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VOL. IX. THE LIBERATOR. NO. 37.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

ISAAC KNAPP, PRINTER.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1839.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Anti-Slavery Lecturer.

LECTURE VII.

EXPENSIVENESS OF SLAVERY. LOSS TO THE PLANTERS! TAX ON THE NATION AND ON THE NORTH!

It is remarkable that many who freely admit 'the wrongfulness of slavery' have no meet us with the defence 'I will deal with the subject!' i. e., 'Why should I trouble myself about it? let them settle their own affairs!' It is charitably presumed that many who make this singular demand, have paid little attention to 'the subject.' They do not carefully weigh the evil. If they felt the reality of the evil, and they are, I do not ask a question. When they see the evil, they will say, 'Let the friends of a Safe-Treasury, of a National Bank, they do not wind up with a proclamation to 'let the evil alone!'

It has been shown that the prompt abolition of slavery was not only safe, practicable, and prudent, but that it would prove the most wise and kind of all measures. Slavery is fruitful in evil; it is a fruitful catalogue of evils and sore evils.

We are warranted to infer that SLAVERY is the fruitful source of the manifold evils which its ABOLITION is found to remove. We may argue the permanent effects of the system, from the benefits that follow its abandonment.

The West India planters have told us that abolition brought them a great loss, and a great blessing. The benefits that change by telling us that the restoration of freedom, brings to them greater profit than the loss and expense of it imports a new spring of industry—introduces new inventions—improves the system of cultivation—enlivens the operatives—increases the value of the estates—elevates the ruining classes, makes them more intelligent, moral, and helping, and orderly—increases the danger of insurrection, opens new facilities for religious instruction—renders those instructions more efficacious—makes the laborer more benevolent, honest, and industrious.

This is only telling us, in other words, that slavery reduces property, and makes the slaveholder poor! If the testimony be true, and if like causes produce like effects, it follows that our own country is in no respect in the same relation to Africa and Africans as we have so happily escaped. 'It is true that such a fact, (if it be a fact,) is none of our business!' Whether it is or is not, is no matter. We cannot examine the West India testimony by so doing. For fear of an examination, that some of these evils exist, it is asserted that West India abolition is said to have removed, then we may perhaps question the fact of the West India testimony, we attribute West India

VIEWS OF THE PRESS.

The case of the unfortunate Africans now in prison at New Haven on a charge of piracy, has very limited the example of our fellow citizens, and in every, has excited deep interest in the community. The following articles will serve as a specimen of the feelings and opinions of the northern press.

From the Boston Courier.

THE AFRICAN CAPTIVES. We do not recollect an incident, for many years, the occurrence of which has caused so general a feeling of deep interest in the community, as the case of the Africans captured in the Spanish schooner Amistad. *Where* and for *what* are they to be tried, are questions which have been asked in some of the newspapers; some contend that they must be tried in the district of New-York, and others that of Connecticut. Some contend that they must be tried for murder—others for piracy. We are not sufficiently familiar with the principles of law to form a decision upon this, but we arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to ourself, much less, to present an argument that may satisfy others.

These unhappy wretches are now in gaol. The crime, for which they are committed, in the technical language of the law, is called *murder* and *piracy*, perhaps both; and the punishment of either is death. In the language of humanity they have committed no crime at all. They have arisen in self defence in the cry, in which they were born, and which has been wrested from them by robbers, pirates, and murderers. In making this attempt they have done nothing more than every man in America would have done in similar circumstances, *if he had courage enough to do it*; nothing more than the laws of God, the laws of man, and the instincts of nature, justly and demand. The unsophisticated common sense of the world revolts at the idea of having committed any crime.

The next step to be taken in regard to these captives, we presume will be to present the case to a grand jury, and, if twelve men can be found, to say that they are guilty of murder or piracy, they must then be arraigned, and tried by twelve jury, before whom all the arguments that the ingenuity of lawyers can devise, will be urged with all the eloquency of the men accustomed to exercise their talents in a case of fiction. On a jury of twelve men be found in the *free* states, that will convict these captives of a crime, that will subject them to the punishment of death? We hope not. For the honor of a people, who call themselves enlightened and free, we hope that there will be found twelve men, who are not totally depraved and past all redemption,—who have not yet learned to use the name of an American, by rendering a verdict of guilty.

But perhaps the Court will decide that the case is beyond its jurisdiction, and that the prisoners must be delivered up to the Spanish government, to be disposed of as that nation, tribunals and laws may direct. We all know, in such a case, what the end would be.

We are aware that, in the view of the conventional laws of nations, the case appears to be a very difficult one; subjected to the laws of humanity, or morals, or religion, the case is as simple a one as can be imagined, and unsophisticated common sense, in every man, whatever be his station, profession, or complexion, *feels* that the prisoners performed a deed of chivalry, that would, if they were not *black*, command admiration and applause.

Joseph Cinguez, the daring leader of this band of captives, is a hero, worthy to be ranked with the of the oldest Roman, whose name ever graced the pages of history. And shall he be hung for striving to regain his liberty and give it to his fellow countrymen? Shame, shame, on the law or the country, which shall bring his life to such a termination. If they hang this noble fellow, the scaffold, in our country, will be not a throne more brilliant than ever Alexander or Napoleon ever sat upon. He ought to enjoy the liberty for which he has so heroically contended, until the shades of fifteen million free Americans.

The following letter from a gentleman, appointed by some of the citizens of New-York to visit the African prisoners at New Haven, we found in the New-York *Journal of Commerce*.

To the inquiries in behalf of the African prisoners at New Haven.

Gentlemen—Having been deputed to visit the country of African captives now in confinement at New Haven, I beg to lay before you the facts in particulars respecting their situation. I found them occupying four or five apartments in the house of the United States Marshal, N. Wilcox. Esq. and his assistant Mr. Pendleton. They seem to be made as comfortable as is consistent with their situation, and have all the they need opportunities for exercise in the open air.

This, I hope, will be acquired as soon as the marshal returns from New Haven, where he went to take an inventory of the slaver and its contents. A faithful and accomplished physician, Charles Butler, M. D. of New Haven, is devoting to their relief professional attention they need. Five or six of them are in the hospital apparently not dangerous, and are slightly affected with bowel complaints. They have all been decently clothed in cotton shirts and trowsers, by the order of the marshal, and the rest are now provided as soon as the physician shall direct. Care is also taken as to their food.

They have not a sentence of clothing when taken near our shore, as has been represented in the papers, but had clothing, probably found on board the slaver, which they did not wear in consequence of the intolerable heat when confined in the hold of the slaver. Great care cannot be too great to prevent the slave trade, the first that have been known in Connecticut for a great many years.

Multitudes crowd to the prison, the keeper charging each one a New York shilling, the swalls of which after a just compensation for his trouble, he purposes to expend for the benefit of the prisoners, or for some other charitable object. Objections have been made to this course, but I found some of the most intelligent and humane of the citizens satisfied that sympathy produced by it is rather favorable than otherwise to the prisoners, and also useful in raising their spirits, &c.

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I took along with me an old African man, who said he could speak the Congo language, in hopes thereby of making the means of communication among them, as the newspapers said they speak the Congo; but they all say they are not Congoes. Many of them say Mandingo, whence this supposed Mandingo, though it is not unlikely there are persons of several tribes among them.

Benevolent efforts will be made to obtain the means of communication with these unfortunate persons, who have been represented to me as anxious to be over to be tried for their lives, without an opportunity to say a word for themselves, and without a word communicated to them explanatory of the nature of the case.

They are detained by the marshal on two processes; one the commitment for trial on a charge of murder, and the other the claim upon them as property by the Spaniards who pretend to be their owners, and by the American captors who have libelled them for salvage.

It is believed there are a number of Africans in this city, of various tribes, some of whom will be able to communicate with them.

Very respectfully,

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

143 Nassau street, Friday morning,
September 6th.

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To the editors of the Courier.

