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☞ NOTE.—Mr. ISAAC KNAPP, the late publisher, having transferred his interest in the subscription-list to Mr. GARRISON, for two years from the first of January, 1840, 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.

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

OLIVER JOHNSON, Printer.

VOL. X.—NO. 9. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1840. WHOLE NO. 478.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

Speech of Senator Tappan, of Ohio,

Delivered in the United States Senate, Feb. 4, 1840.

MR. PRESIDENT: I hold in my hand a number of petitions, purporting to be signed by inhabitants of Harrison county, in the State of Ohio, praying Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. These petitions are signed by both males and females, in the proportion of about two-thirds of the former, and one-third of the latter. It is the constitutional right of every American citizen to petition Congress for a redress of grievances; and I may say here, that whenever any citizen of Ohio shall complain of any grievance, under which he may be suffering, within the constitutional competency of this Government to remove, it will give me great pleasure to present the case to this body, and to be instrumental in removing the grievance complained of.

These petitioners do not, however, set forth what particular grievance the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia is to them, how they are injuriously affected by it, nor why and wherefore it should be abolished. I am left to suppose, therefore, that the interest the petitioners feel in this matter is not a particular interest, arising from any connection with the subject matter prayed for, not a grievance to them specially, but that they suppose the existence of slavery and the slave trade here is a grievance of a general and national kind, which they, with all other American citizens, have a right to petition Congress to remove. I am very far from questioning the right of any citizen of this Union to petition Congress, or their right to instruct their Representatives here as to such legislation for this District, as will, in their opinion, best promote the general interest of the whole Confederacy; but I mark the fact, that the petitioners were not agreed upon the nature, extent and bearing of the supposed grievances they pray to have redressed, and were not prepared to assign *any* reason for their removal, as evidence that *they* had no particular cause of complaint in the existence of slavery here. Living at the distance of some hundred miles from the District, in a remote State of the Union, and having little or no intercourse with it, it is not to be presumed that they should be as competent to judge what legislation would best promote the prosperity and happiness of the people here, as the citizens of the District themselves, who are to be more immediately affected by such legislation. The petitioners have, indeed, no right to interpose their wishes, or will, as to such interests as are peculiar to the population of the District, and have no bearing on the general interests of the Union. This, it may be presumed, is well known to and understood by them, and therefore the conclusion I have come to, that the petitioners have no particular interest in this matter, and have no claims to a hearing on that account, is sufficiently evident.

I have no doubt but that the Constitution, by giving to Congress the power 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever' over this District, has given Congress the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade here, whenever the people of the District ask, or the safety of the whole Union requires it. Congress, as the constitutional Legislature of this District, have, in my judgment, a twofold duty to perform—*first*, as the Representatives of the District, not elected and chosen by the people of the District, but made by the Constitution the only law-making power for it, and thereby its constitutional Representatives: *second*, as the Representatives of the whole nation. In the former capacity, the power of Congress extending 'to all cases whatsoever,' seems limited only by the great principles of equality and justice which lay at the foundation of all our legislation; in the latter, they can exercise no powers but such as are expressly delegated to them, or such as are clearly necessary to carry into effect the powers so expressly granted. The principles adverted to, require of American legislators that they should make the happiness of the people the end and aim of all their enactments. In their first capacity, therefore, as the Legislature of the District, they are bound to consult the will and wishes of the District, in all matters which concern its inhabitants only. I conceive that the will of the people should be the governing rule for the action of Congress, in all matters of strictly local concern; unless that will demanded something which would be injurious to the general welfare. The reason why the framers of the Constitution gave to Congress, and not to a local Legislature, the power of legislation over the District, was probably to prevent the possibility of any law being passed here, which might militate against the general interest of the Confederacy; and not to free Congress from the high moral obligation, incumbent on it as the Legislature of the District, to consult the wishes of the people of the District, and form its laws, so as best to promote their welfare and happiness.

But the people of the District are silent on this subject; *they* ask for no change in their domestic policy; they have heretofore remonstrated against any action by Congress on their right to hold slaves, and would probably again remonstrate, if they apprehended any danger of such action. They hold that they have a clearly legal and rightful property in and to their slaves; that the Constitution of the United States protects them in the enjoyment of such right. Now, whatever may be the opinion of the petitioners as to the right, abstractly considered, of men to hold human beings as property, this question was settled before the Constitution was formed—before this ten miles square was ceded to the Union; and Congress, as legislators of the Union, have no power over it.

Next to the people of this District, those more immediately interested are the States who ceded this Territory to the United States. The cession was made by Maryland and Virginia, when, as now, both those States held slaves; and their right to this species of property was no where questioned. It may fairly be supposed, that when the cession was made, it was not imagined by any one that slavery would, or could be abolished here, until it should be abolished in those States. Had such an event been thought probable, the able men who guided the counsels of those States would have guarded against an event so very threatening to their security and repose. But these States are not alone in regarding the measures prayed for by the petitioners as hostile to their interests; all the States in which slavery is held lawful, consider the agitation of this question as full of danger, and the attempt to abolish slavery here, but as a first step in an unjust and unconstitutional interference with their rights. If, then, Congress has the power to legislate for this District on this subject, as I hold they clearly have such power, they have no right to exercise this power against the will of the inhabitants of the District; against the will of those who ceded the District to the Union; and against the will of the other slaveholding States; unless, indeed, the safety of the whole Union imperiously demands such legislation of us.

When this confederacy of States was formed, and even when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, most of the States held slaves. The laws of all (except, perhaps, Massachusetts) recognised the lawfulness of domestic slavery. Since that time, many of the States have entirely and some others partially abolished it; and it seems to me that it is, and has long been, in a gradual course of extinction. It is, however, an institution of the State Governments, a matter of mere State regulation, with which, as it exists in, or may be regulated by, the States, the Government of the United States, having nothing to do directly, should abstain from interfering indirectly.

Such, Mr. President, is my view of the subject, as it respects the power and duties of Congress; but there is another view which it is my duty to state. I am here as one of the representatives of a sovereign State, meeting with the representatives of twenty-five other equally sovereign and independent States, to exercise with my friend and colleague those strictly limited powers which have been conferred on the General Government, and bound by every principle of duty, of honor, and of inclination, to obey the will of the State whose servant I am.

The State I in part represent is one of the first in this Union in all the elements of political power; it is not second to any in its entire devotion to those principles of equality and justice, which are the professed foundation of our social institutions; to none in her firm attachment to the Union of the States. She would not permit any interference on the part of other States or societies with her institutions, unless addressed directly to her friendly consideration by those who might consider themselves aggrieved by them: nor would she interfere with the laws and regulations of other States, or justify her citizens in doing so, under any other circumstances. Slavery is an institution not only interdicted by the fundamental laws of Ohio, but it is entirely contrary to the genius and habits of her people. If petitions were to be presented here, praying some action of Congress which would, though but indirectly and remotely, tend to establish slavery in Ohio, or which her citizens believed would have that tendency, such a measure could not but be regarded as one of hostility to Ohio by her representatives here; and hostility, too, not from an individual Senator, but from a co-State; for Senators, being representatives of sovereign States, cannot be presumed to act for themselves merely, but only by authority of the State whose agents they are. Ohio might, and probably would, treat all such demonstrations with scorn and contempt; but if persisted in, and followed up from year to year, evincing a settled determination to compel a change, she could not but regard the States whose representatives here promoted such attacks upon her, as unfriendly towards her.

Ohio will do unto others as she claims that they should do to her. As she will not permit any interference with her own institutions, so she will not permit her servants to interfere with the institutions of other States. I know her will upon this matter; it is clear and unequivocal. Resolutions of her Assembly have repeatedly declared her sentiments upon the subject matter of these petitions, and her decided opinion that the attempt making by these petitioners, 'is hostile to the spirit of the Constitution, and destructive of the harmony of the Union;' and a recent more numerous assemblage of Democratic delegates in a State convention, than has ever before met in that State, with but three dissenting voices, adopted the following resolutions:

'Resolved, That in the opinion of this convention, Congress ought not, without the consent of the people of the District, and the States of Virginia and Maryland, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; and that the efforts now making for that purpose by organized societies in the free States, are hostile to the spirit of the Constitution, and destructive to the harmony of the Union.

'Resolved, That slavery being a domestic institution recognized by the Constitution of the United States, we, as citizens of a free State, have no right to interfere with it, and that the organizing of societies and associations in free States, in opposition to the institutions of sister States, while productive of no good, may be the cause of much mischief; and while such associations for political purposes ought to be discountenanced by every lover of peace and concord, no sound democrat will have part or lot with them.

'Resolved, That political abolitionism is but ancient federalism, under a new guise, and that the political action of anti-slavery societies, is only a device for the overthrow of democracy.'

I know, sir, that these resolutions express the deliberate judgment of the democracy of Ohio; as to the sentiments of the opponents of the democratic party, the Harrisonians, I know less. Their conduct is open to observation. By that, it is well known that they hold in their fraternal embrace the entire abolition part of the population of Ohio.

As to the female signers of these petitions, I have a word to say. Nature seems to have given to the male sex the exclusive powers of government, by giving to that sex the physical strength and energy which the exercise of these powers calls into constant and active exertion. To the female, a more delicate physical organization is given; and she need not repine that she has not the iron nerve of her protector, man; he has the storms of life to encounter; she the calm and sunshine of domestic peace and quiet to enjoy. Hers is the domestic altar; there she ministers and commands, in all the plenitude of undisputed sway, the fountain of love and blessedness to all around her. Let her not seek madly to descend from this eminence to mix with the strife of ambition or the cares of government; the field of politics is not her appropriate arena; the powers of government are not within her cognizance, as they could not be within her knowledge, unless she neglected higher and holier duties to acquire it. Bound by her associations, by her education and habits, as the American woman is, to the institutions and laws, and manners of her country, let her evidence the soundness of her principles, by guiding the young minds committed to her maternal charge, to that same love of liberty and devotion to their country she feels, and she need not fear but that her sons will correct all the errors of government, as experience shall point them out. For myself, I cannot recognize the right of my fair countrywomen to interference with public affairs. Whether slavery shall be abolished in the District of Columbia or not, belongs not to them to say; much less does it belong to the women of Ohio to agitate questions of public policy, which their own State Government has often declared it wrong in her citizens to meddle with.

For these reasons, I decline presenting these petitions to the Senate.

Mr. Preston said there was nothing before the Senate to excuse his remarks, but he could not repress the feelings of pleasure and satisfaction with which he had listened to the eloquence and patriotic remarks of the Senator from Ohio. Should the same sentiments be expressed from other sections of the country, the incendiary spirit of abolitionism would soon be trampled down and extinct. Standing in the political relations he did to the Senator, he could express his feelings more freely; and for himself, and in behalf of the section of the Union more particularly interested in this matter, he tendered to the Senate his sincere and heart felt thanks.

From the Tecumseh (Michigan) Record.

Anti-Abolition Society.

At an adjourned meeting of the 'Union Anti-Abolition Society' of Lenawee county, held in School-house No. 4, in the town of Cambridge, on Saturday, the 18th inst. the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the object of our society is to oppose the measures of the abolitionists, morally and politically.

Resolved, That we call upon our friends in the respective towns, to organize similar societies, and unite with us in putting down this curse to our country—abolition.

Resolved, That our brethren are requested, as soon as they organize, to open a correspondence with our Secretary, that we may advise with one another as to the best means of opposing the abolitionists.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the proper officers, and published in all the papers in the County.

ISRAEL B. MAXWELL, *Vice President.*
JAS. B. STETSON, *Secretary.*

The sleigh which conveyed the mail, was overturned *fifteen times* on the passage from Hartford to Worcester, lately, each time throwing the passengers and mails into the snow.

SELECTIONS.

From 'Despotism in America.'

The Political Creed of Thomas Jefferson.

Such was the political creed of Jefferson. It is the creed of democracy; and he espoused it with a warm, an active, almost a fanatic zeal. The perfect political equality of all men; the absolute right of every man to be guided by his own pleasure and judgment, so long as he transgresses no law, and his equal claim to a fair participation in the enactment and repeal of every law; these were the very fundamental principles of this political system. Yet Jefferson remained all his life the tyrant of a plantation, in the enforcement of an usurped authority, either personally, or by his delegate, which he himself describes, as 'a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions,—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other.' Ah, Truth! 'Tis thee alone that men should reverence!' Do they reverence men, it is an idolatry as base as if they bowed to stocks and stones. Men *are* blind and weak, the wisest and the best! But Truth,—it is unblemished, in itself complete, divine, pure, perfect!'

Had Jefferson attempted to preach the full extent of his doctrines in his native state, he would doubtless have drawn down upon his head a storm of hatred and reproach, not rashly to have been encountered, nor easily to have been withstood. But that was an adventure of difficulty and peril, which he felt no call to undertake. Like Henry and Washington, and those other great men whose devoted patriotism and many virtues would make us willingly forget that on their own estates they were tyrants, though he acknowledged the trampled rights and crying wrongs of the disenfranchised half of his fellow-countrymen, he yet despaired to make any impression upon the ignorance, the prejudices, the blind and narrow self-interest of the privileged class, and he contented himself with now and then a protest against a system of tyrannical usurpation, which, carried away by custom and convenience, he still continued to uphold through the support of his own example.

The democracy which he preached at home, was democracy among the aristocrats;—and the perfect equality of all the members of the privileged order, has ever been a popular doctrine in all aristocracies. The 'love of liberty' is a phrase under which are included two feelings of a very distinct, and sometimes of an opposite kind. Each individual is always the ardent and zealous champion of his own liberty, because the hatred of all extraneous control, the desire to be solely governed by the free impulses of his own mind, is a part of the constitution of human nature too essential ever to be wanting. Hence it is that we find kings and emperors among the champions of liberty and equal rights, by which *they* understand, the liberty of governing their own realms without foreign control, and the absolute equality of all crowned heads. Have we not seen the Austrian and Russian despots, leaguing with the king of Prussia and the haughty aristocracy of England, to vindicate the *liberties* of Europe against the usurpation and tyrannies of a Bonaparte? When the chains threatened to bind *them*, when they were like to be compelled to bow their necks beneath the yoke of a master, who more sensitive than they to the degradations of servitude? Who more zealous, more earnest, more sincere in liberty's cause? Alexander of Russia turned a demagogue, and the princes of Germany harangued their subjects, not in the dry and austere style of absolute authority, but with the supplicating tone, the humble and insinuating eloquence, the flattery and fair promises, with which ambitious men, in popular states, seek to inveigle the popular favor.

This passion for personal liberty burns fiercely in the soul of every human being, and no where fiercer than in the hearts of an aristocracy bred to its possession, and who have learned to estimate its value, by having constantly before their eyes the terrible contrast of servitude.

But the 'love of liberty' has also another meaning. It describes a passion not for individual freedom, but for the freedom of all men; a wide, expansive feeling, the offspring of benevolence, the height of philanthropy, the extension to others of that which we find best and most desirable for ourselves; its extension not only to those to whom we are bound by familiar ties of interest and sympathy, our friends and kindred, or those whom, however otherwise unconnected with us, we still assimilate to ourselves by some real or fanciful analogies; but absolutely, its extension to all men,—the love of freedom wherever, by whomsoever exercised, as an abstract good.

It is evident that the love of liberty in this high sense, can shine out in perfection only from hearts the warmest, souls the most cultivated, minds the most lofty, unclouded and serene. But fragments of it, sparks from this celestial flame, sometimes but dim, the smallest atom almost, and that too, buried, and quite smothered amid the ashes of selfish passions,—yet dim or bright, smothered or burning clear, this passion for universal freedom is still a part of human nature, but a part of it which lies dead and dark in uncultivated souls, and which only begins to kindle and to blaze, in the forward and quick-feeling minds of a polished and reflecting age.

To this latter feeling, noble and refined, and which lurks, however invisible, even in the hearts of a slaveholding aristocracy, Jefferson did not dare to appeal. He was content to act the humble and comparatively inconsiderable part of a champion for equality among the aristocrats; and laboring to forget that the unprivileged class,—some of whom, to believe the voice of common report, were his own children,—had any greater capacities or rights than beasts of burden, he curtailed the expansive and universal clauses of his political creed, till the mantle of liberty, which should have extended its protection to every citizen, embraced within its torn and multilated folds only the privileged order.

[From the same work.]

Portrait of John C. Calhoun.

With Monroe terminated the direct line of the Jeffersonian succession; and then began that struggle for the possession of the presidential chair, which has been so earnestly kept up for the last twelve or fourteen years. No one has had a larger share in that contest, than John C. Calhoun, a person likely to figure in history, for the instruction and amusement of mankind.

That able, but restless and unprincipled man, first came into public life as a leading democrat; but that was at a time when democracy, in its current sense, meant little more than hostility to Great Britain. Coming from South Carolina as he did, it was but natural that he should be, as he was, a thorough aristocrat; and that not content with the mere supremacy of one race over another, he desired to concentrate all political power into the hands of a chosen few, of whom he himself should be the chief and leader.

But satisfied by the result of his earlier experiments, that the aristocratical party was not strong enough to bestow that power at which he aimed, and that even if it were, he would encounter on that side, some dangerous competitors; he turned short about, and recollecting the success of Jefferson, resolved to try a new means of advancement, and to summon up, from the slumbers of some sixteen years, the genius of Democracy, which he fondly hoped to be able to convert into the mere servant of his political schemes.

The magician was able, and the charm worked well. Dimly in the distance, hazy and indistinct, appeared a figure, whose broad proportions told that time and slumber had but increased its stature and its power. One foot upon the western prairies, the other amid the snowy hills of New England, it strode across the land. The people saw and worshipped. A new enthusiasm was kindled in their hearts. Nothing could resist it. Those who put themselves forward as the priests, the favored, the chosen of this new avatar of democratical reform; were received with confidence, welcomed with acclamation, and entrusted with power. So far the thing worked well; and he who had called up this apparition of democracy, succeeded in installing, as its high-priest and chosen minister, a man who had been a slave-trader, a man who was a slaveholder, who preached liberty and equality at Washington, but who at home was the despot of the Hermitage!

