Rev H. B. Wright

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NOTE.—Mr. ISAAC KNAPP, the late publisher, retains a pecuniary interest in the subscription-list of Mr. GARRISON, for two years from the first of January, 1839, the pecuniary concerns of the LIBERATOR are now under the direction and supervision of a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen: FRANCIS JACKSON, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM BASSETT.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

VOL. X.—NO. 3. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1840. WHOLE NO. 472.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION

From the Richmond Enquirer.

Virginia and New York—Georgia and Maine.

We have informed our readers, that the Georgia Legislature have rejected the bill to compel vessels owned or commanded by citizens of, or coming from the ports of the State of Maine, and the officers, seamen and passengers thereof, to provide security, or to provide for a search thereof on their departure.—In lieu of this bill, they have adopted the following resolutions:

'The Federal Constitution, having been framed jointly with a view to regulate the conventional intercourse between the sovereign States that organized it, and having conferred all the powers necessary and proper for carrying its provisions into full effect, upon a Congress of the United States, in pursuance of that body, by its legislation, to secure the several states in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights. Not the least important stipulation in that compact, is, that a person charged with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.'

'Doubtless the past legislation on this subject, has been predicated upon the presumption, that each State, having in the pledged faith of all the others, a sufficient guarantee, nothing more was requisite, than to prescribe the forms which should give an authenticity to the demand. Doubtless, too, in the times which gave birth to the Constitution—while the Union was young, and her revolutionary associations fresh and warm, this presumption found its warrant in the mutual fidelity with which promptly responded to all executive demands. To this generation has been reserved the humiliating spectacle of a sovereign State making herself a city of refuge for fugitive felons from her sister confederates. Two such cases, of recent occurrence, demonstrate the utter inefficiency of the existing laws for carrying into effect this provision of the Constitution. They, moreover, clearly indicate the cause of this inefficiency. Those laws are dependent for their execution upon the will of the Executive authorities of the several States, who neither are, nor can be made responsible to the General Government. If, then, it be correctly assumed, that the Federal Legislature is bound to make ample provision for the contingency of urgency; and if experience has proved that reliance on State authorities is delusive, the question occurs whether there be any other mode which gives fairer promise of security? May not the object be accomplished, by employing in the service, officers appointed by and responsible to the Federal Government? Inasmuch as that Government has employed, in every State of the Union, competent judicial and ministerial officers, it is believed that this object, enjoined by the highest obligation, and intimately connected with the harmony and perpetuity of the Union, may be appropriately and efficiently performed, through their instrumentality. There would seem to be a peculiar fitness in providing that the aid which she is bound to afford to the State judiciaries, should result from the action of her own judiciary. The process would be simple, and the agents directly responsible to the power whose duties they would be called upon to execute.

'Be it therefore resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, That the statutes of the United States, enacted to carry into effect the latter clause of the second section of the 4th Article of the Constitution, are wholly inadequate to the object.

'And be it further resolved, That in the opinion of this General Assembly, those statutes should be so amended, as—1st, To authorize the demand in the cases contemplated, to be made upon the Circuit Judge of the United States, having jurisdiction in the State wherein such fugitive may be found—2dly, To require that such Judge, upon such demand being made in due form of law, shall issue his warrant, to be directed to the Marshal of the United States in the State wherein such fugitive may be, requiring its arrest and delivery to the agent duly authorized to receive him who shall be named in such warrant. 3dly, To require such Marshal to whom any such warrant shall be delivered, forthwith to execute the same.

'And be it further resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be required to forward to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, copies of the above preamble and resolutions, with a request that they endeavor to procure such amendments of the statutes in question, as in their judgment will be best calculated to effect the desired object.'

Our friends in Georgia, it seems, prefer at present an appeal to the Federal authorities, rather than to their own hands. An intelligent correspondent in Georgia takes this view of the matter: 'I think federal legislation might regulate the matter. The Governor of Maine has certainly disregarded the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and has constituted his State the accessory of the offenders against the laws of Georgia. —Between independent nations, such a course would be a just cause of war, if friendly negotiations should afford no relief. Between the States of this Union, federal legislation seems to be substituted in most cases for treaties, in all matters where negotiation or treaty would be indispensable between foreign and independent powers.—An Amendment of the Act of Congress of 1793, to carry into effect that section of the Constitution of the United States, which requires the Governor of one State to deliver fugitives from justice, upon demand, from the Executive authority of another State, is, I apprehend, the remedy the difficulty, unless there should be a determination on the part of the non-slaveholding States to drive us to a resort to the *ultimate ratio*.

'If Congress can, we have no objection to their taking this course. But can or will they? We confess, we look to this resource as almost hopeless. For our own parts, we place no sort of reliance in it. The Southern members may consider the matter, and what is best to be done. But in the meantime, Virginia should look to herself. A strong, animated, argumentative appeal ought to be at once addressed to the world—to the South, to effect a cooperation—to the North, to enlighten her judgment and overcome any objection she may entertain. We must speak out—assert our rights, and suggest our remedies boldly, fearlessly, frankly, in conciliatory terms, but in the firmest spirit. The correspondence between the Governors of Va. and N. York, thus urged in the name of the Legislature and people of Virginia, may be conducted in the course of the year, and be laid before the next Legislature for its wisest, firmest action. If Congress can or will do nothing in the premises at the present session—and if the State of New York will do nothing, to carry out the behests of the Constitution, *then* at our next session we will have all these lights before us, and we must act as becomes us.

Pitiful Doughfaceism.

Gov. Fairfield, of Maine, in his late message to the Legislature of that State, alludes to the audacious proceeding of the Governor of Georgia, to treat the citizens of Maine as outlaws, in the following style:

'It is hoped, perhaps, to close the commercial relations of the two States, by a hostility between the State of Georgia and this State, growing out of a demand made by the late Governor of Georgia upon Governor Dunlap and Kent to deliver up two citizens charged in that State with the crime of a slave stealing from a State, and which persons it was alleged had fled from justice; and the refusal to deliver them up upon grounds deemed by the then Governors of this State to be constitutional and satisfactory. The proceedings of the Legislature of Georgia having been, at the request of the Governor of that State, laid before the legislature of this State, and the latter having taken no action thereon, referring the whole matter to the Executive, the Governor of Georgia thereupon in his message to the legislature holds the following language:

'The conduct of the Legislature of Maine and the previous conduct of Governor Dunlap and Governor Kent, prove conclusively, that the opposition to the institution of slavery is so great among the people of that State, that their public authorities are prevented from obeying the injunctions of the Constitution of the U. States, and from delivering up fugitives from justice charged with the crime of violating the rights of property in slaves. This State must therefore protect by its own authority, the rights of its citizens in slave property, against the disposition of the people of Maine to violate them. For this purpose, you will be justified in declaring by law, that all citizens of Maine who may come within the jurisdiction of this State, on board of any vessel, as owners, officers, or marines, shall be considered as doing so with the intent to commit the crime of seducing negro slaves from their owners, and be dealt with accordingly by the officers of justice.'

Coming to us in a less official character, but few, I think, would regard this proposition as serious; though, however, as it may, if there was the least probability that such a measure could succeed in the Legislature of Georgia, some counter action on our part might, perhaps, be necessary. But I am sure it cannot prevail. The proposition so clearly violates the Constitution of the United States, and is so subversive, not only of the planetary principles of law, but of common sense and common justice, that the intelligent Legislature of that distinguished and gallant State will never sanction it. The late Governor of Georgia and my predecessors, though not agreeing in their construction of the Constitution in regard to the relative rights and obligations of the State, yet differ, principally, upon a question of fact, to wit, whether the persons demanded, were or were not fugitives from justice. For the decision of this question the Constitution has established no tribunal; and Maine, in claiming an *equal right* with Georgia, to examine and determine it, believes that she is not only not violating the Constitution, but is simply asserting for herself the great doctrine of State rights. Upon a question of this sort, then, where there is found to exist an honest difference of opinion, surely it would be worse than folly to array the citizens of the respective States in hostile attitude, and to incite large classes of the citizens, indiscriminately, of our State, as only bent on the commission of crime when entering the territory of the other. There is no necessity. Maine and Georgia, though widely separated upon the map of the country, should not be nearly allied in mutual respect, interest and kind offices. The state of public feeling in Maine has been entirely misconceived by the late Governor of Georgia, and there are thousands among us who are opposed to interfere with the domestic institutions of Georgia, or any other State, in violation of law, or who are disposed to obstruct the public authorities in the strictest performance of the constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitives from justice, in the offence what it may, the number is extremely limited. I am persuaded that the present apparent feeling in our sister State will soon yield to juster views; and that our amicable relations will be permitted to spring up between the two States, tending permanently to affect the peaceful and friendly relations that ought ever to subsist between the different members of our great confederacy, and which, I am confident, the citizens of this State are disposed assiduously and sincerely to cultivate.'

From the Yarmouth Register.

To the Abolitionists of Barnstable County.

DEAR BRETHREN,—You doubtless are apprised that there are two classes of Anti-Slavery people in this county, who are representing the two State Societies.

Rev. Mr. Cummings was the regular agent appointed to this county; but as soon as it was ascertained that he was laboring successfully, the friends of the old *Non-Resistant* Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society were despatched forthwith to this county, who are leeturing, and privately visiting circles of friends and individuals, endeavoring to fix a prejudice against the Massachusetts Abolition Society and their Agents, by insinuating themselves into the favor of the people.

Now what is their REAL OBJECT *in this underhand business, which carries suspicion on its very face?* I will tell you. The County Society is now auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and these *Non Resistant* Agents of the old State Society wish to change its auxiliary-ship from the American to their State Society, for two purposes; *first*, to deprive the American Society, which the old State Society has been opposing for a year past, of its *support* from this county; and *second*, to get this County Society to support their old sinking State Society, which is fast going down, being so heavily freighted with the no-human-government principle, that her condition is perilous; and, consequently the true Abolition crew have been obliged to escape and embark in the true *Abolition-ship*; which is freighted with nothing but Abolitionists and her noble crew, gallantly outriding the tempest and storms of pro-slavery and non-resistance (!) fury—which have threatened her destruction—and bound directly for the port of emancipation. Hence, it has been intimated, that, in forming new societies, as they go from place to place, auxiliary to the County Society,—if the County Society does not change its auxiliary-ship from the American to their non-resistant Society, those town Societies are to change from that *direction* of the Constitution of the United States, which requires the Governor of one State to deliver fugitives from justice, upon demand, from the Executive authority of another State, is, I apprehend, the remedy the difficulty, unless there should be a determination on the part of the non-slaveholding States to drive us to a resort to the *ultimate ratio*.

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POLITICAL

Extract from an Address,

Issued by the Convention held at Warsaw, Genesee Co. N. Y., Dec. 12, 1839.

With slavery, political power had been temporarily associated, by the constitution; and holding in its grasp the only laboring population of the South, it was their only insurance of safety. It is not wonderful, then, that the slave-owners, who must of necessity be the most sordid of mankind, should early establish a union and discipline among themselves best adapted to preserve and extend their selfish interests. On this they were intent, at an early day; and in it, they succeeded. They have consequently controlled the government for the last forty years. By themselves, they have ever been in a minority. But they have found means to secure a majority of the public functionaries, to their views of policy, by addressing the personal ambition, the party sympathies, and the money passions of the North. While they have thus depraved many, and blinded more, of their partisans, in the free states, to help them sustain slavery, and wield the government for their peculiar benefit, they have made and unmade laws—set up and destroyed systems of policy—rejected proffers of profitable intercourse with one free nation, at peace with all the world, and patronized a wide and dangerous intercommunity with a portion of another, while in actual rebellion against its government—threatened war with neighboring republics after acknowledging their independence, because, having abolished slavery in their dominions, they proposed to abolish it, by force of arms, in a neighboring island owned by a power using its utmost means for their subjugation—refused to enter into friendly council with the new-born republics of half the western continent, for the common advancement and stability of free institutions, because such counsels would expose their own slavery to the extinguishing operation of just and humane principles—perfidiously set aside their solemn treaties with the Southern Indians, and made a war of extermination upon them—brought seven new states into the union deformed with its pollutions—introduced it, and upheld it, without any constitutional authority, at the seat of government—degraded our national character, and endangered our peace, by frequent and pertinacious negotiations with foreign powers, for its base interests, long since it ought to have been constitutionally exterminated—officially and perseveringly violated the sanctity of the Post Office Department—brutally beaten and mangled the bodies of many virtuous citizens without trials, or any legal allegation of criminal offence—feloniously destroyed the property of freemen, in halls of science, printing presses, and churches—taken the life blood of a body corporate, in gagging up your representative, with all the sacred panoply of the constitution and the laws upon him, for refusing to surrender the principles of '76—deliberately, and for years, violated the Roman and Grecian code, utterly abolished your common and most essential rights of petition, and free speech, by your representatives, upon the floor of our national legislature.

Brethren, there are no longer but two classes of men in our country, known to the politicians—the slaveholders, and the slaves. The friends of inalienable rights are proscribed. Rewards for their heads have been publicly offered, higher than those offered by the Roman Sylla for the murder of Rome citizens! Open threats of putting them to death have been frequently uttered, in the slave-states, and in Congress, without rebuke.—Courts of justice and Governors of States have degraded themselves into supple ministers of the kidnapper. Your free brethren, of the Free States, of this union, are not secure against the felonious violence of the man thief. Every year several of them, of all complexions, are torn from the most precious ties of earthly happiness, and cast into the broad prison-house of slavery. And the newspapers, of every week, issuing from that prison-house, with the leave of its keepers, tell you of the man-hunt, the stabbing, the maiming, or the murder, of your brethren—not the slaveholders alone, but often the intelligent and the free. The elements of social order are dissolved. The sacred ties of the Constitution are snapped asunder. The hell-scent fires of slavery have burned them up. And the blackened, and dislocated monuments of a scathed civilization begin to present themselves, to protect the returning wolves, and men more ferocious than the aboriginal inhabitants.