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Let, or not forget that Don Pedro Ruiz is a nobleman of Spaniard, a *great deal better than we are*. He will be in Africa himself, *residing* in the Spanish Indies, although he is rich. Not. He loves money too well, and taking advantage of the poverty of his money slave, he sails in Cuba to purchase a few more of his fellows, which are forty-nine human beings, who had rather die than remain slaves. With difficulty, he was at last since in the possession of his property, and he hoped to sell at this moment on the way to a place of perpetual bondage, with other free born citizens, guiltless of crime, and condemned to perpetual slavery, which one of us, I say, whilst feeling the billows of an ocean that spurns control, heard a female, with eyes dry, with too much grief for the past, indignation for the present, and despair for the future, and with the knowledge that not one of the last two, could avail, would not make,—by, and be lived out in making, and in consulting others to make,—a desperate attempt to regain his property, and to free the poor themselves, which had been stolen from them by a pirate and *bought by a rich Christian nobleman*. I do not think so hardly of the Spanish nobleman, for I do not credit that an immense multitude might be found, who would not only make the attempt, but also would acquit, and applaud the deed, if it had succeeded, and yet, who, by force of fraud, were thrown amidst us, *in order that we might pass judgment on them, and ourselves.*

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To the Editors of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

Gentlemen—As the public mind on just views on every question should be entertained by the public, even though cases may be pending in our courts in which the public feel an interest, I beg to be expected the facts in relation to the vessel with negroes, lately seized on our coast, are correctly narrated in the Journal of Commerce of yesterday, and cannot be a question of great interest and novelty, and one upon which every intelligent man would like to be able to form an opinion. I had supposed that the hour fifteen million free Americans.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting was held in the Baptist Church, in Newburyport, on Thursday last, Sept. 5, 1839. The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock, A. M. by the President, William Bassett, of Lynn. A prayer was offered by Philo C. Penilbong, of the Theo. Seminary, Andover. Unusually large delegations from local societies present, representing nearly all the roll one hundred. Twenty-four. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, John A. Collins, Oliver Johnson, and other individuals, were present, and added much to the interest of the meeting by participating in the deliberations of the meeting, which were characterized throughout by a good feeling; and the discussions of the several topics presented for the consideration of the society, were conducted in such a manner as elicited the approbation of all present. This, it was truly said, by said speaker, in the cause of abolition, was *a real old-fashioned anti-slavery meeting!*

The business committee, consisting of Wm. Lloyd Garrison of Boston, Christopher Robinson of Lynn, Samuel Brimblecom of Danvers, Ezekiel Hale, of Haverhill, J. P. Montgomery, do., P. C. Penilbong of Andover, and Wm. Endicott, of Danvers, presented the following resolutions, which, after being discussed, were passed with great unanimity.

Resolved, that the friends of the slave have cause of rejoicing, and of thanks to God, for the progress of the anti-slavery cause, throughout the world, during the last year.

Resolved, That we rely, under God, for the success of our holy enterprise, not upon any one or number of men, but upon the faithful promulgation and application of the unalterable principles, that God has made of one blood all nations of men; that all men are endowed by their Creator, are not Greek, neither bond nor free; that all men are entitled to equal and inalienable right to liberty; and that no man is entitled to property in another, being at the same time a member of the human race.

Resolved, That those politicians who are crying out against carrying the anti-slavery cause to the polls, show themselves to be both unwise and unpatriotic, selfish, because they know that if this is pursued, the slaveholding interest will be in a position to represent a free people, to the exclusion of the slave holding hypocritical, because it is the right to carry any principle to the polls, and it is the duty of no one that can be conquered, and finally, because it is the cause of immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the prospects of this society, by attempt, on the part of the abolitionists of Boston, to organize themselves into a distinct political party, which will be the means of spreading the light and success of the anti-slavery enterprise.

Resolved, That the adulation and servility which has been shown by the politicians of Boston City and Martin Van Buren, during the late visit to the North of these unblushing defenders of slavery portends ruin to the cause of liberty, and shows that the American people have fallen, and should alarm all abolitionists to renewed exertions for the salvation of our common country.

Resolved, That those professed abolitionists who pay their money to sustain those ministers, who are either ignorant of the condition of human rights, or openly hostile to the anti-slavery cause, are as much guilty as those who are guilty, than those who are opposed for proclaiming the truth, who are in fact, the only faithful ones, when abolitionists should unite in one confidence and support from all ministers of the church have abandoned the cause.

Resolved, That it is the imperious duty of every professed minister of the gospel, to bear an open and faithful testimony against the sin of slavery, and that men of this profession, who neglect or refuse to perform this duty, are unworthy of being regarded as ministers of Christ, who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Wherever, slavery is a direct violation of the voice of the gospel, and whereas we cannot consistently bow to the religious instruction of those who profess, in the name of God, to hold human beings as chattels; therefore

Resolved, That the friends of Christianity in the country, should not be deterred from the support of the Rev. C. C. Jones, an acknowledged slaveholder, from imposing upon the churches, as being a minister of the gospel of Christ.

Whereas, a number of native Africans have been brought upon our shores, and are now incarcerated in the gaol of the city of New-Haven, on charge of their trial before the District Court of the United States on the charge of *piracy* and *murder*, therefore,

Resolved, As the sense of this society, that the *kidnapped Africans*, who on board the Spanish pirate schooner Amistad, did but exercise the right of murder in a case, but would not hang others for doing what we would do in similar circumstances, and a party New England jury be found who will hang or convict them.

This meeting we had written in great haste before reading any other than the evidently distorted and deceptive account, published in the New London Gazette, and the Boston Courier, and copied by others, giving a different version to the whole affair, and expressing the same sentiments substantially, which we had first formed, relating to the conduct of the principal actor and of the transaction itself. *Joseph Cinguez* is represented as the son of a Chief and had been previously in possession of his liberty, in his native soil of a great man, and had his *skin been white*, and he done precisely what he has done instead of being the possessor of a Chief, he would have been lauded to the skies from one end of our Republic to the other, as one of the greatest heroes of the age. Be it so, be that the world may know. Let the people read the speech which the interpreter and his lies say he made in view of their lives. In any thing be found in the English language more touching, more noble, more exalted and sublime? He states his motives for what they did, and he is a man of intelligence. He had rather die than be a slave; who that possesses the soul of a freeman would not?

Will Spain, France, Cuba, and Congress attempt to make restitution? Never. The slaveholders themselves will never *dare* make the attempt. They know it would be a mockery of justice, and of the rock the "patriarchal institution" is its centre. No, Joseph Cinguez and his brave fellows, Spain, Cuba, France, and all, they will reserve the warm sympathy, support and consolation of every real christian and philanthropic individual, and the sneers of the weaker party. The captured becomes in turn the captor, and the oppressed the oppressor. Who would not do it? A jury of freemen in a free country will never convict him of crime, or the men he nobly attempted, and did rescue from a life of misery, and a premature grave. He and they will be acquitted. They will also, by the law of Connecticut, be immediately made free, and be protected from slavery by the pretended master and against their own will.

MUTINEERS OF THE AMISTAD.

This is a most imgesting and novel case. We named in our last that the brig Washington put in at New London and that the Africans were in the pilot boats. She proves to be the one which left Havana in June with negroes for a neighboring port.

The Africans say they were *not trying to regain their liberty* after having been stolen and torn from their native country by thieves, who were not Spaniards, and sold to Spanish slave dealers, who in the slave-trade. The traffic is forbidden by Spanish laws. How, then, can these blacks be considered as pirates or murderers? Could they have been tried, or, even in Spain, they would be acquitted. We trust that in America, blacks as well as whites will be justified, in endeavoring to regain their liberty, and that in all lawless aggressors, and should it be found that in doing this they necessarily took the life of their assailants, they would be acquitted of justifiable homicide. If civilized government cannot restrain their citizens, we are perfectly willing that the Africans should, in self defence, take the law into their own hands and defend themselves.

We, as a people, Spaniards can seriously demand of us punishment of these Africans. The scenders should come into court with clean hands when they ask to be heard against others.

The leader of these blacks, who rose upon the crew and took possession of the vessel, is a noble hero. He is the son of an African Chief, and his noble heart, long until entitle him to the respect of all who value the rights of man. Should he be tried, he can confess and has full command, in cases of emergency, of the lives of his fellow-sufferers. We cannot but hope that he will be acquitted. Congress, we hope, will protect a free Chieftain.

Dear Sir—Gentlemen—

All is common in the land of Roger Williams, and wherever I go, my ears are greeted with the news of preparation for the election on Tuesday next. The Whigs are denouncing all abolitionists, and the Democrats are denouncing any suspect that some, who have heretofore acted with them, will vote for Mr. Dow, the democratic candidate, on account of his abolition principles; while the Democrats are fearful that Martin Van Buren will be cast aside in the votes of those, whom he has treated with so much baseness. By the time that you receive this, the election will probably be decided. I will not, therefore, assume to play the prophet. If the Whig abolitionists do their duty, Mr. Dow will be elected; if they do not, little dependence can be placed in them, and they are assailed by party spirit. There must be a higher standard of action among abolitionists, in exercising the right of suffrage, before we can expect the blessing to come out from the shade, and shine forth. As long as they continue to feel attachment for either of the great parties, just so long will they be the mere tools of political aspirants and will be made the mere tools of political aspirants and manœuvering wire-pullers. Every man, who means well to his duty as an abolitionist, at the ballot-box, must first be free and independent of all the manœuvres which party has forged for all his devoted followers. The question must not be, "is the candidate a Whig or a Democrat?" but, "is he a firm, uncompromising friend of human rights?" For one, I anxiously desire to see the time when abolitionists shall give to the world, another proof of their attachment to principle, by voting

BOSTON:
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1839.

POLITICAL ACTION.