His purposes thus far accomplished, he who had raised the spirit sought to lay it. But it defies his power. Among the crowd of hypocritical worshippers and blind devotees, there are found a few whose homage is at once enlightened and sincere. They look upon democracy, not with a stupid gaze of admiration, unable to distinguish between the apparent and the real, but with a discernment, upon which the arts of political cunning will not easy impose. Democracy, in their estimation, is not a mere phantom, by whose aid the credulous may be deluded, and offices and honors be secured to the deluders; it is a real existence, a substantial thing, a powerful and essential means of advancing the public welfare. It is to these adherents, that Democracy now entrusts herself. From being the nursling, the pupil, the instrument of Southern despotism, she is about to become a rival and an enemy. The allegiance she has so long yielded to Southern step-fathers, she will yield no longer. The alliance is broken; and conscious of superior power and higher claims, Democracy demands homage and submission, where hitherto she has paid them.

She prepares to act. She points in sorrow, shame and anger, to the capitol turned into a slave-market; to the broad plains of the south, watered with the blood of their cultivators; and to the thousand petty despots, each arbitrary lord and irresponsible tyrant, upon his own plantation.

It is in vain that southern oppressors console themselves with ideas of the insignificance of those who make the first assault. They may ridicule them as fools, fanatics, women. What of that? Does the result of an attack depend upon the prudence or the wisdom of those who have volunteered for the forlorn hope? What matter who or what they are, those who rush blindly and devotedly upon the open-mouthed cannon, the leveled bayonets of the enemy? They are but food for powder, and they know it. In every great cause, it is necessary that some should perish. But if the cause be great, for one that falls, ten will be found ambitious so to suffer!

It is in vain we at the North cry out, that the contest is unseasonable and premature. It has begun: it must go on. Grant that over-zealous and fanatical haste has precipitated a struggle which we would have gladly have deferred, and slumbering out our own time in quiet, have thrust upon the days of our children. No matter. In this thing we cannot have our way. The trumpet has sounded; the bold and unquiet are rushing to the field. We may cry peace, peace,—but there is no peace. Fight we must, upon one side or the other. The contest is begun already, and will soon become general. In such a struggle, there can be no neutrality. It is time to be choosing under which banner we will stand!

From the Union Herald.

Things as they are in Massachusetts.

NEW HAVEN, Ct., Jan. 6, 1840.

My Dear Myrick:

Our brother Jackson has written you several communications, from which your readers have gathered much information respecting 'matters and things' in Massachusetts. Having recently visited Boston and several of the neighboring towns, on a tour of observation, I cannot refrain from giving some of the facts and reflections which present themselves to my own mind. My desire is that they may contribute something to guard the interests of the anti-slavery cause in these days of peril.

The division in the anti-slavery forces of Massachusetts is, as we all have always said, an unhappy one. But this does not tell the worst of the story. It is a division, which, if its object be any thing but a circuitous method of attempting to 'hang Garrison,' threatens to drive the ploughshare through all the anti-slavery forces of the United States. For there are no local reasons why there should be two societies in Massachusetts, which do not exist in every State where there are two abolitionists of different religious and political creeds; and if two societies, then three, then four, and so on, till you number as many as there are different methods of thinking upon other subjects. And as 'no two minds think alike,' each individual must have a society of his own, which would be an abandonment of affiliated action. It becomes us, then, before proceeding further as abolitionists, in an organized capacity, to see whether we have any common bond of union, and if so, what that bond is, or whether, to save quarreling, we shall dissolve our societies altogether. That we have a bond of union, of all-sufficient strength, if we will but use it, viz: love for the slave and a common belief in the doctrine of immediate emancipation,—is, I think, too plain to require proof; and to me it is equally plain that the true platform on which we should stand, is a free toleration of every variety of views, on all other subjects. Let the Baptist act as a Baptist, the Presbyterian as a Presbyterian, the Orthodox, the Unitarian, the whig, the democrat, according to their respective doctrines on politics and religion; let each offer up what sacrifices they will on their own altars, provided always, that they *never offer the blood of the slave.* This sentiment is happily expressed by Mrs. Chapman, in Right and Wrong in Mass., p. 35.

'It is astonishing that these men should not have been aware, that on the abolition platform, their own sect stood but on a level with others, and that sabbitarian or anti-sabbatarian, man or woman, clergyman or layman, voter or non-voter, warrior or non-resistant, must be measured by their consistency and energy in applying *each his own religious views*, to effect the abolition of slavery.'

Self-evident propositions rarely become clear by argument. Hence, I will not add words to show that the above is the true abolition platform, broad enough for all to work upon, and giving each an opportunity of wielding his own weapons with full force against the common enemy. Nor will any who are conversant with the history of the anti-slavery movement from its beginning to the present time, need to be told that such is the platform, and such the bond of union, by which all abolitionists have, till recently, labored together as brothers, for the overthrow of slavery. Hence, if a man with a broad brim, has come into our meetings and insisted upon sitting with his hat on, and saying thee and thou, we have given him full liberty to exercise his conscience in these particulars, and we have taken him by the hand as a brother, while some of us would have been horrified at the idea of doing ourselves those things to which we have not objected in him. So, if a woman has come in with the Quaker and asked in common with him a seat and a vote, we have given her as hearty a welcome, rejoicing to see her zeal for the cause, but leaving her to settle the question of propriety, with St. Paul and her own conscience, as best, and her right. We have not in either case, decided upon the right or the wrong of the course pursued by the Quaker or the woman.

This, too, has been our position in reference to voting at the polls. We have insisted that 'all voters should cast their ballots for the slave. But we have not said that those who could not vote, nor that those who considered it wrong before God to vote, were recreant, because they did not. We have denounced no man, for not doing that for the slave which he would not do for his own wife, his own child, or his own soul. In our Conventions we have resolved that it is the duty of all who vote at the polls, to forego all questions of mere dollars and cents and cast their votes for right and humanity; but when one has objected to the phraseology of a resolution, because it would require him to vote for an abolitionist, though he were an immoral man, which he could not conscientiously do, then, as at the anniversary meeting of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, the resolution has been, by one consent, so amended as to cover the exception. Nor till recently has it been a matter of painstaking, so to frame our resolutions that they shall be *both* anti-slavery political action, and anti-non-resistant resolutions, at the same time.

Well, we all know that the 'woman question' and the 'political question,' are the grounds which the new organizationists assign for withdrawing from the old society, the new society not being willing to take, with the old, the liberal position which I have described, the position which has been assumed by all anti-slavery societies from the time of their formation, to the rising of this new star over the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is true that the new society *accuse* the old, (I have no evidence that they do so justly,) of having at some times, and on some points, departed from this platform; but upon this platform they certainly would not profess to stand, themselves, while the old society does profess to stand upon it, and if she has erred from her own standard of duty, she should not be entirely cast off for that, unless we would be *perfectionists* and *perfection societies*, at the same time that we are abolitionists and abolition societies.

But these are not the *real* grounds of division. And here, I will give you some of the results of my own observations. Before going to Massachusetts I could not believe that the woman question had, in truth, much to do with the division, because the new society has made herself auxiliary to the American, which occupies precisely the same relation to the woman question, that the old society in Massachusetts sustains. Does any one believe that if this were the true reason for withdrawing from the old society, she would have connected herself with the American society? Neither could I, before my visit to Massachusetts, discover *why* the political abolitionists in that Commonwealth could not exert the full amount of their political power through the medium of the old organization. But I did not know what I now believe to be the fact, that the old society includes almost the entire force of the abolitionists who are willing to sacrifice party for the slave, at the polls, and that the new society embraces almost all that is politically and otherwise spurious under the name of abolition. Let me be understood. If not greatly deceived by my own eyes and ears and the limited extent of my observations, nearly all of those in Massachusetts who are what such men as Stewart and Smith and Goodell and Chaplin, would pronounce thorough and consistent political abolitionists, are connected with the old organization; while those whose political abolitionism is, by this standard of a spurious or doubtful character, are generally partizans of the new society. I do not say that there are not exceptions on both sides, for I believe there are, but I have facts which I think will bear me out in the general statement. If I am wrong, I shall be happy to be corrected, and to see the evidence on which the correction is made. A gentleman extensively acquainted with the abolitionists throughout the State, (not a perfectionist, nor an anti-sabbatarian, nor a 'no-government' man,) told me that he never knew an old organizationist and subscriber to the Liberator who proved recreant at the polls, and he did not believe such an instance could be found; nor on the other hand could I, though I made much inquiry, hear of but very few indeed, supporters of the new society, who did not, at the recent election, go for party, at the expense of abolition integrity. The editor of the Abolitionist and the general agent of the new society, would, doubtless, themselves, remember the slave in their votes; but not so with those whose policy has been, since the Clerical Appeal movement failed, to put forward those who are looked upon by the anti-slavery public abroad, as standing true to the slave. I had a long conversation with one gentleman, who is a subscriber and reader of the Massachusetts Abolitionist and a new organizationist. He opposed the political movements of abolitionists—said in so many words that he considered the 'whig cause' of greater importance than the abolition cause, that Henry Clay was not exactly the man of his choice for the Presidency, but that he should vote for him if nominated. To all this, I will add the following significant passage in Elizur Wright Jr's. recently published 'private correspondence.' Complaining of the ill management of the new society (of which he is corresponing secretary,) he says, 'Every thing has been made to turn on 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.*' Now I ask any candid man who looks at these facts—do you believe that the new organizationists did in truth leave the old society that they might better exert their political power? Certainly you do not.

Why then did they withdraw, if not on account either of the woman or the political question? I reply, that as they did not withdraw for the reason which they publicly assign, it is not for me to say what their true reasons were. Many might be stated as the causes which no doubt produced the division, but I have not room to enter upon that discussion in this letter. My own opinion is, that the motives of the seceders were various, and different in different individuals. Some, charity would lead us to hope and believe, really supposed that the cause of abolition would be promoted by withdrawing from a society which was falsely charged by its enemies, (for the purpose of injuring it, and through hostility to its anti-slavery doctrines,) as being a no-government, woman's rights, perfectionist society, a society hating the ministry, promoting infidelity, and doing all else that is bad. Such charges these persons well knew to be untrue, but vainly supposed, nevertheless, that by forming a new society, they should draw in men who now *pretended* they were kept back from aiding in the work of emancipation, because of these charges which they themselves had fabricated, and feigned to believe. This, indeed, has been assigned by some, as a reason for supposing that it was well to form a new society. Other incidental reasons have also been given. One of the most prominent of which is, that Mr. Garrison, while he believes it to be the duty of all who vote at the polls, to vote for the slave, does not, on religious grounds, believe that voting at all is right. Mr. Garrison, then, will not vote for our abolition candidates. Neither will William Goodell, if they are 'in favor of legalizing the rum traffic,' or 'plunging the country in a needless and wicked war.' (See Anti-Slavery Lecturer, Sec. x.) Mr. Goodell *sometimes* will not vote for abolition; Mr. Garrison *never*, and both for the same reasons; both are prevented not by half-hearted abolitionism, but by their *views on other subjects.* Now if Garrison should be hung with a cable, Goodell should swing upon the halter. No one complains of Mr. Goodell, and yet for the same offence in Mr. Garrison, the *Society* of which he is a member, is so contaminated, that a new one must be formed. Mr. Goodell has avowed his sentiments in the organ of his society—Mr. Garrison his, in his own paper. I can only say of both these champions for the slave, *let them live*, for they love the cause and are its best and ablest advocates. But suppose they are ever so guilty, why, on their account, destroy the *societies* to which they belong?

But I will here dismiss the subject, as I cannot in this communication enter upon the real causes of the division. May those who have acted unwisely, see their error and retrace their steps. Above all, may the God of the oppressed so work in the hearts of their friends, and may his spirit so banish sectarian feeling and party strife and every unclean thing from their minds, and so deliver them from *false friends*, that this division shall not spread beyond the soil that nourished it into being. Let us look well to our landmarks, and labor disinterestedly for the slave, so shall we move on harmoniously in our warfare, till our weariness is turned into triumph.

Your brother in the cause of the oppressed,

J. P. BISHOP.

POLITICAL.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

Letter from Alvan Stewart.

The following letter from our distinguished friend ALVAN STEWART, Esq., addressed to friend WEBB, of this city, has been handed us for publication.

UTICA, (N. Y.) 29th Jan. 1840.

DEAR BROTHER,—I take up my pen to unbosom my soul on the prospects of the poor slave. Two elections have occurred since nine-tenths of the abolitionists have professed to believe that it was our most solemn duty to employ the ballot box in behalf of *our fallen brother.* We have talked and resolved, from United States Conventions down to the resolutions of a man and his wife, that it was our duty to employ our votes, and consecrate them, yea, *dedicate* them, to the redemption of the bondman. But thus far have we been trying to oblige the friends of the 'no system plan'—which was to vote with your own old party, and thus *scare it*; to stay at *home* and *thus alarm it*; to have as many candidates in the field as there were voters—known by the name of the scattering votes—that is, one vote in one place, and one vote for *one man*, and thus overwhelm and confound party. By this plan, Van Buren abolitionists must vote with their party; Whig abolitionists with their party. 'Voting with one's old party,' 'staying at home,' going to the poll 'and voting for a human being, or an inanimate one,' a candidate to a voter, 'or the *scattering* system,' these are the three modes of action of the great '*no system party*,' to punish the parties in this country for not abolishing slavery! This is what is termed *perpendicular anti-slavery political action*, rich in precious truths, teeming with such unity of design; this is the wedge which, from its great weight, and tapering edge, was to split the knotty log of slavery from end to end! This '*no system*' plan of political abolition has brought us to the gates of death, and one more year, on this plan, will *open the gates.* The 'no system plan' proceeds upon the notion that, in anti-slavery politics, like causes will not produce like results, yea, that mathematics will abandon its sturdy logic, and three and four added will make *nineteen.* The 'no system plan' of anti-slavery politics assumes, also, that for abolitionists *feeling* alike, *thinking* alike, and *hoping* alike, to conclude, therefore, to *act together*, and, with a view to success, to VOTE alike, and all in the same district, to go so far as to vote for the same man, or men, would be an evidence of the perfection of human folly—that point in the career of mind where it leaps down the gulf of insanity, with nothing but dark fanaticism to break the wretched fall! To be sure, for either of the great parties to act unitedly, firmly, and for the *same men*, as well as the *same objects*, is the perfection of human reason, as applied to them; but it is exactly the *reverse* when it comes to be applied to modern abolition, in the political field!

After two general elections in this large state, we now have not a single abolitionist in the legislature or Congress, upon whom we can rely, for the cause of the slave, in *all conditions.* We only wanted *seven* abolition whigs, in our legislature, to have elected Mr. G. Smith, or Birney, or Jay, or one or more other persons as a Senator of the United States, for six years, in the room of pro-slavery Tallmadge, who voted for the gag in Congress. But these seven were not to be found, although the entire Van Buren party offered to go for any of these abolitionists, to defeat Tallmadge. The whig abolitionists in Congress have voted for a slaveholding speaker. This is all natural and plain enough, and always will be so, till the laws of the human mind are changed. A member of Congress, or of the state legislature, will generally act with the party who *nominated* him. But does not Providence, by a most undoubted intimation, in the present posture of affairs, invite us, as abolitionists, to act together, and nominate a complete set of candidates, from President of the U. S. down to a member of our state legislatures? In the state of N. York, with 400,000 voters, the two great parties are not more than from 5,000 to 10,000 apart; in our eight senatorial districts of 50,000 voters each, the great parties differ in some of the districts 1000, some 500, some 100, some 10; and so our 40 members of Congress are generally elected by one or two hundred majority, and so of our members of Assembly. The same thing is in a measure true of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other States.

Now, let the abolitionists nominate a President and Vice President of the U. States; let them nominate Governors and Lieut. Governors; and place in the field, by a distinct nomination, our strongest abolitionists for our state senates, congress, and assembly, at least for three months before the election, and without any distinction as to the old parties they belonged to. By placing all of our candidates in the field 100 days before the election, we give these parties an opportunity to *choose from our* candidates, instead of the present system, by which we *must choose* from *theirs.* The parties hate each other more than they do us. But whether the great parties nominate any of our candidates or not, we abolitionists have nothing to do but present a united and unbroken front, and vote our own men, like *sensible* men. One of the great parties, in each district, will feel less confident than the other, and would be glad to nominate our *nominated* men. I should not be afraid to stake all I have in this world, that in New York, we should send into our state senate, assembly, and into Congress one-third of the senators, assemblymen, and members of Congress, next election, who would be unflinching and inexorable abolitionists. And if we did not elect one, it would infuse a new power into our ranks. But we should put instantly a new face on our affairs. Twenty abolitionists in this Congress could have elected an abolition Speaker, who would have appointed an abolition committee for the District of Columbia, who would, ere this, have reported a bill for the abolition of slavery in the nation's 10 miles square. The 'no system plan,' followed one election more, will consign us to that forgotten land from whose *bourne* no traveller, but *contempt*, ever returns.

I have not time to enlarge, only by saying, I am your assured friend,

ALVAN STEWART.

From the Charter Oak.

Abolition Political Organization.

A convention of 'the friends of the immediate abolition of slavery in our country,' '*from all parts of the Union*,' is notified to be holden at Albany on the 1st of April next, 'to discuss the question of an independent nomination of abolition candidates for the two highest offices in our national government, and, if thought expedient, to make such nomination for the friends of freedom to support at the next election.'

Who is it that thus summons abolitionists 'FROM ALL PARTS OF THE UNION' for an object with which the progress, if not the existence, of our present anti-slavery operations is so intimately connected? Whence comes it? Note well. It is from a convention, called a 'New York State Anti-Slavery Convention,' but held at Arcade, Genesee County, in which Genessee, Erie, Cattaraugus, Chatauque, Alleghany, Monroe, Livingston and Madison, are the only counties in New York which are said to have been represented. Myron Holley, late editor of the Rochester Freeman, the principal advocate of abolition political organization, which, after an existence of six months and three weeks, died for want of support, seems to have been the prime mover of the scheme. The project, we judge from a letter of Mr. Holley to the editor of the Emancipator, was submitted to the convention without any previous public notice.