Our civil authorities act—as if commissioned only by the slave-holders—at their will, and for their benefit. The burthens they exact, as well as the powers they employ, are most unequally distributed. On the first of January, 1837, there remained in the Treasury of the United States, a surplus of near forty millions of dollars, supplied to the common fund, chiefly by the industry and enterprise of the North. This was divided among the states, by law. In the division, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, received $6,754,588 while Pennsylvania, with a free population *larger* than that of all these six states together, received only $3,823,353. And because the other states, the Union was equally inequitable, in favor of the slave states. All the burthens of the union upon the North are enforced with a vindictive pertinacity, like that with which the Jew demanded the pound of flesh from the creditor, in charge from the church of Christ, and with the burthens thus enforced, and the aid of a political majority, apparently undetachable, they hope to maintain and perpetuate that slavery, which gives all the grovelling power in the union to the slave-holders, against the 300,000 slave holders. Your cultivated fields, your smiling villages, your schools and colleges, your internal improvements, your cheerful work-shops and countless manufactories, your hundred sail, which whiten every sea, your rising cities, have been created by an industry, which they despise, and which they would rather overthrow, than not have tributary to their pride of domination.

Shall this union, then, be dissolved? What union? Not that for which our fathers toiled, and suffered, and prayed—not that glorious union of freemen, for whom the constitution was formed. That union, bought with blood, and dearer than life, we would preserve at any expense of patriotic labor and sacrifice. We would bind it together, with all the heaven-born ties of truth and justice, and love. Alas! How its spirit is paralyzed! How the walls of its majestic temple have been undermined by a robber, unauthorizedly admitted to a temporary location in its basement story! How the wedges of party spirit have split into fragments its polished pillars! How the moths of wealth have perforated its charter! How its venerable remains, as they are seen tottering almost to their fall, are stolen away, with emulous activity, by the rival parties of the day, to extend and strengthen the Lazar House of Slavery! Oh! let this union be preserved! Let honest men, everywhere, keep guard over it! Let the robber be expelled! Let the chief corner stone of its majestic temple be polished anew, and carefully replaced! Let the men who are willing to cast away the wedges of a demoniac and selfish party spirit; and who bear deeply engraved upon the tablet of their hearts, the living letters of its world-hallowing charter, come together speedily, and sustain it on all sides by the substantial buttresses of disinterested political action!

WESTERN PA. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The following resolution was adopted at the late annual meeting of this society:

'*Resolved*, That as some of the brethren abroad seem very zealous for the organization of an anti-slavery political party, this society expresses its decided conviction that a movement of this kind, at the time and in the manner proposed, is exceedingly unwise and impolitic.

SELECTIONS

Thanksgiving Sermon.

The oftener the pulpit speaks out in strong rebuke of slavery, the sooner will that dreadful system of uncleanness and cruelty come to an end. Anti-slavery sermons are multiplying in number—another proof of the ever-dying away, ever living nature of abolitionism—nor are they spoken in vain. A very good one is now before us, delivered in West Bloomfield, N. Y. on Thanksgiving Day, by Rev. George W. Bassett, and published at the request of the anti-slavery society in that town. Take the following extract as a sample of its spirit and quality:

Another reason why we should remember the enslaved, is, that they cannot help themselves. The same force which has deprived them of their rights, has deprived them also of the power to recover those rights. They are perfectly helpless, and help is hope, if it ever comes to them, must come from a distance. There is no self-restorative power in slavery, unless it be that of the volcano or the earthquake, which is too much to be feared.

Relief must be granted them, or they grind in everlasting bondage. And why should they obtain their relief? Shall the master? They have cried to him in vain for centuries. The tear of silent eloquence has fallen powerless upon the oppressor's rocky heart for ages, and he only binds tighter the bands that hold his victim. Every response of the civil system is but another turn to the screw that torures the soul of its victim. Every change in the laws of slavery is from iron severity to bloody cruelty. The hand of violence is laid heavily upon every impulse of the slave to rise from his degradation. Even his noble aspiration after greatness, is a crime, punishable with a deeper degradation and a more hopeless bondage. What hope then of relief from his master? To whom then shall he look next, but to the free man of this republic? To whom, but to the descendants of the Pilgrims? And shall *we* turn a deaf ear to his cries? Nay! Shall we boldly pervert the word of God—the great *magna charta* of human rights, and hurl back upon him the anathemas of the Bible for his discontent? Shall we shamelessly exhort him to learn in whatsoever situation he is, to be therewith content, even though it oblige him to trample under foot all the commands of his Maker, and plunge his own soul into the woes of the second death? Forbid it, heaven! Forbid it, every principle of honor! Of what is the American breast composed? Where is gratitude? where its honor? Is there nothing due to the colored man for our national existence? One of the brightest feathers that plumes the American Eagle, was furnished by a negro's hand. The first drop of blood that was spilt in the patriotic struggle of '76, was negro blood. The first man that fell in the battle, the immortal struggle for American independence, was ATTUCKS, the colored Bostonian.* Where then is the gratitude of our country? Enslaved Israel had her Moses; Greece, her Demosthenes; and Cicily, her Dion; the Romans had their Brutus; the English, their Cromwell; and the Americans, their Washington. But who shall break the fetters of the American Slave? Shall a Toussaint L'Ouverture, arise from among their swarthy ranks, and lead them on to victory and freedom? This is impossible; it is not desirable. There is no possible hope then for the American slave, but from the blessing of God upon the efforts of the friends of liberty. Is not this then a reason why you should remember them? They demand not our alliance, but they implore our protection; and shall we refuse them a sympathetic emotion? Shall we refuse to reason with their oppressors, and remonstrate against their foul injustice? What if we by helpless under the throne of Jehovah, we should look on with indifference, or up to contentment? Should we think that we were actuated by the spirit of our fathers? They demand not our alliance, but they implore our protection and our sympathy.

* Batt's American Revolution.

From the Union Herald.

Things as they are in Massachusetts.

No. 2.

To Gerrit Smith, Esq.—

DEAR BROTHER—Few have sufficiently understood the genius of our enterprize. To this lack of knowledge, more than to all things else, are our internal difficulties to be attributed. The feuds that have marred the progress of our societies, have grieved the friends and disgraced many of our proceedings, have manifestly arisen from an attempt to fasten interests upon our cause, wholly disconnected and foreign therefrom. This attempt was in strict accordance with the spirit and character of the age. These are emphatically sectarian and partizan. All that is done at the present time, for any religious or moral purpose, is effected by party *machinery*. No enterprize, however catholic and tolerant it may be at its incipiency, can long continue uncorrupted, or free from party dictation and control, so rife is the spirit of sectarianism. In the infantile and unpopular days of our cause, no one thought of turning it to the purposes of sectarian promotion and advancement; and hence, peace, harmony and efficiency characterized our early movements; but as it advanced, increasing in numerical strength, in moral efficiency and in solidity and respectability of character, a vigorous attempt was made to convert it into a party engine, to be used in strict subservincy to sectarian purposes. Hence the '*Orthodox Anti-Slavery Society*,' which was in the proper sense of the term, and defeated within a few years, by the combined efforts of Christ's '*Massachusetts Abolition Society*,' which, under a new name, is made up of the same materials that were to have been the elements of the antecedent one, that was so opportunely and fortunately quashed. In a country like this, where party organization, recourse is almost exclusively had to such measures and weapons as the adherents of party are accustomed to use. Religious prejudices are appealed to, the cry of heresy is raised, and the tocsin of war is sounded. From the highest Church dignitaries are heard, 'the mingle thunders of the Vatican,' which carry terror to an ever-submissive and obsequious laity. The devotees of party are roused—it is stir and action—the sectarian machinery is in fearful motion—the Church must be rescued from the danger that threatens it. This is not fiction, but uncolored reality. The friends of the New Organization owe most of their success to this sectarian means they have used for the attainment of their objects. The battle, thus far, has been fought, on their part, with party weapons. The themes, ever fruitful, though disgustingly stale, of the declamation and philippic, with the sophisms of partizans of the New Society, are the peculiar religious views of some of the leading minds of the Old Organization. Ever haranguing upon these, often caricaturing them most shamefully, and representing them as tending to undermine the Church, to demolish the ministerial office, and to change all the usages of their fathers, they have succeeded in drawing no inconsiderable number to their ranks. So far as I have been able to observe and learn, these are the only *effective* means which they use, in promoting the work of division and dissention. And, considering the state of society in this Commonwealth, the profound veneration for established usages and landmarks, the superstitious regard for ancient and long-settled opinions, and the great horror of all change and innovation that exists, they could not desire more productive ones. But is this the 'appropriate sphere' of an Abolition Society? Is an Abolition Society to become the common hornpipe of Christendom? It seems there is one, that has undertaken the laudable work of hunting down all the heresy that now infests the Church. It promises to be a successful competitor of the Spanish Inquisition!

To rectify this state of things, it is necessary to recur to first principles. The premises of our enterprize should be thoroughly studied. Abolitionists must be *saturated* with the true spirit of our cause. The cramping, narrowing and belittling influence of party, must be neutralized by an enlightened, liberal, all-embracing philanthropy. Under the influence of such a spirit, it would be seen, that our cause occupies an infinitely more elevated position than that on which party is based. That it scorns the most distant connection with that mean and contemptible spirit, which actuates our opponents, whether political or religious. That its fundamental and life-imparting principle, is that 'love which seeketh not her own.'

Unlike all others, our enterprize is pre-eminently catholic and tolerant. Having but one specific object in view, it requires submission to but one test, to entitle a person to membership in our Societies. This test involves the distinctive character of our enterprise. As abolitionists, we have associated ourselves for the single and distinct object of the utter extinction of slavery and its appendages, which stand in the way of the elevation of the colored population of these States. The principle on which we have organized, is antagonistical to that on which rest the Church and State systems of the country. It is right, under certain circumstances, to hold property in man. Denying the truth of this fundamental principle of the system, and maintaining the contrary doctrine, we assert, as a consequence, that human chattelhood and unconditional obedience is the duty of the master, and the right of the slave. All who receive this doctrine, and give it a hearty support, are worthy of the name, and entitled to the fellowship, of abolitionists. This is the only condition to be complied with, to make an individual eligible to membership in our confederations. And has the Society no condition to perform? Most certainly. It is to guard, most scrupulously, against encroachments upon the primary principle, by the admission of its members. These are the *reserved rights* of those who enter the association. It is understood by all, that the Society will carefully avoid all interference with these, when they become members. To make war against these, or even to allow them when they are assailed by any of the members, is to change the character of our enterprize, and defeat the object we are laboring to secure. The projectors of our enterprize took an extended and comprehensive view of the great subject they intended to be operated upon, the great and almost infinite variety of sentiments entertained by the community, and the diversified, intricate and multiplied relations they sustained, and saw it to be utterly impracticable, and undesirable if practicable, so to alter and modify these, as to produce an association agreeing in all particulars. Had the work been among the things possible, so little would have been gained to our cause, so to have wounded its prospects that they saw, that all that was desirable, or necessary, to the attainment of our object, was to *abolitionize* this great diversity of character, leaving untouched, and untouchable, all invidious, private sentiments and existing relations, of whatever character they might be. A person sustaining a relation to a church, and believing with that church, or maintaining a connection with a political party, and believing in common with that party, that it is right to hold property in the matter, is not to abandon his position, or renounce his sentiments. He was only required to act as an *Abolitionist* in the relation he sustained; at the same time exercising the right to propagate his private sentiments. Is an Abolitionist to never be united with his church, nor an Universalist with his—nor was a person who belonged to no church, to join one, in order to be an abolitionist. A Whig was no renegade from his principles, nor a Van Buren man his—nor was a Scotch Covenanter or a Non-Jurorer, in advocating and carrying forward the cause, when individual was to use such arguments and employ such means, unless specified in the terms of our union, as best accorded with his views and sense of propriety. And, as has been shown, no terms of union were to be adopted, which would conflict, in the least degree, with the private opinions of any of the members. In pleading the cause, an Universalist could not employ arguments drawn from the future and endless punishment of the wicked—nor could the Quaker, in his advocacy of the cause, refer to the neglect and abuse of the ordinances of religion consequent upon slavery—nor could an unbeliever in revealed religion, use any arguments deduced from the sacred volume, in support of the cause. An advocate of human government was to employ such constitutional means as he thought would best subserve the cause, and a Scotch Covenanter, or a Non-Resistant, being prevented by conscientious scruples from the use of such means, was to employ such measures as his judgment and sense of propriety should dictate. In our public discussions, there would, as a matter of course, be different arguments employed varying according to the views of the different speakers, but so long as the peculiar views of any one were not made the *sine qua non* of membership in our Society, or essential to a work for the promotion of our national politics. But if the *parent society* does so, and not by *our* move—then we can take hold with *all our might*, the non-resistants will have to be out upon us under right, and we can turn upon the *woman question*. The political has been left to fall out of sight. In our State politics, the Temperance question is so fairly on the ground, that we have not room to stand. We have to work for it, in preference to

Old Fanaticism! Seventy-three years ago!

The following is a copy of a pamphlet which has been put into our hands by a colored brother, and which bears on the title-page the following imprint: "BOSTON: Printed and sold by Edes and Gill, in Queen Street. 1767."

