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BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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"FREEDOM'S CHAMPION AND PROPHET."

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

AGENTS.

MAINE.—A. Soule, *Bath*; W. A. Dunn, *Hallowell*; D. S. Gooding, *Hampden*.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.—N. P. Rogers, *Concord*;—Will; Jain Wilbur, *Dover*;—I. Leonard Chase, *Pittsford*.

VERMONT.—John Dorr, *Bradford*;—Rowland T. Robinson, *North Ferrisburg*.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Moses Emery, *West Newbury*; Jos. L. Bond, *Newburyport*—Leland Howard, *Lynn*; W. S. Wilder, *Fitchburg*;—J. T. Everett, *Princeton*; J. Church, *Springfield*;—John Levy, *Lenox*; Josiah V. Marshall, *Dorchester and vicinity*;—Richard C. French, *Fall River*; Isaac Austin, *Nantucket*;—Elias Richards, *Weymouth*;—P. C. Rice, *Hopkinton*; Jos. Bearse, *Contreville*;—Israel Perkins, *Lynn*;—B. Freeman, *Brewster*; Joseph Brown, *Rochester*;—Joseph Ricketson, *New Bedford*;—John Clement, *Jamaica Plain*; George W. Benson, *Northampton*;—Alvan Ward, *Jaffrey Mills*.

RHODE-ISLAND.—Benjamin Vaughan, *Providence*; Wm. Adams, *Pawtucket*;—Geo. S. Gould, *Warwick*.

☞ For a continuation of this list, see the last page, in column.

JAS. BROWN YERRINTON, Printer.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The following titles, from the pen of Joshua Leavitt, we consider strictly appropriate to this department of our paper. The first illustrates the comprehensive nature of its author, and shows how little he is trusted in the anti-slavery cause, either in official capacity, or as a prominent member of the Liberty party. Mr. Birney, in his late letter to Mr. Sidney Edgerton, and Mr. Thomas Morris, in his speech (of which,) entered into a manly and full review of the erratic course pursued by Mr. Leavitt on Congress, on the subject of slavery, and, in a just rebuke upon him. This is more than we can do, at present, and hence his gladiatorial Mr. A. whizz follows.

From the Emancipator and Free American.

Mr. Adams.

The letter of Mr. Birney, and other remarks in the other papers, call on the editor of the Emancipator for a remark or two in dissent. I have enjoyed for three years past, the privilege of free communication with Mr. Adams, often under circumstances of great interest. My first personal course was in preparing for the consent of Mr. Adams to accept before the Supreme Court of the United States, in January, 1841. And I declare that such I saw of him made me more emphatically the man than ever before upon declaration which he made that if he should be instrumental in saving the life of those thirty-five human beings, he should be the happiest of all acts of his life.

1842 I was witness to the deep deliberations of the President, and the desperate conflict which attended the passage of the Hawaiian resolutions, and the consummation of the Haverhill petition. I saw Mr. Adams personally every day, and then believed and still believe that he went into that struggle counted the cost, and not knowing the issue, but deliberately prepared to peril all that was dear to life itself, if he might recover the lost rights of his country.

In 1843, when I was embarking for the World's Convention, he sent me a note at parting, expressing his hope for the success of our enterprise as one doubtful. I received it as a solemn and solid assevaration to what he had repeatedly told me in conversation, that he regarded the abolition party as the great work of the age, that he was desirous to participate in it: than in any other cause, and that his greatest regret at the advanced period of his own life was that he must leave the world and leave his own country on the wrong side of the Convention. I reciprocated the hope to Quincy, and on the strength of this representation of his own knowledge, the good and great of Hopeh's country, I made the Convention pledge to Mr. Adams, which was passed unanimously.

Had other my return, when Mr. Adams declared his sentiments that he considered the question every more momentous than any or all other political questions, it seemed to me that such a declaration under such circumstances, could not but be the most sentiment of his soul. And I must be proud to declare that my faith in Mr. Adams's sincerity and deep devotion to the cause of liberty is unshaken.

Saying this, I do not undervalue the importance of his letter, but I do not attach so much force and feeling to Mr. Birney. Nor, as I believe, are my feelings in this matter less poignant than his, at what Mr. Adams has said and done, which appears to me most inconsistent with what I believe to be his ruling object. That he should go out of his way to denounce the Abolitionists on Hewitt's Club, should proclaim the impossibility of abolishing slavery in America "as long as Africa encourages" that he should disown the possibility of abolishing the slave trade when he employed in his speech, in the terms of Dec. 22, was and is a matter of heartfelt, and still as much reason to me as any other fact, that he is not conscious as any other man, of no ulterior motive, but that he is doing what he thinks best calculated to hasten the overthrow of slavery, as any abolitionist in the land.

This I assert, in spite of all the strong denunciations of Mr. Adams, not can I detract aught from my praise heretofore accorded to Mr. Adams, for his noble and consistent course in awakening the slave power, in Congress and elsewhere. If the Liberty party think that, in cherishing these sentiments of Mr. Adams, and giving free utterance to them in my paper, I am showing myself 'treacherous' to their cause, they will follow their own convictions of duty, as I do mine.

Equal to my, however, that I have never recommended the support of Mr. Adams by the Liberty party about Mr. Adams, I have said that I believe he is honest and sincere, and that, irrespective of party, if the friends of this district had possessed a grain of magnanimity, they would have made a third party nomination, I did not urge his support. And I have urged, with good faith, that the Whigs of Massachusetts were true to the interests of the South in the Senate of the United States, on the first vacancy.

I have no desire nor intention to have a controversy about Mr. Adams with any friends of the Liberty party. I think I know Mr. Adams, as I have had good opportunity to know him, and am quite willing to be responsible for my opinions, leaving it to time to show whether I am right.

☞ Here is another similar disclaimer from a Liberty party paper at the West. The editor vexatiously asks, "Some of the non-resistant abolitionists have nominated Mr. Adams's orthodoxy, honesty, &c.—What has James G. Birney become non-resistant? Has Elisha Wright, Jr.? Has Thomas Earle?"

John Quincy Adams.

The Illinois Statesman copies an article from the Boston Atlas, in which it is stated in bitter, abusive and untruthful terms, that 'the perfectly insane' abolitionists of the Northern States have pursued towards Mr. Adams, in denouncing him, etc. Does not the editor of the Statesman know that this statement is false? Does he know of any instance in which the 'political abolitionists' have thus denounced Mr. Adams? If he does not, we beg leave to inform him that we can prove that the statement of the Atlas is entirely without foundation, and that, in our opinion, the editor of so respectable a journal should be more correct. The statement is so far from being true, that it has no foundation in truth. The non-resistant probably originated from the fact, that some of the non-resistant abolitionists have nominated Mr. Adams's orthodoxy, honesty, &c. As the Liberty party are most obnoxious to the politicians of the great parties, and by far the worst kind of abolitionists, they make them responsible for all the folly, absurdities, and wrong practices that are committed by the rest of the world.—*Western Citizen.*

SELECTIONS.