Let us briefly review the circumstances under which this repeated attempt to fasten the stigma of a political party upon the abolitionists of 'all parts of the Union' is made. On the 28th of September, 1839, a county convention of abolitionists, consist-

ing of *fourteen* persons, held at Rochester, petitioned the 'National Anti-Slavery Convention,' meaning the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'notified to assemble at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 23d of October next, to nominate suitable persons as President and Vice President of the United States, to be supported at the next election for those offices.' This the American Society, after full discussion, in which Mr. Holley actively participated, decided to be inexpedient. Next in order was the convention at Warsaw, *Genesee County*, Nov. 13th. This was called 'in behalf of the Executive Committee of the N. Y. State A. S. Society,' by Mr. W. L. Chaplin, Corresponding Secretary and General Agent;' but in the Call not a word is said about political organization. 'Full delegations,' however, from the western counties, were '*earnestly* requested to be present on the occasion.' At this convention, James G. Birney was nominated for President of the United States, and Francis J. Lemoyne for Vice President. These gentlemen have both declined the nomination, giving, in their answers to the Committee of Correspondence, of which Myron Holley stands first, cogent reasons why this plan should not now be adopted.

But the malcontents of western New York are not satisfied. They claim that their plan is the only right one; that the plan hitherto recommended by the American Society of scattering our votes when no candidate worthy of them is in nomination by the political parties in the field, will not effect the desired object—the abolition of slavery. Where, they conclude? They have not faithfully tried the power of scattering votes. No; we affirm, THEY HAVE NOT FAITHFULLY TRIED IT. Witness their conduct in the last gubernatorial election in that State, when the Friends of Man and the Emancipation cause, previous to the election, earnestly entreating the abolitionists of New York not to cast a vote for either of the candidates for Governor, but to *scatter* them; and when the Executive Committee of the American Society recommended that 'the replies of Mr. Seward and Gov. Marcy show that the cause of human rights has nothing to expect from the election of either of them, and hence every vote which is given to either will be an injury to that cause.' Witness the conduct and language of the counties represented in the convention at Arcade, and then judge of their faithfulness at the polls to the cause of freedom. The county of Genessee gave *eight* scattering votes for the office of Governor; Erie, *twenty-six*; Cattaraugus, NONE; Chatauque, *three*; Alleghany, *six*; Monroe, *thirty*; Livingston, *three*; Madison, *eleven*. But this is not the only testimony. At the election in November last, the abolitionists of Monroe County, satisfied that an independent nomination was the only right course for them to pursue, followed it, and nominated MYRON HOLLEY as their candidate for the office of Sheriff. Mark the result. Of 9,119 votes cast for that office in that county, the abolition candidate received only *seventy*.

What have we to expect, what confidence can we place in those professed friends who thus sacrifice their principles to a party politic? What reason have we to hope that they would be more true to the cause of bleeding humanity if their object should be attained, and another nomination for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States should be made?

We speak these things in sorrow. It is a sad task to represent the recreancy of professed friends; but faithfulness to the slave, toil-worn and groaning under the 'rod of the oppressor,' to our fellow-freemen who are *nominally* free, demands it. Their cause we have espoused—for them we speak. We earnestly entreat all who have their welfare at heart to take timely warning, to be true to their principles, and to vote for no man who is not in favor of impartial justice.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Rev. Daniel Wise and Abolition in Watertown.

On Sunday evening, Dec. 22, 1839, the Rev. Daniel Wise delivered an excellent anti-slavery discourse in the Methodist Chapel in Watertown, from Heb. 13, 3. 'Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' He said that in judging the motives of others, he believed he had charity enough, or at least he hoped he had. (As to his charity, we may judge from what follows.) At the conclusion, he gave notice that he should lecture again in the same place on the next Tuesday evening, and afterward proceed to take some measures for organizing an abolition society, auxiliary to the Massachusetts Abolition Society. He further stated, that he did not wish for war with the anti-slavery society, but thought that he could do more for the benefit of the slave in his own way, and respectfully requested liberty so to do, expressing at the same time his willingness that others should enjoy the same privilege. He gave a general invitation to all to attend the lecture, but requested only those to remain after the lecture, who would be in favor of the new organization; thus vetoing all discussion on the subject, at the outset.

At the time and place appointed for the lecture, a number of persons assembled, some of whom were members of the anti-slavery society. There was a social conversation very manifestly turned upon the unhappy division in the anti-slavery ranks, in which conversation several persons took part. In the midst of the discussion, Mr. Wise entered the house, and probably hearing the subject of which he was passed, he shortly returned to the porch, and joined in the conversation.

In a short time, he commenced a violent attack upon the character of Mr. Garrison, declaring him to be a man of bad character and principles, and so destitute of business capacity, that he could not support himself without the help of his friends. One charge which he brought against Mr. Garrison was this, 'that he began his career in poverty, and destitute of any influence in society; and that his present popularity was owing entirely to his connection with the anti-slavery cause.'

He then offered to discuss the subject publicly, instead of giving a lecture, if the audience wished it. He then returned into the house, and commenced the meeting.

Instead of a lecture, he went on to state the reasons why abolitionists should adhere to withdraw from the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and form the Mass. Abolition Society. After stating the original ground taken by the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, and showing that sectarianism could not be introduced into the society, without destroying the bond of union by which the society was held together, he proceeded to charge some of the members with the crime of introducing the '*confounded woman question* into the society, which he considered a *horrible thing*, at which he and others took great offence.

He also complained that the Board of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society was composed mostly of Unitarians and non-resistants, and that, contrary to the other denominations, of which that society is composed, were not fairly represented in that Board.

He then mentioned a proposition that was made by one (Mr. Phelps) who was dissatisfied with the former Board. It was that the Board be so formed in future be composed of the different sects, in proportion to the number of those sects in the society; that is, if the Methodists are most numerous, they should be entitled to the greatest number of representatives in that Board, &c. thus making sectarian views, rather than anti-slavery pin iples, the qualification for a seat in that Board.

I will here state some of his words, as I took them down at the time. He stated, in the course of his remarks, that Mr. Johnson had been heard to say, that they should push the woman question until they got rid of them, and that Mr. Garrison had said, he was glad of it, and should use all his efforts to get rid of them. (Wise and others.) He said that 'we have unadvisedly let in the female element of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, and in the adoption of the Constitution, the word *persons* there, meant not both sexes.' He said that 'an awful destiny awaited those who first brought in this question to divide the ranks!' Their principle, he said, they was (he said) in no distinction in the sexes, civil or political.' He could not have non-resistance palmed on to him; he felt bound, before God, to reject it.' 'For his part, he was *glad that they split*—was sorry in the circumstances, but rejoiced in the *fact*!' He said that Mr. Phelps first discovered sectarianism in the first meetings in Boston, and that those meetings were designedly packed meetings! He recommended the Constitution of the Mass. Abolition Society, because under that Constitution, women have all the rights that they do in the old society; *only when they come to the point of business, then they would not act!*! (So he said.) 'Let the south act just as far as their masters will let them.)

He appealed to the prejudice, instead of the good sense of his audience, to know how 'you, fathers, should like to have one of your daughters haranguing a public assembly?' He recommended the Constitution of the Mass. Abolition Society as being the most liberal and democratic!!!

He said that 'wherever he went and lectured, large numbers came out in their favor from the old society; in some places nearly all.' He recollected in one town, "Woburn," that all but "one" individual came out and joined them.' He found 'large majorities in almost every town in favor of the new organization.'—Indications of the Times will go with us'—and out of the State, they speak out in our favor.' Out of fourteen papers devoted to the abolition of slavery, eight or nine had spoken out in their favor, and nearly all the *abolition sheet* (!!) had come on their side. He said that [☞ when Whitefield first heard that they had come out from the old society, he was *over-ceeded* with joy—so much so, that some of his friends had to calm him. ☞] ☞ T. D. Weld had come out on *their side* [☞ and even ☞ Miss Grimke [now Mrs. Weld]' was very sorry to hear that Mr. Garrison had taken the ground he had.'

I have now come to the end of my memorandum, which I took at the time; merely for my own satisfaction, that I might recollect the precise words Mr. Wise used on that occasion. He closed his lecture, (or what you may call it,) and invited those only who were in favor of forming an abolition society to remain, and those who did not wish to join, to leave. Accordingly, a *large majority* were seen *going out of his favor*. We have since learned that it was deemed inexpedient to form a society for the present. We have not heard of one individual who would come out in his favor.

Yours, in the cause of the slave,
WM. C. STONE.

WATERTOWN, Feb. 20, 1840.

New Organization in Kingston.

KINGSTON, Feb. 14, 1840.

MR. GARRISON:—Our peaceful village has lately been disturbed by the sovereign of discontent, Mr. Lyman Cummings, for the purpose of organizing a society, auxiliary to the State disorganization. For the information of your readers, I purpose to give a brief description of the course pursued in this place; although, without doubt, the same course will be taken in every town in the State, where there is not already a society of this description.

At the close of a lecture on the subject of slavery, Mr Cummings gave notice that, on the ensuing evening, he should give the reasons for the new state organization, and proceed to form an auxiliary society.

In compliance with his invitation, the friends of immediate emancipation generally were present, and listened with pity and contempt to a repetition of the reasons long since answered by the Abolition Society: the first of which was that of 'confounded woman question,' which, according to his own showing, was first brought into notice by the attempt to restrict the right of equal membership to *gentlemen* only—notwithstanding that the anti-slavery enterprise, in the opinion of all sensible and discerning people, was based on the universality of all God's intelligent creatures, without distinction of sex or complexion. And it is astonishing, that those who have so often been heard to express the opinion, that no moral enterprise could hope for success, without continuance under the aid of the Bible and better portion of the community, should for a moment sanction this pitiful attempt to abridge the sphere of their influence. It is, however, due to the Rev. gentleman to add, that, at the close of his lecture, he appeared to be candid enough to admit, that the introduction of the woman's rights question was not of itself sufficient cause for a secession from the old society.

The second reason given was the introduction of non-resistance into the columns of the Liberator!! In the course of his remarks on this subject, he stated that Mr. Garrison now held, that it was not the duty of abolitionists to carry their moral convictions to the polls; and that the non-resistance doctrine was opposed to all human governments, both civil and ecclesiastical; and made other statements of a similar character, which were, however, calculated to deceive and mislead the unlettered multitude. No word was said with regard to a third party, so indispensably necessary to enable the new organization to '*take a living position*.'

Near the close of his address, after having labored to prove that women were unworthy to stand upon the same level with his most worthy self, Mr. C. had the impertinence to invite the *ladies* to become members of his society. '*Ladies!*' indignantly asked one of the most true-hearted and efficient of their sex, (Mrs. Mott,) with a look and tone of most insinuating smile, '*we want the ladies*'!! Such an invitation, from such a source, was no doubt duly appreciated.

It was soon ascertained, that this meeting was not one for free discussion, and the attempt of gentlemen of the highest respectability to express their views on the subject, was suppressed in an indecent and ungentlemanly manner. Little blame, however, is to be attached to Mr. Cummings, for it was evident that any discussion was calculated to undermine and destroy his whole superstructure! But, notwithstanding this, he was asked, in substance, the following questions, viz.

Why should there be a new society formed in this place, while there is already an efficient one?

Ans.—Because there are individuals here, who cannot consistently be members of a society, auxiliary to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; the society having departed from its original ground, by the introduction of woman's rights and other extraneous topics.

Ques. Is not the American Society, to which both State societies are auxiliary, guilty of the same thing?

Ans. Yes.

The result of this meeting was the formation of an Abolition Society, consisting of some ten *thorough-going Garrison haters*. And thus ended this miserable attempt to betray the cause of the suffering and the dumb into the hands of the chief priests—those who love the highest seats in the synagogues, and to be called of men, *Rabbi*.

THOMAS BICKNELL.

☞ A communication from Sandwich, giving an account of the course pursued by Mr. Cummings in that town, will be given in another number.—Ed.

Letter from Rev. John W. Lewis.

☞ The following letter from our faithful colored brother J. W. Lewis, who is now lecturing very successfully in New-Hampshire, will be as grateful to the spirit of our brother Rogers of the Herald of Freedom, we doubt not, as it is to our own.—*Ed. Lib.*

CONCORD, N. H. Feb. 8, 1840.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

I presume it will not be uninteresting to you to know, occasionally, what is doing up here among the granite hills of New Hampshire. Although abler pens than mine could give you a better description, yet I cannot help scribbling a little. The battle goes on well. Our noble journal, the Herald, is still at mast-head; and our dear brother Rogers, with an indefatigable zeal for moral truth, which has marked his unflinching course in every stage of the contest, is still at the editorial table, sending all his energy, with Herculean strength, against pro-slavery at the North—while his eye is fixed on the panting slave, looking for freedom. I am happy in saying, we have no ground to charge recreancy to brother Rogers. The fault found by some is, that he speaks too plainly to suit those who, instead of obeying the command of God, to cry aloud and spare not, refuse even to whisper truth in the ear of oppression.

If slavery is a creature of law, it is public opinion that sustains the law; and it is brother Rogers' object, and it ought to be that of every man, to aim at the correction of that opinion, in favor of freedom. Surely all the guilt of slaveholding is not confined within the precincts of southern society; neither will it be, as long as professed ministers of Christ will admit slaveholding men at the communion table and into their pulpits—and so long as these oppressors are received into the domestic circles of the North.

It requires more moral courage to contend against principles, than it cost the sentiments and spirit of the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, than it did in the days of the revolution—even now,

'When tongues are mute, and deeds are wrought,
Which well might shame extremest hell.'

But, sir, you and your kindred spirit of the Herald, have no cause to be faithless, when, amid the din of artillery. God forbid that you should glory, save in the cross, that secures salvation for all men—or use any weapons but those which are spiritual and mighty through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and oppression. You will have no fading laurels to dress your temples but the approval of conscience—a fadeless crown of glory—the praise and enthusiasm of millions of freemen, raised from bondage. I can assure you that, notwithstanding a turbulent, schismatic spirit is beginning to manifest itself among the ranks of the abolitionists of this State, brother Rogers has friends who will stand by him at this important crisis—and his voice against oppression will echo from the granite hills, falling nearer to the heels of the oppressor; and if New Hampshire has been far in the rear in the past, at present the signs of the times indicate that she is coming up to the rescue. A mighty moral action is going on among us.—Our friends are gathering strength from Him—and for all success, to Him be the glory.

Yours for truth and liberty,
JOHN W. LEWIS.

Letter of Condemnation.

KINGSTON, FEB. 6, 1840.

BROTHER GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—We are satisfied that we have done enough in supporting the Liberator, and for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, if it continues to act as it has done the past year. We love peace, and hate war; and more especially among brethren. We do not feel willing to identify ourselves in any way, with those who do not wish to join, to leave, the sinful, and wicked, and hypocritical union. We feel bound to admire the boldness, firmness, and plainness which characterized its columns—the 'Clerical Appeal' to the contrary notwithstanding. We have taken the Liberator for a number of years, although it has not, until within one or two years, come in our name: and we lament that we have reason to discontinue to take it; or that we are obliged to withdraw our connection from the Mass. A. S. Society, as we must, unless we see the evils removed, which have given us so much pain. You profess to be a peace-maker, in the most emphatical sense of the word; and yet you have kept a quarrel going in your paper, for a long time, against those of your brethren in the Anti-Slavery cause, who (if we are organized new, or by themselves, for the sake of peace and harmony in their meetings. But what will professions amount to, if we do not act out what we profess? Can it be possible, that any body will believe you love peace, when it is obvious from your writings, that you mean to have war? You have professed to the world, that you are a non-resistance man, and that all wars and fightings are the works of the evil one; and yet you justify yourself in fighting your brethren. But you will say, perhaps, that using carnal weapons and physical force is that which you consider to be from the devil; and contrary to the spirit and principles of the gospel. We admit that we see no difference; for we know we have a right to rebuke him in the spirit of Christ, but not provoke him to wrath. And first of all, we must be sure to get the beam out of our own eye. We can see no unity existing between that fighting spirit which you have manifested towards your brethren, and that spirit spoken of in the gospel, 'which is mighty to the pulling down of strong holds.' One is carnal, and the other is spiritual. For illustration—supposing you should say, Brother Johnson, and tell him that he is a hypocrite, a conspirator against the cause of abolition: would it not be likely to provoke him, and cause him to resent it in some way or another, and thereby cause your brother to sin? Perhaps, some brethren, besides physical force, than injure our character and good influence in the world, by slander, misrepresentation and falsehood. But how will it provide the cause of the slave, to brand such men as Stanton, McClelland, Wright, and other anti-slavery men, as conspirators, plotters, hypocrites, &c. in the cause of abolition? If you do not believe that they are doing good, and working in the right way, there are thousands of other, good abolitionists, who do think so; who are, perhaps, as good judges as yourself—or, at least, claim the right to think so. Civil war is the worst of all wars; and yet you have declared a war of extermination against a part of your brethren, because they are agreed to organize and act by themselves. But what if you should gain your object—what if you should destroy the new organization—would there any good come out of it? Do you wish to see the new organization dissolved, and come back and join the old society, while they entertain their present views of action? Does it look probable there would be any more harmony in the meetings than heretofore? Or do you wish to destroy the new organization in the face of the world? Do you not think that the thousands who belong to the new organ, are doing some good? While I am writing, the news comes, that the American Society have laid a claim upon the new organ for the sum of 1,250 dollars, and that unless we give up the organ, it would seem by this, that they think that the new organ is as able to help as the old. Seeing, then, that both are engaged in a good object alike, and the two organs are not drawing together, let them stay and manage by themselves. Let us do as the Baptists and Orthodox do—unite where we cannotite. Let us cease to fight among ourselves. If the two companies cannot agree to march together in one road, and be commanded by the same chief, let them march on to the conquest in another road; lest if we continue to fight among ourselves, and spend all our ammunition and strength, we may fall before our enemies, and our object will not be accomplished.