Considerations on Slavery, in a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

I understand you have thoughts of being concerned in the African slave trade. Pity for the welfare of all mankind, and particular affection for you, leads me at this time to write you my sentiments upon slavery, and the slave-trade. And I doubt not but you will excuse my thus meddling in your business, when you consider I have no private ends to answer. If what I shall offer upon the subject, should be thought of no weight, it will only interrupt you a few minutes; but if I should be so happy as to convince you, that however profitable the trade may be to some adventurers, yet that it is contrary to humanity, christianity, the interest of the province, and of private families, I shall not only be sure of your desisting from so vile a trade, but have great hopes, that your example and influence in this place will, in time, produce an act of government to prevent the further importation of slaves among us; and I can flatter myself, that the example of this province may influence others; but if not, we can be gloriously single.

Great Britain, the envy of the world, does not permit a slave on her happy island; but gives to every one freedom, which stamps him image of his God.

Before I enter upon the arguments for and against the trade, permit me to contrast a Briton and a negro slave in America, neither chargeable with any crime cognizable by the public. A Briton has the free disposal of his time, to employ it in that way he likes best; all he gains by his industry, he hath sole right to; none of it can be taken from him, but by his consent: he may marry, so man can separate him from the object of his affection; his house is his castle; none (unless he has made himself obnoxious to the public) may intrude upon him. Happy Briton! The slave has neither command of his time, nor choice of his employ; must labor incessantly during his master's pleasure; can make no use of, or the produce of his own industry; a bare subsistence is all he receives; and though he has labored 20 years, and earned his master an estate, yet even then he is liable to be sold, and often is, for want of employ, or for fear that in his old age he should be a burthen upon the wealthy heirs. He cannot marry, because marriage is founded on *promise*, and slaves can promise nothing. They are indeed, sometimes, to please them, indulged a sham-marriage, which is disolved again at the master's will, without consulting the slaves' inclination. He is sold out of the country, and so shifted from hand to hand (if he lives to be old) till he is a burthen, and wished out of life to save expense. Shocking contrast! All honest men, a wise God may have in permitting such various fortunes to the children of men, yet surely no man can be justified in being instrumental of such hard fate to any of his fellow creatures.

Humanity makes us feel for the evils we know any of our species labor under, and unless hardened by education or custom, we naturally resent the pain or hardships of others; especially, when we see them imposed on innocence by the hand of oppression, which is certainly the case of all those poor children, who are dragged from their mother's arms, and never taste the sweets of liberty.

I should have thought none but the hardened wretch could have entertained a thought of planning a voyage to Africa, with design to bring off its inhabitants, and curse them with perpetual slavery; even supposing they were as some say our enemies. But how it is aggravated, when we know that the Africans are a harmless people, having never gone beyond their own bounds, to trouble mankind; and but for the interruption from white people, might enjoy all the sweets of a rural life, being blessed with a fine fruitful soil, which yields, with small labor, all the necessaries of life. This is the people who, by some strange fatality, are pitched upon by the Europeans for slaves. And law are they made such? Not by giving an open challenge to fight them, that the captivated on either side may expect to be enslaved. This would have the appearance of heroism. No! but the basest means are used to accomplish the basest end. It is well known what we have been above a century past crowding our luxuries upon the Africans; and when the gold dust of their land could not satisfy, they were tempted to sell their brethren, to procure our manufactories and liquors sold for them. Thus we imposed upon their weakness, and encouraged their barbarity, by appearing ready purchasers of their people for perpetual slaves. Trade for the lives of men being once established, has set all Africa by the ears. A war immediately ensues; among them is laid aside for the more profitable business of trepanning one another; all common confidence is destroyed; and indeed their natural affections are very much weakened by their immediate fondness for enemies. Hence it comes that most collected, by force or artifice, a number of his color, they are offered to the whites for sale; then an inspector, perhaps a physician is employed by the purchasers to view the slaves; if any happen to have a rag which modesty had procured, and male and female handled in a manner not to be related, to select the sound in wind and limb. In their choice, they pay no regard to former connections: husband and wife are parted, parents and children never meet; the weak, weakly wife will not be taken to accompany the healthy husband. Oh! methinks I hear their screeches rending the very heavens, when these horrid scenes take place! The happy *healthy* are immediately hand-ried, and then, two and two, are yoked by their necks like horses for shipping, and drove in herds by their masters to the sea-coast, and stowed in the hold of a vessel. Owners are so greedy of a large freight, that they crowd the negroes in such numbers, and under such close confinement, lest they should rise, as renders their passage almost intolerable. Upon a moderate computation, it is reckoned that 10 or 12,000 die yearly on their passage, and in seasoning, which is generally in Island or in the cold climates, those that survive are fixed for life to their destined slavery. It is well known that the greatest number, by far, of these miserable creatures are fixed on the West India islands, where their fate, in general, is so extremely hard, as to shock a humane tongue to relate, or a human ear to hear. Though they spend six days in seven, in unremitted labor, for their masters, constantly overlooked by overseers, yet the master does not think himself obliged to provide food for his slaves: indeed, he allows them Sundays to till a small piece of land for themselves, and carry the produce to market, by which they subsist. If one day's labor in a week is sufficient to support a slave and his children, how excessively hard is it to be obliged to work the other six, for those whom they must hate? I need not relate any particulars of the unbounded whipping to which they are subject to, and commonly experience upon every slight offence. The least opposition discovered in them, or attempt to free themselves from their miserable state, is sure and certain death, and that with all the aggravation that cruelty can put upon it; such as starving to death in the midst of plenty, in which state I have heard gentlemen say, they live in a cage from seven to nine days. Oh! horrid! Pray, sir, consider, is it for any moral end that this part of our fellow men are thus extremely tormented? Can we, in the vain flimsy pretence, that Africans used to kill their captives before we appeared to buy them, justify the hellish practice of the present day?—even though it should be granted, that that was the fate of some, for without all doubt, a much greater number are now yearly destroyed in the extra-wars occasioned by the demand for slaves.

The shocking noisome passages, as mentioned above, besides the evil consequences they are drove to by despair, such as starving, or strangling themselves, beating their brains against the ship, or jumping over-board; the sickly climates to which they are carried; the excessive labor to which the greatest part are drove, which with the grief they think vastly shortens their days: for a slave of forty years is scarce worth owning. When you take all these circumstances into consideration, I doubt not, sir, but you will be convinced that there are more lives lost yearly among the Africans yearly, than before the present practice of slavery commenced; and that the balance of misery is vastly increased against them; and all this by us Christians!

For the Africans have no Christian pleas vindication which some have had the effrontery to offer, will entirely a lover of truth and justice, viz. that but for the slave-trade, the West-India islands could not be cultivated to such amazing profit. *Let them stick here!* Object what they can, yet I dare stand to it, that prohibited, many gentlemen of immense fortunes must be ruined. *Let them, and beg.* It is more honorable to seek a support by begging than by theft, as every man does who lives by the forced labor and production of the liberty of any of his fellow creatures; and though this palliative has been compounded by some, *even of the right reverend clergy*, for the crusiness of those who have been troubled in a serious hour; yet I believe they have been too modest to think there sufficient compensation for such wounds. This leads me, sir, to address you as a christian, for such you appear to be: and pray how can this practice be reconciled with the great law of charity, so much inculcated by the Author of christian, or we would *that they should do to you?* I never found a man but was staggered at that short sentence, when applied to the present subject. I know, indeed, the great advantage it is pretended slaves receive, by being brought from a land of heathenism to christian idolatry, to a land highly favored with the light of the glorious gospel; and so blessed with the means of salvation. But let those that appease their consciences with this specious argument, consider first, that we are not to do evil that good may come of it: and further, that a very small proportion of these poor transported slaves have the least chance of being benefitted by christianity. For I take it, and doubt not you join me, that to be a book of charity to say, that all those Africans who are carried to our West-India islands, are carried from a land of ignorance and innocence to a land of glaring wickedness, where they have constant examples of every vice, and where they are likely to become seven-fold more the children of Satan, than when in their native country.

And as to those few who are called happy in being brought into these northern colonies, very little can be said of the advantages which they receive, or the improvement they make of it; for, from the best accounts (and that I have been at pains to make, for I have long thought on the subject,) I do not believe there is one in ten of those who have had the best opportunity, that know any more of the christian religion, except the name, than their brethren now in Guinea; and of those that do, a considerable part, if not all of them, how few have we reason to think are influenced by the motives and principles of our holy religion!

I shall not point you to a few passages of that Book, the injunctions of which we cannot be so universally binding upon all that know them.

The Jews were strictly forbid *man-stealing*, as in Exod. 21. 16. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to *death*.' I know that the Jews in their traditions confined this prohibition to their own nation; because in Deuteronomy 24, and 7, it is said, If any man be found stealing any *of his brethren*, &c. then that thief shall die. But, some years before their explanation, they held that the thief was obliged to restore the person stolen, though a stranger, to his liberty again.

But, whatever distinctions the Jews made between themselves and other nations, we know that this partition has long since been taken down, and we are taught in the gospel to esteem all men our brethren, especially those who have not injured us in any respect, either as a nation or private person. Of this we can not have the least doubt, if we hear our Lord saying on the mount, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, &c. that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.' If this be scripture, or the word of God to mankind, and the enslaving a poor innocent people, in the method now practised, be consistent therewith, I acknowledge all my ideas of the words are confounded, and the scriptures are written in an unknown language to me.

I hope, gentlemen can any doubt in your minds, whether the writers of the New Testament had any respect to the practice I am now condemning, please to read St. Paul's first epistle to Timothy, 1 chap. 9th and 10th verses, in which *man-stealing* is placed in the front of a very black catalogue of crimes, viz. 'Profane, murderers of parents, whoremongers, *men-stealers*, liars and perjured persons, &c.; all which are contrary to sound doctrine, according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God.'

How trifling must be the excuse, which some, who hold slaves, have made, viz. That they are not men-stealers, having bought them with their money: that they would not be concerned in the trade upon any account, but seeing they are brought here, and will be sold to somebody, that they may as well buy as others; they will treat them as well or better. *Oh! ye fools or knaves*, FOR IN ONE OF THESE CLASSES I think YOU MUST BE RANKED, is reason to be blinded with such a thin veil? Is the most valuable blessing of life, *liberty*, to be thus trifled with? It is most certain, that were there no purchasers, there would be no sellers. The prospect of a market here and elsewhere, to those who employ slaves, is the sole cause of continued support, of that most cruel and wicked trade. I do not conceive a whit odds between the man who goes personally, and steals a negro lad from his parent's hut, in Guinea, and brings him here, and enslaves him for life, *and the man who purchases one, that stole him*. Is the latter case, *there is sacredness infinitely sentimental, without the shadow of a virtue*. Were we exposed to the same curse, I am not we think that the abettors of our misery were the children of the devil, suffered by the wrath of God to dwell on the earth, to increase the heavy load of human misery. Pray who are concerned in this black, hellish business, *pretend to the character of Christians?*

I cannot conclude this part, without making the following supposition: Suppose a man should purchase a slave. Can you lay your hand on your breast, and declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that you verily think, after the most mature consideration, that, in purchasing one of the human race as innocent as yourself, and making him absolute over your sovereign will all his days, without a chance of freedom, you in no respect deviate from that *rule* laid down by Christ, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them?* If you can say this, with a clear conscience, I shall be silent, and closing the scene of this life, and have no compunctions of conscience in your last moments, for having so far promoted and encouraged the slave trade, as to be a purchaser; if this is in your sober thought, go on,—buy more—dip largely in the trade, for it is profitable—and blacken these fair northern climates, as the West-Indies are *black*.

What I next propose, sir, is, to show that the slave trade is inconsistent with the interest of the Province and I doubt not but that alone would be a sufficient reason with you to desist.

By the importation of black slaves, we prevent the importation of white servants; and it is well known that there are thousands in Europe, who would gladly come among us, if they might be brought over for a quarter the cost of a black man. These white people would do all the labor for us, that we have any right to receive from others. Those that cannot pay their passage, generally bind themselves and part of their time for it; after that's is expired, they are free as we are; as servants at as low a rate as a negro can be maintained, reckoning his cost, the risk of his life, &c. (Perhaps I may, in my next, give you an account of the particular annual expense of a slave.) Those white people, when they have served some years in the lowest capacities, turn out upon our waste lands, marry, and in a few years we see a town well settled; and in less than fifty years, there will be four-fold more living. By this means, our country will fill up, we become respectable, and secure from an enemy, and furnished with every convenience of life. Though it has been plead, that prohibiting the importation of slaves would cut off a large branch of trade, yet it must be remembered that the whole trade, it is an unprofitable one for the community; because real riches (if rum may be called so) are sent from this place, for an article which we either might have from among ourselves, or we might import with little or no exportation; and though individuals may make a good advance upon their stock, yet the riches are wholly got from ourselves—a trade which you well know, sir, is always esteemed disadvantageous to a community. I take it to be the policy of a State to consult measures to have the greatest number of laborers, and those so interested in the welfare of the community, as to be always desirous and ready to help and defend it. But how contrary to all this is the policy of suffering the importation of a set of people, which at best puts again into the pockets of but a few men, and indulges the vanity and haughty tempers of a few more? Instead of being a cement and support of the commonwealth, are often its terror, and sometimes its destruction. For it must be constantly expected, that a slave will improve every opportunity to throw off his burden and imposition. New York, and most of the southern colonies have experienced something of this, and we have reason to think, that which is enough to make all those who set a just value upon domestic security, to tremble. It has been objected, that their numbers are at present so inconsiderable, nothing of that can be feared. I grant it, for the present; but what security have we that this will be the case long?