From the Worcester Spy.

Important Correspondence.

We present to our readers, this day, a letter from Daniel Webster on the important subject of the annexation of Texas. It was written, as will be seen, in reply to a letter signed by a large number of citizens of the county, who asked his opinion on certain points connected with that question. We omit that letter, as it appears to us it is embodied in the reply, and the names of the signers are annexed thereto.

At the time when the reply was received, there seemed to be a suspension of all active measures in favor of the annexation, and it was believed that a more appropriate opportunity might occur for laying it before the public. Recent directions indicate, that the time has arrived, that the hope of bringing about the annexation is not abandoned, and that the friends of the measure will not suffer the present session of Congress to pass by, without a determined effort to effect their object, unless there should be such a decided manifestation of public opinion in opposition to it, as to make the attempt manifestly hopeless. It is believed, therefore, that the proper time for its publication has arrived, and, in accordance therewith, we now lay it before the public.

It will be seen that the style of the letter is cool and dispassionate, and the views which it presents are liberal, enlarged, and comprehensive, indeed, we will commend themselves to the sober judgment of the people of the whole country, rather than to the feelings of any particular portion of it. That such a view of the subject was not calculated than any other, to produce a favorable influence, where such an influence is most needed, can hardly be a question for argument. The letter, therefore, will may be extensively circulated and generally read, in the hope that it may receive the candid consideration to which its importance entitles it.

There are, doubtless, other views of the subject, which must have impressed the mind of the writer, and, if there should be occasion for it, we hope they may hereafter be given to the public.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S LETTER

In reply to a communication addressed to him by a large number of the citizens of Worcester County, requesting his opinions on the subject of the proposed annexation of Texas to the United States.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1844.

GENTLEMEN—Circumstances have not allowed me an opportunity, until the present moment, of answering your letter of the 18th of December.

In that letter you expressed the belief that a proposition might probably be presented to Congress, at its present session, for the annexation of Texas to the United States; and you desire to know my opinions on the constitutionality of such a measure, its probable effect on the character and future action of our government, its tendency to promote the cause of freedom, or to strengthen the bonds of slavery; and, in general, the consequences which may justly be expected to result from the annexation of the United States of a large slaveholding country, not only to American liberty, American industry, and the continuance of the Union itself, but, also, to the great cause of human knowledge, virtue, and happiness in the United States, in Texas, and throughout the world.

At the time when your letter was received, I indulged a strong hope, that no such proposition would be made in Congress, or would proceed from any other quarter. But it seems unfortunate that a topic, so certain to produce great excitement, should be added to the other causes, operating at a present moment, to create diversities of political opinion.

As an intention has recently been manifested, however, that such a proposition will be made to the United States a subject of discussion in Congress, I lose no time in answering your letter, and in complying with its request. The answer is quite at hand.

In the early part of the year 1837, it was generally understood, that a proposition was about to be made to the government of the United States, for the annexation of Texas to the Union. Having occasion, in March, of that year, to address a political meeting in the city of New-York, upon the interesting topics of the day, I could not, consistently with my sense of propriety and duty, abstain from a full expression of my sentiments on this subject. I take the liberty to transcribe the remarks then made by me.

'Gentlemen, proposing to express opinions on the principal subjects of interest at the present moment, it is impossible to overlook the delicate question, which has arisen from events which have happened in the late Mexican Province of Texas. The independence of that Province has been recognized by the government of the United States. The Congress gave the President the means to be used when he saw fit, of opening a diplomatic intercourse with that government, and the late President immediately made use of those means.

'I saw no objection, under the circumstances, of posting an appropriation to be used when the President should think the proper time had come; and he deemed, certainly very promptly, that the time had already arrived. The question, simply, is, the history of Texas is not a little wonderful. A very few people, in a very short time, have established a government for themselves and have maintained the post of their ground against the whole power of the parent State; and which government, it is generally supposed, there is little probability, at the present moment, of the parent State being able to overturn.

'This proposal is, in form, a copy of our own. It is an American Constitution, substantially after the great American model. We, therefore, must wish it success; for there is no one who will more heartily rejoice than I shall, to see an independent community, intelligent, industrious and friendly to our institutions, springing up, and rising into happiness, distinction and power, upon our own principles of liberty and government.

'But it cannot be disguised, gentlemen, that a desire, or an intention is already manifested to annex Texas to the United States. On a subject of such mighty magnitude as this, I do not think it right to keep back my opinion; and if my intention is drawn to it, I should feel myself wanting in candor, if I did not express my opinion; since it is of the utmost, that on such a question, it is impossible I should be without some opinion.

'I say, then, gentlemen, in all frankness, that I see objections, I think insurmountable objections, to the annexation of Texas to the United States. When the Constitution was formed, it is now well known, that the minds of many, of the people, ever looked to the admission of any States into the Union, except such as then already existed, and such as could be formed out of territory then already belonging to the United States. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Constitution, however, the case of Louisiana arose. Louisiana was acquired by treaty with France, who had recently obtained it from Spain; but the object of this acquisition, certainly, was not mere extension of territory. Other great political interests were connected with it. Spain, while she possessed Louisiana, had held the mouths of the great rivers which rise in the Western States, and flow into the Gulf of Mexico. She had disputed our use of these rivers, already, and with a powerful nation in possession of these outlets to the sea, it is obvious that the commerce of all the West was in danger of perpetual vexation. The command of these rivers to the sea was, therefore, the great object aimed at in the acquisition of Louisiana. But that acquisition necessarily brought territory along with it, and three States now exist, formed out of that ancient province.

'A similar policy, and a similar necessity, though perhaps not entirely so urgent, led to the acquisition of Florida.

'Now, no such necessity, no such policy, requires the annexation of Texas. In the annexation of Texas to our territory, it is not necessary to the full and complete enjoyment of all which we already possess, that Texas should be brought more closely together from that of Louisiana and Florida. There being, then, no necessity for extending the limits of the Union, in the present form of government, is an important point in your inquiries.

'The Constitution of the United States provides, that 'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.'

'It would seem very reasonable to confine this provision to States to be formed out of territories already belonging to the United States, and to exclude from the provision, the case of the formation of territory from individual States, and agreeing to the proposed terms of cession, and already stipulated that they might be created, and admitted into the Union. Any other construction would be forced and unnatural; and it would imply, that the framers of the Constitution, and the people, were looking, in the extension of their territories, although those which they then held were, one half a wilderness, and the other half very thinly peopled, to the time, when, in the history of the States, the case of advantages; a republic, full of interest in its origin, its history, its present condition, and its prospects for the future, would be seen to have enlarged its boundaries, let us seek, rather, to strengthen its union, to draw out its resources, to maintain and improve its institutions of religion and liberty, and thus to go forward in its career of prosperity and glory.