We extract the following remarkable paragraph from an editorial article in a late number of the Friend of Man, relating to the proceedings of the National Anti-Slavery Convention:

"No Human Government.' In the course of the discussions on political action, it was intimated that there is a tendency in this sentiment to neutralize the efforts and modify the measures of abolitionists, on the subject of voting. We understand, that Mr. Lloyd Garrison and others, and those who think with him on this subject, are evidently unwilling that these high-toned abolitionists (in the sense of the Bible-sense, which they were formerly in the habit of putting forth, should be longer kept in the shade, by political action, and political conventions. (2) They complain that it is an infringement of their conscientious scruples; (3) whereas, so our apprehension goes, their high-toned resolutions is only an expression of the sentiments of *them who note for them*, and ought not to give offence to anyone. (4.) That classes of abolitionists who are timid and hesitant about political action, or are too much wedded to their old political parties to regard the claims of the slave at the ballot-box, and who think that seems to them an auxiliary, from a quarter little expected; and to some extent there seems to be a sympathy between the two classes. We do not mean that the 'non-resistants' approve the delinquencies of the 'whole party' (let it be remembered) or that the latter are prepared to renounce civil government, as do the 'non-resistants.' In these respects they are opposites. But extremes meet sometimes together, and it need therefore no surprise that high-toned political action should meet with their united opposition. (5.) A resolution, reported by the business committee, *entreating* abolitionists to go to the polls, came up for discussion, when James G. Birney moved an amendment declaring it (the duty of the 'high-toned' to be discharged by W. L. Garrison (6) and others; and out of tenderness to those sympathising with his views, and to those sympathising with the slave, Mr. Birney, &c. &c. the convention contented themselves to let the resolution stand in its place, and to let it pass, (7) which we hoped would give ample satisfaction, but from Br. Garrison's closing remarks, we inferred that he thought the friends of political action too intolerant. (7) He introduced a resolution strongly deprecating the formation of a third party for making abolition nominate, which the convention were not disposed to adopt. (8)

(1) How or by whom this was manifested, our Brs. Goodell does not inform his readers. He knows, most certainly, that not one of the friends of non-resistance, who were in the Anti-Slavery Convention, ever, in political discussions, or passed a word of censure upon human government, or said any thing in self-defence, even when ridiculed and aspersed by Messrs. Scott, Cummings, and others.

(2) We do not understand this assertion, and does not convey the exact truth. There would never have been any difficulty in the anti-slavery ranks, respecting any 'high-toned exhortations to the use of the ballot-box,' if no attempt had been made to proscribe those who are restrained, by religious conditions, from ever voting at the polls, *in*-any case. Formerly, the 'exhortations' alluded to were not made with any intention of interfering with the rights of conscience, but were understood to be designed for those only, who participated in political proceedings. If we now, the same phraseology cannot now be adopted, because a new and odious meaning is given to it by certain schismatics. But why does our bro. Goodell complain of us? Why did not the Convention at Albany adopt resolutions accordance to his wishes? When Messrs. Birney, Lee, Scott and Cummings attempted to procure the passage of a resolution, declaring it to be the imperious duty of every man to be a voter, who hindered them that they did not succeed in their invitations to voters to go to the polls, and made a perfect 'hobby' of the exceeding degeneracy of this nation, when such men are greeted with shoutings in the public streets, and hailed as worthy to receive the highest honours in the gift of the people. Some of the partisans of Mr Clay, in Saratoga, descended to as abject beastly degradation. It is related by the New York Herald, a while paper, as follows:

'The four gallant horses were detached from his (Mr Clay's) carriage—a large body of the people attached themselves to the carriage, and drew it amid the whip and a 'yo heave oh!' the carriage, with its precious and invaluable contents, was driven across, around, and up to the residence of the great patriot! Shout on shout followed this chivalrous feat of enthusiasm.'

Henry Clay owns sixty human beings as chattels personal. His Saratoga parasites seem determined to increase the number of his slaves. O servile beasts!

Another important resolution was adopted with perfect unanimity at the Essex Co. meeting—a resolution deprecating the attempt of Liberty Abolitionists into a distinct political party, which resolution was not acted upon by the Convention. Having, then, remained dumb when we might have found just occasion for much speaking, and when, if anything, we might have acted in regard to our pecific sentiments, (upon which no anti-slavery society or convention has any right to sit in judgment,) we refused to speak even in self-defence—how can our bro. Goodell insinuate that we were 'very forward' in speaking in the Convention do just as it pleased on the subject of political action? The fact is, that, though there were, perhaps, nineteen-twentieths of the whole number of delegates present in favor of using the elective franchise, yet they neither saw fit to employ our beliefs in the propriety of arraigning any man in the anti-slavery ranks, whose religious scruples would not allow him to go to the polls. They knew perfectly well, that it is no part of the object of the anti-slavery organization to impose political any more than religious test upon its members; and that every abolitionist has a right to entertain just such views of the inherent excellence or sinfulness of the American government, or any other, as he pleases. Hence, we refused to introduce the resolution which was intended to excommunicate some of the earliest and most faithful friends of the slave.

(3) We made no complaint whatever at the Convention, on this subject. Nor have we at any time opposed the dogma, that every abolitionist is morally bound to use the elective franchise, simply because it is 'an infringement of our conscientious scruples,' but chiefly because it is manifestly at war with the spirit and scope of our glorious enterprise, narrowing as it would the anti-slavery organization to one sect, platform, and setting up a new and false test of abolition character. As for ourselves personally, we care very little how many resolutions are adopted in our anti-slavery conventions, conflicting with our views of human rights, and of the duties of the slave, if they are silent and every attempt to make the anti-slavery society an engine of despotism, or subservient to the wishes of clerical politicians or sectarian bigots.

(4) Indeed! Well, now, just let us see to what this would lead—for 'tis a principle that will not work both ways.' Suppose it should happen that a majority of the members of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society should become non-resistants; suppose they should force a resolution through its annual meeting, declaring that it is the imperious duty of every abolitionist to refuse any longer to exercise the elective franchise; suppose the minority should remonstrate against this course as unwise, proscriptive, and unconstitutional; and suppose the majority should reply, "Your opposition is a violation of our rights, and oppression of the sentiments of those who vote for it, and ought not to give offence to any one"—what then? On this principle, majorities may undertake to settle all controversies in our conventions by a mere vote, and to say—'might makes right'—minorities ought not to take offence! Such reasoning is not only fallacious, but dangerous to the integrity of the holy cause we espouse.

(5) This is not the first time we have seen it intimated, that those who are 'too much wedded to their old political parties to regard the claims of the slaves at the polls,' are disposed to give the right hand of fellowship to non-resisting abolitionists: whereas the reverse of, all this would seem to be the fact, that those who wears the collar of party, can regard with a favorable eye the doctrines of non-resistance. It is *not* true that there is any affinity, agreement, or 'sympathy,' between politicians and non-resistants. In all respects, they are opposites! It is not true, that those who share, 'that high-toned political action meets with their *united* opposition.' They utterly disagree in every particular! Non-resistants declare that, of all the questions which now agitate the land, not one can compare in importance, *politically*, with that of abolition. Party politicians deny this! Non-resistants affirm, that abolitionists who resort to the polls ought to carry their anti-slavery principles with them. This, also, is denied by political abolitionists! Non-resistants believe that the cause of the slave ought to be paramount over all others at the ballot-box. Do the politicians agree with them? No! Non-resistants assert, that the abolition voter ought to stand aloof from any party in preference to the cause of outraged humanity, in treason to God and his country. Party politicians are opposed to any such 'high-toned principle.' Where, then, is the sympathy between them? In what do they agree? Is it said, 'They agree in this—that abolitionists should not be found at the polls—therefore, it matters not in what cause they differ?' Sorry this is not a fair conclusion. It implies the doctrine of non-resistance to a particular case, as if they were intended only for that case; whereas, they are applicable to all other cases. Non-resistants believe that they and all men are delivered by the gospel of Christ from the bondage of carnal weapons, either in a civil or military capacity, either for their own good, or that of others, either in self-defence, to protect life, liberty, or property, or in behalf of the country to which they belong: consequently, they believe that the duty of enemies ought to be forgiven instead of punished, and therefore that they cannot actively uphold a government based on brute force. Do party politicians agree with them in this thing? Do they not scout such notions as absurd and fanatical? Non-resistants entertain such views of the government of this country, that they cannot conscientiously go to the polls, in any case. True, party politicians may hypocritically affect to agree with them, that abolitionists ought to abstain from casting their suffrages in slaveholding conventions, (*entreating*, 'obliged men!) that the anti-slavery cause is not of so much consequence as a Sub-Treasury or a U. S. Bank, and that abolitionists ought to go for party above principle—for religion or democracy, as the case may be: but this affects not the principle of non-resistance, which resistants totally dissent! *They* lay the axe at the root of human ambition, power, emolument, supremacy. If they hold that abolitionists ought to be voters, but not *abolition* voters, then, indeed, they would be guilty of no inconsistency, and there would seldom be found striking hands with unprincipled office-seekers and party hacks! But they entertain no such views. The conduct of those politicians, who are hypocritically pretending that anti-slavery ought not to be mingled with politics, is in them with disgust and indignation; and they are foremost in sinking the brand of infamy into their foreheads. Non-resistants are greatly pleased and encouraged to see men who have long been deceiving themselves to the spell bound by the sorcery influences of party, slipping their collars and snapping their chains, on becoming abolitionists, and casting their votes irrespective of party names, in order that liberty may be proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. We feel a high respect for such men: such conduct is sure proof of human progress: it leads us to hope for still better fruits: it is the eye of the blind, just opened so as to be able to discern men as trees walking, but which will soon open upon them in their true form, in their true shape, relation, proportion, and order. It is not so viewed by those politicians, who, it is strangely intimated, 'sympathize' with us! No, indeed! Such a spectacle fills them with agony; and they cry out, as did the demons of old, 'Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?' For tormented they are, and shall be, as truly as the Lord liveth—both by the nick-named 'no-human government men,' and by the unshackled friends of immediate emancipation—more particularly the former. If, at the time, they should become non-resistants, these political cormorants would have no constituents; and without constituents, they could not be elected to office; and without office, they could not exercise authority; and without authority, they would pass into nothingness. And yet they 'sympathize' with those who would strip them of all office, honor, power, emolument! Do they? Then selfishness 'sympathises' with benevolence, lust with purity, violence with meekness, sin with holiness! It is just as reasonable, that Satan should reform and military commander, every lover of station and dominion, every advocate of war, every oppressor, every unsubdued spirit, all over the world, hates and rejects the principles of non-resistance, as that the friends of slavery should hate the principles of abolition, or the drunkard the doctrine of total abstinence, or the sinner the doctrine of repentance! May it not be safely affirmed, that whatever is cordially hated by wicked men *universally*, is right and worthy of adoption? We notice to know that we have not their 'sympathy,' nor their approbation; and we grieve to find our bro. Goodell in such bad company—for they all 'sympathize' with him in his rejection of the principles of non-resistance!