Yours for the slave,
S. BRADFORD,
for D. & S. Bradford.

☞ As an offset to the above, we present the following

Letter of Approbation.

MERCER Co. Ohio, 6th of 2d mo. 1840.

DEAR BRO. GARRISON:

I love the Liberator too well to remain in arrearages for more than one year. I would gladly, if I were able, pay for ten in advance, rather than it should suffer for my want of punctuality. I love its free spirit—its independence—its steadfastness in the hour of trial—its unshaken faith in the power of truth, and its healthful, aggressive course. It carries the war into the enemy's camp. It speaks new truths powerfully—startling truths confidently. It brings forward things new and old, and discusses them fearlessly. Old truths, which have been for ages lifeless for years, buried in sectarian rubbish, it drags to light, stripped of their unnatural covering, and exhibits them in all their primitive, diamond splendor. It fills my idea of a free press. It engages my feelings without bias, and my judgment with inalienable rights, and uses them. It defends the weak from the aggressions of the strong. It sees the image of God stamped upon every human being, and acknowledges an equality of rights. It comes to the rescue of the slave, and pleads for liberty, in the spirit of the Declaration of American Independence. What can exceed in purity and elevation this simple sentence—'Our country is the world, our countrymen all mankind.'

I love the Liberator for its fearless denunciations of a pharisaical church, and its faithful warnings to a recreant priesthood. That in the midst of New-England, single-handed and alone, should dare attack the sleek, full-fed, powerful clergy, is more wonderful to me than the Israelitish slaves attacking their oppressors in independence and heroism. Infidels may denounce the church with impunity, and no one feels the sting, because their morals may, consistently with their principles, be far below those whom they condemn. But the course of the Liberator was different. It took the principles of Christ, and lifted them up as a light to the world, expecting the clergy to follow and encourage; and it was not till after they had shrunk back from the light—not till after they had chosen darkness—that it applied the 'whip of small cords.'

I know of no paper which instills into the minds of its readers so much liberality of sentiment, so much steadfastness of principle, so much zeal for the truth, as the Liberator. Of all the numerous readers of the Liberator with whom I am acquainted, I have never seen one sectarian bigot, or one who would equivocate or vacillate on any question involving principles of religion, or who was ever weary in well-doing. Their ideas of rights are enlarged and well-defined. While they claim for themselves the privilege of choosing their own religion, and their own mode of expressing it, they allow others the same.

As simple as this may seem, it is far in advance of the world at large. The right of having one's own religion, on his own book, unmolested, is a luxury little enjoyed in this country. The spirit of a man is little regard by the religionists of the present day. The anxiety is to have him join 'our church,' perform 'our ceremonies,' adopt 'our belief,' then all will be well. The great eagerness to secure the shell, while the kernel is lost.

The Liberator knows no such thing as this. It aims to bring the spirit in subjection to truth. To accomplish its object, it inculcates as well as enjoys perfect liberty—a free mind—unfettered thought—and freedom of speech.

Such is my idea of the Liberator, and much more which it might seem like flattery to write, I cannot fail to support it. If the pay does not come exactly at the time, I still wish it sent. For, sometimes I have no money, and sometimes when I have a little, it would be useless if sent to Boston; but still it will come when I get the right kind.

Thy friend and fellow laborer,
AUGUSTUS WATTLES.

DEAR BRO. GARRISON:

By the kindness of my dear husband, I will fill a little space in this sheet. My heart coincides with all that he has written, respecting the estimation in which he holds the Liberator. I value it highly for its advocacy of the rights of women. Women must know what their rights are, before they will realize the great responsibility which rests upon them, and perform the duties which they owe, as intellectual and moral beings, to the human family, and to God. I rejoice that there is one paper which dares advocate such an unpopular doctrine; and I rejoice yet more, that there are a few women in Massachusetts, who feel the responsibilities that rest upon them, and fearlessly and faithfully sustain the Liberator. They will certainly reap a rich reward, not only in the present life, but in that which is to come.

I feel deeply grieved at the unholy spirit which has manifested at the Women's Anti-Slavery meeting in Boston. It must have been exceedingly trying to those beloved sisters, who loved the right, and were determined to pursue it. Is it possible that women of intelligence and goodness can sanction the proceedings of a body of men, who would deny that woman is responsible to God, or, at least, would place themselves between women and God, and wish them to act on the principle, that they are accountable first to man, and then to God? It cannot be; they must be wanting in goodness, and in knowledge of human nature, if they do. May they see their error, and repent of it.

The enclosed dollar is to pay for the first volume of the Non-Resistant. You kindly sent us the first number, and the perusal of it has given us a feast. It is plain, it is pointed, it is pointed, it is pure, it is from the heart. I love its principles, and anxiously desire to be able to advocate and defend them.

May the God of Peace enable us to act upon and advocate this pure and sublime principle, that we may do all in our power to hasten the time when it will be embraced by all who love truth.

Yours in the cause of human elevation and peace,
SUSAN E. WATTLES.

Voice of Approval.

KINGSTON, Feb. 15th, 1840.

At a special meeting of the Kingston Anti-Slavery Society, on the 10th inst. when was fully attended, and which had been called in consequence of the formation of an abolition society in this place, the following resolutions, after full discussion, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That our confidence in the integrity of the Board of Managers of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society is undiminished, notwithstanding the accusations recently made against them, of having departed from their *original ground*.

Resolved, That while we regard with regret, the recent division among the friends of the slave in this place; our regrets are mingled with *indignation*, that so important a step should have been taken without the privilege of *full* and *free discussion*.

Resolved, That, as abolitionists, we regard with *suspicion* any attempt to suppress *free discussion*, as evidence of the inherent weakness of any cause, believing that there is no danger to be apprehended of the establishment of *error*, so long as *truth* is left free to combat it.

Resolved, That our confidence is unshaken in the unoompromising *integrity* of WILLIAM L. GARRISON, in the cause of human rights; and that he has not, in any important degree, departed from *first principles*; and that, so long as we believe this to be the case, we will cordially aid and cheer him onward as the pioneer of a great moral reform.

Resolved, That we have cause for congratulation on account of the late accessions to our Society, and that we will extend the right hand of anti-slavery fellowship to all *persons*, who believe in the sinfulness of slavery, without regard to the *complexion*, or *creed*—and leave it to the conscience of each individual to select *his* or *her* own '*appropriate sphere*,'—believing that any thing short of this tends to narrow the anti-slavery platform.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the editor of the Liberator for publication.

SETH DREW, *President.*
NATHAN BROOKS, *Sec'y.*

☞ The following letter was forwarded to the editor of the Abolitionist, a short time since, but he does not seem disposed to take any notice of it.

ATHOL, Feb. 10th, 1840.

DEAR SIR:

I incidentally learned, some time since, that my name had been published as one of the Vice Presidents of the Worcester North *Abolition* Society. The first knowledge, or even intimation I had of the matter, was a report that I had been chosen thus. Permit me to say, I am otherwise connected in respect of anti-slavery, and am well satisfied with that other connection; and therefore do not consider myself at all affected by said appointment of the Worcester North *Abolition* Society. My principles and views of justice look, indeed, in a different direction from those of the Society just named. I should have sent you this notice before, had it occurred to me worth the while to do so. Please procure the erasure of my name from said Society's rolls, and believe me, in respect of *Anti-Slavery*, as ever,

Yours truly,
RICHARD M. CHIPMAN.

N. B. Please insert this in your paper, and send me the number; as no copies of the 'Abolitionist' are sent hither.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.

Southern Piety—A Specimen.

A writer in the Olive Branch relates the following anecdote:

There lived in one of the Counties in Virginia, a gentleman who was very rich—had many slaves—was fond of slave-work—was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The travelling preachers frequently stopped at his house, and represented him as a very benevolent, humane, and pious man; indeed he was very religious himself, and was very occasionally exhort others to pursue after this invaluable blessing. But notwithstanding the great professions he himself made, and the high character he bore in the estimation of the preachers, he was known by many of his neighbors, to be a man that had confined his negroes well. Frequent intimations had been given by his field hands that they could not work without meat, and even supplications were made that they might have a little bacon—all, however, to no purpose. The poor creatures were worked hard, and their tasks exacted, although they were allowed no meat. At length, one of his fellows broke open the smoke-house and took some bacon. This was soon missed and quickly found, and the offender, by direction of his humane and pious master was tied up by the overseer to receive one hundred lashes. Before the work of flagellation was commenced, the master accosted him in pretty much the following manner: 'Sam, I am very sorry that you should be guilty of such a dreadful crime as this,—you have broken open my smoke-house and stolen my bacon.—It grieves me to the heart to flog you, but I must do it. It is such a crime to steal, that unless God has mercy upon you and forgives you, you never can enter the Kingdom of Heaven.' A pause ensued; at last the master said—'give it to him' overseer. Poor Sam receives the stripes almost without a groan, until with a view of prolonging his misery, or to afford an opportunity for another preacher, there is a temporary cessation. Sam now begins to beg, and ventures to expostulate. 'O master, pray don't whip me any more.' 'Why? I work hard for your pay.' 'Yes, poor master, I was not able to work without some meat. You know, master, other men give bacon, and they don't work harder than I do.' 'Hush, fellow, hush—give it to him overseer.' The overseer again laid on.—Sam bellows, and begs—'heavier, overseer,' cried the master, heavier—until the poor negro receives the complement of his sentence.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Reported for the Liberator.

Sketches of Debates at the Annual Meeting.

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY.

THURSDAY EVENING, Jan. 23.

The following resolutions respecting the church and ministry, were presented by Mr. Garrison in behalf of the business committee:

Resolved, That no man, who apologizes for slavery, or refuses to bear an open and faithful pulpit testimony against it, or who neglects to exert his moral and political influence in behalf of the rights of human freedom and of the rights of his enslaved fellow-men, can have the least claim to be regarded as a minister of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; and that, for abolitionists to recognize such men as ministers of Christ, or to aid in supporting them as such, is an inconsistent with their principles, as it is as much as to say that they should be willing to see in me be as displeasing to God, as it would be for them to support in that capacity a slaveholder, or an open defender of slavery.

Resolved, That no association of men can have any just claim to be considered a Church of Jesus Christ, which withholds its sympathy and aid from the oppressed, or which either refuses or neglects to bear its testimony against the awful sin of slavery; and that abolitionists are bound by the holy principles they profess, and by their regard for the rights of their enslaved and imbruted fellow-men, to withhold their support from such association, and to labor to bring the members of them to repentance for the sin of stopping their ears at the cry of the poor.

MR. J. C. JACKSON wished to inquire what was the object of a christian ministry? To preach the gospel of Christ. What was the object of the gospel? To make men better. The condition of man *better*; never to put a man in a worse condition than it found him. The man who takes upon himself this high and holy office, and yet would be silent respecting a source of human woe and guilt, is sinful, and is in no sense his master, the name he assumes. He knows his duty,—he knows what the gospel of Christ is for, to meet exactly this case; and yet he does not do it. It is true and it cannot be controverted, that from the class of men represent the cause of human reform. The temperance cause found it so. The anti-slavery cause has found it so in a still higher degree. They are without excuse in their opposition: they are a class of men trained in a knowledge of human nature, and in the observation of its workings; and they *must* know that its most deadly foe is slavery. The man of them on whose own heart this is not written, into the very contexture of the fibres of whose soul it is not interwoven, who does not know it by the intuitive knowledge, who does not know it from the testimony of the *gospel*, and is without excuse if he does not instantly apply the gospel to its remedy. He (Mr. J.) would not speak with undue severity, but he did consider the man claiming to be a minister of Christ, and yet shrinking from duty in this particular, far more guilty than any other man whose claims and whose position were less elevated. This magic of position enables a man to exercise a far more potent influence than he could otherwise do, and adds greatly to the guilt of his refusal.

Look at the clergy! where are they, as a body, on moral questions? in the van or in the rear? Do they lead the advance? No! No! Back are they in the wake of the people! Back are they, sheltered behind their ecclesiastical entrenchments, pleading their very office as a reason why they cannot go forward. The people are beseeching them to lead on the host, but in vain. They will at most only assume the command for the purpose of keeping the ranks into confusion. It becomes the abolitionists to watch with eagle eye all the relations of life, and see that they are not abused or misused to sustain slavery. When a minister is found recreant to his position as such, duty demands of us to conduct ourselves towards him accordingly. Nothing can save him but the truth, however bitter or unpalatable it may be. Oh, when will the ministry come forth in defence of Freedom, and like a statesman, lift before the world? Instead of shrinking, and pretending, and disgracing their Christian profession, let them mark the example of the lamented FOLLEN, nor longer dare to overlook or undervalue the cause of humanity.

MR. JOHNSON thought that the resolutions, as they respected the church, conveyed very solemn and important truth. A pro-slavery church ought to be abandoned by abolitionists as those who would flee out of Babylon. He would, however, wish these resolutions to be more mercifully dealt with the most solemn and careful deliberation. To adopt it will necessarily place many in an embarrassing condition, who are now members of pro-slavery churches. Some may ask, what is an abolitionist, and what is a church? Many, the majority of whose members are anti-slavery. A church which is actively engaged, *in its church capacity*, in the cause of the slave. No church suffering a pro-slavery minister can be so designated. The church which remains inactive or neutral, has the slightest claim to be considered as a minister of Christ.

MR. DAMON wished to say one word before these resolutions were put. He thought they presented a base motive to ministers. He would not have a minister of Christ, or any man, come into the ranks, did not clearly see himself called to go. If he found a man opposed to the cause, he would continually labor with him, presenting as much truth as he found him able to bear. He may be very much opposed indeed, but let him (Mr. D.) go to work with that man and persevere with him, and he doubted not it would finally break him down. He would not advise to quit a church where 99 members out of a hundred were pro-slavery. He would be giving up his influence upon them, and his means of operating upon their minds. Again, the Professors at Newton Seminary, were abolitionists. They did not deem it the most effectual way of converting them to abolition, to drop their fellowship. He thought these resolutions too rank and too crank for the present condition of affairs. He would never cease to carry on the discussion of this subject with his brethren. There would be a tussle kept up point after point would be gained and lost, and victory after victory, if we went on carefully as circumstances directed, dealing out to men as much truth as they could bear at the time. He was a member of the new organization, but wished all might be induced to a judicious course in carrying forward the cause.

MR. JOHNSON was remarkably struck by the gentleman's observations. They had revealed the grand difference between the old and new organization; the latter could fellowship slavery, and the other not. But where, he asked that gentleman, was his consistency? He could retain his *church* fellowship with ninety-nine pro-slavery brethren—how was it that he had been unable to remain in fellowship with the Mass. Abolitionists, ninety-nine? He could, it appeared, fellowship pro-slavery, but not anti-slavery. He (Mr. J.) could tell the gentleman why he and the professors at Newton could not embrace this resolution. It was because they feared *heresy* for sect, where they feared not for the slave; and so they went with their pro-slavery brethren.

MR. MORSE, of Holliston, said he had recently attended the Middlesex Co. quarterly meeting, at which a similar resolution came up there, though he did not oppose, he had not felt free to vote for it. In fact, he had no choice, that he could perceive. He felt himself obliged to support divine worship. Would it be acting aright to refuse to do so? He thought not. Besides, a man does not like to give up his influence with his religious society—he wants to be a man amongst men. He may perhaps effect more by remaining than he would by leaving, though the idea of submitting to a wrong is one for the sake of influence, to be sure, to be advocated. Men in the country are differently situated from men in the cities. If one minister or church did not suit the Boston friends, they could go to another; they had a choice. But there must necessarily be cases among the country friends, where, by adopting this resolution, they would deprive their children and families of religious instruction and the privilege of public worship. These considerations had had weight with him in continuing to sustain a minister, who was not an abolitionist, though he must confess his feelings revolted against it.

MR. FRENCH, of N. Bedford, heartily agreed with the spirit of these resolutions. He was too bound to recognise men of the character there described, as ministers of the gospel! He could not. He did not so recognize them. They had forfeited the character, and they ought not to be allowed the name. He, for one, was ready to go out. They were afraid to follow truth. Their conduct with respect to many reforms showed it, as well as their opposition to the cause of the slave. The temperance cause calls aloud upon such a man to support it. He is afraid to do it. He can't plant his foot upon the total abstinence principle, he can't embrace the cold water doctrine and follow it out. The clergy generally can't do it. Some on account of wine communion—*some because they need the stimulus or restorative to help them to prepare for sermons, etc*—and too many because they love the popular place. In carrying on the anti-slavery cause, it comes as a matter of course, to pass such resolutions as this, and I think we shall be true to the Truth? We think we have learned, and we are not bound to promulgate it. But, here should be brotherly love. We will not allow no prejudice. They want us to be silent, and we consent to be silence—to peacefully pay over their consciences, and let them pursue their pro-slavery course. We cannot do it.

J. C. JACKSON, of N. H., thought that plan of reform dangerous, which had been recommended during the course of the discussion. This course, out for 'victories' and 'points,' and dealing with men 'according to circumstances,' and giving them as much truth as they thought they could bear. He (Mr. Damon) rose to explain. He had said, at one time, truth as he thought they could bear. He did not leave it to them to say what they could bear. He always meant to use his own best judgment. He did not wish to be represented as dealing dishonestly. Mr. Jackson submitted to the correction; but thought the philosophy of that mode was dangerous as it leave it to them. It must be left to no man's judgment when to cease to speak the truth. It must be proclaimed, whether one thought men could bear it or not. The less they seemed able to bear it, the greater was their need of it. It had been said, whether a man should *disfranchise* himself in his abolitionism or not. He thought we could not consistently be found in the church, and acting for the church and acting for the promotion of its credit and influence. Nor should we for a moment consent to hear any man, clothed with the name and authority of Truth, speak falsehood. He, for one, should, for the reason that he is so clothed, have no strife of the disguise. The philosophy of reform requires it. A low slave-driver—a vulgar drunken man—is disgust us. But when a man high in station and influence apologizes for slaveholding, under some circumstances, or defends the occasional whipping-day-sling, how much greater is the danger that he may mislead those who hear him! Such men must be condemned, and condemned in pro-slavery men. They are so by the scripture rule. Let us pray because they are not anti. The idea ought to be kept up that there can be any half way in the adoption of truth. We must love her with our whole heart. We must, purify our temples according to her dictates, nor leave a tame of leprosy in the walls. Suppose we ask a few questions, such as ought properly asked, and no doubt are asked in hearing the pro-slavery clergy. Such a clergyman might say to me, if he thought proper, 'Do you mean to join yon an abolitionist?' 'Yes.' 'You mean to be consistent?' 'Yes.' 'You will not sustain a pro-slavery candidate for civil offices?' 'No' 'Then how can you support me? how can you pay me? You call a man who votes to sustain slavery in the State, a recreant to the cause. How can you do yourself a good abolitionist, while you sustain it in the church?' No, my friends, we have nothing to do with consequences. We have only to come out and be separate, as the bible teaches. But let us not know that the consequences of separating ourselves from evil *must* be good? Who would come into association with drunkards in order that he might reform them? Who would do it? It must be that in such cases, whoever remains in association with the sinners, so far from influencing them, does in reality put himself under their influence. Let him hold himself aloof, and he is then in a position to attack and overcome the evil that is in the world.