'I am, gentlemen, with most true regard,

'Your obliged friend,

'And obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Extracts from the Twelfth Annual Report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for 1844.

PRAYERFUL ACTION.

With regard to the policy and the duties of those abolitionists who are free to use the elective franchise, we still entertain the same views that we have fully set forth in former reports and addresses. We hold it to be the duty of abolitionists, at the polls, as well as elsewhere, to act honestly for the benefit of the slave; to refuse to vote for any man, for any office, who, we believe, has not good reason to rely that he will use all the power annexed to that office, for the abolition of slavery, and of whatever is necessarily connected with the duty devolved upon it. No man who does less than this is worthy of the name of an abolitionist. If a man professes to be upon slavery as the great crime and calamity of this country and this age, we have a right to demand of him a consistent testimony against it, at the ballot-box as well as in the church or market place. This duty we think he has discharged when he casts his vote for none but a consistent abolitionist for whom that way may be cast, in accordance therewith. Of political thinking, we have no quarrel with him. We cannot require of him to abandon his opinion on Tariff or Bank, or Sub-Treasury, or National Debt, or Independent Treasury, if he be but faithful to his anti-slavery idea. Were the Whig party to separate itself entirely from slavery, and refuse to support slaveholders in any instance, except such as abolitionists could not justly reject, still we could not affirm it to be the unqualified duty of a democratic abolitionist to support it. We could not, in conscience, call upon a man, in the case of those parties, we have found it arrayed in its prominent influences against the cause of human freedom. We have shown its origin to be factious, its purpose the diversion of the awakening public attention from a corrupt church and clergy to the less guilty State, its measures of proscription and hate, its original enterprise, and slanderous attacks upon the private and public character of the most faithful abolitionists. We have seen its leaders, with honorable exceptions, while they profess that fidelity to the slave demands of his friends a total separation from the slaveholding South, yet, actually, still remaining in their pro-slavery sects, and giving their countenance and support to clergymen and ecclesiastical bodies, against the rights and interests of the slave apostacy, and the profligate hypocrisy of whose support of it as much exceeds the guilt of statesmen and political parties, as they transcend them in the enlightened means of knowing it. We have seen it identified with the most malevolent species of 'New Organization,' in the 'Massachusetts Abolitionist' of Mr. Garrison, denounced as the principal organ, 'The Emancipator,' of right belonging to the American Anti-Slavery Society, is now to be found, 'Editor of the Liberty party,' and the candidate of the party for the highest office in the nation, men, who were members of the unfaithful Committee of the American Society, and joined the association, which, from the time of its attempts to cripple and destroy the true anti-slavery movement. We know that there are good men and true friends of the slave, who have ranked with the Whigs, as there are those of the other two, who are either not well informed of the character of the men who give in name to the party, or who have not duly considered it. We are assured that there are great numbers in the Western part of the country, who look upon them and hate them, and that there are those, who refused to separate themselves from them at the first opportunity. We think that these friends must see that there is no other way in which they can divest themselves of the character imparted to the general movement by its leaders; any more than a Whig or a Democrat can free himself from the color of his party, but by voting for Clay or Alexander Van Buren, by the Globe or the Intelligencer, except by refusing to give them any countenance or support. While we hold the candidates for the present Presidency equally unworthy of the suffrages of abolitionists, we would not fail to urge upon those, who regard the ballot-box, as one of their means of duty, not to be hasty in waiting to themselves or to the cause. Let them remember that a single vote cast on the highest principle of duty, cannot be regretted, and that, in no contingency, than the election of the least of a choice of evils. We would suggest to voting abolitionists the expediency of making a preliminary nomination of candidates for elections, for the sake of convenience and concert, without incurring the expense or the incumbrance of a regular political organization. We would shape their action may take, we would exhort them to see to it, that it flows from an unselfish and enlightened view of anti-slavery duty.

TEXAS—RETURN LONGNOCKS.—The correspondent of the Houston Democrat says, that president Tyler's message having been received, the clerk of the house of representatives (of the Texas congress) read the portion which relates to that republic, which thereupon was 'referred to the committee on foreign affairs'! We further learn, that the resolutions introduced into the Texas congress, for the annexation of that territory to this union, prescribes the manner in which it shall be done! and also makes provision for the United States assuming the public debt of Texas, at the rate of its specie value! This is capital!—*Cincinnati Philanthropist.*

[Continuation of the Selections.]

"Now, no such necessity, no such policy, requires the annexation of Texas. In the annexation of Texas to our territory, it not necessary to the full and complete enjoyment of all which we already possess, that Texas should be brought more closely together from that of Louisiana and Florida. There being, then, no necessity for extending the limits of the Union, in the present form of government, is an important point in your inquiries.

"The Constitution of the United States provides, that 'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.'

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POLITICAL PARTIES. THE WHIG PARTY.

We are sorry to say that the political parties have in no essential particular changed the position which they occupied, when we addressed you last, with regard to slavery and anti-slavery. HENRY CLAY is still the chosen candidate of the Whig party, upon a platform so decidedly concentrate their energies, at the approaching election. That a man who has declared from the high places of the nation, that the Constitution gives no power to the slave property,' who, in conformity to this doctrine, extorts his ignominious livelihood from the unwilling hands of slaves, and who boasts and sells the image of God in the man-market, should be the favorite of the Whigs of South of Mason's and Dixon's line, is nothing extraordinary. But to see men who avowed a soil which slavery does not curse, whose habits of thought are free from the immediate influences of that fatal system, and who boast of the inheritance of a nicer sense of human rights, and of a more masculine morality, accepting with acclamation this disgraceful nomination, would seem as strange as it is unanimously were we not already familiar with the paralyzing effects of slavery upon the minds and the image of God in the man-market, should be the favorite of the Whigs

Position of John Quincy Adams in regard to the Anti-Slavery Movement.

The Editor of the Emancipator is for shielding John Quincy Adams from censure. For the purpose of refreshing the memories of abolitionists, in regard to the sentiments which Mr. A. has uttered, respecting slavery in the District of Columbia and in Florida—following anti-slavery movement, &c., we make the following extract from his speech in Congress, delivered January 21st, 1839.

It is equally well known to the House, and partially known, also, to the country, that, in regard to petitions for the abolition of slavery, I said from the very first moment I offered any of them, that I was not prepared to grant the prayer they contained. I have so declared repeatedly in this House. Of all the anti-slavery petitions I have presented here, it is only those against the annexation of Texas (which I consider now out of the question) and those which call for the prohibition of the internal slave trade between the States, which I have been willing to vote for. I have repeatedly said that I would vote against all the others, unless on a free and full discussion of the whole subject in this House, I shall see that I can change my opinion. I now distinctly say to this House, to the country, and to the world, that I have not changed my opinion; *and if the question was put this day,* I would vote against it. I wish the members of the anti-slavery society and the abolitionists, and people of all descriptions, to know this.