We relate an anecdote in this connection. On our way to the Albany Convention, we had occasion to rebe some twenty miles in a stage-coach; and among the passengers, we found a slaveholder from Alabama. Some one recognized him and whispered our name in his ear. He soon began to make invidious flings at the abolitionists, and run on in the usual foolish and incoherent style adopted by the proprietors of slaves and souls of men. Among other things, he said, about amalgamation, about foreign interference, &c. &c. &c. Of course, we managed our side of the argument, as well as we knew how, much to the confusion of our 'chivalric' opponent, and to the amusement of the other passengers. He was greatly shocked to think that abolitionists were ready to take part in political action subservient to the cause of bleeding humanity. According to bro. Goodell's logic, he 'sympathized' with us. In our non-resistance views, insomuch as we had thrown a firm shield of defence around him! We shall see! The first thing we did was, to vindicate the course of abolitionists, in making abolition a test at the ballot-box; to expose his inconsistency and hypocrisy as a slaveholder; and to confound him by showing, that if it be wrong to declare in favor of inalienable human rights, it is wrong to do so in support of a U. S. Bank, &c. [He was a whig.] On this point he was very easily silenced. The second abolitionists in general, and ourselves in particular, of attempting to stimulate the slaves to cut their masters' throats, and deluge the South with blood. This charge we rebutted in a summary manner—and then gave him our views of the gospel of peace. We denied that it was the duty of men for liberty, or to deprive others of that inestimable boon; we argued that the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, was a christian duty; and we gave him to understand that, in disarming his slaves, 'we also deprived him of the power and right to hold them in bondage—placing him under the same obligations to suffer unresistingly for Christ's sake, as rest upon his manacled victims. He at once scouted our non-resistance doctrines—sneeringly said (the pious plunderer of God's priching people!) that he believed in *but Universalists* adopted them (he was a stickler for fire and brimstone, and the worm that never dieth, and weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, the heritage of oppressors!)—and declared his readiness to seek redress for his wrongs, which might be done him or his property! We found no difficulty in condemning him out of his own mouth; in showing him that while we denied, he advocated the right of the slaves to destroy their masters, in order that they might obtain their liberty! Enough of this.

There was also in the company a deputy sheriff from Massachusetts. He was very bitter in his feelings towards non-resistants—swore that he would not lift a finger to save them, if they were in danger—and used much profane language—gnashed his teeth upon the license law—was in favor of moderate drinking—had no fellowship with abolitionists—declared that it would not be safe for any man to insult or injure him—&c. &c. So apprehensive was he of his reputation, that he very soon took an outside seat with the driver! Here were two good witnesses to the righteousness of non-resistance! And the same test, if applied to any other part of the world, would uniformly develope a similar result!

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LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

We are greatly obliged to our esteemed friend for the following unsolicited but timely letter.

Peterboro', Sept. 1, 1839.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison:

My dear Brother—I am pained to hear of the report, that the delay in the publication of my letter to you of the 7th June last, has been occasioned by wrong on your part. I take great pleasure in saying, that you are blameless in the matter. I learn, too, of the report that you made humiliating requests, that I would alter portions of the letter. The reports are equally groundless. The facts in the case are as follows:

A private correspondence between us followed your receipt of the letter. At my own request, you returned it to me. After having slightly modified some passages, I sent you a copy of it. I recollect that, in one or two instances, you thought I had gone too far, for the purpose of relieving your feelings. But, that you asked any such favor of me, is utterly untrue; and that I weakened my argument, or sacrificed truth in any of the alterations I made, is what I never suspected. Much as I would do to relieve or gratify your feelings, I would not do it at so great expense.

The copy you lost;—and after your long and faithful search for it, I sent you another, which, I suppose, has, ere this time, appeared in the Liberator.

With great respect,
Your friend and brother,
GERRIT SMITH.

Essex County A.S. Society. The quarterly meeting of this Society was held in Haverhill on the 5th inst. It was unusually well attended; and, as all the elements of discord were removed at its annual meeting, the proceedings were spirited and harmonious in a high degree. They will be found in another column, to which the reader is particularly referred.—

Among the resolutions adopted was one, justly rebuking the degrading man-worship so recently shown to those determined foes of republicanism and Christianity, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, by the people of New York and Saratoga. We see in this a melancholy proof of the exceeding degeneracy of this nation, when such men are greeted with shoutings in the public streets, and hailed as worthy to receive the highest honours in the gift of the people. Some of the partisans of Mr Clay, in Saratoga, descended to as abject beastly degradation. It is related by the New York Herald, a while paper, as follows:

'The four gallant horses were detached from his (Mr Clay's) carriage—a large body of the people attached themselves to the carriage, and drew it amid the whip and a 'yo heave oh!' the carriage, with its precious and invaluable contents, was driven across, around, and up to the residence of the great patriot! Shout on shout followed this chivalrous feat of enthusiasm.'

Henry Clay owns sixty human beings as chattels personal. His Saratoga parasites seem determined to increase the number of his slaves. O servile beasts!

Another important resolution was adopted with perfect unanimity at the Essex Co. meeting—a resolution deprecating the attempt of Liberty Abolitionists into a distinct political party, which resolution was not acted upon by the Convention. Having, then, remained dumb when we might have found just occasion for much speaking, and when, if anything, we might have acted in regard to our pecific sentiments, (upon which no anti-slavery society or convention has any right to sit in judgment,) we refused to speak even in self-defence—how can our bro. Goodell insinuate that we were 'very forward' in speaking in the Convention do just as it pleased on the subject of political action? The fact is, that, though there were, perhaps, nineteen-twentieths of the whole number of delegates present in favor of using the elective franchise, yet they neither saw fit to employ our beliefs in the propriety of arraigning any man in the anti-slavery ranks, whose religious scruples would not allow him to go to the polls. They knew perfectly well, that it is no part of the object of the anti-slavery organization to impose political any more than religious test upon its members; and that every abolitionist has a right to entertain just such views of the inherent excellence or sinfulness of the American government, or any other, as he pleases. Hence, we refused to introduce the resolution which was intended to excommunicate some of the earliest and most faithful friends of the slave.

(3) We made no complaint whatever at the Convention, on this subject. Nor have we at any time opposed the dogma, that every abolitionist is morally bound to use the elective franchise, simply because it is 'an infringement of our conscientious scruples,' but chiefly because it is manifestly at war with the spirit and scope of our glorious enterprise, narrowing as it would the anti-slavery organization to one sect, platform, and setting up a new and false test of abolition character. As for ourselves personally, we care very little how many resolutions are adopted in our anti-slavery conventions, conflicting with our views of human rights, and of the duties of the slave, if they are silent and every attempt to make the anti-slavery society an engine of despotism, or subservient to the wishes of clerical politicians or sectarian bigots.

(4) Indeed! Well, now, just let us see to what this would lead—for 'tis a principle that will not work both ways.' Suppose it should happen that a majority of the members of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society should become non-resistants; suppose they should force a resolution through its annual meeting, declaring that it is the imperious duty of every abolitionist to refuse any longer to exercise the elective franchise; suppose the minority should remonstrate against this course as unwise, proscriptive, and unconstitutional; and suppose the majority should reply, "Your opposition is a violation of our rights, and oppression of the sentiments of those who vote for it, and ought not to give offence to any one"—what then? On this principle, majorities may undertake to settle all controversies in our conventions by a mere vote, and to say—'might makes right'—minorities ought not to take offence! Such reasoning is not only fallacious, but dangerous to the integrity of the holy cause we espouse.

