was closed against bro. W. last Sabbath afternoon, by order of a majority of the trustees. I suppose because he is too sweeping against corruption.

I remain, thine, in bonds, S. J.

PROFESSED MINISTERS OF CHRIST.

Extract of a letter from an esteemed religious brother.

'I do not believe there is in the nation a man of mind more entirely enslaved to popular cowardice—I do not think more absolutely controlled by political expediency and worldly policy—more utterly disqualified to lead the way in the great work of universal love and humanity—than that which is usually held in the pulpit of this city. Everywhere—nothing elsewhere—lied up and completely trammelled by their love of human applause, and by the dignity of office. I despair of their reformation. I feel less and less inclined to seek their aid in any good cause. They are blind, they are blind, and yet they are willing to their liking. They are the bitterest enemies to the Christ-like doctrines of Non-Resistance. They shake hands with robbers and murderers. As a body, they are in the way of man's redemption—the staunchest apologists of violence and bloodshed.'

IRONSTAVE MEETING. The first annual meeting of the New-Bedford Non-Resistance Society will be held in Boston on the 25th of September, which we confidently believe will be attended by a large number of the most devoted philanthropists and christians in the land. We anticipate an occasion of thrilling interest. Those ministers, editors and clergymen, (especially among abolitionists,) who are copiously discharging their gall and bitterness upon this Society, know not what spirit they are of, and are ignorant of the strong hold which this holy and heavenly enterprise has taken upon the best affections of the followers of the Prince of Peace. It will be seen, at the approaching meeting, of what materials non-resistants are made, and whether they are among those who fear God, and love the cross of Christ, or who are unchristian and infidels. Our non-resistance friends, in all parts of the country, are invited to be with us on the occasion alluded to. Those who cannot come are requested to send us letters, expressive of their views and feelings to be read at the meeting, and perhaps published with the proceedings.

From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.

A new Society has recently been organized, in Massachusetts, under the above name. It is composed in part, of the strongest and most efficient advocates of non-resistance in the State, and in part, of those who become wearied and disgusted with the erratic and dogmatical course of the '*Liberator*,' as well as the unreverencing irreverence of the old society to the arrogance of its editor; and a separate organization has been the consequence.

We have long been pained, in viewing the whimsical and unreflecting conduct of our old friend Garrison. While laboring ardently, and in a high degree successfully, in the promotion of our sacred cause, (at least in making converts to it in the free States,) he *would* set restrain his propensity to meddle with other subjects, which create a great difference of opinion exists among well-minded men, and which are calculated to produce heated controversies, unfriendly feelings, and a diminution of co-operative sentiment and action. The result is nothing more than what might have been expected, even in a case where the cause would very well accommodated with his disposition, we could indulge the hope that he might profit by the lesson which experience is now teaching him.

MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITIONIST.

We hail the appearance of this work with peculiar satisfaction. It will meet the views and wishes of a large portion of the friends of immediate emancipation, who have been disgusted, and measurably alienated from an active participation in the great and important enterprise, by the wild and absurd theories intermingled with the discussions of the subject, in the columns of the '*Liberator*.' The vagaries of W. L. Garrison and H. C. Wright, relative to political action, and allegiance to civil government, have nothing (we think) have been the chief obstacles to the efficient operation of the *Abolition of Slavery*. These gentlemen, in common with others, are entitled to their opinions—and we would contend for them, as for every one but the rest of the laborers in the anti-slavery vineyard. We would not attempt to deprive them of the privileged of expressing their opinions at seasons, and in suitable places. But they have *no positive right* to force them into the great controversy, in which all are equally interested, and which involves the spirit of Christ. Because the Massachusetts A. S. Society refused to pass a sentence of condemnation on non-resistance, and to exclude non-resistants from the abolition platform, it was said a new society must be formed. These were the only *avowed* reasons for forming a new society.

Since the Massachusetts *Abolition* Society was formed, its agents and editors, and ministers who favor it, have held it up before the people as opposed to non-resistance, and to the admission of women to act in Anti-Slavery meetings. To interest the people in the new society, and to obtain support, appeals are made to their hatred of non-resistance, rather than to their abhorrence of slavery! So constant and uniform are these appeals, that many, all with whom I converse, regard the Massachusetts *Abolition Society* as an antagonist to the New England Non-Resistance Society. Many of its supporters regard the Massachusetts Abolitionist as opposed to the Non-Resistant, rather than to slavery. It is frequently quoted by its readers as the great champion of an armed and bloody resistance to aggression. Elizur Wright, Jr. its editor, says the instinct which leads to such a resistance, is a 'heaven-born' instinct. The remark is quoted by the new organizationists with much emphasis. They appeal to Elizur Wright, Jr. as the great champion of armed and bloody resistance to oppression, and quote him to prove the right to draw the 'sabre of revolution' to overthrow slavery.