I hold no opinion which may not be changed by the force of argument after a full and fair discussion. But I do say, that as for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as at present advised, I would not vote for it. I say again, I would not vote in favor of it, if the question should come up this day. And I retain the opinion after the lapse of six years since I presented the first petition on the subject, notwithstanding all the arguments I have seen; and many able arguments have I seen: I have read with great care all that is said on the abolition side of the question in their periodicals, journals, and pamphlets. I have read them all: I have weighed and considered them well; and I have not seen reason to change my opinion. I wish them clearly to understand this.

I now say what my opinion is, (and I say it here openly,) that the abolitionists and the anti-slavery societies may take, in regard to me, what course they please. If I shall ever be again a candidate—which is not probable, for there is scarcely an even chance that I shall live to see another election—but if I am, though I should be sorry to lose their votes, I must abide the consequence. I have abided the consequences often enough in the course of my life, and I must do it again. I am determined at all events, that they shall not misunderstand me. Some of their principal leaders do understand me perfectly well, and this declaration may save them some trouble, and me also.

The following extracts are taken from Mr. Adams' Letter to the Citizens of the United States,' dated Quincy, May 21, 1839.

I wish to take no part in the controversies between the abolition and colonization societies, all of which I believe to have been formed under the influence of laudable motives, and all to promote the ultimate emancipation of the slaves in this Union. I believe the plans hitherto proposed by them *all*, so far as regards the abolition of slavery, utterly impracticable, and I believe them all equally liable, *at this time*, to the charge of pertinaciously persisting in the pursuit of objects obviously and notoriously impracticable.

The immediate abolition of slavery, therefore, in the District of Columbia, is no more in my power than any member of Congress to effect than the immediate abolition of polygamy at Constantinople, or the immediate abolition of wooden burning in Hindostan; and if it were possible even to introduce into the House of Representatives a bill to that effect, I should vote against it so long as I should know it to be not only unwelcome, but odious, to at least four-fifths of the peoples throughout the Union.

In a special manner should I be opposed to the enactment of a law to operate exclusively upon the people of the District of Columbia, against the will of that people and in compliance with petitions from persons not to be affected themselves by the law. This is contrary to the first principles of our institutions. The Declaration of Independence derives all the just powers of government from the consent of the governed. When the people are represented in the legislative assembly, the consent of the whole must be inferred from the vote of the representative majority: but when the people are to be bound by laws emanating from a legislative assembly wherein they have no representation, their will must be ascertained by manifestations from themselves. Now it is certain that a great majority of the inhabitants of the District are interested in opposition to the abolition of slavery among them by law, and would consider it as an unconstitutional violation of their rights of property. I hold the opinion that no human being cannot be made the property of another. That persons and things are by the laws of Nature and of nature's God, so distinct that no human law can transform either into the other. But this is not the opinion of the people of the District of Columbia; and in the enactment of laws to bear exclusively upon them, and not upon myself or my immediate constituents, I must be governed by their will, and not by my own.

These two reasons—the impracticability of accomplishing by law a measure of transcendant importance against the public opinion of four-fifths of the nation, and the injustice of enacting a law against the will of others upon whom it is to bear, and at the will of others upon whom it is not to operate at all—have been, and will continue to be, decisive with me against my voting in Congress for the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Either of them would, if alone, bring me to the same conclusion.

I have believed, and still believe, that after such full and free discussion, any bill for the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia should a committee even report such a bill, would be rejected in the House by a majority of at least four to one; and I have hoped, if not feared, that great multitudes of you would, in the result of such a discussion, become convinced that the time has not yet come when justice herself would be satisfied with the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Your rights at least would thus be maintained inviolate. I trust that a full consideration by yourselves of the injustice, under all possible circumstances, of legislation over a people against their will; at the demand of another people not subject to the law themselves, would deter you from perseverance in a pursuit, your only motives for which are the dispensation of justice to all.

If the exercise of British parliamentary emancipation is to be considered as having solved this question *upon a divine foundation*, you will please to observe that an essential part of it is the payment of one hundred millions of dollars to the owners of those emancipated slaves by way of indemnity for the loss of their *property*, as it had been held to be under the preceding laws, and as it is held to be by the laws of our slaveholding States. This parliamentary emancipation was evidently a compromise; in my estimation, an honest and honorable compromise.

If asked whether I consider it a sin to hold a felon-creature in bondage for life, I might answer that I would be in one; but I am not disposed to denounce the judgment of God upon those who differ from me in religious belief, whether upon the slavery question or upon any other.

If the abolition of slavery is ever to be effected in this country, it must be either by force, that is, by a civil or servile war, or by the consent of the owners of the slaves. All the abolitionists and all the anti-slavery societies totally disclaim all intention or purpose to employ or sanction the employment of force, and complain, with reason, that the imputation of any such design to them is slander. Immediate emancipation, therefore, is in their purpose to be effected, with the consent of the masters, and without indemnity to them. In what page of the volume of human nature they found the recipe for this balsam to the sores of slavery, or in what cell in the imagination it was devised, I know not. Prudhon, it is said, made the discovery that an effusion of oil will smooth the mountain waves of a stormy sea; but no philosopher has yet appeared to undertake the experiment of pouring it into the summit of a smoking crater to extinguish the volcano within.

I am, in the humbler sphere, utterly rankling between the slaveholders and the abolitionists, and am convinced that, so long as it exists in this Union, or even in the District of Columbia, is as far beyond the regions of possibility, as any project of the philosophers of Laputa. The multiplication of anti-slavery societies within the last three years has appeared to me rather to weaken than to promote their cause, or at least, their prospects of immediate or early success.

My objections to the immediate abolition of slavery in the territory of Florida are the same with those which I have here set forth against the same measure in the District of Columbia, with the addition that the continuous system of the territory was ceded to the United States by Spain formally stipulate for its admission into the Union on the same terms as are secured to the primitive citizens of the United States. To impose a new condition now upon the inhabitants, as a *sine qua non* of admission to the Union as a State, would be, in my judgment, a breach of faith.

I desire not to interfere with the institutions of slavery where they are established—I would not abolish slavery without, but regard to indemnity, the slaveholder for his loss, and, to avoid the necessity for that, would begin the process with a generation yet unborn. I adhere, without a tittle, to the stipulations of the Constitution of the United States, which I have pledged my faith before God to support; and I can lend my hand to no project for the abolition of slavery in these United States without the consent of their masters.

Massachusetts Legislature.

In the House of Representatives on the 8th inst.

On motion of Mr. Stevenson, the resolves concerning Texas were taken up.

Mr. Bourne, of Plymouth, supported his motion, that the house recede from their amendment.

Mr. Page, of New-Bedford, objected. If he consured the Senators, he would do it directly, and in a way that could not be mistaken.