I will mention but one more of great evil to the community, consequent upon our having black slaves, which, doubtless, you have observed, and that is, the great inconvenience our poorer sort of people are put to by this means, who would gladly serve us for a support. But they cannot live upon terms with a negro slave; they being born free, cannot think of such a disgrace as they esteem it, and so often spend their youth in idleness, and for want of proper employ and government then, become ever after poor vagrants. And as to the poor parents of our youth, it is too well known what courses they often take; and rather than work in the low employments, choose to trust their faces for a living. This is so by with evils, that I shall not pretend to enlarge upon it.

I shall now consider, as I promised in the beginning, how this trade affects private families; and evils that begin there, seldom end till the public feel them. When a slave is introduced into a family, at once commences an amazing distinction. They are, indeed, among us allowed to be of the human species; yet so very inferior, as scarcely to be entitled to any of its privileges. Nay, when I think of it, I do not know of one privilege they have above the brutes; for, as to eating, drinking and sleeping, they are allowed them for the same reason that the beasts are, to support life and vigor to do our labor; but as to *choice*, or *property*, it is certain they can have none. Notwithstanding, I say, they are allowed by us to be of our species, yet so very low, that the first idea which children have of slaves is, that they are not entitled to the same tenderness, nor even justice, that whites are. This produces a haughty and imperious conduct towards them, and often cruelty. This spirit indulged towards the servants of the family, naturally influences their behavior to all they esteem their inferiors in any sort; and, ten to one, this temper grows up with them, and they ever after be despised by the wise and humane. Hated by the foolish. All writers upon the education of youth have held it a sacred point to keep the minds of children as susceptible as possible, of kindness and compassion for their fellow creatures. I think the great Mr. Locke, would not have been inattentive to this duty, nor of the domestic animals, lest that heavenly spark, *compassion*, should be extinguished, or prevented growing into that flame, which is the light and glory of the human species. But I fear your patience is exhausted, and so conclude,

Sir,
Your friend, and humble servant,
A. B.

P. S. I here enclose a few lines, which I think, must please you. They are taken from a POEM, written by Dr. Green, *Author of M. D.*, at St. Christopher's one of the English West India islands.

Yet, planter, let humanity prevail—
Perhaps thy negro, in his native land,
Possest large fertile plains, and slaves, and herds;
Perhaps whence he is deigned thus wak'ning abroad,
Thy ancestors stalks, from where the Indus rolls,
His limbs invested in their gorgeous pleats:
Perhaps he wails his wife, his children, left
Unweeting with adversity, and love,
Fortune, in battle for his country fought,
Gave him a captive to his deadliest foe:
Perhaps incautious, in his native fields,
(On hapless adventure he has mind not,)
All as he wandered from the neighboring grove
Fell ambush drag'd him to the hated man.—

Were they even sold for crimes; ye polished say!
Ye, to whom learning opes her amplest page!
Ye, whom the knowledge of a living God
Should lead to virtue! Can ye then, in truth,
Ah pity, then, these uninstructed swains;
And still let mercy soften the decrees
Of rigid justice, with her lenient hand.

Oh, did the tender muse possess the power
Which monarchs have and monarchs oft abuse:
'Would to the Deity that I could sing so soul
To quell tyrannic sway; knock off the chains
Of heart-debasing slavery; give to man
Of every color, and of every clime,
Freedom, which gives him image of his God.
Then laws, Oppression's scourge, fair virtue's prop,
Offspring of wisdom! should impartial reign,
To knit the whole in well-accorded strife;
Servants, not slaves; of choice, and not compelled;
The Blacks should cultivate the Cane-land Isles.

From the Herald of Freedom.

The 'Fugitive From Justice!'

We extract the following beautiful and just tribute of England's muse to the peerless philanthropist and patriot, George Thompson, from a recent English paper—the Manchester Times. He is the same GEORGE THOMPSON that our Patriots and States men thought a suitable subject for their tar and feathers, and immortalized by their deeds, in 1835. They would now—having freed the British West Indies from slavery, by his matchless eloquence before the people of Christendom—in British India. He is represented as surrounded in Calcutta, by some of the most distinguished labors of Wilberforce, or overmatch ed in flowing and enkindling power by the best days of the Burks and the Sheridans. Our mobocracy was 'out of its sphere' altogether, when it undertook to deal with such powerful strangers. Its leaders were under a most awkward mistake, when they tried to persuade themselves they were *feloniously* pursuing a 'fugitive from British justice.' Such they might mistaken as to the fact, but, however right they might have been in regard to their own *felony*. George Thompson is experiencing 'British Justice' at an ample rate! They administer it to him as 'King Abaseurus did to the noble Mordecai,' when he ordered proclamation to go before him with Heralds through the streets of Shushan. It is not ad ministered to him by her Majesty's Bench,—or by her trifling Majesty's self, but by the Majesty of the British People.

We wish the co nductors of the preliminary meeting of September, 1835, and the authorities who issued summons for the mob on its memorable night, might read George Thompson's speeches of Oct. 1st, 2d and 3d in the pro ceedings-book of Faneuil Hall. There is nothing in the eloquence on the famous 'Foote's resolutions' to be mentioned at the same period with them. We remind them of this matter, from time to time, in behalf of the cause of Liberty. We do it without the least fear, that they will, then seek in a most base, cruel and cowardly manner, the personal honor and the life of that most excellent and shining man.

TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

In upper air the sunbeam hath its birth,
Which clothes with lovely flowers this lovely earth;
And earth, remembering whence the beam of light
Their fragrance sends—sweet incense!—back to heaven.

So, THOMPSON, when around thee thousands throng,
To catch the accents of thine eloquent tongue,
Each listener marks how faithfully are spent,
Of God's endowments, the powers which to thy hath lent.
The Hindoo's wrongs we hear thee plead:—how well,
Let beating hearts and quick-kened pulses tell;
The thrill from breast to breast that passes round;
The indignant blush—the murmur's gathering sound!

Backward we look; we see a Negro band,
(Once slaves,) they crouch'd—now men erect they stand!
Whose wrongs thy voice alone could fitly tell:
If spoke—nor spoke in vain—their shackles fell!
The Israelite, beneath a Britons sway,
For suffering meekly born, as Britons feel,
Still gentle woman, Mercy's best ally,
Yields to thy pitcous tale her pitying sigh;
And, sweet Humanity! God's gracious providence
Our hearts still trust, to speed thy eloquence;
That, as of late, the nation, rous'd by thee,
Wept Afric's woes, and bade her sons be free;
So the same voice the mild Hindoo shall bless,
With equal laws—with hope—with happiness.

Shame on the men whose harsh, exciting hand
Consigns to penury's curse his glorious land:
Who beckon famine and despair to reign
O'er Ganges' banks, o'er Aya's fruitful plain:
While Nature, generous mother! fain would pour
From her abundant breast the copious shower!

But this shall pass! and soon a gentler sway,
Shall clear for Peace and Truth the obstructed way:
To Christ the Hindoo's hopeful eye shall turn,—
For Christ the Hindoo's fearful heart shall burn,
Then, gospel light!—shall plain and shady grove,
Responsive smile to scenes of hallowed love;
For there the widow, while she clasps her boy,
Shall murmur Jesus' name, and weep for joy!

B.

TROUBLE AMONG THE INDIANS. The Iowa Sun, of 13th ult. announces the outbreak of a difficulty among the Sacs and Winnebagoes:

'It appears that the Foxes and Winnebagoes had agreed to hunt on the same ground during the fall and the winter, some fifty or sixty miles west Dubuque, on the heads of the Wabesipinicon river. Two or three days after, a party of Sacs, headed by Pashaqhoo, or Stabbing Chief, attacked the Winnebagoes, and killed 40 or 50. Two of the Sags were killed.'

Trial of the Africans—Further Proceedings.

BY The following account of the proceedings of the Court on Wednesday, the 8th inst. is from the Journal of Commerce.

On the second day of the trial, (Wednesday) Professor Gibbs was called to the stand, and testified that the great body of the prisoners speak the Mendi language, some knowledge of which he had acquired from Covey and Pratt, the two Africans who had been in this district. He was present at the testimony, when Judge Judson remarked that he *was fully convinced that the men were recently from Africa*, and that it was unnecessary to take up time in establishing that fact.

In consequence of this avowal, the counsel for the Africans stated that they should not examine any of them for the purpose of proving that they had recently come from Africa, but to ascertain who of them were on shore when taken, within the District of New York.

Jingua, the leader of the Africans, was then examined. Also Covey as interpreter. He swore that at the time of their capture by Lieut. Gedney, a large number of them were on board the schooner Amistad. He was on shore, and 'plenty of them—can't count them.' He gave the names of ten, and said he could not recollect the names of the others. They gave up to Captain Green two guns, one knife, and one hat. There were four other white men had with captain Green. Jingua told Captain Green he might take the vessel and keep it, if he would send them to Sierra Leone. His conversation with Capt. G. was carried on by the aid of Berran, who could speak a little English. They had taken on board part of their supply of water, and wanted to go to Sierra Leone. They were three months coming from Africa to the Havana, where they were kept on shore ten nights. They were three and a half months coming from Havana to this country. (He probably misunderstood the question.) The four children they met, for the first time, at Havana. All the rest came together from Africa, from a factory called the Lomboko. The girls and boys are of the Mendi tribe also.

Cross Examined by Gen. Isham. Came from Mendi. Taken in the road where he was at work, by countrymen. Was not taken in battle. Did not sell himself. Never sold any one. He was taken to Lomboko, where he saw the other five the first time. Those who took him—four men—had a gun and knives. Has three children in Africa. Has one wife. Never said he had two wives. Can't count the number of days after leaving Havana before the rising upon the vessel. Can't tell anything about any other commander but Pepe, (Ruiz.) The man who had charge of the schooner was killed. Then he and Pepe sailed the vessel. Witness told Pepe, after Ferrer was killed, to take good care of the cargo. There found a box below, which witness broke up for fire wood. It contained money, a part of which they afterwards paid away for dogs, &c. They wrapped up the money in duck, and tied it around their bodies. They afterwards gave the rest of the money to the other men in the boat. They took some clothes ashore in a trunk. No money in the trunk. The brig fired a gun, and then they gave themselves up. Four came off from the Island in the schooner's boat and four in the brig's boat. Pepe ordered witness to throw the body overboard the schooner, but they got cold, and took some of the goods to make clothes of. Saw Pepe first at Havana at the prison. When they first landed there they were put in prison. Were not chained. Pepe came and talked with them. [Jingua was described how Pepe felt of the Africans to ascertain if they were healthy and sound.] He then said 'fine,' that is, good, and that he would take them. The man who brought them from Africa was not with Pepe. They were chained coming from Africa to Havana, hands and feet. [Jingua here described the manner in which they were *packed* on board the slaver.] They were chained also on board the Amistad. Were kept short of provisions. Had but two meals a day, and drink water. Had some plantain and two potatoes—and the cook told them they were going to take them where they would eat *them*. The cook could not speak the Mendi language, but understood some words. Were beaten on board the schooner by one of the sailors. Pepe told the sailor to beat them. Pepe was present on shore, when they went on board the schooner at Havana. Four men were whips by order of Pepe. No body struck witness, except the cook, who slapped him with a plantain. He was asked if it was in play. Jingua said, very emphatically, 'oh no,' Pepe was present when the men were struck. When they had taken the schooner they killed the Spaniards down in the hold and locked them down.

Cross Examined by Mr. Baldwin. Witness's ancestors, totalled, in the main, to the same facts as above. Fuliwa stated that Capt. Ferrer killed one of the Africans, Duevi by name, before the Africans killed him. The cook was killed first—was killed by Jingua with a sabre. Pepe lying in the boat.

Prof. Gibbs, Marshal Wilcox, and of Mr. Geo. E. Day, were examined relative to a conversation with Jingua, in which he was said to have admitted that he had himself sold slaves. Mr Wilcox stated, that when he met with the interpreter (Covey, the interpreter,) he told him to ask Jingua how he came to be taken and sold. Covey asked him. Jingua replied that he owed a man two pounds, (holding up his fingers,) and to pay him he had taken two negroes and sold them; that one of them was sold to him and he could not pay him for one pound. He had no other negro and turned him out clothing—that the clothing was turned over to another person, and that the man called on him to pay, and being unable to do so, he was seized and sold to pay the debt. Jingua said he came in a ship from Africa with 400 men and 200 women.

Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Day, who were present at the trial, think Mr. Wilcox misapprehended what Jingua said. Covey also declares that Jingua not he told him, or Mr. Wilcox in his presence, that he (Jingua) had sold men as slaves, nor that he was himself seized and sold because he owed a debt which he could not pay.

The Court, without making any further progress, adjourned till the following day.

Pro-Slavery as it is.