MR. DAMON could not, though so many reasons were adduced, feel prepared to adopt such a resolution as this. It was one thing to reason and urge; but it was another to act. We must act according to circumstances. The gentleman himself sees the necessity of adaptation. Suppose we wished to settle a pastor. If we flamed out with heir Liberator doctrine, it would do no good. It would neither convert the abolitionists nor the slaveholders. We must be constant use of appropriate means, to bring it right. He thought it was too much for us to attempt to break up and divide the church. Were he to only abolitionist in a church of slaveholders, he would remain. In the course of his theological pursuits, he had reviewed all these arguments and decided against them.

MR. BRADBURN thought he had observed great inconsistency in the course of the gentleman who spoke. He would be glad, for one, to know why the gentleman would be more merciful to clergymen than to politicians. He (Mr. B.) thought the only way was to have one moral standard for both. He had no idea of requiring less goodness of a clergyman than of another man. If men begin to say there was no hypocrisy where they might exist. Probably where an acquaintance of his did, was praising his minister's course. 'He is,' said he, 'one of the best men in the world. He has nothing to say about politics or religion.' He (Mr. B.) knew was in fact the agent of their society—another was a non-resistant! They did me too much honor, sir, in supposing me a

unity of the church of which he is a member with Christ, why go through the solemn mockery of asking them to aid in offering their vain oblations? Let him go to the Great High Priest; and he can worship in spirit and in truth, though no one city or assembly shall be the weekly witness of his prayer. Does he need a visible place of worship? Let him make for himself a temple. There let him gather in his own house and family, and let them learn the word and holy gospel from his lips. Surely there is no need that a christian should frequent a synagogue of Satan.

Beloved friends, it is a blessed and a glorious thing to be free in Christ Jesus. Let us follow Christ crucified; and we shall become dead unto the world. We shall be relieved from all internal struggle on such a question as this. We shall be ready to cut off what our souls refuse to acknowledge as of Christ. We shall be ready to cut off the right hand, and pluck out the right eye; we shall gain new and better views of what Christianity requires. We shall be free from the fear of man, from not having honored the extent of her requisitions. We shall be ready to follow her through fire and through flood.

It were well, in settling these questions, to refer to our own souls, and listen to their promptings. My brother says that his feelings revolted, when he decided from a sense of duty, as he thought, to sustain his ministry of Christ, one who is arrayed in opposition to the cause of humanity. I think he would not have had these feelings at all, had it been right to do so. I think those feelings were the voice of God within him. Remember those in bonds as bound with them. If we were in bonds, and beheld our professing brethren striking hands with our oppressors, and sustaining them by their influence and pecuniary substance, as the ambassadors of Christ, the ministers of his gospel, then I ask, could we for one moment recognize those men as our *true* brethren? Never. Let us not be afraid that a true christian course, like the one we now advocate in these resolutions, can injure the church of Christ. What church is that from which we should be afraid? Are we afraid for its purity in iniquities? No church of Christ. And God grant that every church *may* fall, whose influence is hostile to his service of Perfect Freedom.

Mr. C. M. Burleigh wished to have the subject examined in one more light, in which he had not yet presented. Suppose the teacher of his children to be a good clever man—clever in the New-England sense of the word, which meant not over wise, but well intentioned; will it be enough for yankees that such a man teaches their children as well as he knows? Such a man might teach the children that 2 and 2 made 5, or that Massachusetts was bounded north by Cape Horn, and when the question mentioned him about it, might reply that he really thought it was so—he was honest in it. Let him be as honest as he would, the community would cease to employ such a man. Much more one who teaches the gospel incorrectly to the spiritual children of the community. Suppose such a teacher should uncertain *honestly* to teach them that they might steal apples of their neighbors. Most persons might honestly think he ought to be sent to jail. Shall he be called a good man and good minister, who gradually and honestly is of opinion that he ought to teach neutrality or compromise, if not defence and apology as to a crime like slaveholding? He should be esteemed a gospel minister and teacher, at the time, when more might be thought of him.

The discussion was continued further by Mr. Redburn and Rev. Henry Colman, and the resolutions unanimously adopted.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 28, 1840.

To Advertisers. Heretofore it has not been our wish to obtain advertising patronage to any considerable extent, believing that our subscribers would be better satisfied to have the paper filled almost exclusively with reading matter. By the advice of many of our friends, however, we are now induced to open our columns, to a moderate extent, to such persons as may choose to use them as an advertising medium. As our paper has a wide circulation among people of all political parties and nearly every religious denomination, and as our subscribers are confessedly among the most enterprising and energetic portion of community, we can confidently assure advertisers, whether friends or opposers of abolitionism, that they will find it for their interest to avail themselves of the opportunity now presented of enlarging the number of their customers. Book-sellers of all classes, whether literary, scientific or religious, will find the Liberator a medium of advertising quite as advantageous as any of the religious papers of the day. Especially will they find it for their interest to advertise in our columns all works which relate in any manner to the reforms of the day, whether physical or moral; since no class of people feel so lively an interest in all these subjects as the readers of anti-slavery papers. Mechanics, also, of all classes, who do business in the city, and merchants engaged in business out of the city, will find it for their interest to advertise in the Liberator. We invite them to do so. Our terms, it will be seen by reference to the first page, are very reasonable. We confidently look for patronage, from our friends at least, if not from our opponents. tf.

To the Abolitionists of the United States.

Dear Brethren:

The sacred enterprise in which we are enlisted has been called to encounter many imminent perils, and to pass through various fiery ordeals. No outward opposition, however, has been able to arrest its progress, or to intimidate or divide its friends. The enterprise, on the contrary, has served only to quicken its growth, awaken sympathy in its favor, and multiply the number of its adherents. The reformation which has been effected in public sentiment, on the subject of slavery, within the last six years, is truly astonishing. Until within a short period, the union of abolitionists has been perfect, their love and respect for each other mutual, their spirit catholic, their mode of action uniform, their understanding of the philosophy of anti-slavery reform clear and harmonious. Warging no war against any religious sect or political party, as such, but appealing to them all, in the sacred name of Religion and Justice, to assist in emancipating our country, we have found relying solely upon moral suasion for success in our great underta king,—we have made proselytes among all sects and parties, with a rapidity almost unexampled in the history of national regeneration, and have thickly planted our associations in every free State. But we are now in the midst of a crisis, perhaps more threatening in its aspect, and more trying to the spirit, than any which has been surmounted in our struggle with the powers of darkness. We are no longer an unbroken phalanx—our foes are they of our own household—our ranks are, to some extent at least, schismatically affected—there is, we fear, less faith in God, and more reliance upon human wisdom, than formerly—a growing disposition to underrate the power of truth—an active determination, on the part of some, to manufacture and impose new tests of anti-slavery character, which shall divide as asunder—and, in certain quarters, a sectarian exclusiveness of purpose, in respect to the management of our cause.

The basis of our union as a society is, and in the nature of things only can be, an agreement in the heinousness of the sin of slaveholding, and in the duty of immediate emancipation. Upon this basis, it has been found practicable to bring together into unbroken fellowship almost every conceivable variety of opinion on other subjects. Upon this basis alone, is there any hope that slavery will ever be peaceably abolished, and our country saved from the horrors of a civil and servile war. Upon it, every man is left free to cherish his own peculiar views of Church and State—to belong to whatever sect or party he may choose to select; pledging himself only to this one thing—that, for the sake of his object or party, he will not sacrifice the cause of bleeding humanity—and that he will stand by his anti-slavery principles in good faith, and at all hazards, to whatever station he may occupy, or among those to whom he may be disposed to associate.

Already, not less than three movements have been made, calculated if not designed to abridge this common platform, and to substitute in its place one conceived and fashioned by the spirit of exclusiveness.

The first attempt was to exclude from an equal participation in the prosecution of our enterprise, one half of the warmest, most self-sacrificing, most successful friends of the slave, on account of their sex—to make certain sectarian views, respecting the equality of woman, the views of our whole body, instead of leaving every individual to enjoy his or her own ideas of duty and propriety in this matter, being responsible only to God.

This conduct has justly been frowned upon by the great body of abolitionists.

The next movement that was calculated to divide our ranks was a violent attack upon those abolitionists, whose religious scruples do not allow them to participate directly in the politics of the country, by using the elective franchise. It was declared that a belief in the religious duty of every man to vote at the polls (if he has the right legally,) and in the divine authority of government, is indispensable to sound membership in our society... Such a test, it is obvious, is contrary to the genius and scope of abolitionism; and would exclude from our platform some of the earliest and most efficient friends of our cause, who have been eminently instrumental in arousing this nation to a sense of its guilt and danger in perpetuating slavery. A new organization in this State, having such a test, has been formed during the last year; and is now endeavoring to destroy the Massachusetts A. S. Society by refusing to enforce this dogma upon its members!

The third and latest movement that has been made, to the serious interruption of our harmony as a body, comes in the form of a proposition to organize a distinct political party, in open hostility to the whig and democratic parties, *as such*. This proposition has been very fully and ably discussed in the anti-slavery periodicals during the past year; and overwhelmingly rejected by abolitionists throughout the country, as inexpedient, improper, and dangerous to the integrity and peace of our organization. The State Anti-Slavery Societies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, have unanimously voted it down; and a multitude of other societies, in various sections of the country, have coincided in this decision. No one has given it an approval, to our knowledge. The national anti-slavery convention, which assembled at Albany in August last, with special reference to the subject of political action, declined taking any definite position, in regard to a third party.

Notwithstanding these strong and gratifying expressions of sentiment, the Emancipator (the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society) continues to advocate the formation of such a party! This conduct, in our opinion, is exceedingly unwise, and reprehensible. Nor can we but deeply regret the decision pronounced by the Executive Committee of the Parent Society; inasmuch as they necessarily, by their silence, seem to countenance all that is advanced in the Emancipator on this subject; and inasmuch as the Society which they represent stands publicly pledged to 'open no road to political preferment,' and has constantly deprecated the formation of a distinct political party by abolitionists.

In the Fourth Annual Report of the Parent Society, it is declared that 'the great end at which we aim is, to subvert the relation of master and slave—*not by machinery, political or ecclesiastical*, but by establishing in the hearts of men a deep and wide-spreading conviction of the brotherhood of the human race,' &c. And it is added in the same Report, that 'the best safeguard' against the entrance of political adventurers into our ranks, 'is for abolitionists, while they firmly refuse to vote for a man who will not support abolition measures, *to avoid setting up candidates of their own*.'

At the fifth annual meeting of the Society, a large committee was appointed 'to prepare a declaration, which shall announce the judgment of the American Anti-Slavery Society concerning the common error, that our enterprise is of a *political* and not *religious* character.'

In the third Report of the Society, the following language is held:

'This Society has *no rewards to bestow*, but those of a good conscience. We have opened, *and shall open*, no road to political preferment. The moment the cause shall have become popular, it will have accomplished its object; and if any have hoped to ascend by it to earthly glory, they will find themselves on the ground. The strength of our cause must be in the humble, fervent prayer of the religious man, which shall ascend to God, and the blessing of that God, who hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty.'

Judge Jay, in a letter addressed to the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society in 1836, says:

'The exhibition of truth in christian faithfulness, appears to me the great instrument by which we are to operate. Should a *political* Anti-Slavery party be substituted for *religious* Anti-Slavery, the consequences would probably be disastrous to the cause of human rights, and to the welfare of our common country. So long as abolitionists seek only the removal of slavery in the *States* through the voluntary action of the masters, there will, in my opinion, be no danger of a dissolution of the Union; but should they become a *political* party, striving for office and power, they would be joined by a corrupt and selfish nerd, and losing their moral feeling and moral influence, might prove dangerous to the peace and stability of our Republic.

As abolitionists, like others, differ about men and measures, they cannot honestly unite as a body on topics unconnected with emancipation, and it is scarcely to be hoped that the cause of abolition will remain uncontaminated by state politics. It is, however, a most interesting inquiry, whether an abolitionist conscientiously vote for a candidate for Congress who is known to be in favor of perpetuating the abominations of the District of Columbia. At the same time, the expediency of nominating 'abolition candidates,' as such, is certainly doubtful.'

In the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine for January, 1837, the following view is entertained of the distinguishing characteristic of the anti-slavery enterprise:

'The abolition of slavery has a legitimate claim to be regarded as a great religious enterprise. . . . *It seeks not political rights and authority*. Its moral and political part scheme—it has no sympathy with such motives—it disdains such measures, and partakes not at all of that spirit. It seeks to accomplish *a great reform* in a sphere *governed by religious and moral motives*. The friends of the cause of abolition ought to prosecute it as *a religious* enterprise. . . Possibly it may seem to been, for the moment, forgotten that this cause is the cause of God—is really a great religious enterprise, and ought to be prosecuted as such, and *as nothing else*. . . It is a controversy against sin, and nothing else; to be carried by the power of truth and holiness. Then let us clothe us with this power, and hold it forth before the world as it is. . . Political economy is too weak to contend against the giant passions which sustain slavery. So is the principle of fear. . . Make this a great religious enterprise—make it such in spirit, in argument, in appeal—make it such in all our measures and operations, and we cannot fail of success.'

In an Address to the People of the United States, issued by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in 1834, it is said:

'The Anti-Slavery Society, which is now growing so rapidly in every part of our country, although its seeds were sown among the weeds and thorns of popular prejudice, is not the new sect or party, *seeking freedom to mingle in the strife of politics*, or the controversies of religion. It is intended to engage the friends of justice in every party; and it is actually composed of persons of almost all the different religious and political denominations in our country.'

The following resolution was adopted at the New England A. S. Convention in 1837, on motion of William Goodell:

'Resolved, That while abolitionists are called upon carefully to avoid a course which might identify them with either of the political parties of the country—*and while their policy* EQUALLY *requires them to abstain from organizing a political party of their own*—they are nevertheless bound by their principles to withhold their votes from those who disregard the freedom of speech and of the press, or who decline to act in favor of human rights, *or be as the Constitution will permit*, in the State and National Legislatures, to which they are severally belong.'

In May last, the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society issued an address to the abolitionists of the United States, in which they declared—

'Abolitionists are associated for a single object; a change in the civil condition of the population of the colored people. We believe this can be brought about, *without destroying existing organizations in the State or in the Church*. There is no necessity, that political creed,—no religious creed of any sect,—who may not consistently give us his aid.'

But it is not our object, in this address, to prove (as we might) by a strong array of evidence, that the abolitionists of this country have, from an early period in their course, regarded the formation of an anti-slavery political party as at war with *sound* policy, and incompatible with the unity of the anti-slavery organization. It is very apparent, that any attempt to force such a measure upon them must necessarily produce collision and discord, if not disorganization.

Our special object now is, to call upon the various anti-slavery societies and periodicals in the country, to give no countenance to a 'National Anti-Slavery Convention for Independent Nominations,' which has just been called by a meeting of abolitionists in Genesee county, N. Y. to be held at Albany on the first of April next. The call is presumptuous, comes with no authority, and should receive general condemnation. It is evident that there is, in the western part of New York, a small but talented body of restless, ambitious men, who are determined to get up a third party, come what may—in the hope, doubtless, of being lifted by it into office. Though the voice of the abolitionists of the country has been raised, clearly and emphatically, against such a movement,—and though it is certain that, without the sanction and cooperation of the great body of American abolitionists, a third party would be utterly powerless, and even with their approval would at present be practically inefficient,—yet they give no heed to these things, but are for precipitate and distinct political action!

We feel no small amount of surprise and regret in view of their conduct. Whether it be an error of judgment, or a desire for preferment, on their part, the injury inflicted on our righteous cause is the same. They should be promptly rebuked before all the people. We do not doubt, we readily concede, that there are disinterested, true-hearted abolitionists in New-York, and in other States, who are disposed to favor this new political project; and we would not cast any imputation upon their motives, whatever may be our opinion of the clearness of their vision, and the soundness of their judgment. Still, we are constrained to believe that it is an ambitious, selfish spirit which has given birth and shape to the movement; and we speak of it accordingly.

For the honor and purity of our enterprise, we trust that the abolitionists of the several States will refuse to give any countenance to the proposed convention at Albany. Let their verdict be recorded against it as unauthorized, unnecessary, premature. Let the meeting be insignificant and local, and thus rendered harmless. Whenever the exigencies of the times shall demand another national anti-slavery convention, let the call be made through an official medium: let the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, after having clearly ascertained the views of the managers of the several State societies in relation to it, send forth an invitation. Let us not sanction a precedent, which shall encourage, nay authorize a few, irresponsible individuals at any time to appoint a national gathering of abolitionists, as it may suit their caprice or ambition, in order to promote some selfish or local purposes. The annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in New York city early in May; and at that meeting (which will be the most important in its bearings upon the purity and success of our cause of any that has preceded it,) let there be an overwhelming attendance of the tried and faithful friends of immediate emancipation, to deliberate and act not only upon the political, but upon every other aspect of our holy enterprise.