Whatever may be the feelings of those brethren who formed the new society,—however sincere and intense their hatred of slavery, and their desire for its immediate abolition,—it is certain that, owing to the reasons which they have assigned for their recent movements, the spirit they have manifested and the objects they have sought, have directed their efforts, they stand before the world, not as abolitionists—the settled and eternal enemies of slavery, but as the advocates of the right and the duty of the slave to attempt his deliverance by the sabre—the sword of revolution!—by the destruction of the slaveholders—as the open and avowed enemies of non-resistance! Wherever I go, the opponents of the principles of non-resistance—the advocates of blood and slaughter—of the right to take life, to avenge wrongs and blot out the image of God in man, and mingle his noble form with the dust—gather under the wing of A. A. Phelps, Elizur Wright, Jr. and Orange Scott. To these brethren they look for support in their attempts to uphold the right to make a brother his brother, and arrest the progress of non-resistance!

It is deeply to be deplored that these brethren, who have hitherto so consistently and faithfully advocated the cause of human rights, and done such service upon slavery, should now have abandoned the slave, *in the opinion of the people*, and become known only as the enemies of non-resistance; and that they should have organized a society to execute their purposes the more effectually, and should now attempt to convert all the town and county and state societies of the State into anti-non-resistance societies. They have entered upon this crusade against non-resistance, without an attempt to disprove the principles on which alone the society is based. They are acting exactly the part towards non-resistance, which abolitionists have acted and are acting towards abolition—not daring to meet us to discuss its principles, but trying to prejudice the minds of men against it, by a fearful array of supposed direful consequences. We have but one or two great principles in the Non-Resistance Society—

'I. e. THE ABSOLUTE INVIOLABILITY OF HUMAN LIFE—*that the penal power over man is in the hand of God alone—that man is never to seek his own benefit, or the benefit of others, by inflicting suffering and death on his fellow beings.*' Brother Elizur and Wright wished to oppose non-resistance, and to organize the State and all New England into one solid phalanx to crush it—why did they not first come out and discuss the principles? This would have been manly, honest, and Christian-like—more like a believer in truth. But this they have never done. Not an argument have they offered to show that man is invested with the power of life and death over man—the very corner-stone of non-resistance.

These, then, are qualifications in public opinion, to join the Massachusetts Abolition Society—1. To believe it 'a sin for women to speak or vote in the public meetings of the Anti-Slavery conventions and societies'—2. 'To hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred.' 3. To believe that the instinct which prompts to an armed and bloody resistance to tyrants is a '*heaven-born instinct.*' 4. To believe that it is the right and the duty of the slave to appeal to the '*sabre of revolution*' to gain his liberty. At least, in the estimation of many of the supporters of that society, no other qualifications are needful. H. C. W.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Oberlin Evangelist.

'MY BRO MASTA JESUS ALL THE TIME.'—One of our dear brethren also spent the last winter in Louisiana, interesting himself especially among the people of color. This individual has been long in the cause, and is a great favorite with all who know him. He was urged by the missionary to quit his present foolish and hurtful. About a week after his departure, a great big negro, who had acquired about the size of Massa, me go tight off dat place, and I tell dat Massa Jesus all away.' 'But, said the missionary, 'is it true? very hard to do this.' 'Yes, true altogether!' 'Yes,' said the poor negro, 'for me be *Massa Jesus time!*'

How frankly this meaning is thus expressed! A poor, worn out emancipated slave! He was sold to serve rapacious men, and he thinks of enlightened Jesus. It contains the essence of Christianity—'Love God with the flesh, and the Devil. The Spirit hinder but truth hinders.' 'Pray' the secret of the Lord with them that fear him.' J. A. L.

ARREPORT.—Among the rail-road passengers from Troy to Saratoga, on Friday last, were Mr. John G. Whittier of Philadelphia, and a young lady, a fugitive chiselling the shape of a slaveholder. Friend Whittier in mild manner, and of course, put forth some of free thoughts in condemnation of slavery. Some of the passengers, if of tender feelings, felt the force of the unterable things, crying out 'the horrors of slavery.—'You must be careful, sir, what you say, I am a slaveholder!' 'Indeed!' to which John quietly replied, 'Thou must be careful what thou says for I am a Quaker.' This really change of subject, and the young lady was relieved by the sketch under a volley of laughter. The baffled slaveholder was well improved by a free interchange of views, the speaking author, in which he the Southern Gentleman acknowledged slavery to be a shame and a curse—'I am truly ashamed of it.' Thus the publishers of the 'Abolitionist' to wage a contest with the editor of the 'Liberator.' They propose to adhere strictly to the principles of *Emancipation*, apart from all others of a controversial nature.—*Bid.*

'I SERVED IT.'—In his letter to Mr. Adams, our Br. Goodell says, 'William Penn and his successors knew how to reconcile civil government and its penal sanctions with the Christian principles of peace.' Then they knew how to reconcile fire and gunpowder, oil and water! Punishment and forgiveness are identical in the Christian system. The attack upon the non-resistance views of Samuel J. May, and Edmund Quincy, in such a document, is certainly uncalled for!—*Liberator.*