There are multitudes of families in New England, who have sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, cousins, &c. in the South, where Southern hospitality, avarice, or lust of power has won over to the system; and these, either writing home, or spending their summers among their friends, persuade them that the slaves are well treated, and that slavery is not so bad a thing, after all. We have heard, on land farmer, (I blush to own the fact) declared that there were more slaves at the North than at the South! Still, it is not always that they succeed so well in blinding the eyes of their friends. Dr. Bachelor, of Marlboro', N. H., related an amusing anecdote, which throws some light on this subject. A lady somewhere in that region married a Southern slaveholder, and had come to spend the summer with her friends, who were abolitionists. She declared that there was nobody in the world more happy than the slaves; and that she had a man-servant, who was one of the most faithful creatures in the world—that he was so much attached to the family that he could not be hired to go away; and that she was as much attached to him as to her own children. She had unbounded confidence in him, and would trust him with all she had. But one day she received a letter from her husband, and on reading it her cheek began to kindle, and she declared her anger kindled, so that she could not restrain herself, and she burst out with the exclamation, 'I'd hang him!' The truth was, Pompey, notwithstanding his attachment to Massa's family, preferred liberty to slavery; and thinking that many years faithful service was worth something, picked up what plate he could lay his hands on, and made the best of his way to Her Majesty's land under Polaris. The same gentleman informed me, that some time ago he was accosted, at his own door, by a genteel colored man, who presented him a paper, recommending him to the kindness of abolitionists, and inquiring the road to a certain place, on his way to the British dominions. He refused to go to gathering public places, however, as advertisements were out after him, as a runaway slave. He had a sister with him; who had gone on before. The doctor gave him some change, and directed him to meet her by appointment, on his ride, overtook them, and entered into conversation. They both appeared intelligent, and genteel in their manners, having been house servants; but neither of them could read. Observing that the sister was very anxious while the brother jet black, he inquired how they could be brother and sister. 'The truth is' said the man, 'she is my mother's daughter, but not my father's—our master is her father!' The doctor then inquired whether she was treated well, and whether her master's own child. 'Oh no, she replied, 'we lived in a country where people don't care for their own children.' They both bore evident marks of the whip. There is a thought for reflection! A man and a young man, and his sister, fleeing in by-paths, through a land of *republican liberty*, to a monarchical government, to secure their liberty; and one of them, from the avaricious grasp of Christian men. Our sensibilities are shocked, when we hear of an eastern custom of selling daughters in marriage; but, in the light of light in the 19th century, and in the 19th century, men calling themselves Christians, sell their own daughters for slaves, for the sake of gain! The whole world cries out shame! shame upon Liberty and civilized refinement.—*Vt. Jeffersonian. Cor. N. Y. Evangelist.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

'Is Saul also among the Prophets?'

FRIEND GARRISON:

I attended the meeting held at the Marlboro' Chapel on Tuesday evening, the 24th ultimo, and was a little surprised to see that my much respected friend, CHARLES TAPPAN, was called to preside on the occasion. I say *surprised*, because I did not know that gentleman was ready to take the responsibility of identifying himself with our anti-slavery meetings. The time was, *within my recollection*, when he would have been indignant at being thought capable of a disgraceful act as that of presiding over a meeting of incendiary abolitionists; when even the name of abolition was so odious to him, that the bare mention of it was enough to throw him into a paroxysm of rage. I was so much impressed with the unexpected phenomenon, that my mind involuntarily recurred to the scenes of the past, and the following REMINISCENCE came upon me with a great deal of freshness.

It was some time in that memorable year, when the spirit of mobocracy reigned in undisputed triumph in the city of New-York, and when neither the love nor property of the hated abolitionists had any security from the protection of law; and just after the house of Lewis Tappan had been broken open, and his furniture destroyed and burnt in the street, that I chanced to meet Mr. Charles Tappan in State-street. Some conversation ensued between us, in the course of which I alluded to the persecutions which his brothers, Arthur and Lewis, were suffering in New-York, and expressed my high admiration of their courage and fortitude, and of their ardent devotion to the sacred cause of freedom. My remarks, to my great surprise, immediately threw the gentleman into the greatest excitement, and he broke forth into violent denunciations of the foolish and imprudent conduct of his brothers; and declared that he was absolutely ashamed of them, ashamed to be called their brother, ashamed of the very name of *Tappan*, and that he would reply to the legislature to have his name changed! I thought that it was a universal stigma through the whole Union to bear the name of TAPPAN!!!

I was greatly astonished, yes, shocked at the unexpected burst of passion; but I answered in reply, that the day was coming when he would be more justly proud of being the brother of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, than of any other circumstance in his own history; and that the names of his proscribed brethren would go down to the latest posterity as the saints of confessors in the holy cause of emancipation. We parted. A year or two after this event, Mr. Tappan visited Europe, on business. He went to the British metropolis. While there, he had a desire to attend an important trial, which was to be held before one of the high courts of the realm, in order to hear Lord Brougham, I think, or some other illustrious personage. He repaired to the Hall of Justice; but, upon his arrival, found that it was already filled to overflowing, and that multitudes were compelled to go away, unable to gain admittance. Mr. Tappan, however, with his accustomed perseverance and power, was determined not to lose his object, without a struggle. He therefore forced himself up to the door of the Hall, where he observed an officer in attendance, whom he at once addressed, and told him that he was a stranger from America, and would be very much gratified if he could obtain a place where he could hear and witness the proceedings. The officer replied, that if he would give him his name, he would repair to him to the Sheriff, and ask his permission. 'My name, sir,' said the visiter, 'is *Tappan*.' 'TAPPAN!' said the man in livery—'are you ARTHUR TAPPAN, of the city of New-York?' 'No—no—no—sir, I am *Arthur Tappan's brother*.' The official hastened into the court, and, in a few minutes, returned with the compliments of his superior, and an invitation to walk in and take a seat by the court; and, clearing the way, by virtue of his office, he conducted the gentleman forward to the Bench, and introduced him to the Sheriff, who, clad in his magnificent robes, received him with the greatest cordiality and politeness, and gave him a seat near the Judges, where he could hear and see all the proceedings of the occasion, witness the pomp and splendor attendant on the forms of English jurisprudence, and listen to the eloquence of one of the greatest orators of the age.

How wonderfully different must our friend have felt in the city of Boston a few months before! Truly, circumstances alter cases. My prophecy, that the time would come when 'he would be proud of being the brother of Arthur Tappan,' became history sooner than my man could have reasonably anticipated! There can be no mistake in these facts, as I had them from unquestionable authority. However, let us all rejoice at the blessed change which has been effected, and that the disgrace and infamy is, as we may hope, wiped off forever.

The meeting held at the Marlboro' was called by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and it was the Board of Direct ors of that Society which invited Mr. Tappan to preside.

Now, it has been said by some, that this society is favorable to the new organization, and that the new organization is the third edition of the 'American Union'—the 'Clerical Appeal' being the second. It is also said, that the new society has, for its leading and fundamental principle, 'hatred of Mr. Garrison.'

If all this be not true, and the Female Society really wish to be clear of any such imputations or suspicions, it was certainly unfortunate in its selection of a chairman on the occasion referred to. It was, in my humble opinion, the most unfortunate of these 'three editions of the same work' as Mr. Tappan. He was one of the prime movers of the American Union—one of its officers, I think; at any rate, was, as I know from private observation, one of the most active members of the convention at which that splendid abortion was introduced into the world, under the paternity of a good number of Honorables, D. Ds. and L. L. Ds. He was very active in getting the proceedings of the Convention published, carried them to the editor of the Courier, among others, and, as an indicement for him to publish them, well knowing the malignant hatred that gentleman had of Mr. Garrison, told him the great object of the American Union was, *to pull down Garrison*. Precious, and honest confession!

After the Clerical Appeal came from the Vatican, it will be recollected that a new society was attempted to be got up. I have not now the list of officers of that still-born production, but have the impression that Mr. Tappan was among the number; at any rate, that he sympathized with the malcontents, I am quite sure.

When the Massachusetts Abolition Society was ushered into being, with its President, and forty-one Vice-Presidents, Mr. Tappan was made Chairman of the Board of Managers. I presume he is found as active and efficient a member of that body, as he was of the American Union.

Under all these circumstances, it is rather an interesting fact, that the Female Society should pitch upon Mr. T. for their chairman. It might be accidental, but I am sure it was unfortunate, unless they wish to identify themselves with the new organization; and that, I am certain, they cannot accomplish. The majority of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society have no sympathy with the new Society. At the late election, the choice of President, Miss Parker, did not indicate the state of feeling, in regard to the new association. A great many voted for Miss Parker, from a just respect for her services and character, and a natural reluctance to discard, at once, an old and well

[1] Chamber's Dictionary observes, that it is frequent for a son to sell his father and mother; and parents their children, for a few bottles of brandy and a bar of iron.

[1] I suppose nine out of ten are carried to, and spend their days in the West-Indies and Southern colonies, where they live in companies, and not in private families.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, JANUARY 17, 1840.

☞ We have been too busily engaged, the present week, with other matters, to pay much attention to the preparation of our present number.

Annual Meeting.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is at hand! It will be held in this city *on Wednesday next*, and will probably occupy two or three days. Never were the true-hearted, uncompromising friends of our sacred enterprise under such special obligations to be in personal attendance on the occasion, as at the present time. Much, very much will depend upon its deliberations, and the spirit which shall be manifested by those who may participate in the same. Let there be a strong gathering of the 'tried and true'—of emancipated, *enfranchised* spirits—of stern-proof, veteran men and women—of young and old, rich and poor—and especially of the yeomanry of the Commonwealth. Every auxiliary society should see to it that it is *fully* and *truly* represented.

All Right in Connecticut!

By the letter of our correspondent in another column, it will be seen, that the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society has registered its testimony, in a very emphatical manner, against the project for an anti-slavery political party. Since the letter of bro. Wright was in type, we have received a slip from the office of the Charter Oak, containing the official record of the proceedings. The substance of the whole being embodied in the communication referred to, we do not deem it necessary to copy from the Secretary's account more than the following paragraphs:

More than one hundred delegates, from various parts of the State, were enrolled by the Committee appointed for that purpose. None of the gentlemen inviting by the Committee of Arrangements from neighboring States were present. Remarks were made, during the discussion of the several resolutions before the Society, by Messrs. Tyler and Collins of Hartford, Benson of Brooklyn, Williams and H. Cowles of Farmington, Pearl of Hampton, Copeland and Hawes of Hartford, Coe of Brooklyn, M'Kee of Manchester, Scranton of Burlington, A. Hawley of Farmington, Stearns of Tolland, Lyman of Middletown, Williams of Hartford, Hotchkiss of Prospect, Terry of Plymouth, Sprague of Hartford, Hudson and Gillette of Bloomfield, Brewer and Strong of Wethersfield, Canfield of Hartford, H. C. Wright and Miss A. Kelley of Massachusetts.

The harmonious action of the Society on all the resolutions passed at this session will, it is believed, encourage the true friends of the slave, and give a new impulse to the cause of immediate emancipation throughout our land.

S. S. COWLES, *Sec'ry.*

CHARLES TAPPAN. We are very much obliged to our highly respected correspondent, 'An Old School Abolitionist,' for his instructive and timely reminiscences respecting the pro-slavery, colonization, American Union, new organization course of this gentleman. We shall take occasion to address a letter to Mr. Tappan, in another number.

The Amistad Africans Released!

The account of the Emancipator and Journal of Commerce, which will be found in the preceding page, bring the report of the slave ship Amistad, even one exception, ARE ALL SET AT LIBERTY; or, rather, are to be delivered to the Executive and sent home to Africa. This is indeed glorious news, which will fill with exultation the breast of every friend of humanity, and cause the haughty and bloody-minded tyrants of the South, to gnash their teeth for rage!

We acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the opinion of Judge Judson, from our friend James Tappan. It shall appear next week.

☞ Several poetical effusions are on file for an early insertion. The reply of Adin Ballou to Henry Grew will be given next week.

☞ A long and interesting letter from Gerrit Smith, on the subject of political action, appears in the last Emancipator, which we shall transfer to our columns as soon as we can contend with some unanimity of our own. We think that, as a whole, it serves rather to confuse than to enlighten, and is lacking in clearness of vision and precision of language.

☞ The Thanksgiving Discourse of our bro. Charles Simmons, on our last page, will be found to contain some valuable thoughts.

THE VOICE OF WOMAN. A female friend at Salem writes us a highly encouraging letter. Though intended for our private perusal, we take the liberty to quote a few passages:—

'We feel more of pity than anger for those who have been trying to injure that which they cannot destroy, by setting up a new organization, to bring into collision the friends of the slave. But He whose prerogative it is to know the intrinsic worth of all, has rebuked their vain ambition.'

Referring to an anti-slavery meeting which was held in the Baptist church in Salem, a few years since, she says:

'On that memorable occasion, Messrs. Grosvenor and Phelps, and others, invited the co-operation of the ladies, assuring them that the anti-slavery cause could not flourish without their aid. And, to enforce his argument, A. A. Phelps brandished about in the second deal, the slave-driver's whip, such as had lacerated the back of woman!! As in duty bound, we obeyed the commands of our anti-slavery lords, and forthwith woman was in the contest, encouraging and sustaining distributed tracts, by soliciting funds, and circulating petitions, and opening her mouth for the dumb. And for this she has been accused of 'leaving her appropriate sphere to become an Amazon.' Now if Salem women 'have outraged propriety,' they have rendered themselves obnoxious to the *judicious* of both sexes, by doing what they could for the redemption of the slave, their sins rest on the heads of others, in common, perhaps, of the perversity of our natures, opened wide the gate, lest we should leap over the stile!'

A very good retort. This reminiscence is not without its point.

Agriculture.

We have read with much pleasure an Address delivered at Concord, Mass. in October last, before the Middlesex Society of Husbandmen and Manufacturers, at their annual Cattle Show—by Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Its style is clear and sparkling, its spirit of examination free and independent, its estimate of the profession of agriculture very exalted, but none too much so. It contains many fine passages, some of which we shall extract in future numbers.