Mr. Sloan, of Boston, could not in conscience do anything that would imply a censure upon our Senators in Congress. He would therefore first vote upon more newspaper report of what was said and of what was not said. He had not the proper evidence before him, to vote otherwise. If the House would adhere to its amendment; if not, he should be compelled to vote against the resolves.

Mr. Cushing, of Hingham, observed that the resolutions did not necessarily imply a censure upon our Senators, because it had been reported that the debate was conducted with great heat, and that the Senate, with the President, would alone have to do with the matter. But if the intention were by not concurring in the amendment to frame resolves, to condemn the conduct of our Senators, he hoped the House would insist on its amendment, because he would never censure our Senators indirectly. He considered it the bounden duty of the Legislature to reprimand our Senators, not only if they were guilty of official misconduct, but if they in any respect disgraced or offended the honor or dignity of the Commonwealth. But before he consented to censure, he wished to have evidence before him upon which he could rely. If he had been represented to those gentlemen unheard—he felt bound to give them an opportunity to defend themselves.

Mr. Seaver, of Tewksbury, hardly knew whether he voted right or wrong, when the resolves were formerly before the House. He was now in favor of the amendment, but he was still more in favor of striking out all relating to both Senators and Representatives. By so doing, the resolves would pass unanimously, and we should present an unbroken front upon this question. He was by no means prepared to censure, and least of all upon newspaper reports, the general value of which he perfectly appreciated. Why has himself been misrepresented in the newspapers as opposing short sessions, (when the contrary was the fact) and that, too, in a paper (the Boston Courier) as respectable as any, and probably much higher than these Washington papers, on which some gentlemen rely as authority for blaming our Senators. If he did censure, he should not do it sidewaysly, but openly and manfully. He thought the secret of all the talk about censuring our Senators, was a wish to curry favor with the abolitionists, and some members have been, I think, attempting to see which could bid highest for their votes.

Mr. Richardson, of Woburn, was glad that the gentleman from Tewksbury (Mr. Seaver) had taken occasion to explain himself to the gentleman from Lowell, (by attributing the erroneous impression that he had opposed short sessions, to misrepresentation in the newspapers.) The gentleman from New Bedford thinks these resolves do not go far enough, and he (Mr. Richardson) from Boston think they go too far. He hoped the House would recede from its amendment. Our Representatives in Congress have behaved themselves like men—they have stood like rocks in the midst of the surging billows of the wide waste—but our Senators did not dare to rise, when the fame, and honor, and integrity of Massachusetts were grossly insulted. The resolves were presented from Alabama—a State as black in infamy and guilt as any other State—a State which, when the shoes of Draco were written in blood, should be written in ink as black as—ever was, and with a pen of fire—then, forsooth, they remained fixed in their seats like Egyptian statues. He respected our Senators as long as they were men—but when they did not behave like men, he thought it high time for the Massachusetts Legislature to speak out. The House has nothing to do with our Representatives—they have proved themselves always true and faithful—but it is for us, who are upon the spot, and the House did not recede from its amendment, it would not be in the belief that our Senators did not deserve to be censured, but because we dare not do it.

The House then refused to recede from its amendment—115 yeas to 128 nays.

On motion of Mr. Cushing, of Boston, the House then insisted on its amendment—131 yeas to 117 nays.

Mr. Saltonstall, of Salem, moved that a Committee of Conference be appointed to consult with the Senate upon the difference of opinion between the two Houses, and the chair appointed Messrs. Saltonstall, Sceva, and Hopkins, of Northampton, were appointed to constitute said Committee.

The committee subsequently reported in favor of striking out the entire clause respecting the instruction of the Senators and Representatives, &c. which was adopted by both branches of the Legislature!—And all to screen Messrs. Bates and Davis from even the slightest appearance of censure! Shame!

The Gag Law.

On submitting a proposition to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, that a Select Joint Committee be appointed to inquire into the gag law, we should take in reference to the Gag Law in Congress:

Mr. Richardson said that it was high time that the free States should begin to speak out on this matter in tones not to be mistaken. Too long had they been controlled by the South in the exercise of some of the dearest privileges of freemen—too long had the South trodden in the dust the essential rights of freedom—until it well nigh seemed that the genius of liberty had folded her hands and was weeping in despair beneath the tyrant of her fallen temple. The right of petition—guaranteed to every citizen of our country by the Constitution, and secured to us as much as any other thing by that compact, had been recklessly trampled under foot, and the petitions of the people had been thrust aside as unworthy of the notice of Congress—it was time that this should cease, and Massachusetts owed it to herself and her citizens, to rise in her strength, and rebuke the People's Representatives who had polluted their hands with the blood of the people of their inborn and natural right. He hoped the order would pass, and that prompt as well as suitable steps would be reported by the Committee.

Mr. Kelloy, of Pittsfield, also trusted that the order would be adopted, and that the committee would report the names of those Representatives to whom it was owing that the gag resolution of which this ardent, generous, and warm-hearted gentleman from Lowell (Mr. Sloan) so complained. They would be found to be men of the North, and men who belonged to the same political party of which the gentleman from Lowell was a member. They were members of the modern democracy, who so insultingly conducted towards the people. Not one Whig from the North was found to do such a deed.

Mr. Richardson replied that it was with the blush of shame upon his cheek that he acknowledged the truth of his remarks. The gag resolution was the professed democracy of the North had thus acted; but for himself, he repudiated with scorn such democracy as theirs, and he hoped for the honor of his country that they would be expelled from its ranks. The fundamental principle of true democracy was a just respect for the people's will, and an unflinching regard for their rights. And it was a disgrace of pride that he could refer to the democratic Representatives from Massachusetts, who had never bowed their necks to the arrogance of Southern dictation, nor made dough-faces of themselves by obeying Southern commands with regard to this foul system of bondage. He was proud of the people of his who, on the contrary, had always shown themselves firm in maintaining the liberties of their constituents.

The Committee was appointed, but disagreeing among themselves, on party grounds, they did not report in favor of any definite action on the subject by the Legislature, and none was taken!

COMMUNICATIONS.

LANCASTER, March 12, 1844.

DEAR FRIEND:

Enclosed is a report of the proceedings of the Convention, held in this place, last week. You know something, I suppose, of the character of this Convention. It is one, which I had long wished to visit. I had heard of it as noted for some of its agricultural products, for its rich soil, and the beauty of its village. The last and principal object, I had not seen much of, but I wish to see people, of whose almost pastoral life I had heard; whose quiet life, removed from the 'pomp and circumstance,' and evil of cities and larger towns, lent a sort of poetical charm to New Braintree. An anti-slavery convention is not to be lightly to take into a town, when you want to see the people in a state of quietude; it does not show the political side of any community, if it has one; but we felt that we had got among a peculiar people, when we found a large audience collected to hear us, chiefly no doubt from curiosity, but some of them, and I hope for many others, to see a subject has not been presented to them before, except in a single lecture, several years since. We were treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy, and had large and attentive audiences through a meeting of two and a half days. There are some young people there, of notable spirit, and from them, as well as their elders, I trust an anti-slavery character will be given to New Braintree, in addition to the other characteristics which so deservedly are attributed to her.