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Pres.*

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, *Cor. Sec*

The World's Convention.

Mr. Editor:

Can you inform one of your readers, for about what sum an abolitionist can go from Boston to the 'World's meeting,' and back, provided he takes a cheap passage, and is economical? As there are many anxious to go, who cannot, on account of the expense of the voyage, would it be an infeasible plan to attempt the chartering of a ship out of Boston or New-York, for the voyage?—thus cheapening to each *abolitionist*, or, if you please, *delegate* from State Societies, the price of fare.

As the united delegation of the parent and state societies—to say nothing of the city and other local societies—will probably amount to between thirty and forty, would there be any lack of promptness in taking up the stock of such an enterprize? Would not such a vessel, called the Emancipator, Liberator, or some other appropriate name, thus freighted with 'agitators,' and the virtue that is of freedom is the most, make a rare nest for the hatching of incendiarism during a voyage of some days? Would not such an enterprize give importance to the Convention in the eyes of the slaveocracy, and their apologists in this country, and smite with despair the hearts of those who have unceasingly crooked, that, if possible, they might believe that 'abolition is dying away.'

Yours for human rights.

☞ The price of a passage to England, in the regular packets from New-York, is, we believe, $100, exclusive of liquors, for which abolitionists have no appetite. The steam-packets charge as high as $140. In a common ship, a trip would not cost more than $60. Whether the proposition of our correspondent would be feasible, and, if so, whether it would be the most economical, we cannot tell. We shall be glad to receive any information in regard to his queries, from those who possess the requisite knowledge. It would, certainly, be delightful, if such a project could be carried into effect. But there are likely to be some difficulties attending it;—as, for instance, circumstances might be such as to prevent the entire delegation from leaving this country at the same time, and by the same conveyance. Then, as the next annual meeting of the American A. S. Society is to be one of transcendant importance, from which none who will probably be selected to go to England would wish or ought to be absent, it will be necessary to take as fleet a packet as may be ready to sail immediately at the close of that meeting. The Convention in London is to commence, we believe, on the 10th of June. Persons attending the annual meeting at New-York, would not be able to leave earlier than in the regular packet of the 15th or 16th of May, unless one of the steam-vessels shall happen to sail a day or two sooner. The strange time of the regular packets, from New-York to Liverpool or London, is from twenty to twenty-five days. From the 16th of May to the 10th of June, there would be just twenty-five days, making no allowance for unexpected detentions or accidents. A steam-ship, leaving New-York as late as May 24th, would doubtless arrive in season. How long the Convention will continue is problematical: it may remain in session two, three, or four weeks—certainly not less than a fortnight, and perhaps (though not probably) more than a month. Its proceedings must be marked by deliberation, research, discussion, commencurate with the grand object it has in view—namely, the speedy and total abolition of slavery throughout the world. In the midst of so much available talent and expansive philanthropy as will doubtless be assembled on that novel and august occasion, time will pass with lightning rapidity. A subject so extensive in its ramifications, so important in its consequences, cannot readily be exhausted, even by a host of the mightiest minds that the world could furnish.

Again. Some of the delegates may choose to go via Liverpool—others, directly to London. This would interfere with the plan of our correspondent. So, in returning, some may be disposed to take their departure at an earlier, some at a later period. If a ship should be chartered expressly for the accommodation of the delegates, it would be uncertain how long she would have to be detained in London; hence, the expense of the voyage to and from England, could not be very accurately determined beforehand.

We throw out these suggestions, not for the purpose of discouraging the excellent project of our friend, but simply to elicit further remarks from those who are interested in the subject. We estimate the whole expense of a delegate who shall go in a regular packet-ship, at from $400 to $500.

Deception Unmasked.

The anti-slavery schismatics in this Commonwealth well know, from the beginning that they could not hope to succeed in their mischievous project, unless they could secure the confidence of the colored population. In order to effect this desirable end, an intelligence office was opened in this city, for the ostensible purpose of obtaining employment for colored persons in want of places; and the Rev. J. C. Beman, pastor of a colored church in Boston, was appointed to the agency. Though we saw through the *ruse* at the outset, and felt surprised and grieved to learn that one so intelligent as Mr. Beman should be duped by it, yet we concluded, for his sake, to say nothing about it in our columns, unless some peculiar circumstances should arise to demand an expression of our views. At the late annual meeting of the State A. S. Society, however, in consequence of some remarks by a colored brother from New Bedford, we felt constrained to declare our belief as to the motives which had actuated both the new organization and Mr. Beman in opening an intelligence office in this city. We spoke in plain terms, for the place and occasion called for plain dealing. These prefatory remarks will enable the reader to understand the following *ad captandem* article, which appeared as editorial in the Abolitionist of the 6th instant:

Carnal Weapons—Attack on Rev. Jehiel C. Beman.

As we have often said before, it is not the object of our organization, as a new one, to put down the *old*, or any individuals in it. (1) It is our object to present our hearts and common cause to the public, disentangled from all party and sectarian schemes. (2) In pursuing this object, it is of course incumbent on us to show that the old society is so entangled as to forbid our operating in it and through it. (3) The manifestation of such demonstration are from time to time furnished in considerably greater abundance than we can use. So strong a light is shed on the question by the recent public attack upon our brother Beman, that we cannot forbear to lay the case before our readers. If individuals are in any degree 'put down' by it, they must remember, their position is one of their own seeking.

It is well known that Rev. Jehiel C. Beman, formerly an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and now pastor of a colored church in this city, has for some months been partially, but industriously and successfully engaged as an agent of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, in efforts to break down the wall of caste by introducing colored persons to good tradings and employments, and providing *safe retreats* for such as are in special danger of being taken back into slavery, &c. As the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has not employed in its service any agent of the anti-slavery enterprise, at its recent anniversary it occurred to Mr. Johnson, a colored gentleman from New Bedford, to inquire why that society was only *talking* about the elevation of the colored people, while the Abolition Society was *doing* the work, or something to that effect. (4) Mr. Garrison saw the necessity of a reply, and, as the best he could make, asserted that Mr. Beman was, after offering his services to the old society, had *sold himself* to the new; that the managers of the old society did not employ him because they well understood that he was *in the market*—a treacherous man—*recreant* to the cause of the colored people, &c. How well the inquirer may have been satisfied with this reply, we do not know. Mr. Beman has felt it due to himself to request the Executive Committee and proofs of his allegation, and we were present at an interview between the latter and his friends, and several of the friends of Mr. Beman, for the purpose of examining testimony in the case. This testimony we are sure, did not prove that Mr. Beman had ever offered to serve the old society, (5) much less that he had ever *held principles* in common with that society, which were compromised by his engagement with ours. According to this testimony, not a particle of it bearing to the contrary, he has no more '*sold himself*' than would any intelligent colored man who should engage for a reasonable compensation to assist in promoting the objects of our constitution. Yet Mr. Garrison left the examination, apparently resolved to continue to pour upon our magnanimous and self-denying colored brother, (who has really thus far labored hard for what would scarcely pay for his shoes!) (6) the charge of treachery, *recreancy, corruption*, like a torrent of hot pitch! To proceed in this statement, goes against the grain of our darling respect for human nature,—but the truth shall be told. We understand Mr. Garrison and his friends distinctly to charge, that the work in which Mr. Beman is engaged, separate and distinct from its connection with our society, is *good*. (7) Its criminality lies in this, that its *goodness* compromises the new organization, (which, though he was known to disagree with Mr. Garrison's late views of non-resistance and political action, and to stand essentially on common ground with the new society, out of respect to his long tried and colored brethren in Boston, did not commit himself to our society, nor was any *test* required of him. The Committee in employing him, wished, without cavil, by contribution among our colored friends, to lend them a hand to lift off their burdens. In the true and liberal spirit of anti-slavery, they did not care a pin what theory might be *believed*, provided the good work marked out for him. But the leader of the old society cannot bear that he should do that *good work*, because it tends to recommend the new society to the colored people—and he would not employ Mr. Beman—not he—because Mr. Beman is willing to be employed by the new society! Thus he magnanimously takes up his position in the *manger*, and his poor colored people may get at the hay as they can!

Now let us look at the weapon with which our brother Beman is attacked, and see how much better it is than *carnal*—that the ethical principle on which it is used, and see how much better it is than *sectarian*. In the relation which Mr. Beman sustains to the colored people of Boston, he might with less real injury be knocked down with a heavy club, than he is now, though without a shadow of proof, of venality, by Mr. Garrison. As to the ethics of the matter, it seems that if a colonizationist, or any body who does not uphold the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, offers to teach a colored man a trade or a profession, and he accepts the offer, he *sells himself*—because he recommends the man's principles in connection with the offer, (the colonizationist is actively appointed door of the Christian church. But a church of Open-Communion Pædo Baptists has offered a premium for the best essay in behalf of Temperance—I must write for the prize, for my essay should take the prize, and its publication redound to the honor of the Pædo-Baptists, I should have *sold myself* for the precise amount of the premium. I should have proved myself a venal friend of ordinance of Baptism! Whatever may be said of the morality of the principle, it cannot be denied that it is *sound sectarianism*. This whole proceeding is a little illustration of a spirit, and a method of action which for two years past has been turning the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society into a mere *sect*.

(1) In the name of consistency, why then was the new organization formed? Why are its agents constantly endeavoring to destroy the old society, by cutting off its auxiliaries, and annexing them to the new? Why are such shouts of exultation raised when they meet with any success in this work of mischief? What! charge the Massachusetts A. S. Society with having lost 'the staff of accomplishment'—'perverted itself to purposes and objects not contemplated in our bond of union, foreign to our original objects, not necessary to their attainment, and fatal to our prospects of ultimate success'—tied 'a mill-stone to our cause, to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean the hopes of enslaved millions'—and yet assert that 'it is not the object of the new organization to put down the old'!! If these charges are true, why should not its object be to crush the State A. S. Society? We know of no more sectarian exhibition of slavery, intolerancy and falsehood, than is contained in the first sentence of the foregoing article from the Abolitionist.

(2) We can only exclaim, on reading an assertion like this, from such a quarter—O shame! where is thy blush? Every one knows that the new organization is nothing better than 'a party and sectarian scheme'—an aspiring priesthood versus the people—composed of the most heterogeneous materials, yet perfectly agreeing in the following points—first, that the Liberator should be put down; second, that its editor should be driven from the abolition ranks; third, that women, in 'our noble and common cause,' should not be allowed the liberty of speech and of conscience; fourth, that all those abolitionists, who believe in the doctrine of non-resistance to enemies, should no longer receive the right hand of anti-slavery fellowship!

(3) Yes—incumbent to show that the old society is so entangled with 'party and sectarian schemes,' as to be unworthy of the countenance or co-operation of the true friends of emancipation! What is this but an attempt to put it down? What is it but a proclamation of war against it? If the society is too bad for Messrs. Phelps, Torrey, St. Clair and Wright to belong to it, how widely it must have departed from the path of rectitude!

(4) The language of Mr. Johnson I only stated correctly; and if it were, such a disposition in the Society which has accomplished more for the colored population, whether bond or free, than any other in existence—which has given birth to all the other anti-slavery societies in the land—would argue the basest ingratitude, the most brazen effrontery, or the most deplorable ignorance. It is not necessary that we should go into a history of what the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has done for the cause of bleeding humanity. That the editor of the Abolitionist should relish the *fling* which he puts into the lips of Mr. Johnson against the Society, only shows how disputable is the spirit by which he is actuated. Mr. Johnson remarked that it *had been said*, that while the new society was actually doing the work, the old was only *talking* about the elevation of the colored people; and he wished to be enlightened upon this point. If he was at all familiar with the doings of the old society, its incessant labors, its liberal sacrifices, its sleepless vigilance, its incorruptible spirit, its victorious progress, he ought to have scorned to make such a question. The idea is extremely ludicrous, that the pioneer society (which expended not less than eleven thousand dollars during the past year, for the emancipation and improvement of our colored population,) should be charged with doing 'nothing but talking,' because it had not established a petty intelligence office in the city of Boston! This is so impudent as it is absurd.—We felt it our duty to state to the meeting how we viewed the whole matter; that the 'intelligence office' was evidently designed to entrap our colored fellow-citizens into a support of the new organization; that Mr. Beman, in our opinion, had allowed himself to become a tool in the hands of the schismatics; and that he had manifested a pliant disposition to take sides with either party, as either might offer him employment. We also stated, that our colored brother, Mr. J. T. Hilton, a member of the Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society, had opened an intelligence office prior to the one started by the Abolition Society, which rendered the latter quite unnecessary.

(5) 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses, shall every word be established.' At the interview alluded to, we *did* prove, by three witnesses, that Mr. Beman had repeatedly expressed his readiness to work for either society, declaring that he must do something to obtain a living—and as the old society did not seem disposed to employ him, he saw no reason why he should not labor under the auspices of the new organization. Nay, he stated that he would engage to work at *a cheaper rate* for the old than for the new society; thus showing some 'compunctious visitings of conscience' in the matter. Accordingly, Mr. Hilton laid his case before the Board of the old society; but Mr. Beman, not very properly decided, that they could give no encouragement to a man who, in their judgment, stood ready, for pay, like a mercenary Swiss, to take sides with either of two hostile parties. They knew of no special claim which he had upon them for an office, even if they had seen the necessity of such an office. We will merely add, that, in the interviews we have since had with Mr. Beman, we are satisfied that he has become thoroughly *new organized*; and that, as we view the case, he is lending his influence to subvert the old society, and destroy the Liberator, by his present connexion with the Abolition Society. Before he accepted his present situation, he was faithfully admonished, by one of the earliest and most steadfast friends of the anti-slavery cause, what would be the consequence of such a course. We are sorry to lose the good opinion that we formerly entertained of Mr. Beman; and we feel compelled to say that our conviction is, that no colored person can properly give any countenance to the new organization, directly or indirectly.

(6) The new organization must indeed be in a very destitute condition not to be able to find Mr. Beman in shoe-leather! The understanding was, that he should receive a fair compensation for his work, his magnanimity and self-denial (to the contrary notwithstanding.) He did not agree to act as an agent for nothing, and we make any pretensions to philanthropy in the matter. So far from it, he entered upon the present agency with the avowed and express object to obtain a livelihood. His family needed support, and therefore he sought employment; expecting to receive prompt and just compensation. But thus far, it seems, he has 'labored hard for what would scarcely pay for his shoes!' His case is a hard one, truly. But how dishonest, how ridiculous, is it in the Abolitionist, to talk of his self-denial and magnanimity! It is nothing better than cant.

(7) Certainly—'separate and distinct' from a disorganizing association.

(8) As connected with the Abolition Society, it is a *ruse* to deceive our colored brethren, and to enlist that society to carry on its unnatural warfare against the great body of Massachusetts abolitionists; and thus it is injurious, instead of beneficial, in its tendencies. It is not the first time that hypocrisy has 'stolen the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in.' The gilding of a pill does not alter its nature. When men have an evil design to accomplish, they usually try to hide it by some artifice. The wolf is still a wolf, though in sheep's clothing. The new organization is aiming to crush the old; and proposes to compensate our colored brethren, for the loss of the earliest society that took the field and has maintained it unflinchingly up to the present hour in their behalf, by the establishment of a petty intelligence office in the city of Boston! What an admirable exchange! So, also, is that organization using every effort to put down the Liberator, and blacken the character of its editor; and as an equivalent for this pro-slavery act, it employs the Rev. J. C. Beman to act as one of its servants, in the capacity of a dupe and decoy. What disinterestedness! What a sacred regard for the welfare of our colored population! But they see through this shallow manœuvre with the same instinctive sagacity that led them to reject the colonization scheme, though it came to them in the guise of an angel of light. Some of them may be deceived, for a time; but the great body will always be found on the right side in every controversy that may arise, whether among their professed friends or open enemies. The fact that the editor of the Abolitionist is obviously disposed to insinuate, (through the medium of M. Johnson,) that, because the Mass. Abolition Society has opened an intelligence office for colored 'help,' and that the Massachusetts A. S. Society has not done this specific thing, therefore the latter only '*talks* about the elevation of the colored people,' while the former is 'doing the work'—this fact, we say, affords *prima facie* evidence of the intelligence office established for the very purpose of taking up a reproach against the old society, and seducing the colored people into a support of the new society, by appealing to their selfishness. Mr. Beman cannot be ignorant, that his connection, as a highly respectable colored man, with the new organization, will be quoted by its agents as an evidence that the colored people are friendly to that organization; and he must know, moreover, that he is directly playing into the hands of the bitterest enemies with whom the Massachusetts A. S. Society and the Liberator have as yet had to contend. Again—we set it down as a self-evident truth, that a society which is based upon sectarian exclusiveness, in order to the special patronage and control of a time-serving clergy, and is nourished by personal hostility and gross misrepresentation, like the Massachusetts Abolition Society, cannot possibly be actuated by any truly disinterested or benevolent motives towards the colored people of this country. It may have the form of abolitionism but not its power. Its primary and leading object is not the abolition of slavery, or the improvement of the free people of color, but the gratification of personal envy and sectarian malignity.

We had marked several other passages in the article from the Abolitionist, for animadversion, but are compelled to omit further comments, as well as many other articles intended for the present number, for want of room—especially some remarks upon the political letter of Alvan Stewart.

To Correspondents. We have accidentally mislaid the communication of 'Peter Downing.'

A letter has been received from Lewis Tappan, which we shall publish in our next number, and also in the Cradle of Liberty.

We have received a very long and elaborate Report of a Committee appointed by the New-Bedford Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society to investigate a case which has excited a good deal of interest in New-Bedford, and in which the character of Nathan Johnson, a highly respectable and intelligent colored citizen of that town, is implicated. Constantly pressed as we are for room, we hardly know how to dispose of so voluminous a Report; but, inasmuch as we have as yet published nothing in relation to the subject upon which it treats—as all the circumstances clustering around it are so truly interesting—as Mr. Johnson has been unjustly subjected to the suspicion of being willing to aid in returning to a state of servitude, certain members of his household who are now free—as his conduct is proved by this investigation, to have been in every respect honorable and praiseworthy—and *as the manuscript is prepared in an uncommonly correct, legible and elegant manner*—we have concluded to publish the whole Report, but must divide it into two numbers.