Agriculture, under God, is a creator. She speaks, and it is done. She stretches her mighty wand over the earth, and countless beautiful and glorious forms rise at her bidding. She casts the seed into the ground; perhaps it is the least of seeds; but see how soon it becomes a tree, and its branches are glittering and pendant with fruit. What amazing miracles does she work before our eyes? With what a boundless profusion does she compensate the labors of industry and skill! What marvellous products does she pour out, in fifties, in hundreds, in thousands! The product of a single grain of wheat, in a single season, was recently found to 21,100 ears, measuring three pecks and three quarters of grain, and producing no less than 576,840 kernels. What instrument secondary to the Almighty agent is a creator like agriculture; and what is all the real, substantial, useful wealth of the community but its products? The agriculture of a country is the great source of its riches, and the right arm of its power.

Meeting at Cambridgeport.

☞ Our Boston friends must not forget the meeting of the Middlesex Co. Society, which is to be held at the town-house in Cambridgeport on Tuesday next. A large number, we hope, will attend.

☞ TAKE NOTICE. Those who send petitions to members of the State Legislature, by mail, should in every instance ☞ PAY THE POSTAGE. ☜

SUMMARY OF NEWS.

FOREIGN.

LATEST ACCOUNTS FROM FRANCE! WAR WITH ALGIERS. The packet ship Iowa has arrived at New York from Havre, with Paris and Havre dates to the 8th December. The most interesting news is that in relation to France and Algiers. We abridge the accounts from the letter of the intelligent Paris correspondent of the New York Commercial:

'A bloody battle has taken place between the Kabyles of his 'holy cause,' and his first attack and success have been marked with the sanguinary stamp of savage warfare. A French company of 200 men, who had imprudently ventured to oppose a multitude of horse, 1500 strong, were defeated, as might be expected, with the loss of 105, left dead on the field. An escort of 30 men with convoy was attacked by a thousand Arabs. The little band, having ranged the convoy in a square, withstood the enemy, until the arrival of succor, which decided the contest in their favor, with the loss of the commandant alone.

'A convoy escorted by forty men was captured, and the whole were decapitated except two, who escaped to give an account of the disaster. Several farms have been burned, and the laborers murdered. The 56th and the 3d Light Infantry were ordered to embark at Toulon, and orders given to transport the horse were on their road to the coast for the same purpose.

'The Moniteur publishes two ordinances: one of them for the organization of 26,000 more conscripts; the other, which opens a credit of nineteen millions nine hundred and eighty-seven thousand francs, for the extraordinary expenses of the war during the year 1840. Algiers has already cost five hundred millions of francs, and innumerable deaths among the soldiery.

'All accounts of losses sustained declare them to have been greater than ever before been sustained in the Algerine wars, and all within the space of two days. Paris continues to be agitated by reports of insurrections, and several desperate fellows have been apprehended.

'The abolition of colonial slavery still occupies public attention. M. de Tocqueville's report recommends that the emancipation should be antedated, without being enthralled by the apprenticeship system, from which our sable brethren in the West Indies suffered so severely, and without benefit to their masters. They are to remain under the guardianship of the mother country, which will fix the price of their labors, and the condition of their service.

TURKEY. 'The most important fact in European politics is, unquestionably, the grant of a charter by the Sultan Abdul Medjid, to his people, with imposing ceremonies, in presence of the ambassadors of the Empire, the foreign ambassadors, and the elite of the Turkish nation. I can scarcely contemplate an event of more stupendous import to the peace of Europe, and to the moral interests of mankind, than this, the sultan's firman, than an imperial edict which secures the lives and liberties of myriads of our fellow creatures subjected, hitherto, to no law but the caprice of merciless and rapacious pachas—which guarantees the people against all future exactions—which inflicts the punishment of death on all ulemas or dignitaries, however exalted their rank, who may be guilty of such crimes—which confines military conscription and the duration of the service within the wholesome limits of European governments, and which decrees the appointment of legislative assemblies, civil and military, for the purpose of carrying out these great objects in all their details. Instead of pachas, prefects are to be appointed, thus separating the civil government from the command of the troops.

'We have seen the announcement of no fact which has struck us as more remarkable than the above, furnished by the European correspondent of the Commercial Advertiser. 'The Turk has been DRAGGED in Europe for four centuries.' His business was war—his spirit, savage fanaticism. Ignorant, resisting improvement, the slave of fatalism, every thing combined to keep him stationary; and he seemed as incapable of European civilization, as our unhappy Indians. Pressed upon by the nations around—the avalanche of Christian power ready to overwhelm him—he seeks strength in the elevation of his people, and gives them freedom for his own security!—Who dreamed of this—and after this, who can doubt the final triumph of civilization and liberty over the whole world?

'Truth, crushed to the earth, will rise again—
The eternal day of God is here;
But oppressed, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amidst her worshippers.'—*N. Y. Whig.*

DOMESTIC.

MASS. LEGISLATURE. There is nothing in the proceedings of this body the past week, which is worthy of record, except the election of the following persons to fill the vacancies in the Senate. In Suffolk, Isaac Harris and Geo. Morey were chosen. In Middlesex, Sidney Willard and T. J. Greenwood. In Franklin, Geo. T. Davis. In Plymouth, Alfred Whitman. And in Worcester, Thos. F. Hastings, Sam'l Wood, Benj. Estabrook, Nath'l Wood, Jedediah Marcy, Charles Libbey and John Spurr.

CONGRESS. The proceedings of this body for the last week are exceedingly unimportant.

MARCUS MORTON ELECTED GOVERNOR. The committee of the Legislature to count the votes for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, reported on Monday to the Senate, that Judge Morton is elected Governor. The following is the vote:—

Morton,	51,034
E. Everett,	50,725
Scattering,	307
Whole number,	102,066

Necessary to a choice, 51,034. Judge Morton has exactly that number, and is elected.

NEW MILITIA ORGANIZATION. The report of the Secretary of War recommends a new organization of the Militia, on the following basis, viz. Divide the United States into eight military districts; in each district have an active Militia force of 12,500 men and an equal number of reserve; making 25,000 to each district, or 200,000 in the whole country. These men are to be thoroughly drilled, and to continue in the service eight years, viz., four in active service, and four in the reserve. At the expiration of the eight years they are to be exempt from military duty, except in case of invasion or insurrection. One fourth of the active Militia are each year to pass into the reserve, (their place being supplied with new recruits,) and one fourth of the reserve to retire from the service. These men are to be ready at a moment's notice in emergency, which is to be fixed by law, as well as the number of days duty in ordinary times, the manner of enrolment, &c. The 200,000 men to be enrolled as aforesaid include, according to this plan, will comprise about one seventh of the whole number of militia in the country. The remaining six-sevenths, or 1,200,000, will have no military duty to perform, and will only require to be 'enrolled and mustered at long and stated intervals.'—*Journal of Commerce.*

THE TARIFF. On the 1st inst., a further reduction of duties took place on all articles on which the duties exceed 20 per cent. on the value. The reduction is 1-10th of such excess, as it existed on the 3rd of March, 1839, on the 1st of January, 1841, 2-10th of such excess was taken off; 1-10th on the 1st of Jan. 1836; 1-10th on the 1st of Jan. 1838; and now another 1-10th is to be taken off; making 4-10ths in all. On the 1st of Jan. 1842, 3-10ths are to come off, and the remaining 3-10ths on the 1st of July in the same year; after which date, no article of imports, according to the existing law, will bear a higher duty than 20 per cent. ad valorem.—*Journal of Commerce.*

PITTSBURG CONFERENCE. The Conference of the 'African Methodist Episcopal Church,' that was held at Pittsburg in the early part of last month, was well attended, and is said to have exceeded in interest all former meetings of the kind. We have received a very interesting letter from our friend Peck, stating that the Conference manifested great interest in the cause of Moral Reform, and adopted strong resolutions in favor of Temperance. Bishop Paul, who has travelled fifteen hundred miles, on horseback, and repaired for several nights in succession, in the lonely forest, with no other covering than their blankets, for their saddle bags for a pillow. They sent us a handsome appendage to our subscription list.—*National Reformer.*

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES. Appended to the Treasury Report, as communicated to Congress, is a statement, exhibiting the value of imports and exports of the United States in the preceding years, ending 30th September last. The amount of imports during the past year has surprised every one; being nearly double that of the preceding year, and equal to the population year, 1836. On the other hand, the amount of exports has been greater than in any former year, except 1835 and 1836.

LYNCHBURG, Dec. 28, 1839. This morning, about 4 o'clock, two boats, having on board 75 kegs of powder, either with *fire* after *boats*, and their entire loads, also killing four persons and maiming one.

ITEMS.

Mr. Billings, a member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, was so anxious to be on hand at the election of a Speaker, that he travelled most of the distance to Williamsburg on *horseback*, drawing his trunk on a sled! We may well wonder at him down among the working members.—*Boston Times.*

RUSSIA AND THE CIRCASSIANS. Extract of a letter from Trebizond, dated 17th July, 1839.

We have just received intelligence from Anapa and Tiflis that the Circassians have completely defeated the Russian cavalry along the whole line of the Sunjah river, and that Count Alkazoff, has sustained a loss of 3,600 men, and several superior officers of distinguished merit. Only a few scattered remnants saved themselves by flying to Soukoum Kale, Anapa, and other fortified places.

The reported death of Mr. Decatur is contradicted. She has been very ill, but is now on the recovery.

THE BORDER WAR between Missouri and Iowa, has ended in smoke as suddenly as it began. Both parties, after more than a *quantum suff.* of bectoring, bullying, &c. have agreed, like sensible men, to suspend all belligerent demonstrations—the forces on both sides have been disbanded—and the matters in dispute are referred to Congress for adjustment. This is the latest news from the 'seat of war.'—*Mer. Jour.*

The last estimate made of the value of the materiel of the French navy, gave a result of 508,170,000 francs.

The expenditures of the Federal Government for the past year amount to $25,500,000—and there was a balance in the Treasury last January of two and a half millions. Now only a million and a half!

MARRIAGES.

On the morning of the first of January, by Rev. Theo. S. Wright, Rev. Charles B. Ray, of New York city, to Charlotte Augusta Burrough, of Savannah, Geo.

[Our esteemed brother Ray 'goes with the South,' so far as to take a Georgia lady for his wife, but we are positively assured that she has no cotton bales, and that her husband will be least of all the least tendency to draw away her husband from his abolition integrity.—*Ed. Essex.*]

In Plymouth, by the Rev. Dr. Kendall, Alex C. Spooner, Esq. of Boston, to Miss Mary A. Harlow.

In Concord, N. H. Rev. Parker Pillsbury of London to Miss Sarah Sargeant of the former place.

DEATHS.

At his residence in Livingston, Co., N. Y. Dec. 27, Col. William Fitchugh, aged 76, father in-law of Gerrit Smith. He was originally from Maryland, was a patriot of the Washington school, a soldier in the war of independence, a lieutenant of dragoons at the siege of Yorktown, and aid de camp to Lafayette. He of Maryland. He was an early settler in the valley of the Genesee, where he laid a foundation of affluence for a large family, that survives and mourns the loss of an affectionate and faithful husband.

In Gardner, Jan. 1, Mary Lynd, aged nine months, daughter of Rev. Sumner Lincoln.

NOTICES.

To the Liberator Subscribers.

The undersigned give notice, that they shall, with the next Liberator, send a bill to every subscriber, who is indebted for one year, or more.

☞ In the first Liberator published in March, we shall commence the publication of a list of the names of subscribers who shall then be delinquent for fifteen months and upwards.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
SAMUEL PHILLBRICK,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
WILLIAM BASSETT,
EDMUND QUINCY,
} *Financial Committee.*

Boston, Jan. 1, 1840.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston on the *fourth* (WEDNESDAY) in January next, (29th,) commencing at 10 o'clock, and probably continuing through that and the subsequent day. Auxiliary societies are reminded of the importance of their being fully represented at this interesting occasion; and a cordial invitation to be present is extended to all who approve of the principles and measures of the Society.

In behalf of the Board of Managers,

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Pres.*
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

MIDDLESEX (CO. A. S. SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Middlesex Co. A. S. Society will be held at the Town Hall in Cambridgeport, on TUESDAY, the 21st inst. at 12 o'clock, A. M.

Anti-Slavery Societies are requested to be fully represented; and all persons who adopt our principles, and approve of the measures of the society, are cordially invited to be present.

HARRIS COWDRY, *Secretary.*

ADELPHIC UNION LECTURES.

GEO. S. HILLARD, Esq. will lecture at the South School Room on Tuesday evening, Jan. 21st. To commence at 7 o'clock.

JOHN T. HILTON, *President.*
WM. C. NELL, *Secretary.*

MAINE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Maine Anti-Slavery Society will hold its fifth annual meeting at the Old Church, Chelsea in Hallowell, on Thursday and Friday, 6th & 7th days of February next—at 10 o'clock, A. M.

STEPHEN SEWALL, Recording Sec'y.

THE CULTURE OF THE BEET,

AND MANUFACTURE OF BEET SUGAR:

BY DAVID LEE CHILD.

This work is the result of the observations, study and experience of three years. The first half of this period was passed in the Beet Sugar Factories of France, Germany and Belgium; and the last half in establishing an experimental factory, and making sugar at Northampton, Massachusetts.

It is designed to embrace all that is necessary to enlighten the judgment and direct the measures of American farmers, in relation to this new branch of rural economy.

The work is divided and arranged as follows.

Part I.

CULTURE OF THE BEET.

1. Species and Varieties. 2. Uses of the beet; 3. The white Silesian or Sugar Beet; 4. Climate; 5. Soil; 6. Rotation; 7. Tillage and Manure; 8. Sowing; 9. Weeding; 10. Digging; 11. Keeping; 12. Raising seed; 13. Produce and Expense of the Culture.

Part II.

MANUFACTURE OF BEET SUGAR.