(5) This is not the first time we have seen it intimated, that those who are 'too much wedded to their old political parties to regard the claims of the slaves at the polls,' are disposed to give the right hand of fellowship to non-resisting abolitionists: whereas the reverse of, all this would seem to be the fact, that those who wears the collar of party, can regard with a favorable eye the doctrines of non-resistance. It is *not* true that there is any affinity, agreement, or 'sympathy,' between politicians and non-resistants. In all respects, they are opposites! It is not true, that those who share, 'that high-toned political action meets with their *united* opposition.' They utterly disagree in every particular! Non-resistants declare that, of all the questions which now agitate the land, not one can compare in importance, *politically*, with that of abolition. Party politicians deny this! Non-resistants affirm, that abolitionists who resort to the polls ought to carry their anti-slavery principles with them. This, also, is denied by political abolitionists! Non-resistants believe that the cause of the slave ought to be paramount over all others at the ballot-box. Do the politicians agree with them? No! Non-resistants assert, that the abolition voter ought to stand aloof from any party in preference to the cause of outraged humanity, in treason to God and his country. Party politicians are opposed to any such 'high-toned principle.' Where, then, is the sympathy between them? In what do they agree? Is it said, 'They agree in this—that abolitionists should not be found at the polls—therefore, it matters not in what cause they differ?' Sorry this is not a fair conclusion. It implies the doctrine of non-resistance to a particular case, as if they were intended only for that case; whereas, they are applicable to all other cases. Non-resistants believe that they and all men are delivered by the gospel of Christ from the bondage of carnal weapons, either in a civil or military capacity, either for their own good, or that of others, either in self-defence, to protect life, liberty, or property, or in behalf of the country to which they belong: consequently, they believe that the duty of enemies ought to be forgiven instead of punished, and therefore that they cannot actively uphold a government based on brute force. Do party politicians agree with them in this thing? Do they not scout such notions as absurd and fanatical? Non-resistants entertain such views of the government of this country, that they cannot conscientiously go to the polls, in any case. True, party politicians may hypocritically affect to agree with them, that abolitionists ought to abstain from casting their suffrages in slaveholding conventions, (*entreating*, 'obliged men!) that the anti-slavery cause is not of so much consequence as a Sub-Treasury or a U. S. Bank, and that abolitionists ought to go for party above principle—for religion or democracy, as the case may be: but this affects not the principle of non-resistance, which resistants totally dissent! *They* lay the axe at the root of human ambition, power, emolument, supremacy. If they hold that abolitionists ought to be voters, but not *abolition* voters, then, indeed, they would be guilty of no inconsistency, and there would seldom be found striking hands with unprincipled office-seekers and party hacks! But they entertain no such views. The conduct of those politicians, who are hypocritically pretending that anti-slavery ought not to be mingled with politics, is in them with disgust and indignation; and they are foremost in sinking the brand of infamy into their foreheads. Non-resistants are greatly pleased and encouraged to see men who have long been deceiving themselves to the spell bound by the sorcery influences of party, slipping their collars and snapping their chains, on becoming abolitionists, and casting their votes irrespective of party names, in order that liberty may be proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. We feel a high respect for such men: such conduct is sure proof of human progress: it leads us to hope for still better fruits: it is the eye of the blind, just opened so as to be able to discern men as trees walking, but which will soon open upon them in their true form, in their true shape, relation, proportion, and order. It is not so viewed by those politicians, who, it is strangely intimated, 'sympathize' with us! No, indeed! Such a spectacle fills them with agony; and they cry out, as did the demons of old, 'Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?' For tormented they are, and shall be, as truly as the Lord liveth—both by the nick-named 'no-human government men,' and by the unshackled friends of immediate emancipation—more particularly the former. If, at the time, they should become non-resistants, these political cormorants would have no constituents; and without constituents, they could not be elected to office; and without office, they could not exercise authority; and without authority, they would pass into nothingness. And yet they 'sympathize' with those who would strip them of all office, honor, power, emolument! Do they? Then selfishness 'sympathises' with benevolence, lust with purity, violence with meekness, sin with holiness! It is just as reasonable, that Satan should reform and military commander, every lover of station and dominion, every advocate of war, every oppressor, every unsubdued spirit, all over the world, hates and rejects the principles of non-resistance, as that the friends of slavery should hate the principles of abolition, or the drunkard the doctrine of total abstinence, or the sinner the doctrine of repentance! May it not be safely affirmed, that whatever is cordially hated by wicked men *universally*, is right and worthy of adoption? We notice to know that we have not their 'sympathy,' nor their approbation; and we grieve to find our bro. Goodell in such bad company—for they all 'sympathize' with him in his rejection of the principles of non-resistance!

We relate an anecdote in this connection. On our way to the Albany Convention, we had occasion to rebe some twenty miles in a stage-coach; and among the passengers, we found a slaveholder from Alabama. Some one recognized us and whispered our name in his ear. He soon began to make invidious flings at the abolitionists, and run on in the usual foolish and incoherent style adopted by the proprietors of slaves and souls of men. Among other things, he said, about amalgamation, about foreign interference, &c. &c. &c. Of course, we managed our side of the argument, as well as we knew how, much to the confusion of our 'chivalric' opponent, and to the amusement of the other passengers. He was greatly shocked to think that abolitionists were ready to take part in political action subservient to the cause of bleeding humanity. According to bro. Goodell's logic, he 'sympathized' with us. In our non-resistance views, insomuch as we had thrown a firm shield of defence around him! We shall see! The first thing we did was, to vindicate the course of abolitionists, in making abolition a test at the ballot-box; to expose his inconsistency and hypocrisy as a slaveholder; and to confound him by showing, that if it be wrong to declare in favor of inalienable human rights, it is wrong to do so in support of a U. S. Bank, &c. [He was a whig.] On this point he was very easily silenced. The second abolitionists in general, and ourselves in particular, of attempting to stimulate the slaves to cut their masters' throats, and deluge the South with blood. This charge we rebutted in a summary manner—and then gave him our views of the gospel of peace. We denied that it was the duty of men for liberty, or to deprive others of that inestimable boon; we argued that the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, was a christian duty; and we gave him to understand that, in disarming his slaves, 'we also deprived him of the power and right to hold them in bondage—placing him under the same obligations to suffer unresistingly for Christ's sake, as rest upon his manacled victims. He at once scouted our non-resistance doctrines—sneeringly said (the pious plunderer of God's priching people!) that he believed in *but Universalists* adopted them (he was a stickler for fire and brimstone, and the worm that never dieth, and weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, the heritage of oppressors!)—and declared his readiness to seek redress for his wrongs, which might be done him or his property! We found no difficulty in condemning him out of his own mouth; in showing him that while we denied, he advocated the right of the slaves to destroy their masters, in order that they might obtain their liberty! Enough of this.

There was also in the company a deputy sheriff from Massachusetts. He was very bitter in his feelings towards non-resistants—swore that he would not lift a finger to save them, if they were in danger—and used much profane language—gnashed his teeth upon the license law—was in favor of moderate drinking—had no fellowship with abolitionists—declared that it would not be safe for any man to insult or injure him—&c. &c. So apprehensive was he of his reputation, that he very soon took an outside seat with the driver! Here were two good witnesses to the righteousness of non-resistance! And the same test, if applied to any other part of the world, would uniformly develope a similar result!

Slaveholders, it is true, are mightily displeased and alarmed to think that abolition is to be carried to the polls; but, rather than adopt the doctrines of non-resistance, they would infinitely prefer to have abolitionists vote for Clay, not one can compare in importance, *politically*, with that of abolition. Party politicians deny this! Non-resistants affirm, that abolitionists who resort to the polls ought to carry their anti-slavery principles with them. This, also, is denied by political abolitionists! Non-resistants believe that the cause of the slave ought to be paramount over all others at the ballot-box. Do the politicians agree with them? No! Non-resistants assert, that the abolition voter ought to stand aloof from any party in preference to the cause of outraged humanity, in treason to God and his country. Party politicians are opposed to any such 'high-toned principle.' Where, then, is the sympathy between them? In what do they agree? Is it said, 'They agree in this—that abolitionists should not be found at the polls—therefore, it matters not in what cause they differ?' Sorry this is not a fair conclusion. It implies the doctrine of non-resistance to a particular case, as if they were intended only for that case; whereas, they are applicable to all other cases. Non-resistants believe that they and all men are delivered by the gospel of Christ from the bondage of carnal weapons, either in a civil or military capacity, either for their own good, or that of others, either in self-defence, to protect life, liberty, or property, or in behalf of the country to which they belong: consequently, they believe that the duty of enemies ought to be forgiven instead of punished, and therefore that they cannot actively uphold a government based on brute force. Do party politicians agree with them in this thing? Do they not scout such notions as absurd and fanatical? Non-resistants entertain such views of the government of this country, that they cannot conscientiously go to the polls, in any case. True, party politicians may hypocritically affect to agree with them, that abolitionists ought to abstain from casting their suffrages in slave

LITERARY.

For the Liberator.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

When evening shadows round thee fall,
Sleep not, watchman, sleep not at all;
But list the fateful warning's call,
Be faithful—watch!

From Carolina's sunny plains,
Land of the charter, and of chains,
Where slavery freedom's life sustains,*
He bids thee watch!

Not open for alone to fear,
Without, the ramparts gathering near
Their rallying cry our outposts hear,
Their movements scan;

But in the camp, beneath our eyes,
The secret, dreaded danger lies;
Since there are lurking, secret spies—
Oh! sleep not—watch!