The Convention was an exceedingly interesting one. You will have something of its character from the resolutions passed.

Yours, S. H. GAY.

Convention at New Braintree.

March 9th. The meeting was held in the town hall, Dr. Martin in the chair. Opened by prayer by the Rev. Mr. Fisk.

The following resolution was offered by S. H. Gay, and discussed by the mover and Miss Kelley:

Resolved, That American slavery is a positive sin, under all circumstances—an 'embodiment' of the principle of the lowest and most cruel system of war against man—an insult to the majesty of the Most High; and our duty, as men and as Christians, demands the immediate abolition of it.

Voted, That all persons be requested to participate in the deliberations and decisions of this meeting.

Adjourned to meet at 6 1-2 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment.

The hall very crowded.

The following resolutions were offered by Dr. Hudson:

Resolved, That the chattel system is the 'American system,' inasmuch as it has been perpetuated and established over thirteen States of the Union, by the power delegated to the South by the northern people; thereby constituting the northern people the slaveholders, while the southern people are the slave-masters.

Resolved, That the American churches and ecclesiastical bodies are responsible for all the blood and oppression connected with slavery; for all its invasion of Jehovah's laws, its imbruting heathenish, licentious and damning influence upon the masters as well as slaves, and its corrupting and anti-christian influences upon the North; for they either own slaves, or apologize for, and sanctify the system, and most of the members have been, I think, attempting to see which could bid highest for their votes.

Mr. Richardson, of Woburn, was glad that the gentleman from Tewksbury (Mr. Seaver) had taken occasion to explain himself to the gentleman from Lowell, (by attributing the erroneous impression that he had opposed short sessions, to misrepresentation in the newspapers.) The gentleman from New Bedford thinks these resolves do not go far enough, and he (Mr. Richardson) from Boston think they go too far. He hoped the House would recede from its amendment. Our Representatives in Congress have behaved themselves like men—they have stood like rocks in the midst of the surging billows of the wide waste—but our Senators did not dare to rise, when the fame, and honor, and integrity of Massachusetts were grossly insulted. The resolves were presented from Alabama—a State as black in infamy and guilt as any other State—a State which, when the shoes of Draco were written in blood, should be written in ink as black as—ever was, and with a pen of fire—then, forsooth, they remained fixed in their seats like Egyptian statues. He respected our Senators as long as they were men—but when they did not behave like men, he thought it high time for the Massachusetts Legislature to speak out. The House has nothing to do with our Representatives—they have proved themselves always true and faithful—but it is for us, who are upon the spot, and the House did not recede from its amendment, it would not be in the belief that our Senators did not deserve to be censured, but because we dare not do it.

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Convention at Abington.

ABINGTON, March 7th, 1844.

FRIEND GARRISON:

The glorious cause of suffering humanity is advancing rapidly in this town. A meeting of Hundred Conventions' was held in this town on the 5th ultimo, and a very interesting meeting it was, too. Mr. Foster, Mr. Remond, J. M. Spear were present, and we never saw them more interesting in better spirits. The way Foster showed up the hypocrisy of this guilty nation, both in Church and State, was a sight to behold, we can assure you. He is truly one of the 'sons of thunder.' His positions could not be gainsayed, and must have carried conviction to every heart. The audience was large and respectful. A contribution was taken up in aid of the Convention, amounting to twenty-one dollars, besides a good sum contributed to the American Society. Rev. E. Hewitt, of Abington, presided, in a very satisfactory manner. The meeting was held in his church.

On the day following, a Convention was held in East Abington. The Congregational church in the place could not be obtained for holding the meeting. It was held in one of the halls in the town, and filled to overflowing. Great pains had been taken beforehand to inform the people, that the anti-slavery of East Abington to know that the friends there will never submit to such conduct. What will be the result, time only shows.

On Sunday, Foster and Remond lectured in the first church in Hanson, to a crowded assembly.

On Sabbath evening, arrangements were made for friend Remond to lecture in the large meeting-house at South Abington, a place where anti-slavery sentiments have not made much progress. The evening was beautiful, and when Remond entered the house, it was handsomely filled with an intelligent and respectful audience. After a silence of a few minutes, a hymn was read by friend Remond, and sung by the choir, which was very large. After which, Remond read the close of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew. He then commenced his remarks, which were such as I believe much never saw better attention paid to any public speaker. The immense audience was held in breathless attention. I believe no lecture to believers church good has been done. If the position now assumed here by individuals, and especially the Congregational church, be maintained, much good has truly been done. Since Mr. Remond's lecture, the Congregational church have came up to the work nobly. They held a special meeting, called especially for the purpose of taking action in regard to the slavery question. They passed a series of resolutions, though, we are told, are quite radical. They not only declar the slaveholders from their communion, but shun in fellowship with him. They voted, also, to withdraw all connexion and support from the Boston Recorder, if it continues to insult us, at their meeting, to have the resolution, &c. published in the Liberator, which passed unanimously. Let them truly maintain their present position, and it is all we ask. We can say truly, that Remond's lecture has done great good. The people here are all alive on the subject. The good cause is advancing rapidly. The society connected with the above church, held a parish meeting on Friday last, when a motion was made by our friend Cothbell, that the house be opened for the anti-slavery meeting of the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society, which is to be holden in this place. Hon. Jared Whitmore moved to lay the motion on the table, which was unanimously voted down, the motion was carried, commendatory of the society, &c. when the motion passed without any opposition! We tell you, friends in the cause of humanity, that we hope the friends in the county will come up to the meeting in large numbers. Arrange your business, gentlemen, so as to be here on the first Wednesday in April, without fail. Yours, truly,

H. HOBART BRIGHAM.

Abolition of Texas.

We call upon all good men and true, to stand by the Constitution, and prevent this great wrong from being done. We warn all who are disposed to give to their countenance and support, to BEWARE. Let them look carefully to the first step they take. The first step may seem to be of little moment, consequences involving irretrievable ruin:—ruin—blood-shed—the downfall of Republican principles—the ruin of our country—the destruction that overwhelmed—the precursor of evils, the overwhelming extent of which, they can neither appreciate nor understand. We call upon the friends of humanity in the public press—as citizens of this free Republic—we declare—solemnly, seriously, advisedly—that we will not stand by, and see the independent nation of Texas annexed to this country, in spite of its territory, and as a wide-spread field for the extension and dissemination of Slavery. We will resist it, in every way in which resistance can be effective. We will resist it with our pen. We will resist it with our tongue. We will resist it with our whole soul—with every power and faculty of our body. We will resist with the last drop of our blood. There is no hope of happiness on earth that we will not surrender, rather than submit to this accursed, hellish plot.