1. Cleaning; 2. Rasping; 3. Grating; 4. Defecation, or 1st Clarification; 5. Filtration; 6. Evaporation or Concentration; 7. Second Filtration; 8. Second Concentration; 9. Third Filtration; 10. Boiling; 11. Clarifying; 12. The Curing Process; 13. Clarifying of Molasses; 14. Revivification of animal Charcoal; 15. Manufacture of animal Charcoal; 16. Miscellaneous Observations; 17. The Decolorizing or Bleaching System; 18. Estimate of the Manufacture; 19. *Manufacture of Beet Sugar at Northampton, Mass. and the System of Deniseiches*; 20. Divers processes and Machines; 21. The Small and Farm manufacture of Beet Sugar.

Part III.

HISTORY AND PROSPECTS OF THE BUSINESS.

This part contains the history of the Origin and Progress of the Art of making Sugar from the Beet; its present state in France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Prussia and Austria; and a comparison of the expenses and advantages of the Cane and Beet Cultures, and of their respective products.

The work contains drawings and descriptions of valuable agricultural implements adapted to other crops as well as to the Sugar Beet; also of the apparatus and implements used in the Beet Sugar Manufacture; a description of various new methods and machines; and a Plan and estimate of the expense of a small *Farm Factory*. Plain and practical directions are given for the chemical operations necessary to the clarification of the juice and wraps of Beet.

APPENDIX.

Testimonials of the quality of the sugar manufactured by this author, at Northampton. Among these is a statement, exhibiting the value of imports and exports of the United States in the preceding years, and the *Charitable Mechanic Association*, awarding to the author a silver medal. They observe, 'The crude or raw sugar is well made and of good grain. The refined sugar from this article can be made of as good quality as sugar from the cane.'

Also an extract from the Premium list of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, with the award of their Premium of $1000 to the Northampton Beet Sugar Company, for the manufacture.

For sale at the Anti-Slavery office, No. 25 Cornhill, Boston.

POETRY.

From the North Star.

THE SLAVEHOLDER'S ADDRESS TO THE NORTH STAR.

Star of the North! Thou art not bigger
Than is the diamond in my ring;
Yet, every black, star-gazing nigger
Looks at thee, as at some great thing!
Yes, gazes at thee, till the lazy
And thankless rascal is half crazy.

Some Quaker rascal must have told 'em,
That, if they take their flight tow'rd thee,
They'll get where 'massa' cannot hold 'em,
And therefore to the North they flee.
Fools! to be led off, where they can't earn
Their living, by thy lying lantern.

Thou'rt a cold water star, I reckon,
Altho' I've never seen thee, yet,
When to the bath thy sisters beckon,
Get s'en thy golden sandals wet;
Nor in the wave have known thee dip
In our hot nights, thy finger's tip.

If thou *would'st*, nightly, leave the pole
To enjoy a regular ablution
In the North Sea, or Symmes' hole,
Our 'Patriarchal Institution,'
From which then givest many a ransom,
Would, doubtless, give thee something handsome.

Altho' thou art a cold water star,
As I have said (I think) already,
Thou'rt hailed by many a tipsy tar,
Who love thee, just because thou'rt *steady*,
And holdest the candle for the rover
When he is more than 'half seas over.'

But while Ham's seed, our land to bless,
'Increase and multiply' like rabbits,
We like thee, Yankee star, the less
For thy bright eye and steady habits.
Pray waltz with Venus, Star of Love,
Or take a bout with reeling Jove!

Thou art an abolition star,
And to my wench will be of use, if her
Dark eye should find thee, ere the car
Of our true old slave-catcher, 'Lucifer,
Son of the morning,' upward rolle
And with its light puts out the pole's.

On our field-hands thou lookest, too—
A sort of nightly overseer—
Can'st find no other work to do?
I tell thee thou'rt not wanted here;
So, pray, shine only on the oceans,
Thou number one of 'Northern notions.'

Yes, northern notions—northern lights!
As George Fox hated holy water,
So hate I all that Rogers writes,
Or Weld—that married Grimke's daughter.
So hate I all those northern curses,
From Birney's prose to Whittier's verses.

'Put out that light!' exclaimed the Moor,
(I think they called his name Othello,)
When opening his wife's chamber door
To cut her throat—the noble fellow!
Noblest of all the nigger nation!
File leader in Amalgamation!

'Put out the light!'—and so say I,
Could 'I quench' thee, thou flaming minister!'
No longer in the northern sky,
Should burn thy beacon fire so sinister.
North Star! thy light's unwelcome—very—
We'll vote thee, 'an incendiary!'

And to the Northern States we'll write,
And tell them not to let thee shine,
(Excepting of a cloudy night)
Anywhere south of Dixon's line;
If beyond that thou shine an inch,
We'll have thee up before Judge Lynch:—

And when, thou Abolition Star,
Who preachest Freedom in all weathers,
Thou hast got on thy coat of tar,
And, over that, a cloak of feathers,
That thou art 'fixed' none will deny,
If there's a *fixed star* in the sky.

Pocotalico, South Carolina.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

GEORGIA AND MAINE.

We noticed in our last number the proposal of Gov. Gilmer of Georgia to declare all citizens of Maine who may come within the jurisdiction of the former state on board of any vessel, as officers, owners or crew, felons, seeking to commit the crime of 'stealing slaves from their owners.' A writer in the last Maine Advocate of Freedom, addresses some strong, rough-hewn poetry to His Excellency, a few stanzas of which we copy as a sample of the 'Down East' spirit in view of this worse than Algerine proposal.

Seize, if thou dust, a single tar
Of all that bold and fearless race,
That drive their quivering keels afar
Through every sea; and dauntless chase
The spouting whale beneath the pole;
Or strike the spermy, where surf-wave hide
The coral reefs, that break the roll
Of wide Pacific's treacherous tide.

The generous hearts of all that clan
Would beat in unison to hear!
Each lumber-craft and fishe-man
For Georgia's sandy coast would steer;
Our hardy tars together heave
Their anchors from the ice-girt bay;
Their keels the fretting surf would cleave,
That piles their bows with frozen spray.

Off Newfoundland each fishing smack
Would spread its stiffened canvass wide,
And southward urge its watery track,
Till southern skies smile on the tide.
West Indian isles, the sea's high ways
Their rescuing squadrons forth would pour,
Till Yankee sails fleck Georgia's bays,
And masts in forests line her shore.

Thou did'st not hear the steady tramp
Of men upon the crisping snow,
When late the war note called to camp
To face upon our lines the foe!—
Our hardy yeomanry, or know
How 'neath each thick pea-jacket beat
A heart that burned with generous glow
The mob-invader's force to meet.

Thou didst not hear the martial fife
Pipe louder than the cold wind's wail,
Or begin note that called to strife,
Where all but iron hearts might quail.
Thou didst not hear the drum's tap break
Upon the forest's stillness far,
Or wellsing musketry awake,
'Mid winter's gloom the voice of war.

Go, spend thy threats upon the slaves,
That cower beneath thy nod!
Or vent thy rage on wind and waves
Thou'rt assished they yielded from thy rod!
Hold, if thou will, the stricken race
Bound hand and foot in bondage's chain,
But make not us the blood-hounds base
To hunt the rescued back again;
Preserve thy system, slavery,
Within its proper dark domain;
Stretch not its sway across the sea,
It has no force down here in Maine.

A NORTHERNER.

States thrive or wither, as moons wax or wane,
E'en as His will and His decrees ordain;
While honor, virtue, piety, bear sway,
They flourish; and as these decline, decay;
In just resentment of His injured laws,
He pours contempt on them and on their cause.

COWPER.

NON-RESISTANCE.

For the Liberator.

Thanksgiving Discourse,

Preached at Scituate, Plymouth county, Massachusetts, November 22, 1839.

BY CHARLES SIMMONS.

PSALM 47: 7.

God is the King of all the earth: sing ye praises with understanding.

Since God is our Creator and Preserver, it is his right and duty to establish and to maintain a universal government over his creatures. Dependent creatures need to be under law and government. Their usefulness, improvement and happiness require a good and sufficient government—one that comprises a complete rule of duty and motive to happiness. Such a government God has established over all his rational creatures. Hence said the Psalmist, 'God is the King of *all the earth*: sing ye praises with understanding.'

These words teach us, that

We are bound to give thanks to God for his universal moral government over mankind.

I propose in this discourse,

1. To show why we are bound to give thanks to God for his moral government, is, because *it is perfectly true.* All human governments have incorporated more or less false principles; and all uninspired human legislators, often reason sophistically. They fall through ignorance of facts, or from disregard to truth.

Since popular sentiment and favor elevate the officers of State, they are commonly, like the world at large, wanting in truth and integrity. Hence, human legislation and jurisprudence are often replete with deceit and falsehood. Not so with the government of God, who is a God of truth, that cannot lie. The principles of his government are all founded in imperishable, immutable truth. It is perfectly safe to trust in his promises and statements. In view of the deceit and falsehood which so tarnish all human systems of government, we have reason to be thankful that there is one government, in the principles and statements of which, we can safely trust and confide.

2. We are bound to give thanks to God for his moral government, because it is *perfectly just and righteous.* His authority over us is rightful authority; and has nothing in it of the nature of usurpation. His right and claim to our services and obedience are unquestionable.

It is impossible to conceive a more valid claim, than the claims of his government. And, indeed, all his measures are the perfection of righteousness. It is right that we should love the Lord our God with all the heart and strength, and our neighbor as ourselves, which is the substance of the law and the prophets. It is reasonable that we do others as we could wish to have them do to us! We can conceive of nothing in more exact harmony with the dictates of conscience, than the precepts of the divine law. Though some have represented the true and obvious meaning of this law as unjust, it is because they have not appreciated its infinite authority, and the real sinfulness of the transgressions of its holy precepts. It cannot be shown that the law of God in any respects condemns the innocent, justifies the guilty, or treatens more than the sin deserves. It cannot be made to appear, that God has required any exercises of selfishness or malevolence, or forbidden any exercises of true benevolence. His law is not chargeable with any positive defects, for it enjoins a proper regard to all the rights of God, and rights of his creatures, with a penalty threatened to every act of disobedience according to its evil nature and tendency. 'Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?' Not any person detects the least partiality in the government of God? Though he makes many both natural and moral differences in his creatures, it cannot be shown that he has made one of these without a good and sufficient reason, or that he has invaded one of our rights in the administration of his government. Have we not great reason for thankfulness, that God has established and executes a government over us and all others, so perfectly righteous in its principles, and characterized by such complete integrity, honesty and justice?

3. We are bound to give thanks to God *for* his moral government, because *it is perfectly holy.* There is nothing in it of the nature of intrigue, deceit or bribery. 'The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good.' And God thus revealed himself to Moses. 'The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty.' All the precepts, threatenings and acts of God's government are holy; they all exert a holy influence; and have a proper respect to the interests of holiness. Even the way of pardon and salvation through Christ, displays nothing more conspicuously than holiness. The most impressive views of the evil of sin, and of God's hatred of it, will forever be exhibited at the cross.

4. We are bound to give thanks to God for his moral government, because *it is better adapted to deter from crime than any other.* It secures a free and full pardon for all offences, except one—openly and wantonly reproaching and deriding the character and work of the Holy Spirit. The terms of pardon are perfectly reasonable, practicable and delightful, consisting in turning from sin to holiness, or from unrighteousness to righteousness. It involves a higher reward for obedience than any other authorities can offer; for the peace, and happiness promised the obedient is a greater *present* good than any other happiness—and it is to be eternal, and everlasting, without the least alloy. And, as a spotte, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them who love him.' It also threatens greater evils to the disobedient and incorrigible than any other government can threaten, even 'everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.' By David God says, 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.' And by his servant Paul he also says, 'But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.' It threatens such evils as 'the vengeance of eternal fire' —as will cause 'weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth, where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched'—and as 'everlasting burnings.' It threatens the visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and fourth generation.' In various ways, through natural law, and by providential visitation, is the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.' The various and terrible evils threatened to particular transgressions have been and are actually visited upon the wicked in a manner adapted to excite their strongest fears. Witness the general deluge—the destruction of Sodom—the plagues of Egypt—the destruction of the nations of Canaan—of Nineveh; Babylon; Tyre; Jerusalem; and other cities and nations of antiquity, whose overthrow by divine judgments is a standing and most solemn warning against vice and wickedness. Witness the terrible judgments that have fallen on many modern nations, states, families and individuals for their wickedness. God has also framed the natural laws of his kingdom, so as to make the way of the transgressor hard, and the ways of wisdom pleasantness and peace.

Every feature of the moral government of God is perfectly and precminently adapted to excite the highest hopes and expectations of his holy obedience, and the greatest fear and dread for disobedience. There are no human promises like the promises of God—no human threatenings like the terrors of the Lord.' The moral government of God holds out an immeasurably greater encouragement to righteousness, and discouragement to sin, than any other government can do. Have we not peculiar reasons to praise God for establishing and maintaining a government, which holds out the most powerful motives conceivable to encourage universal righteousness, and to restrain and dissuade them from all unrighteousness?

5. They are bound to give thanks to God for his moral government, because *it is perfectly and immutably consistent.* It is fated to error to run crooked, but the government of God is free from error. Its measures are all laid in that wisdom which no subsequent light and experience can charge with folly. The complete harmony of the law of God with itself, with the light of nature, with self-evident truth and right, and with every man's conscience in the sight of God, is one of its most conspicuous features. The spirit and temper enjoined in the divine law are perfectly consistent with God's government, in one spirit; and no change in modes and forms, or measures, is ever enjoined without good and sufficient reason. It is otherwise with human governments, which are so liable to change, that human legislation is ever in jeopardy. It is not so with the law of great joy and praise, that God and his government are the same 'yesterday, to-day and forever.'