But, from thy station on the tower,
By day, or night, point out each hour,
Those in our midst who seek for power
To thrust thee down.

Why should these craftsmen, one and all,
Strive to effectuate thy fall?
Why not beside thee mount the wall,
Beside thee watch?

Though friends who once were justly dear,
With aid and counsel cheer,
Amid our ranks no more appear,
But stand aloof;

Or, worse, unite both heart and hand
To aid the disaffected band,
Who're sown dissension through the land,
And in our ranks:

Oh, let them to this truth take heed,
To guide our movements safe we need,
Not man, but principle is freed
The band along;

Those principles sent from above,
Most mighty through the power of love,
Strongs holds of evil to remove,
And establish right.

Then, fear not, watchman, for the right!
Speak bold and fearless—with thy might
Proclaim aloud, by day or night,
Unvarnished truth!

ELLEN O. VAIL.

Chester co. Pa. 9 mo. 3, 1839.

*Slavery is the corner-stone of the republic; says G. McDuffie.

From the Forget-me-Not.

THE STEAM SHIP.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "OBAYSLEY," &c.

Amid the thousand wonders of the vast unquiet sea,
That covers half this ponderous globe, there's nothing like to thee,
Oh Steam Ship!—thou, who walest, like a lion roused from sleep,
With heart of fire, and rushes forth across the angry deep!
Naught heedest thou the wind or tide; but onward, night and day,
Unswerved as the waves around, thou marchest on thy way.
They sail—sailed and monsters of the deep are hovering in their train!
But the great Leviathan himself might follow thee in vain.
He loosth up in wonder on the strange, mysterious sight,
And the rapid whirring of thy wings, fluttering in liquid light;
His mighty heart is struck with awe, and, sinking, sinks down below!
And there, perchance, he dreams of thee within his coral lair,
Scarce hoping that a living thing may dwell in open air.
Oh! thou art mighty on the wave! a fearful power is thine;
For good or evil art thou formed—infernal or divine!
'Tis thine to chase the pirate through his maze of hundred isles
To mark with scorn his shifting sails, despair, and useless wiles.
'Tis thine to hear him from his prey, to beard him in his den
Oh! thine might be a blessed power among the sons of men!
A vanguard leader, like the guide of Israel on their way,
A living fire to cheer the night, a moving cloud by day.
Could man's ambition know control, could angry passions cease,
Or, were thy vestrous course confined within the reign of peace,
Swift in thy flight from shore to shore, from dark to sultry skies,
Welcomed were thou, in every port, with shouts and glistening eyes.
A pledge of amity renewed each voyage then would be,
As though the nations stretched and shook their hands across the sea.
'Tis sweet to stand upon the deck, when the wind is right ahead;
To mark thy foaming, roaring keel, and think from whence thou'rt fled;
To feel thee rise upon the wave, breasting the flying spray;
Then downward plunge, and rise again, rejoicing in the fray
Of angry billows, gathering round, like foes to bar thy way.
While onward—onward—to thy port, shoot stemm's their dark array.
And Oh! 'tis sweet, when all is calm, and blue the sky and main,
To be with thee in solitude upon the liquid plain—
To see the setting sun decline in the fiery, glowing west,
Leaving all else to dreams and sleep but thee that need's not rest.
How lovely glide the starry worlds all silently on high,
While then Rest o'er the dark blue wave, like an arrow through the sky!
The visions, then, of youth revive, and the wizard's wondrous tale,
As borne along 'twixt heaven and earth, away we sail and sail!
I've stood upon thy trembling deck, and felt thy thrilling march,
Beneath the southern sultry skies and the northern stormy arch;
I've been with thee in calm and storm, but never in the fight:
And oh! that war, that coming war, could strip thee of thy might!
'Tis not for those all trained and armed upon thy deck to stand
Bloodier to make the distant strife and struggle, hand to hand—
'Tis not for those who cheering rush to meet the foe, and fling
And stay the lamp, cold hand of death' with warm and friendly glow—
But, for the dwellers on the shore—we tread to think of woe!
Oh! thy black banner, floating wild, a fearful thing will be!

NON-RESISTANCE.

LETTER FROM VERMONT.

BROTHER GARRISON:

Can it be true, that the anti-christian spirit reigns triumphant through christendom, and but few, comparatively, are like Christ? If the doctrine of non-resistance is true, then the opposite cannot be false. If light cannot be darkness, neither can truth be falsehood. Equally true is it, that we cannot serve God and mammon.

Now, it is certain, that whatever the mind is chiefly occupied with, is the highest in our estimation—as if a vessel is full of water, and a hard substance be dropped into it, that which is highest will flow off first. The few scurrility, the loquacious babblings, the ingenious speculations presented in the daily practice of nominal christians, are enough to make faithfully triumph, and paganism thrill. We may *suppose* that we are in the kingdom of Christ; yet, if we do not yield obedience to the laws of the King, we can have no just expectation of receiving his approbation. Now, if Christ approbates his people, will he not give them all the privileges of the gospel? A very large majority of professed Christians are political men. Give any party or body of political men the power over barely the element of fire, and their opponents would soon be consumed. Is there no political partisan can possibly receive the fulness of the gospel of Christ. Give the sects of the day the power of working miracles, and they would proselyte each other so exceeding swift, that the power of friction would soon set them all on fire, and make the conversions from his own excessive desire for numbers. But you may say, have charity. I cannot, neither am I required to have charity to believe that a dead, fruitless tree is a live one, or that a beach is a pear. What then? I will do good the opposite from those who are such, and are enemies to the truth; but, by the grace of God, I mean to use the sword of truth, by which the enemies of Christ must be destroyed, and the sanctuary cleansed. 'The end of all things is at hand.' 'The wise shall understand, and none of the wicked shall understand,' says Daniel. The time is now when none of the wicked either embrace or understand the true doctrine of Christ. But they have heaped treasures of money together, for the last days. Every miser treats idols over his head, and, in truth, it begins to gnaw his flesh as it were fire.

'Glory to God in the highest!' Let the notes of praise swell the hearts of all God's children, and rise and roll through the vast concave of our moral heavens; while the remnant of the wicked shall weep over their city, 'Mene, tekel.' Send the Non-Resistant to

I am not acquainted with him, but am informed that he is a minister of the gospel,—is searching for the treasures of the kingdom,—and believes that the kingdom of God is of such sort compatible to atoms. Amen! Hallelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth! Glory to God in that Babylon, which has trafficked in all kinds of merchandize, in slaves and souls of men, is about to be sunk, like a millstone, to rise no more. I mean nothing by your Sabbath. The things honest which, but a few weeks since, were thought too good for the discussion of non-resistance, are now made free. Thank God for light! I have been requested to attend meetings in many places where time and circumstances will not permit. Pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth more laborers into his harvest! The fields are white, and he that reapeth receiveth wages. God will take care of his own vineyard, and those who labor in it—can (it being light) see wheat from tares.

A GUILTY NATION.

HARTFORD, Sept. 2, 1839.

DEAR GARRISON:

This is truly an ungodly and degenerate age. The moral darkness that broods over the land, tells but too plainly of the dimness of the gold, and the change of the most fine gold. Truth is bartered away for falsehood, virtuous principle for time-serving expediency. The land is literally cursed by a corrupt priesthood and their willing dupes,—ungodly, formal professors of religion,—about guarding the church, keeping out error, &c. when compared with their anti-christian conduct, comes with an ill-grace from their unhallowed lips. I care not for the opinion of men if, instead, they would just speak the genuine feelings of their hearts, and say that their principal efforts were to guard their own interests, court popular favor, &c. For I ask, in all seriousness and heartfelt honesty, how do the great mass of the professed Christians act in regard to the pure and holy, but unpopular doctrines and principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ? True, they have a 'form of godliness,' but they deny, yea, they are strangers to the power of it. They, especially, who claim the right power of moulding the public mind, and who would and do act in a great measure as conservators over the consciences of others, stand, I think, foremost in guilt, though they are by no means alone. The people are pleased with, ay, demand just such a ministry and church, 'they being paid for it, are quite willing to perpetuate it. They should, both 'ministers and people,' be rebuked, not 'with unsparing abuse,' (for I feel that I would *abuse* no man or men,) but with Christian boldness and kindness, even though they should be ranked by such spirits as the wicked slaveholder calls an honest, virtuous attack upon his abominable sin. The slaveholder says, 'My slaves,' and claims the power of controlling them. The professed minister says, 'My people,' and claims the exclusive right of jurisdiction over the *flock*. Has the one any better or more direct authority than the other? But, what are ministers, so called? Even though they are sons of God, and possess much of the spirit of God, are partakers of the divine nature, yet, in the light of Christ, absolutely nothing more than is promised to all the children—just as much to me as to them. I do not, to be sure, claim nor receive the title of Rev. nor D. D. nor am I allowed to preach in their synagogues; but I may, yea, I will preach Jesus and the resurrection to them, and wherever I have opportunity, even though they call me heretic or infidel. But I say, in the blessed name of Jesus Christ, let them beware of the 'millstone' down! I will not be over careful about that which God has made free to all men as much, nor need you, brother; but I would say to all such,—to those ungodly men who are wickedly troubling you on every side,—call you infidel, and every thing that is vile and contemptible, knowing, as they must, that it is false,—do them I would say, 'Beware what you do to the little ones! Let them alone, ye vipers, ye blind guides!—Cease your vile persecutions! Jesus Christ complains of you. Be not deceived; God is not mocked for nought! But, brother, an awful crisis is approaching, and I would rather be the humblest slave in Christ's and the Apostles' day, may be employed to hasten it. The Lord reigns.