We are, at present, most ardently engaged in a political campaign, the result of which we have deeply at heart. We have been cheering prospects have spread themselves out to our view. Success seems to be within our grasp. There has never been a time, when the advantages of a true and faithful administration of our government, by wise and able men, and upon the basis of the principles laid down in our creed, is apparent to be more thoroughly appreciated, or more eagerly sought for, by the great majority of the people, than at the present time. If it is the purpose of those who wield the power of the government, the Constitution to carry through this project of Annexation, we say at once—decidedly and unequivocally—that, rather than yield to it, we will dissolve all our political associations, BUT THAT OF OPPOSITION TO THIS PROJECT. We will yield our high hopes of success. We will give up the political ascendancy, which have been so dear to us. We will surrender the Whig cause: We will, even, abandon Mr. Clay. We will do every sacrifice of political consideration and association, and league ourselves with those, whoever they may be, who are determined—at every hazard and upon every point—to prevent the annexation of the Slave Territory to this Free Country. THIS MUST NOT BE DONE. IT SHALL NOT BE DONE.

We yield to no American citizen, in the strength of our attachment to the political institutions of our country—in the devoted affection we bear to the country—and in the deep interest we feel in which we hold the Union of these States. If, however, the Constitution is to be trampled upon—if the wishes of a large portion of the people of this Republic are to be overlooked and disregarded—if the curse of slavery is to be spread yet more widely, its influence immortalized, and its dark shadows spread down, broadcast over otherwise free land—we say most sincerely, that this once glorious Union will have been shorn of its blessings, that the ties which have bound us to it will be rudely severed, and that imminent danger will impend, of its instant and irrevocable dissolution.—*Boston Atlas.*

Clay and Abolition.

We have been somewhat amused in looking over the proceedings of the late Whig District Convention in Lynn, as reported in the Salem Register. Among the resolutions passed was one declaring that 'the slaves of the South are *entitled to their freedom*,' and that 'Slavery is in direct opposition to the great principle of our government, that all men are created equal. Next follows a resolution against the annexation of Texas; and after this a resolution declaring that 'the Right of Petition, the Right of Speech, the Right to Labor and *reap the reward of honest toil*,' are inseparably connected with the Fortunes of HENRY CLAY!'

This is pitifully ludicrous. Look at it. 'Slavery is opposed, to the great principle of our government—that all men are free.' The abolitionist and patron of Slavery must be excluded from the party that Government! 'The slaves are entitled to freedom!' *therefore* a man who holds sixty of these slaves shall be appointed to represent the Whigs of Congress! 'they are 'entitled,' must be honored above all others! Texas must not come into the Union, *therefore*, Henry Clay must be made President! 'Slavery is opposed to the great principle of our government—that all men are free!' Therefore, we will vote for such a man as Henry Clay! 'Slavery is a violation of our principles!' Therefore, we will vote for Henry Clay! '

THE LIBERATOR

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 22, 1844.

Slavery on American Morals and Manners. No. II.

We have been told what the "grave charge against slavery mostly is and: how let us listen to what it is. It is of great moment that it be precisely stated. The charge is, that a body of the unfortunate African race, formerly introduced into this country and which has come BY INHERITANCE into the hands of the present generation, are held in bondage for life. Is not the charge true? Are not the rights of property and tyranny yet in our hands? Have we this fact demonstrate to all the earth, in view of our professions as a free and Christian nation, that we are what DANIEL O'CONNELL has so fearlessly dared us to be—the 'basest of the base, and the meanest of the meanest of the execrable?' These unfortunate victims, says Dr. Dewey, 'were formerly introduced into this country.' How introduced? He does not tell us—for, if he did, what avail would be his plea? Was it upon an 'inhumanity' introduced by the British pirates, who ravaged the African coast, destroying it with fire and sword, burning hamlets and villages, and kidnapping or slaughtering their inhabitants? What had such monsters to bequeath? They had no poor Africans; but did the latter thereby lose their right to liberty? They sold them to those who were ready to purchase them; but were the purchasers as bad as the thieves? 'Come by inheritance?' Merciful God! is not this an outrage on society—putting darkness for light—throwing the mantle of innocence on the blood-stained robber? Is not the 'inheritance' fair, free and just at the hands of its giver? Is it not a gift of a rattlesnake? 'It is an involuntary possession,' says Dr. D. 'It is not sought by those in whom the title now vests; not desired by the men of the South; it was entailed upon them.' Here are four successive, inexcusable statements, and obviously made for the express purpose of exonerating every southern man-stealer and chattel-holder from all guilt in slavery! 'It is an involuntary possession!' Yes, if they were true, what guilt could be attached to the present generation of slaveholders? 'It is not sought by those in whom the title now vests;' it is human understanding; a wider departure from truth was never witnessed; a more profligate defence was never made. A single glance at the monstrous fictions is all that our limits will allow us to take.

It is pleaded that property in human bodies and souls (for they are never separated, either theoretically or practically,) at the South, 'is an involuntary possession.' That property was originally stolen; knowingly purchased as such; then knowingly held as such. They who have purchased or inherited it, have done so against their will—not by choice—not spontaneously—involuntarily! It was forced upon them, under terrible pains and penalties by a process beyond their control—in opposition to their free agency! Who is it, in this nineteenth century, and in this stage of the anti-slavery enterprise, that ventures to argue in this foolish and audacious manner? A 'doctor of divinity'—a learned expositor of Christian morality—a master in Israel! Is this the conclusion of the nineteenth—what must be the fate of the taught? It is certain that Orville Dewey is a believer in the oneness and identity of the human race; for, if he were, he could not possibly address ideas as one of justification for the commission of the infamous deed, that the human beings (in the sounding one of the word) can be a 'possession;' he puts them on a level with property, and endeavors to substantiate the innocence of slaveholders, on this ground.

'It was not sought by those in whom the title now vests.' It was thrust upon them unaware! Rather as principals nor accessories had they any hand in enslaving those whom they are still holding in slavery! They have not stolen any body, nor cursed any man's wife or child—they sought to do themselves no injury—they sought to do themselves no injury at the expense of other men! Their parents there is no sin of blood or pollution; their souls are pure, their consciences clean, their acts unimpeachable; they are paragons of innocence, only more unfortunate! They have never passed any law or caused any to be passed, forbidding slaves to learn to read, to assemble together for religious purposes, to obtain their freedom, except on condition of perpetual banishment from the State; laws making it penal offence to distribute the Bible among them, making their incarceration a crime, and punishing their allowing them in perpetual servitude! The slave trade by which they find themselves empowered to kill murder the poor and needy with impunity, is now down to them 'by inheritance'—it is 'an involuntary possession,' over which they have had and have no control, and which is as immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians! Well, here is a mode of charity broad enough to cover a whole world lying in wickedness; here is scope enough for the exercise of every conceivable crime; here is a comprehensive mode of sinning without guilt, which surpasses all other discoveries in this ingenious age. Burglars, thieves, highwaymen, pirates all, give up! Whatever spoil you take, you can honestly say it came to your heirs, and they can honestly receive it! Rough work, this! Yet it is all that it seems! Such is all that it is! 'an involuntary possession'!