Think again, brother Garrison. Does not the Divine government reconcile the penal sanctions of law with Gospel forgiveness and peace? Do not righteousness and peace embrace each other, in the Divine administration? Do we not, in the same Bible, read of 'fiery indignation,' [yea, of 'fire and brimstone!] 'the wrath of God,' 'adversaries,' and yet of 'long suffering' and 'tender mercies!' Or him '*who made* Egypt and Israel, Pharaoh and Moses, for his *mercy* endureth forever?' Of him who 'forgiveth iniquity, transgression and sin, and will by no means clear the guilty?' We think you should answer 'yes.' Do not the Jews, and Samuel? If you say that under the new dispensation, man is not commissioned to punish, as he was formerly, then it is the proof of *that fact*, and let the issue be made up upon the Scripture testimony! *Any of civil government*, and to whom it belongs, is *in that point* [not on the general subject] not a Christian institution, and the New Testament contains in common with the old.] But do not, we beseech you, assume the false principle that 'punishment and forgiveness' cannot be 'reconciled' in the same individual, or in the same government. If this doctrine be true, then a Christian cannot be a magistrate nor a juror, nor never will punish sin, either in the present life or hereafter. And if God never punishes transgressors, then Christians should never '*demand* it.'

Their blind leaders are the most active in our anti-slavery paper, upon the peculiar views of our anti-slavery friends at the east, though it seems they do not consider the propriety of them in the Liberator 'uncalled for.' We only 'sift in' what seems to us necessary to caution abolitionists against throwing away their liberty, and their souls, for a mere shadow.

Appalling.—At a Temperance meeting held recently in Hartford, Ct., the following astonishing statement was made:

'The writers remarked, that in addition to the enormous premature deaths occasioned indirectly by the traffic in intoxicating drinks, the prematurely aged in this city, in the last ten years, in lifted to the grave no less than *one hundred and forty-four* who died of old age, and seventeen, all sent and buried in the prime of life.'

Rev. Nathaniel Hewit, D. D. of Bridgeport, acknowledges the receipt of thirty dollars from the Rev. Mr. H. Stetenson, Secretary of Ohio, for a life member of the American Colonization Society.

Munificent Bequest. The late Nathan Moore, late of Elbridge, Onondaga county, bequeathed to the Bible Society, the sum of $1,000.

TEMPERANCE PROCESSION IN LONDON.—The number of 8000 total abstinence men, with 'an immense crowd of well dressed females, extending for more than a mile, bearing the principal streets of London, and the object of attention to half a million of people.

A gentleman in the vicinity of Leeds has given 3000 bricks to the accommodation of which are children above one hundred pounds.

EBENEZER BAILEY lately died at his residence in Lynn Mineral Springs, in consequence of a wound received in his left foot, while engaged in the field. He was a native of West Newbury, and for several years an eminent teacher of Boston. He was for several years a member of the City Council.

THE CELEBRATED GERMAN COUGH REMEDY, ENTIRELY VEGETABLE.

THIS is the best and most popular medicine for the relief and cure of the complaints of their breast, that might be obtained, if necessary.—Every family should be provided with it, to have a box constantly at hand. Persons who have suffered about months coughs when other remedies failed. *Directions*—Take two at bed time, and one in the morning, if very hard and tiring, and one in the evening. They can be taken at any time without food. The efficacy of the medicine is above one hundred pounds.

CHARLES WHIPPLE, wholesale agent, Boston. Price 25 cents per box. A liberal discount to the wholesale purchasers.

Sold by HENRY WHIPPLE, Salem; A. B. Ward & Co. Manchester; George Spofford & Co. Newburyport; Daniel Cogswell, Ipswich; J. A. Smith, Georgetown; Daniel Perkins, Proctor; Daniel Cooledge, and Oliver Porter, Lynn; Daniel Cogswell, Essex; B. F. Adams, Peabody; Daniel Cogswell, Rockport; Marblehead; Daniel Cogswell, Newburyport.

BILIOUS PHYSICAL PILLS, OR, THE PEOPLE'S FAMILY MEDICINE.

THESE Pills have been used by the proprietor for many years, and have received great benefit from them. They are entirely vegetable, and are very mild in their effect. Persons who have used them they would give testimony that is now expended. *Directions*—Take from one to four. Price 25 cents per box.

CHARLES WHIPPLE, wholesale agent, Boston. Sold also by HENRY WHIPPLE, Salem, and others as above.

FARM FOR SALE.

Situated near the pleasant village of Rockville, Windham County, Connecticut, within five walk of the Court House, Academy, Meeting-house and three meeting-houses of different denominations, and within about EIGHTY ACRES GOOD LAND, is well fenced and divided, with a good house, three spring-failing springs of excellent water, two orchards, and a grove of pine timber, sufficient for the use of one family.

Also, a large and commodious DWELLING HOUSE, with other convenient buildings, in good repair. The house is located between two stores, and the Rockville Bank, and the Providence and Stonington, Norwich and Worcester stage-coaches. The Providence and Worcester railroad is now under contract, and will bring Boston within two hours of Rockville. Inquire of the subscriber, or of Messrs. Ripley, Boston, S. T. Hay, South Scituate, or the subscriber on the premises. GEO. W. HOWARD.

Broo