The spirit of hatred to truth and righteousness is by no means sectional. We have had a specimen of it in this city lately. Abby Kelly has spent a little time among us, for which a few were 'still more the Lord. Her object here was to lecture upon Anti-Slavery. If the matter had been controlled by clerical influence, she would have been defeated. 'The woman question' and 'non-resistance' have produced bug-bears, to the mind of many, even in the land of 'sweetly bonnie.' They who lord it over God's heritage have only to pass sentence of condemnation or disapproval, and the work is done. Abby had an interview with Mr. Sprague, who, I understand, declared, extolling the fame of the famous Abby Kelly! In reading the notice for the lecture, he omitted the name of the lecturer, for fear it would puff her up with pride! Dr. Hawes, who presided for Dr. Fox the next Sunday, refused to read a notice for a third lecture, and handed it to Mrs. S. who, it is said, remarked, that it ought not to be read. She had better be at home washing dishes.

But, perhaps, enough of this. When I took up my pen, my principle object was to give you a little more a celebration lecture we have had recently. I heard only a small part of the lecture; so I shall attempt to give you only what the lecturer called samples or specimens. Mr. Finley, the lecturer, commenced by bowing to the Jesuit, and, in a single year's reading, he has given the whole effect of a single year's reading in the colony of Liberia!

As ignorant, but pseudo-learned as I am, in the State of Connecticut, I have heard of the 'go to Liberia,' and, from a year, for the sake of the poor, I pray for emigration, and then to return and report. He went, and, at the end of the year, returned. But he is so changed in appearance, nobody knows him really. 'Why, is this Finley? Why, what ails you? Have you taken sick? Why, it's 'no good back from Liberia! Well, upon a day, the officers of the State Colonization Society were assembled, being composed, as the lecturer said, of the dignitaries of the State [none of the people, I guess,] and he was called on to report. 'Well, Jo,' (mark the contempt!) 'back again, eh? Well, come, come in, and tell us all about what you've seen and heard in Liberia.' He begins, and proceeds with his remarks with so much intelligence, that they begin to feel proud for him; and as he proceeds still further, their respect for him increases more and more, and they call him Joseph. But, as his gentlemanly deportment and intelligence development itself, they feel still more respect and esteem for him, and they (who'd believe it?) call him Joseph Jones!!

But the respect and esteem of these dignitaries were to be taxed still farther, and they are constrained to call him Mr. Joseph Jones, and finally, *Mr. Joseph Jones of Liberia!* The people are allowed to walk, and talk, and sit with them—is called upon to make addresses before assemblies of *respectable* ladies and gentlemen, so much so, in fact, that one negro-hater says, 'Well, if this is the effect of colonization, I am opposed to your colonization.' Why, it is going to raise the blacks to an equality with the whites—I'm opposed to it.'

Now, the whole of this is rather a ludicrous affair; yet the principle, as it regards Jo's treatment, no one who will look at it, can fail to see, is just what is diametrically opposite to the treatment we receive at conventions where the people are such as are so affected with color-phobia, it all goes in favor of colonization. The lecturer remarked, also, in regard to the good effects of colonization, that he did not know a man at the South, who was in favor of colonization, who was not in favor of emancipation!—Wonder if he ever read Henry Clay's speech? And, further, that he knew, and could tell where, if he had time, of whole plantations of slaves, that were being released with a view to colonization—was happy to say, that the morbid state of feeling which had so unhappily prevailed for a few years past was fast dying away, and a more healthful feeling beginning to take its place. But I must close.

Yours, for truth and consistency and the slave,

WM. L. GARRISON. E. B. CUNNINGHAM.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

Extract of a letter from a much esteemed anti-slavery friend in Western New-York:—

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MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Massachusetts Abolitionist.

THE LEAVER OF WILLIAM GOODELL.

The following letter was read at the annual meeting in January last. Permission was subsequently given by the writer, to publish it. Perhaps it may be the chief reason for continuing to withhold it was, that the severity of its rebuke of Mr. Garrison's course was so severe, that it was felt to be too severe for the public, to be just. The only allusion to it Mr. Torrey has ever made, was in reply to a toast from Wendell Phillips, at the Boston Festival, on the occasion of Mr. Goodell's leaving the Liberator. Perhaps it may rather be considered a little sense. Similar inquiries were made with respect to other prominent and, whole, friends of advocates of the cause, and it has been discovered that Goodell, is *blind*, Lundy is *revengeful*, Beaty a *hypocrite*, Webster *deceived*, Garrison *crazy*, and Stanton *wicked*. Perhaps it may be well, and *understand the merits of a controversy* duly spread out in the columns of the Liberator, and the shadow of the Cradle of Liberty! (the 'Ship of Zion' and his *mom*.) And in fine, no man, whatever may have been his services, or his long-tried fidelity in the cause of freedom, dare to conscieve his share of abuse, if he shows that *the cause* is in his view more important than sectarian objects, and individual supremacy and the power of influence. An noblest body that ever assembled in our land to consult for the welfare of the slave, the NATIONAL CONVENTION, was rather an exception to the rule, because it confined its attention to its proper business, and refused to endorse the doctrines of a sect. The old laborers in the cause of freedom, the fathers of the ministers of the gospel of different sects, who have sacrificed comfort, money, the endearments of home, and reputation, to the cause, are not to be treated as *they are clergymen*, are subjected to wholesale condemnation. *Being* clergymen, they take the liberty to do their own thinking, because they learned the nature of true submission to the powers that be; and therefore have become the most mean, selfish, and tyrannical of men, strictly public men, and have the management of any moral enterprise.' Mr. Phelps, on one occasion, read a part of Mr. Goodell's letter to a gentleman of distinguished talents in assembling at Lowell. In no other instance, that we are aware of, has it been read, or quoted, or hawked about! This both by the friends and the advocates of the cause of great severity, in their letters to Mr. Garrison, prior to the annual meeting in January last, they will checkmate the friends of the cause, by saying, or, that the tone of deference and adulation, usually employed in reference to him, rendered their expressions appear more severe than they were. In fact, to say, that the morbid state of feeling which had so unhappily prevailed for a few years past was fast dying away, and a more healthful feeling beginning to take its place. But I must close.

Yours, for truth and consistency and the slave,

WM. L. GARRISON. E. B. CUNNINGHAM.

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* Vide Herald of Freedom, Jan. 28, 1839, copied into the Liberator of the 1st inst. Q. of Messrs. Francis Jackson & Ezra Q. Quincy and Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

† I mean some of us Abolitionists who believe in the principle of the devil.

‡ Mr. Boggs of Missouri fired a pistol in the street, and shot down in which he notices in violation of a contemporaneous resolution. The Mayor fined him ten dollars. His Excellency threw himself either on his dignity or his inalienable power, and remitted the payment. His Honor made out a mittimus, and the bystanders made a collection. The fine was paid, and his Excellency and the person saved from the indignity of 'durance vile.'

LOOK AT THIS!—We learn that the Campbell, formerly a U. S. revenue cutter, has been sold at Havanna for the purpose of being fitted out as a pirate. Her home New Orleans, will be sent to Africa for a load of human flesh, under the star-spangled banner. We further learn that the Lady Suffolk, a fast sailing schooner, is now in the same *infamous traffic!!* Can nothing, but the U. S. government, protect itself from this foul disgrace, and Africa from such tremendous wrongs?

Chief Justice Taney manumitted all of his slaves some 15 or 20 years ago—and he is living yet. It is probably never occurred, to them to cut his throat for this act of benevolence. He is now considered by the colored people who know him, as their particular friend, and he enabled others besides his own to manumit themselves.—*New Lisbon Aurora.*

This is the fifteen year since our present form of government was adopted! Yet there are those who pretend that slavery is justified by the Bible, says the editor of the Youth's Cabinet, obey that verse of the Bible which says: 'Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.'

One Henry Sampson has gone to jail in Buffalo for refusing to pay more than six wives—two of them located in that city, two in Rochester, one in Utica, and another somewhere in Ohio.

A singular accident occurred in France during the tempest of Sunday, the 24 inst. A battalion of the 51st regiment, while on its march from Mezzir to Wissembourg, was struck by lightning. Two hundred men were knocked down by it, all of whom bled profusely from the mouth, eyes and ears; but it is consolatory to add, that none died.

One of the Africans of the Amistead, named Antonio Simon, died yesterday in prison. He was brought here in a fever, and it is said, he died in the land in the recent.—*New Haven Herald.*

The keeper of a tavern in St. Louis, named Zeigler, was recently shot, by one of a party of 'nice young men,' who called at his house and wanted some dinner. In a late hour, to 'get something to drink.' After an ineffectual effort to indoge them to go away, without drinking, Zeigler was shot in the stomach, and the party drew a pistol and shot him!