We shall insert in our next paper, with a great deal of pleasure, a very interesting letter from a native Hindoo to Prof. William Adam, of Harvard University, respecting the efforts now making in Great Britain for the regeneration of British India.

☞ Mrs. Gove's last lecture in this city will be delivered at the Marlboro' Chapel, this afternoon, [Friday] at half past 3 o'clock.

NOTICES.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.—*Second Notice.*

The undersigned, Committee on the pecuniary concerns of the Liberator, have ascertained that in a few instances, subscribers who have paid for the paper, have, through inadvertence or carelessness, on the part of collecting agents, failed to be properly credited.

With an early number of the Liberator, the undersigned will again send a bill to such subscribers as they suppose to be delinquent. If the bill should not be found correct, the subscriber is requested to give *immediate* information of the fact by mail, addressed to *Oliver Johnson, Agent of the Liberator, Boston*. If the bill is right, the amount may be sent through the post-master of your town, who is authorized by law to frank letters enclosing remittances for periodicals. His signature to the bill shall secure you credit on the books. Strong confidence is felt, that under the present rigid system of supervision, no error in subscriber's accounts will occur.

Mistakes having taken place, the undersigned think it proper to defer, until the first week in April, commencing the proposed publication of the names of subscribers who have remained delinquent more than fifteen months.

It is earnestly hoped that, in the absolute *necessity* of placing the pecuniary affairs of the Liberator upon a solid basis, its *real* friends will find a justification of energetic measures of reform.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,
ELLIS GRAY LORING, } Committee.
WILLIAM BASSETT,
EDMUND QUINCY.

OLD ESSEX—AWAKE!

A Quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Lynn, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 10th and 11th of March next.

The meeting will commence on TUESDAY morning, at 10 o'clock, at the Christian Chapel in Silsbee street, *near the principal Railroad Depot*.

GEORGE FOSTER, *Rec. Sec'y.*

NOTICE.

The annual meeting of the Windham County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Brooklyn on Tuesday, the 17th day of March, at 1 o'clock, P. M. for the choice of officers, and the transaction of other business. A general and punctual attendance of the friends of the cause is earnestly desired, as urgently solicited. GEORGE W. BENSON, *Cor. Sec.*

Brooklyn, Connecticut, Feb. 25, 1840.

HAVERHILL ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Haverhill 'Anti-Slavery Fair,' which the ladies proposed to hold on the 26th inst. is deferred for a time, on account of circumstances beyond their control. Per order of the Sec.

M. G. WEBSTER, *Pres.*

J. H. Hewes, *Sec.*

Adelphic Union Lectures.

The Lecture at the Smith School Room on Tuesday evening, March 3d, will be delivered by Rev. R. C. Waterston. To commence at 7 o'clock.

JOHN T. HILTON, *President.*

Wm. C. Nell, *Secretary.*

Hats, Caps, Stocks and Trunks.

GEORGE ADAMS, No. 300 Washington Street,

Offers for sale a prime assortment of fashionable Fur and Silk HATS; Cloth and Velvet CAPS, in great variety, wholesale and retail; NECK-STOCKS, UMBRELLAS, VALICES, CARPET-BAGS, Hides, Leather and Travelling TRUNKS; all of which will be sold at the *lowest prices*. The patronage of his friends and the public is *earnestly solicited*. Hats and Caps made to order at short notice. Call and examine for yourselves, ☞ No. 300 Washington-St. ☜

Feb. 27. 3cow6t.

REMOVAL.

THE BOSTON TYPE AND STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY, is removed to Minot's new building at the corner of Washington Street and Spring Lane—Entrance in Spring Lane.

The patrons of this Foundry are respectfully informed, that by this removal the Proprietors have secured the most of accommodations and facilities, for the manufacture of Types and Stereotype Plates. The location is central and convenient for the trade, and every exertion will be made to retain the extensive patronage which has been bestowed on the above foundry. Orders addressed to J. G. ROGERS, Agent for the Company, will be faithfully attended to

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

REMEMBER THE SLAVE.

MR. EDITOR:

The following original stanzas are taken from the Album of a friend. They were written by one of the most devoted anti-slavery women in Massachusetts.

Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.

While life is bright before thee,
And a happy heart is thine,
While a cloudless sky is o'er thee,
Clear, beautiful, benign;
Oh! remember those in bonds, as thou
Wert shackled with them even now.

When mingling with the gay,
The happy and the free,
And the time flies swift away,
To return no more to thee;
Plead for the slave, as thou with him wert bound
By chains that clasp *his* soul and body round.

When on the bended knee,
Before the throne of grace,
They silent prayer goes free
To the heavenly dwelling-place;
Pray for the slave, as thou didst groan beneath
The stripes that goad from infancy to death.

In youth or in decline,
In sorrow or in joy,
When lonely thoughts are thine,
Or prayers thy mind employ;
Oh! remember those in bonds, as thou
Wert shackled with them even now.

E. B. C.

Fall River, 1839.

From the Paterson Intelligencer.

THE STORM SPIRIT'S TALE OF THE LEXINGTON.

BY REV. CHARLES W. DENISON.

I saw her loose in the anchored bay,
And proudly steer on her wintry way,
Her banners flung on the eastern gale,
Like a living thing that might never quail.
I saw her sweep by the ships and shore,
With her dashing wheels and her fiery roar,
And the Indesmen said as she flitted by,
Though she hath not wings she doth almost fly.
I saw her out on the heaving sound,
And she kept a score of waves at a bound;
And on as she sprang, the shores grew dim,
And the light-house rose with its distant glim.
I saw her mass to the cabins crowd,
And their step was free, and their laugh was loud;
And they cried, as they heard and felt the boat,
How swiftly and gaily we onward float!
I saw a cloud from the deck arise,
And quietly soar to the evening skies!
'Twas a little cloud, as loft it sped,
But a larger came and beneath it spread;
And they grew, and spread, and uprolled on the nightly air,
Till the flame burst forth with a frightful glare!
And oh! what a sight did I see there, then,
'Mid the crowd of children, women and men!
What sounds I heard, in that fearful hour,
When fire and frost were in sovereign power!
For before was a grave of consuming heat,
And a freezing tomb was beneath their feet.
Their step was bound, and their laugh was still,
And the blood in their hearts grew clammy and chill;
And they shrieked, 'Ho! help!' till their voices fell
To rise no more in the rolling swell.
They threw them down by the pale star-light,
To toss in the sea for repose that night;
'Twas the bed of death; 'twas the couch of waves;
And their sleep was the sleep of old ocean's graves.
I saw Beauty there, o'er the sleety tide,
And she wept as a JARVIS laid down and died;
And Freedom groaned from her bleeding breast,
As FOLLEN sank into the deep to rest.
But who can tell what I heard and saw
That night of the elements' terrible war;
When red flame and hoar flood their weapons drew,
And a hundred souls were the prize in view?

* * * * * * *

Good God! to THEE, and to THEE alone,
That tale of carnage is fully known;
To THEE we bow; to THEE we pray
For grace 'till the all-revealing day.

THE RAIL-ROAD LOCOMOTIVE,

OR 'IRON HORSE.'

According to the Knickerbocker, has just begun its career.

But not alone on the stormy sea,
Not alone through the vales of the northern clime,
Where he travels now so gloriously,
Shall his destined path in the future be;
He shall cross the Alp and the Appenine,
His voice shall be heard by the winding Rhine;
By the fallen fanes of the olden time;
He shall send the roar of his rolling car,
Through the wide domains of the norther czar;
Through Sarmatia's wilds, and the Switzer's snows,
And along the vales where the Danube flows;
Where the Moslem hears the Muezzin's cry,
'To prayer!' to prayer!' he shall hurtle by;
Where the deep blue heaven of Asia smiles,
O'er her storied plains and countless isles,
And the flowers that breathe in the balmy air,
Are bright as the pearls that are shining there:
Where the Affric sun pours his scorching beams
On the thirsty sands and the wasted streams;
Where the Pharaohs, in their kingly pride,
Were rolled by night in the Red Sea's tide,
'Neath the palm trees' boughs, the banyan's shade,
His iron path-way shall yet be laid.

On our mountain ridges his chariots gleam,
He follows the track of the winding stream;
He will carry us forth from our early homes,
To the fairy scenes of glowing West,
Where the Father of Waters in grandeur roams,
Through broad savannahs in verdure drest.
Away! away! with his ceaseless roar,
The valley and hill shall hasten o'er;
Away! away! where the prairie lies,
Like an emerald sea, 'neath the fair blue skies,
With nought in view save the waving grass,
The flowers that bend as his chariots pass,
And in black and fearful host afar,
The countless herd of the buffalo,
That start at the gleam of his shining car,
And away, loud bellowing and thundering go,
With a speed that no foot of the deer can surpass.
The prairie-horses shall toss the mane,
Tear the ground with their hoofs, and neigh aloud,
When this stranger-steed o'er their free domain,
Comes rushing on like a flying cloud:
But he heeds them not, as he onward speeds,
With a tread as loud as a thousand steeds.
A sound shall be heard through the mountain caves,
A sound, through the gloom of the pathless glen,
Like the hollow murmur of breaking waves,
Or the measured tramping of mail-clad men:
'Tis the IRON HORSE; he hath passed the bound
Of the wild sierras that fenced him round;
He hath no more on the land to gain,
His path is free to the western main!

PRAYER.

Give me, oh God, the power and will
To do to others as I will!
Would they should do to me.
Give me a conscience free from guile:
Teach me courtly things to smile,
And turn my heart to Thee.

Where I have erred, Oh Lord, forgive;
Where I've been bright, grant white I live
Thy path to tread, stay
And oh, wherever worldly pride
Would lure my wand'ring steps aside,
Do Thou direct my way.

ISABELLA GRAHAM.

NON-RESISTANCE

For the Liberator.

Error Corrected.

MR. GARRISON:

I am persuaded that you will do me the justice to give the following an insertion in your next paper.

It is to be regretted that any of our discussions should be characterized by misrepresentation. A considerable portion of Mr. Ballou's 'Reply' to me is based on a gross misconstruction of my words, as odious in my view as it is false.

In my brief review of his address, in order to bring the true point at issue before the mind of the reader, I stated several points in which the advocates and opponents of human government agree. Among *these*, I remarked, 'We cordially unite with our brethren in declaring, "We ought to obey God, rather than men." It is fully admitted and zealously maintained *by us all*, that "human government, properly so called, can in no case be either superior to, or equal with the divine." (A quotation from Mr. B.) If any human statute violates one that is divine, we are not to hesitate a moment. We must resist it unto death;' meaning, *obviously*, that we must rather suffer death, like this martyr, than disobey God. I then proceed to inquire—'We are also agreed, that,' &c.; clearly showing that I was stating *not my own sentiments simply, or the sentiments of those* who agree with me in respect to human government, but also the sentiment of Mr. B. I had of those who accord with him. The apostle, reminding his persecuted brethren that they had not yet suffered as their Master, says, '*Ye have not yet resisted unto blood*,' i.e. unto *your own* death. Heb. 12. 4. I used the phrase, '*We must resist it* (i. e. the human statute which violates God's law) *unto death*,' in the same sense. We must be like the ancient believers, who 'loved not their lives *unto the death*.' Rev. 12. 11. Now, in the name of common sense and charity, I ask how is this a platform for infidel or pro-government zeal, broad enough for all the religious revolutionists that ever figured in any age or nation?' How is this, as my accuser declares, 'making *physical resistance*, open insurrection, rebellion and revolution, by word and deed, the positive duty of christians in certain cases?' Why, I ask further, if he so understood me, did he not complain of my false representation *of his own* sentiments?

I protest against his unwarrantable comment, and reject it with abhorrence. But this is not all. In connection with my remark in relation to the duty of passive resistance unto death, Mr. B. quotes my remark, 'It is *civil government* and not the ABUSES of it, that we advocate.' Then, because I will not advocate the abuses in the government, he, very *logically and candidly*, infers that I will oppose it, '*sword in hand*!!' Because I would oppose 'abuses' by rational and moral argumentation, I am to be associated with the 'Fifth Monarchy men,' who set themselves up, '*sword in hand*, (as the saints prophesied of by Daniel,) to put down all *abuses*,' &c. He might as well say that, because I will not advocate the abuses in the christian church, therefore I am another Guy Fawkes, ready to blow up with gunpowder the church, parliament, and all.

Permit me now seriously to ask, whether it is subserving the cause of truth to commend, *without any exception or correction*, such a communication to your readers as an '*able* rejoinder?' I do not charge Mr. B. with intentional perversion; but, (considering the connection in which my remark stands, and the plain avowal of my non-resistant sentiments in the very same article,) I consider his remarks as indicative of a state of mind that disqualifies for fair and intelligent discussion.

Fearing that I might incommode you by offering a *longer* article, for *immediate* insertion, I postpone further strictures. Yours for the truth,

HENRY GREW.

☞ A peep at 'the powers that be' at Washington. Query—are they belong to the kingdom of Christ,' or to a kingdom which is of this world?

An Under Scene in the U. S. House of Representatives.

The correspondent of the Newport (N. H.) Argus, who is a member of the House, gives the following as a touch of the *under scenes* which occasionally occur in that body:

A member from Georgia—' Mr. Speaker—my colleague is entitled to the floor, and I desire to know if he shall be permitted to proceed.'

'Yes,' 'yes,' by a dozen voices, 'Georgia shall speak;' 'let us hear Georgia'—'He's entitled to the floor'—'let him go on.'

Mr. Colquitt rises and commences his harangue. The exordium is an apology for intruding upon the House, and for troubling the Speaker with so many efforts to get the floor. At first his utterance is slow and measured, his action graceful, his diction choice and beautiful. But soon the temper of his fiery Georgian waxes warm, sparkling thoughts burst from his lips, his action becomes violent, and his blows fall in quick and rapid succession upon those he aims at.

The members gather around him—they listen with more eagerness, but are silent—pretty soon low undertone expressions of approbation fall from their lips—now the interest becomes absorbing—and now it is totally absorbing, and the spell complete. 'Good,'—'very good'—'That's a good hit'—'Right, Georgia'—'First rate'—'By George, he gives it to them hard'—'O, he ain't much; he's a ranter'—'Beautiful metaphor'—'Capital,Georgia'—'That's a hard thrust.' And so it goes until 'Georgia' becomes fatigued and sits down.

Mr. Slade then jumps upon his feet, and is recognized by the Speaker. He knows he is regarded with an evil eye, by the southern members. He looks about, doubting whether he shall go on or not. But he commences—' Mr. Speaker.'

Mr. Jones of Va. Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means—'Will the gentleman from Vermont give way a moment, for me to move the printing of certain bills reported by the Committee?'

'Yes, give way,' cry a dozen voices. 'The printing ought to be done'—'Jones never goes wrong.'

Mr. Slade—' I am disposed to accommodate gentlemen, if I can have the floor afterwards.'

Mr. Jones—'The bills I wish to have printed are of great importance, being the appropriation bills for the current year, and should be in the possession of members.'

Mr. Slade looks about with great anxiety, fearing he shall be justled from the floor. 'I will give way, Mr. Speaker, if I can.'—'Yes, Slade, you shall have the floor.'—'Hear the gentleman.'

Dr. Duncan—'Yes, you *shall* have the floor.'

Mr. Slade—' Mr. Speaker, I would inquire if I shall lose the floor by giving way to the gentleman from Virginia?'

Dunham—'Slade, you *shall* have the floor.' A dozen utter, 'yes,' 'yes,' 'we'll hear him,' let abolitionism speak.'

The Chair—'If the gentleman from Vermont gives way, he cannot resume the floor without the general consent of the House.'

Mr. Garland of Louisiana—' Then I object.'

Duncan—' I say, Slade, you *shall* have the floor.'

'From all parts of the House—'Yes,' 'yes,' he shall have the floor.'—'Nobody wants to prevent him.'

Mr. Slade at length gives way. Mr. Jones makes his motion. The whige vote against it, and it is lost—two-thirds being required to carry it.

Mr. Tillinghast of Rhode Island rises to 'a point of order'—he never rises to any other point.

One member cries, 'Hear him'; 'Hear him.'

Another, 'Now for a flood of light.'

Another, 'That man always makes 'point-no-point' when he speaks.'

Another in an under tone—'That man has a *clear* head—he hasn't an idea in it.

Tillinghast speaks about five minutes with great precision and emphasis upon his point of order and sits down.

Several members—' There, Tillinghast has cleared that matter up—we know as much about it as we did before.'

These interlocutions are all desultory and impromptu, and generally in an under tone.

Above are specimens of the *under scenes* which frequently occur in the House of Representatives.

The Blood Hounds.

We have before us a letter from Matanzas, of the 20th December, which states that the new wing of the Cuna del Morfanto, or Orphan asylum, cost *seven dollars* per head! Another fact is added, which has not come to the knowledge of the American public. This is, that the agent of the United States Government had to bribe the Blood Hounds, who understood managing them! Is the war department 'acquainted' with *this* 'circumstance?' If not, the people will undertake themselves to ascertain by what auxiliary foreign resources have been employed to fight their battles.

MISCELLANY

From the Boston Courier.

Beet Sugar.

David L. Child, Esq., has received from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, the premium of a handsome silver cup offered for the most successful experiment in the production of beet sugar. Mr. Child has just published a treatise on the cultivation of the beet and the manufacture of the sugar, embodying, we presume, the results of his own experience and practice as well as the facts he obtained from personal observation, during a tour in France, Belgium, and Germany, and from his intercourse with cultivators and manufacturers, distinguished for science and success. The design of the treatise is, bringing together, in as small a compass as is compatible with clearness and precision, all that seems essential to enlighten the judgment and direct the measures of American farmers in relation to this new and important branch of rural economy. It seems to us that Mr. Child has been peculiarly successful in accomplishing his design, and we commend his book to the attention of every farmer and gardener.