6. We are bound to give thanks to God for his government, because *it is perfectly benevolent in its design and its tendencies.* Human governments have frequently been wielded by the basest of men.' The aspirants after civil offices have commonly made it manifest that their real motives were corrupt and deceitful; and their public influence has commonly been adapted to spread corruption through the nations. How many have rode to the throne through blood and carnage, and when established in their dominion, have given the reigns to the basest passions of human nature. The court of Kings and judges has commonly been replete with moral corruption.'

But God assumed his government over his creatures with the most benevolent design and intentions. Well knowing our need of a wise, efficient and righteous government; and his own complete right and qualifications to govern; he took the throne of the universe, and gave law to all his rational creatures, for his own glory, and for their present and everlasting good. He knew that all our substantial interests required him to be 'the king of all the earth,' and to give authority to his government. He perfectly knew the self-denial, patience, forbearance, and trials involved in the benevolent undertaking, to establish and maintain a perfectly wise and righteous government over such creatures as mankind are; but he love them notwithstanding. And he devised a government, whose tendencies should be such, as to demand and receive the praises of eternity. We can conceive of nothing better adapted than the law of God, to promote universal knowledge, holiness, order and happiness in man. Let us now suppose that all mankind should swear perfect allegiance to God's government, and should begin and continue to love the Lord their God with all their heart, and their neighbor as themselves, doing to all others as they could wish to have others do to them in like circumstances—let us suppose that they should perfectly obey the divine precepts enjoining love to enemies, the returning of good for evil, and exemplify all other interesting graces and moral virtues required by the law of God. Would not perfect order, peace, prosperity and happiness be the immediate consequence?

The moral government of God has the strongest conceivable tendency to drive all unrighteousness out of the world, and to fill it with knowledge, holiness, beauty and happiness. There can be no mistake in this observation, for we read, 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: Moreover, by them is thy servant warned: and in keeping them there is great reward.'

The law of God is the fountain of light, and a luminary suited to remove the darkness and ignorance of the world. It is the true mirror in which we can discover the errors of every false scheme of religion and moral philosophy. Here all moral science is obliged to light her lamp; and dark would be the world; benighted the minds of mankind, had God given no law to us. The law of God is the moral world, what the sun is to the natural world. Wherever this law has been rejected by nations, 'darkness has covered the earth, and gross darkness the people.' But where it has been obeyed, the highest results have followed. Hence said the Psalmist, 'Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths. The entrance of thy words giveth light: it giveth understanding to the simple. I have more understanding than all my teachers: for thy testimonies are my meditation.' The law of God is perfectly adapted to turn this fallen world back to its primeval beauty and glory. We can conceive of no purer moral influence, and no more powerful influence in favor of holiness and against sin, than the law of God is adapted to exert. We have therefore abundant reasons for thanks to God for his useful and benevolent government.

7. We are also bound to give thanks to God for his law and government, because *it furnishes us with a perfect, all-sufficient, and infallible rule of duty.* This is of very great consequence to us, in this lying, distracted and benighted world. The human understanding and conscience are so much under the influence of a deceitful and desperately wicked heart, that truth has been beclouded with error, and light made dim by darkness. 'The way of the wicked is as darkness, they know not at what they stumble.' Mankind in general are justly represented as groping in darkness, and as being led by 'blind leaders of the blind.' Without the law of God, the question of Pilate, 'What is truth?' would be a very hard question for us to solve. 'Wise learned, favored men of great' differ in judgment as well as others. In such circumstances as these, what a great and precious privilege it is to have a plain, infallible and all-sufficient rule of duty to guide us to usefulness and happiness. Such a rule we have in the law of God. For,

It plainly requires every duty we owe to God. All the duties we owe him as our Creator, Preserver, Provider, Benefactor, Redeemer, Benefactor, Governor, are distinctly enjoined. The divine statutes reveal all the relations between God and man, and the obligations which result from them. It is impossible to mention any duty we owe to God, which is not taught us in his statutes. This will be admitted by all.

Equally evident is it, that the law of God enjoins every duty we owe our fellow creatures. It enjoins the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, masters and servants, rulers and subjects, rich and poor, high and low, young and old, and of all other human relations and conditions, whether the relations and conditions are right, proper, and desirable or not. It enjoins the duties of love and good will towards all mankind; of compassion towards the miserable; of sympathy with the afflicted and sorrowful; of mercy, patience, forbearance and forgiveness towards the unkind and evil; of patience under injuries and of self-denial; of kindness, honesty, and universal righteousness. It forbids all abuse of others, such as killing, robbery, oppression, adultery, uncleanness, lascivousness, stealing, lying, coveting, hatred, variance emulations, strife, malices, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, extortions, partiality, and whatever is an invasion of human rights. We are required to tell each other our faults; to reprove, admonish, warn and entreat the guilty; to encourage the upright; to protect the ignorant; to give alms in the poor; and in short, to exercise and manifest on all occasions that disinterested and impartial love and benevolence which commends itself to 'every man's conscience in the sight of God.' If any person wishes to see the beauty and glorifying God, of being useful to mankind, or of securing and promoting his own true honor, dignity, safety and happiness, he will find all the proper and needful directions in the divine statutes. They even enjoin the proper duties to the rules of the animal creation. By precepts and requirements, by historical relations and descriptions, by promises and threatenings, through natural law and by moral enactments, by words and deeds, has God revealed and enjoined the various duties we owe to him, to ourselves, and to all other creatures.

The law of God is sufficiently plain and intelligible to answer every purpose of a perfect rule of duty. No human laws are so plain; no human duty is so plain and clear. Were it not for the blindness of the heart, which can have no excuse, the path of duty would always be sufficiently plain to those who take counsel of God. The law of God, therefore, must of consequence be an all-sufficient and infallible rule of duty for all mankind. This, indeed, is what it claims to be. 'I have seen an end of all perfection: but thy commandment is exceeding broad.' 'From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' 'That the man of God may be perfect, *thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*' Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is *the whole duty of man.*'

I am

To show how we ought to manifest our thanks and gratitude to God for his moral government over us.

Not by preparing a sumptuous feast which is injurious to health, and a waste of the bounties of providence. This is a great sin, notwithstanding the design of thanksgiving day. Not by laughing, merriment, and dancing, or any other sporting and vain amusement, for this is serving the devil, and not giving thanks to God.

1. One way in which we ought to manifest our thanks to God for his government over us, is by choosing him for our 'only potentate,' and his statutes for our only rule of duty. We ought to make a public and fearless profession of perfect allegiance to his government, and to the world know that we acknowledge no other Lawgiver, Sovereign and Judge, and his law for our only rule of faith and practice. Such a profession as this, if sincerely made, is honorable to God, and a most solemn duty we owe to him. Such a public recognition of the Lord as his only Governor, and such a profession of allegiance to him, Joshua made when he said, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

2. We ought to manifest our gratitude to God for his government over us, by yielding a perfect and cheerful obedience to his law. This is the most effectual way to please and honor God, and to make it appear that we heartily rejoice to have him reign over us. There is no other decisive way to manifest our gratitude to God for his government only to be loyal subjects of that government. When persons walk with God and in his law, they make it appear that their professions of gratitude and joy that God reigns over them, are not hypocrisy, and that they 'esteem all his precepts concerning all things to be right.'

3. We ought to manifest our thanks to God for his perfect government over us, by renouncing allegiance to all other systems and forms of Government which usurp and invade the rights and prerogatives of God, and are, which involve principles, policy and measures contrary to the divine precepts; and obeying which would involve any disobedience to God. This renunciation would of consequence include all those kinds and forms of human government which God has not expressly authorized and enjoined. It would doubtless include all those despotic governments, which boldly invade both divine and human rights. It would embrace those codes of law which enjoin, countenance or uphold slavery, war and fighting, sabbath profanation, or any other obvious vices. It would include such constitutions as do not contain the name of God, nor any recognition of his perfect authority over us. We cannot serve two different masters. If we would be loyal subjects to the divine government, we must renounce allegiance to all others of a different nature, polity, and tendency. For we read, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.' 'No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.' 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.' 'Call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father which is in heaven.' We have also apostolic example in favor of renouncing allegiance to that government which is contrary to God's. 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.'

4. We ought to manifest our thanks to God for his government over his creatures, by refusing to lord it over God's heritage; and by declining to accept and fill those offices of authority and government, which belong to God only. When solicited to such offices, we ought to imitate the example of Gideon, who said, 'I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: *The Lord shall rule over you!* When thus tempted, we ought steadily to reply, as Christ, who said, 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.' 'Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ.' But he that is greatest among you, shall be your servant.'

5. We ought to manifest our thanks to God for his government, by persuading all others to neglect and renounce allegiance to all governments founded in usurpation, injustice, and disobedience to the divine precepts, and to take the law of God for their only rule of duty. True gratitude to God for his favors, will lead us to desire and labor that others also may enjoy them, and join in praising, honoring and glorifying God. If we have most effectually taught others may become loyal subjects to their rightful Lord and Sovereign, and escape from the oppression of unjust governments and domination, we are destitute of all true charity, gratitude and thankfulness.

I will add, that we ought to manifest our thanks to God for his perfect government over us, by exposing, reproving and rebuking those who usurp his prerogatives to govern, and who lord it over men's persons and consciences, to the dishonor of God and the injury of mankind. There is nothing which is more dishonorable to God, and injurious to man, than corrupt and oppressive governments. They assume divine prerogatives, claim divine rights, and exercise their pretended rights in works of oppression and cruelty. Those who frame or administer such governments, occupy the places of influence, and spread moral corruption and misery far and wide. Such hypocrisy and wickedness ought to be exposed and rebuked, and will be by all who are the loyal and grateful subjects of God's perfect and universal government. They will ardently desire that the world may be emancipated from all tyranny, oppression and slavery, and be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons and servants of God.

I will now make a brief application of this subject.

1. If we have such peculiar reasons for gratitude and praise to God for his moral government, then that will be a happy day when the prophecy of the gospel shall have supplanted all other governments, and brought the world completely under the perfect and universal government of God. The people of God are now awaking to a sense of the usurpation, wickedness and miserable involved in all the present forms of human government, and are beginning to pray with godly sincerity, 'Thy kingdom come.' And their prayers will sooner or later be answered; for the following prophecy of Daniel is hastening to its accomplishment. 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.' Speaking of this time, Zecharish also prophesied, 'And the Lord shall be king of all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one.' By Ezekiel God foretold the return of his people Israel in these words. 'And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; And David [that is, Christ] my servant shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd: They shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes. And they shall dwell in the land that I gave unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children, for ever: and my servant David shall be their prince forever.' When these divine predictions shall be fulfilled, and the world comes both theoretically and practically under a Theocracy, then the glorious tendency and effects of universal obedience to the moral law and government of God will be experienced, in the predicted millennium.

2. If we have such decisive reasons to praise God for his moral government, we have equal occasion for thanksgiving, in view of its perfection, and of its universal and various blessings of his providential government.*

* This inference, which goes at some length into the usual topics of a thanksgiving discourse, we omit.—*Ed.*

The Non-Resistants.

The Non-Resistants—a class of Religionists which has sprung up within a few years, and stands strongly and zealously to the very letter of that direction which Jesus gave to his disciples, when he said to them, '*Resist not evil.*' They adopt this as a universal rule of action, in all cases, of security or danger. Jesus Christ, they say, never resisted evil. When he was reviled, he reviled not again. When scourged or beaten, he submitted like a lamb, and resisted not. His disciples, too, they affirm, never resisted evil—or if any one of them did, as in the case of Peter, when he smote the servant and cut off his ear, he was expressly rebuked by the author of Christianity. The doctrines of *retaliation*, therefore, under all circumstances, they eschew, as foreign to the religion of the Prince of Peace. Any resistance of evil—the rendering like for like, is, in their estimation retaliation, and therefore they maintain it to be unlawful to resist evil in any forms. They even go so far as to say that if a robber were to meet them in the highway and demand their money, it would be their duty to give it up, rather than to resist the blow which otherwise might level them with the earth. Nay more—they tell us, that if a man were to offer to set fire to their houses, or a murderer were to enter their families to slaughter their wives and their children,—if they could by all way away from him, it would be their duty to look on and see their families murdered before their eyes, and not raise a hand to disable the murderer's arm. Whether, in such a case, they would prove their christianity, by thus abandoning their wives and children to the murderer's thirst for blood, we very much doubt. If they should, we think they would deserve to be punished as participators in the crime. The Lord says 'Deliver them that are ready to be slain.' We state their principles as a matter of curiosity for the information of our readers. Some of their premises are doubtless correct—but their ultra inferences we believe are very wide from true Christianity.—*Gospel Banner.*

MISCELLANY.

Patronizing Newspapers.

The following, from the Pittsburgh Conference Journal, is true, to the life. Read it:—

'The way some people *patronize* papers is a sin. They receive it for two, three or four years, without paying for it. Then the editor, through the postmaster, receives the heart-cheering intelligence that Mr. A. B. refuses to take his paper any longer, that it 'lies dead in the office.' Well, he has the consolation of knowing that one bad subscriber is gone. Another, 'Mr. C. D. who receives his paper at this office, has removed from these parts—you had better stop his paper.' Pity he forgot to send us *five dollars* before he started. Yet another —'Your paper sent to E. F. is not taken out of this office. Reason, deceased.' Hope he has gone to Heaven,—forgive him the debt. Thus goes the business of patronizing papers! Well, 'Thus we sinnes of patronizing papers! Well, 'Thus we sinnes of patronizing papers! Well, 'Thus we sinnes