BLACK AND BLUE.—'Get out of the way, you black rascal,' said a drunken loafer, yesterday, as he staggered against a negro and knocked him off the sidewalk. 'Well, if I is black, I isn't blue as you be, no how, so I ain't,' retorted the negro. We thought the hard hit just one.—*Picayune.*

STAGE ACCIDENT. The Buffalo Advertiser states that a stage coach was upset at Clarence, N. Y. on Monday last, attended with the following sad results. The driver. Of the nine passengers which it contained, six were more or less injured, and three severely. One had his head cut badly—and the second his arm dislocated—and a third, Mr. Chase, of Fall River, Massachusetts, one of his legs entirely crushed.

STRANGE WORKINGS IN HAVTI. By a Port-au-Prince paper of July 26th, we perceive that a subscription was on foot for the purchase of a steam-boat, to ply between Port-au-Prince and Cape Haytien, touching at intermediate ports.

A moral multicaulis leaf was taken a few days ago from the field of Mr. Wiley of this town, which measured 12 inches long and 14 3-4 inches broad. Have any of the growers of the morus in these parts beaten this?—*Wilmington (N. C.) Wig.*

The editor of the Baltimore Patriot has seen a gentleman who, within a few days, sold ten acres of Morus Multicaulis, now growing on his place, for thirty-eight thousand and some odd hundred dollars.

Colonization to the West Indies.—The legislative council of Trinidad has recently passed an ordinance to encourage the emigration of black laborers, providing a fund for the payment at the public expense, of the passage money of each person of African descent coming from the United States, and $20 for each one coming from Canada.

Lynch Law at Buffalo.—We learn from the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, that a "Lynch Law" was administered in this city, on Tuesday night. It was tried in the dwelling on Tuesday night. It was tried in the street and the household furniture of the family was destroyed.

THE WAGES OF INSIGHTY.—We are informed that the captain of a slave schooner owned in Baltimore, has lately arrived in Havana, put into Porto Rico a sum of time since, sold his load of slaves, and returned home with the money, about $70,000. The owners are retired.

TO THE HONORABLE WILLARD PHILLIPS, Judge of the Court of Probate in and for the county of Suffolk.

THE petition of John Cutts Smith of Chelsea, in said County, Gentleman, Guardian of Samuel Tyler, Henry and William Lincoln Bigelow, minor children of William Henry, late of Boston, in said County, Tailor, deceased, respectfully shows, that said minors are interested in the estate of said deceased, late of Boston, in said county of Suffolk, deceased, intestate, whose estate is now in course of settlement in the Probate Court of said county; that said minors are children and heirs of said deceased, two of them third parts or shares thereof, that they are desirous of holding their said shares in severalty, that Mr. Rogers of said Boston, Trader, holds one undivided third part of said estate, which he purchased of Francis Henry, one of the children and heirs of said William Henry.

Wherefore your petitioner prays that the said estate aforesaid of the said William Henry may be assigned and the share of said minors set off to them in severalty, and partition made accordingly, pursuant to the law in such cases made and provided.

J. CUTTS SMITH.

Suffolk, ss. At a Probate Court, held at Boston, in and for said County, on Monday the twenty-second day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

UPON the foregoing petition, it is ordered that the said petitioner notify all persons interested in the estate of said deceased, to appear at a Court of Probate to be holden at Boston, in said County, on the first Monday, the sixteenth day of September next, by causing a copy of this order to be published in this order thereon, fourteen days at least before said sixteenth day of September, and also that he fully all other persons interested, known or unknown to appear at said time, and by publishing said petition with the order thereon, three weeks successively in the public newspaper called the Liberator, printed in said Boston, last publication to be at least two days before the said court, and then and there to show cause, if any they have why the prayer of said petition should not be granted.

WILLARD PHILLIPS,
Judge of Probate.

A true copy.
Attest. OLIVER W. B. PEABODY, Jr.

THE CELEBRATED GERMAN COUGH PILL, ENTIRELY VEGETABLE.

THIS is the best article ever used for a Cough. Hundreds of certificates of their beneficial effects might be obtained, if necessary.—Every family ought to have a box constantly on hand. They have long regarded obstinate coughs when other remedies have failed. *Directions*—Take two at night just before retiring, and one in the morning. They can be taken at any time without risk. The sufferer are requested to try them.

CHARLES WHIPPLE, wholesale agent, Newburyport. Price 25 cents per box. *A liberal allowance to agents and retailers.*

Sold by HENRY WHIPPLE, Salem; A. B. Trask & Co. Manchester; George Spofford & Co. Gloucester; James Bartlett, Newburyport; Joseph Dodge, Ipswich; Ebenezer Harlow, Danvers; Jacob Gove, Lynn; Dexter Harlow, Lynn; Jeremiah Ingersoll, Marblehead; Daniel Coles worthy, Portsmouth.

BILIOUS PHYSICAL PILLS, OF THE ERIE FAMILY MEDICINE.

THESE PILLS have been used by thousands, who have received great benefit from them. They are entirely vegetable, and need no praise. If every individual who has used them the world must be convinced that is now expended. *Directions*—Take from one to four. Price 25 cents per box.

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CHARLES WHIPPLE, wholesale agent, Newburyport. Sold also by HENRY WHIPPLE, Salem, and others as above 6m. sep 18.

FARM FOR SALE.

Situated near the pleasant village of Brookline, Windham, Hillsborough co. N. H. five miles walk of the Court House, Academy, School Houses and three meeting-houses of different denominations. The farm contains about EIGHTY ACRES OF GOOD LAND, is well fenced, with durable stone walls, has a good orchard of grafted fruit, a cistern of water, two orchards, and a growth of thrifty wood sufficient for the use of one family.

Also a large and commodious DWELLING HOUSE with other convenient buildings, all in good repair. The house is located between two turnpike roads, which pass through the Providence and Boston, and Norwich and Worcester stage-coaches. The Norwich and Worcester railroad is three miles distant, which is when completed, will pass within six miles of the ride. For further particulars, inquire of W. L. Garrison, Boston, S. J. May, South Scituate, or of the subscriber on the premises.

GEO. W. BENSON.

Brooklyn, July 1st, 1839.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE OFFICE, No. 36 BRATTLE STREET.

THE subscriber, in consequence of the absence of an application to him for colored help by citizens of Boston and vicinity, has been induced to try the experiment of establishing an office for the colored people, by establishing the above office.

Wanted immediately, two good Wash women, for gentlemen's families in Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wm. Burley, Oliver Johnson, Rev. Sam'l Sewall, and Elder J. V. Himes. JOHN T. HILTON.

Boston, Aug. 26, 1839.

TUITION WANTED.

The subscriber, desirous of having his young daughter privately instructed in the first rudiments of English education, would be glad to find a lady wishing to instruct a child in the manner aforesaid, that they will be able to hear of the advertisement, application at the Anti-Slavery office, No. 25, Cornhill, Boston. ☞ One in the city would be preferred.

JOHN ROBINSON.

LACE OR STAR PATTERN VICTORIA SHEET.

THE Subscriber has just manufactured a large assortment of his new work. The style of execution cannot be surpassed in horn, and is such admiring beauty and durability.

Ladies are invited to call and examine, at No 1 Milk street. A. S. JORDAN.

DR. BECKWITH,

THE inventor of the Anti-Dyspeptic Pills, is at present residing at Hillsborough, in the state of North Carolina. They were introduced to the public and their efficacy has gained them general celebrity among the most respectable families of his practice. The most popular warrant of their superior excellence. A. S. JORDAN, No. 2 Milk street, General Agent.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR

1840.

JUST RECEIVED, and for sale at the A. S. Depository, 25 Cornhill. Price, 3.50 per hundred—5 cts single. J. A. COLLINS.

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES OF COLOR

CAN be accommodated with board at Mr. Wm. Wright's, Ann Street, No. 216, Boston, who may hold have at all times, and can be accommodations. Private rooms, if needed. Tw

Boston, Aug. 22, 1839.

THREE GOOD ROOMS TO LET,

IN a brick house pleasantly situated in Fruit street, No. 12, with good conveniences for rain water.

JAMES G. BARRADDEE.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY

Two smart boys, as waiters, from 12 to 15 years old, one to wait on the table, and two girls. Apply at the Anti-Slavery Intelligence office, No. 36, Brattle street. Conditions made known as above.

BOARDING HOUSE.

DAVID RUSSELL informs his friends and the public, that he has opened a house at No. 24 Sudbury Street, where a few gentlemen and ladies of color can be accommodated with permanent or transient board.

Strangers visiting the city, are solicited to give him a call, as his house is pleasantly situated, and every exertion will be used to give general satisfaction.

Boston, June 4th, 1839.

SLAVERY AS IT IS.

TESTIMONY OF A THOUSAND WITNESSES.

A large lot of this new and valuable book, by T. D. Weld, has just been received at the Anti-Slavery Depository, 25 Cornhill. Price 37 1-2 cts. They ought to be scattered all over the land, and read in every family. Send in your orders.