The work treats first of the culture of the beet; secondly, of the manufacture of the sugar; and lastly, of the history and prospects of the business. The first and second parts are those, of course, which will be the most practically useful. The history, however, which forms the third part of the treatise, is highly interesting, and discloses a variety of facts and statements, tending to encourage this branch of industry. We copy the following calculation concerning the labor required in the cultivation of the beet:—

'In France they allow thirty days' work to an acre, twenty-four of which are days of women and children, and the weeding is mostly done by hand and the hand hoe. In the United States, so far as we have had experience, it has taken from twelve to twenty days' work to cultivate an acre of beets, according as the land was more or less weedy. This did not include ploughing, harrowing, and carting manure, for all of which we add three days, making the whole number fifteen to nineteen days.

'The growth of the cane requires nine months, that of the beet three to four months. The working days in nine months are two-hundred and thirty-two, in four months one hundred and three; one hundred and three divided by seventeen, the medium number of days required for an acre of beets, gives six acres and a fraction over, as the extent which one man, with proper implements, and a horse can cultivate with beets; one acre nearly two hundred and three divided by seventeen, the medium number of days required for an acre of beets, gives six acres and a quarter times as many days! In other words, the culture of the cane costs two and two thirds times as much as the beet.—If we add to this fact the other, that only half as much produce is to be obtained from an acre of canes, as from an acre of beets, the difference in favor of the latter, as far as culture is concerned, will appear enormous.

'Dutch does not end here. The beet culture deepens and loosens the soil; the cane, by its numerous and spreading roots, (it belonging to the family of grasses,) binds and stiffens the soil, leaving it always in a bad state for a succeeding crop. The beet requires fallowing, or rest, two years for every two of bearing; the beet not only requires no fallows, *but is itself a substitute for fallows*, and saves the necessity of them for other crops. The cane exhausts, the beet fertilizes the land. The cane yields no manure except the tops and blades left on the ground; the beet, besides leaves and tops, multiplies the barn manure in an extraordinary manner. Finally, the beet feeds and fattens multitudes of cattle, sheep, and swine, while the cane affords nothing for such a purpose.'

From this and various other estimates and calculations, Mr. Child supposes that 'beet sugar can be made in the United States at a cost of four cents a pound; and it will be seen in the evidence, hereafter, and may smile at the efforts of any competitor, though backed by the cheap hosts of Hindostan.'

Mr. Child exhibited specimens of his sugar, manufactured at Northampton, at the late fair of the Massachusetts Society, and at this city, he received the Society's silver medal. Specimens were also exhibited to several gentlemen of the Worcester Agricultural Society, and the *brown* was found to be pure, very sweet, and entirely free from any bad taste; and its quality, in every respect, was highly satisfactory.

From the Peoria (Ill.) Register.

A PERILOUS ADVENTURE. During the severe snow storm, on Wednesday night last, as the Chillicothe mail sleigh was passing from Peru to Hennepin, and when within four or five miles of the latter place, the driver got lost, and, with the passengers remained out all night. The snow had completely obscured the track, so as to make it impossible, in the absence of all houses, fences, or other land marks, to keep it. The wind also was directly ahead, and blowing with great violence. There were two passengers, who encouraged the driver to keep the team in motion, and thus for four hours were spent in wandering about the prairie. Reaching at length a clump of trees, they determined to make a halt, and wait for daylight. The driver, in securing his horses, became partially more exposed to the storm, and was ready to perish ere he had finished. The two passengers, one of whom was Mr. Bigelow, rail road contractor, were provided with buffalo robes, and laid down in the snow, which was whirled about them by the wind, with unremitting fury. Mr. B. says he felt a strong tendency to sleep, which he knew must prove the sleep of death. Rousing himself, therefore, he sprang to his feet, and, with his fellow passenger, proceeded to look after the driver, who was found almost lifeless. By shaking and rousing him to exercise, consciousness was at length restored, and the group, adopting various expedients to keep in motion till daylight, then saw where they were, and in an hour afterwards reached Hennepin.

ADVICE TO MEN IN DEBT. Ascertain the whole state of your affairs. Learn exactly how much you owe. Be not guilty of deceiving yourself. You may *thus* awaken suspicions of dishonesty, when your intentions were far otherwise. Deliberately and fully make up your mind, that come what will, you will practice economy, or industry, which might have the appearance of fraud. Openness and candor command respect among all good men. Remember that no man is completely ruined among men, until his character is gone. Never consider a bad, and your own, one farthing which rightfully belongs to others. Beware of feelings of despondency. Give not place for an hour to useless and enervating melancholy. Be a man. Reduce your expenditures to the lowest possible amount, and live within them, as others around you. Industriously pursue such lawful and honest ants of industry as are left to you. An hour's industry will do more to beget cheerfulness, suppress evil rumors, and restore your credit, than a month's moaning. You must stop business, do it soon enough to avoid the just charge of an attempt to involve your unsuspecting friends. Learn from your present difficulties the utter vanity of all earthly things.

DR. FOLLEN. The Evening Post says: 'He was a man of strong intellect, much cultivated in the various departments of knowledge and inquiry, and his judgement was calm and solid. His experience was that of arbitrary government, joined to the feelings of universal good will, and to the genial spirit of hope which was ever strong within him, led him to embrace the purest democratic principles in regard to government and legislation. The world had not a firmer, a more ardent, or more consistent friend of human liberty. His passions, naturally energetic, were all so perfectly subjected to the control of the higher qualities of his character, that although you saw they were not extinct, you saw, at the same time, that they were held in their place and overruled by justice and benevolence. No man could have known him even slightly, without being strongly impressed by the surpassing benignity of his character. He is taken from us by a mysterious providence in the midst of his usefulness.'

TRINIDAD. The first accounts from the emigrants to this island are on the whole, highly favorable. We learn that Frederick A. Hinton, of this city, has been appointed the Agent of the British Colonial Government, in this city. To the *voluntary selfindicted emigration* of such of our colored citizens as discover fortune in sunder climes, we have no objection,—whether they choose the arid coast of Africa—the woods of Canada, or the islands of the West Indies. We wish to see them free to go or to stay; and to enable them to do the one or the other, we shall continue to do all in our power to place them, in the eye of the law, upon an equality *with their white neighbors*. We wish to take away from them, all inducements to emigrate for the purpose of escaping from persecution and legal disabilities here.—*Pa. Freeman.*

The Gag enforced—The right of Petition covers down—Abolitionists, take courage. The Gag law, the child of our Southern Patriarchal Institution, and their obedient Northern harmonizers, have finally succeeded in bolting the doors against all petitions in relation to the peculiar system. They have howled around the halls of Congress like the three hideous hags of old—inhuman purposes, and made their most Anti-Republican resolutions standing rules of the House, during this Congress. But, they are fast hastening to the end of their race. They were only able to carry their project by the majority. The North is beginning to open her eyes, and soon, if we mistake not, she will burst the chains forged by the South, which, hitherto, she, the North, has consented, tamely, to wear. Let Abolitionists be true to the blave-cause, let them continue to set their doctrines forth, and wield the sword of the spirit, and public sentiment will frown upon these haters of crushed humanity till they will be glad to dig from their graves these consigned memorials of the crushed rights of Republican freemen.—*Cazenovia Herald.*

The House of Representatives have at length, after a long debate, adopted a standing order, to the effect, that no petition, resolution or other paper respecting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or respecting the slave trade in the district, the territories or between the states, shall be received, but on being presented shall be considered as objected to and rejected unread, and without debate.

For our own part we regard all such expedients for stifling the freedom of debate, and for shutting out any class of our citizens from the usual way of making known their views and wishes to Congress, as most dangerous measures. We look upon them as tyrannical, and of most dangerous precedent. Let the principle on which they rest, be once recognized and they may be indefinitely extended until the right of discussion on the floor of Congress will be confined to very narrow limits, and the despotism of the majority will be as complete within its walls, as the despotism of Austria within her boundaries. It is not that we suppose that the abolitionists will be relieved by any such proceedings. Zealously, even fiercely, attached to their doctrines, fond of controversy, ever on the watch for opportunities of debate and dextrous in seizing them, they will take care that the forbidden question be kept before Congress as they have done for several sessions past in spite of the rules and restrictions of the majority. Already have we had nearly a six weeks discussion of abolition before adopting the standing order to which we allude, and if this were the second session of Congress, there would likely be ample sufficient time to get the appropriation and other necessary bills through both Houses of Congress.—But we fear for feebler interests, supported by more timid and less hardy advocates; wrongs and claims little known in the country. These by the aid of the precedent now set, may by a kind of infanticide be stifled in their birth before they have time to utter a single cry.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

Thus have the Constitution of the United States and the Liberties of the people been put under the feet of Southern arrogance to be spurned and trampled on! Thus has the sacred Right of Petition—the last refuge of the oppressed—the sole recourse of the weak and defenceless—been subverted and destroyed! Thus have the glorious doctrines of the Declaration of Independence been declared a farce and a mockery, and scouted from the Halls of Congress! Thus have Tyranny and Violence prostrated the only barrier between unbridled and reckless power, and suffering, complaining people! The day of reckoning for this outrage must surely come!

The Resolution above given is the most monstrous violation of every principle not merely of republican government but of representative government of any kind, ever hazarded by intoxicated power. Of our sixteen millions of people, only two millions are authorized to speak their sentiments to their Representatives through the commanding medium of the ballot-box. The other fourteen millions, though equally and eminently affected in their lives and property, their persons, rights and welfare, by the acts of their rulers, can only appeal to them in the humble form of petition or remonstrance. The Right of Petition—to voters an alternative to be used on peculiar occasions—is to these fourteen millions their all. It is a right never denied by the bloodiest despot of Asia to the basest of his abject millions. It is the attitude in which the humblest subject may approach his monarch—the most degraded slave his master—the vilest sinner his God! It is an attitude respected every where but in the Federal House of Representatives.

It cannot be that there are any so besotted as to say that a denial of the right to petition on one point is not a general subversion. Whenever the power to be approached prescribes the subjects on which it may be petitioned, or denies petitions on subjects which it may not have petitions on certain subjects, the Right of Petition is overthrown. To be allowed to petition only for such action as Power is predisposed to grant, is no right at all but the emptiest of bubbles—the shallowest of delusions.—*Albany Journal.*

Northern Duplicity.

We call attention to the extract below, from a speech of Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, a slaveholding whig.

'Mr. Thompson, of S. C., called on his (whig) friends to come out and confess by their votes, what they confessed to him PRIVATELY. He said *they acknowledged that the abolitionists had no right to petition on this subject, and that it was right to reject them.* 'Yes, says he, 'you acknowledge this to me in your *private* conversation; but, he continues, you beg *me* not to require you to show your hand to the public, because if you do, you cannot make any political capital out of abolitionism.'

'You dare not,' you say, 'take the responsibility, for if you do, you can have no advantage over the democratic party, most of whom have been willing to meet this question boldly.' 'He despised,' he said, 'such miserable policy, and would tell them that he, for one, would not submit to it. He would not have them talk one way in private, and act in other in public. He said he should be sorry to part from them, but they must bear in mind that there was only *one solitary* lie that connected them, which was opposition to Mr. Van Buren; but he would warn them that there were strongger bonds than that, and honor, principle, self-defence, and duty would compel him and his Southern friends to act with those who were willing to maintain their rights—who would take the responsibility and not sacrifice the rights of the South for the paltry prospect of making a little political capital.'

BOSTON SCHOOLS. The whole number of schools supported at the expense of the city is 107. Of these 91 are Primary Schools, 14 are English Grammar and Writing Schools, 1 an English High School, and 1 a Latin School. The primary schools are for children of both sexes, between 4 and 7 years of age, and are under the care of a committee, consisting of 63 gentlemen, each of whom, serves under the particular supervision of one school. In the 91 Primary schools, the number belonging Nov. 1, 1839, was 2790 boys, 2612 girls—whole number 5402. In the 16 other schools there were at that time 2711 boys, and 2765 girls—whole number 5476. Besides these public schools there are 113 private schools, where 3360 children receive tuition. It thus appears that the whole number receiving instruction in the city, is 0788 boys, and 7480 girls—total 14,268.

The 16 school-houses for the Grammar, Latin and High Schools were erected by the city for their accommodation, and are estimated to be worth, on an average $20,000 each, being an aggregate of about $320,000—equal to about one-fourth of the city debt. The annual expenses of these schools are about $76,000—making the sum annually expended by the city, for education solely, about $116,000—one fourth of the annual taxes of the city. The whole amount expended for education, in the public and private schools, is not less than $220,000 annually.

Freedom and Slavery.

The following passage—from the address of R. C. Winthrop, on the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, pursuing the parallel between the Jamestown and Plymouth Colonies, is replete with interest—as pointing out the earliest introduction of the principles of FREEDOM and SLAVERY into this country:

'The year 1620 was unquestionably the great epoch of American destinies. Within its latter half were included the two events which have exercised incomparably the most controlling influence on the character and fortunes of our country. At the very close of that year, the Mayflower, with its burden was engaged in its perilous voyage to Plymouth, another ship, far otherwise laden, was approaching the harbor of Virginia. It was a Dutch man-of-war, and its cargo consisted in part of *twenty slaves*, which were subjected to sale on their arrival; and with which the foundations of domestic slavery in North America were laid.

I see those two fate-freighted vessels, labouring under the divided destinies of the same nation, and striving against the billows of the same seas, like the principles of good and evil advancing side by side on the same great ocean of human life. I hear from the one the sighs of wretchedness, the groans of despair, the curses and clankings of struggling captivity, sounding and swelling on the same gale, which bears only from the other the pleasant voices of prayer and praise, the cheerful melody of contentment and happiness, the glad, the glorious exclamations of the free! Oh, could some angel arise, like that which seems to guide and guard the Pilgrim bark, he now interposed to arrest, avert, dash down and overwhelm its accursed compeer! But it may not be. They have both moved on in the appointed place of their destination. Freedom and slavery, in one and the same year, have landed on these American shores. And American liberty, like the victor of ancient Rome, is doomed, let us hope not for ever, to endure the presence of a fettered captive as a companion in the car of triumph!'

EXECUTIVE INTERFERENCE. The New Haven Herald gives the following account of a singular and unwarrantable interference of the Executive of the United States in the case of the Amistad negroes:

'*The Africans.*—The Hartford Patriot and Democrat states that 'previous to the trial of the Africans of the Amistad, before the United States District Court at New Haven, Judge Judson presiding, Martin Van Buren addressed a letter to the Judge, recommending him and urging him to detain the Africans in this country, to be taken back to Havana in a Government vessel, *to be there sold as slaves*—and that about the same time, the United States schooner Grampus was ordered to New Haven to receive them.' We do not know how much truth there may be in the fact stated in regard to the President, but we do know that the Grampus was here on a mysterious errand, and lay in our harbor without any acknowledged object until the decision of the Court. It was well understood that it was the wish of the Executive that the Africans should be given up to the Spanish authorities, and appeal is now instituted with that view. It was said that the Grampus was provisioned for a cruise of twenty months, but, after lowering our harbor, and lying off New London for a week or two, she returned to New York.—This interference of the Executive with the Judicial power, savors a little too much of 'the Democracy' of Turkey. We doubt if Cinques and Grabeau, as Judge Judson promised, ever get to Africa.'

ITEMS.

The celebrated Stephen Burroughs died lately at an advanced age, in Three Rivers, L. C. He abandoned counterfeiting and all unlawful pursuits many years ago, and became a quiet, industrious citizen. Still his character for truth was so ill-deserved, that the tricks of his younger days, will not soon be forgotten.

THE SLAVE: or Memoir of Archy Moore. *New Edition.* Two volumes in one.

☞ We have received a few copies at 50 cents peraple copy; $5 per dozen. They are beautifully printed on fine paper, and neatly bound with cloth backs.

—ALSO—

By the same author, just published and for sale as above, Banks, Banking and Paper Currencies, in three parts: Part I., History of Banks and Paper Money; Part II., Argument for open competition in Banking; Part III., Apology for one dollar notes.

Boston, Feb. 14. 7tf

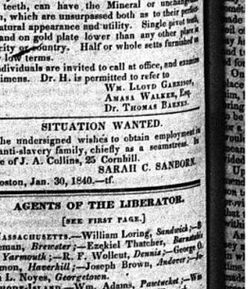
ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1840.

THIS pamphlet of 48 pages, (by Theodore D. Weld) contains, besides the usual astronomical calculations, facts sufficient to convince every one, who will peruse it, of the horrors of Slavery in America, of the pro-slavery influence upon the religion and politics of the country.

Friends of Anti-Slavery Societies, or friends of the cause, in the different towns in the Commonwealth, adopted measures to furnish every family with the Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1840? If this has not been done, let the friends of the cause in each town, or district, ascertain the number of families,—start a subscription forthwith, and raise funds sufficient to purchase the number required, at three dollars and a half per hundred.

J. A. COLLINS.

25, Cornhill.



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Extracting—Dr. H. has an Improved Extractor for removing teeth, which is superior and far preferable to all other instruments. Its popularity and efficacy require no other recommendation than the fact, that during the past year it has removed nearly *Ten Thousand Teeth*. Extracting 25 cents.

Filling Teeth.—The advertiser has paid particular attention to the one and only correct method of filling carious teeth with gold, and as he received the premium *at the late Fair in this city*, for his specimens, he will load decayed teeth and warrant them Price $1.

Setting Teeth.—Persons desirous of having artificial teeth, can have the Mineral or unchangeable teeth, which are unsurpassed both as to their resemblance to natural appearance and utility. Single teeth $5, and one gold plate, for less than any other place in the city or country. Half or whole sets furnished on very low terms.

Individuals are invited to call at office, and examine specimens. Dr. H. is permitted to refer to

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
ABNER WALKER, Esq.
Dr. THOMAS BREWER.

SITUATION WANTED.

The undersigned wishes to obtain employment in a anti-slavery family, either as a seamstress. Inquire of J. A. Collins, 25 Cornhill.

SARAH C. SANDERS.

Boston, Jan. 30, 1840.—tf.

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