'It is not desired by the most of them.' This is given by their eagerness to immulate every abolitionist whom they can catch on their soil; by their active hostility to every scheme of emancipation, either near or off, immediate or gradual; by their mature and conquest of Texas, and their determination to annex it to the Union, for the purpose of extending and perpetuating their slave system; by the death was waged expressly to break up the trade in human merchandise; by the unanimous resolve they have excited in all parts of the country, to put down freedom of speech; by their making it death to the lives of northern freemen who truly love slavery, to travel south of Mason and Dixon's line; by riding the U. S. mail bags, and casting the consuming fire such letters, newspapers and pamphlets as incubated the right of all human beings to be free; by their resisting every effort that is made to improve the condition of their unhappy victims, and threatening to dissolve the Union if they are not allowed to make the North one vast slaving ground, over which they may freely course their bloodhounds, in pursuit of their chattels! Inheritance, as often as it attempts to escape to Canada in search of freedom; inheritance, by slavery to be the corner-stone of our republican edifice, and the great element of national dignity and glory; by the fact that among thousands of clergymen at the South, not one of them is heard lifting up his voice like a trumpet against the system, by which he is enabled to live; by the fact, that the churches at the South are full of slaveholding members, and in their place and fellowship with the existing state of things; and by countless facts of a similar character, too numerous to be passed from pastoral, an hundred fold more, by imagination transcend! Is what we call contempt not the southern men-stealers and chattel-holders, this 'divine' dough-face and 'ordained' deceiver! and with what disgust and indignation must they be apologized and dismissed, that 'it (slave property) is not desired by the most of them!' Is it possible that which he knows to be so utterly false, that no one common honesty and intelligence can be deceived by it in this country, but which was made to deceive the people of Europe, and to thus illustrate the piety and excellence of 'American Morals and Manners?'

'It was entailed upon them.' A million of times this falsehood and ridiculous subterfuge been erected to screen the guilty from condemnation, and actually has it been demonstrated. We deliberately affirm that no honest man, no one who is governed by principle, no republican, and especially no Christian, can give utterance to such a sentiment. Men cannot bequeath, men cannot inherit crimes. Robbery, adultery, concubinage, and absolute despotism, cannot be entailed upon any human being; and he who is guilty of these atrocious acts, may plead in vain that he is walking in the footsteps of infamous predecessors. It is in the power of every slaveholder, in this country, in every part of the globe—whatever may be the governmental prohibitions, whatever the laws—instantly to pronounce his slaves free, and it is his duty to do so, at whatever hazard to himself or to them. God holds no man responsible for the consequences of right action, but for those only which spring from disobedience to the eternal laws of his being. No one but an atheist in heart will argue that it is more safe to do wrong than to do right. If the immortal soul seem so born equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, then it can never be politic or proper to disregard that truth, to deny that equality, to wrest from any human being that liberty.

What excuse, then, have the living slaveholders of this country for keeping three millions of their countrymen in chains? What hinders them from proclaiming liberty throughout all their borders? Are they afraid of being swept away of their dead ancestors? What are they doing, any more than those ancestors did, to prevent the entailment of slavery on their posterity? Are they not surpassing all those who have preceded them, in slaveholding frenzy and desperation with deeds of violence and blood—in contempt of all political obligation, in defiance of law, and activity to extend the boundaries of their slave system—in hatred of northern rights and free institutions? Are they not a band of assassins—a race of monsters—unsurpassed in the history of fallen mankind? Yet the 'Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D.' volunteers to defend them, and is so infatuated as to suppose that the falsehood, coolly and unblushingly stated, 'It was entailed upon them,' will confound their accusers on both sides of the Atlantic.

But Dr. Dewey proceeds:—'The substantive matter of the accusation is, that they do not emancipate this class immediately.' There is some substance, we think, to this accusation. 'In plain English,' it is that we, as a nation, are the worst of robbers and tyrants, so far as one-sixth part of our population is concerned; and, instead of repenting of our evil deeds, we are glorying in our shame. Come from what quarter of the world it may, the charge is true; and the more we attempt to palliate it, the more profligate does it prove us to be in our morals and manners. Europe glories in the Declaration of Independence, and then to our slave marts, slave coffles, slave auctions, slave prisons, slave ships, slave laws, slave plantations; and then holds up our republican pretensions to the derision of the world. Will it be said, that the old Union was against us, because we have no king, no monarch, no emperor; she heaps reproaches on us for an evil purpose; she wishes to see the overthrow of this republic? Be it so. Is her rebuke of us unmerited? Is her accusation therefore proved to be false? Can we show ourselves to be innocent, because we can prove (at least to our own satisfaction) that she is malicious and hypocritical? Will it be said, she is herself guilty of oppression, of grinding the faces of the poor, and upholding forms of government at war with the rights of man? Be it so. Does this show that we are not a nation of slaveholders, wholesale brokers in the trade of blood, the greatest of liars, and the most despicable of religious and political impostors? Bad as she is, she will not, she cannot tolerate on her soil so foul a system as American slavery. Her institutions, in practice, she is not so vainglorious in profession as we are; and whatever may be her crimes, when she measures us by our own standard, and is thus enabled to triumph over us, we have no right to complain. To escape the reproach, we must forever repudiate that standard, or give freedom to our slaves.

What next, thou reverend whitewasher? Is thy stock of apologies exhausted? O no!—Gradual emancipation has been going on in this country from the commencement of the Revolution (in connection with Great Britain.' Indeed! And is it on that account that we are taunted and rebuked by Europe? And because some slaves have had their chains broken, should this exonerate the land from condemnation, though one-sixth part of its people are held in slavery? Dr. Dewey makes his boast in a form which implies that, since 1776, the number of slaves has steadily decreased in this country; but the fact is, and he cannot be ignorant of it, it has increased from five hundred thousand to two millions five hundred thousand and upwards!—and to our present capital stock, we are adding nearly one hundred thousand fresh victims every year! As he hides this damning fact entirely from sight, his plea of 'gradual emancipation' is a piece of bald imposture, and a low falsehood in implication. So far as the Northern States are concerned, the emancipation of their slaves has been caused rather by an uncongenial soil and climate, than by any real detestation of slavery.

'Up to the time of the abolition excitement, says Dr. D., 'the slaveholding system was freely entertained from one end of the country to the other. Let the reader remember the debates in the Virginia Legislature, after the Southampton massacre,' &c. &c. And what of those debates? Dr. Dewey assumes to speak intelligibly of them. After the Nat Turner insurrection, consternation very naturally pervaded all parts of Virginia. Her Legislature was convened to meet the dreadful exigencies of the times, and, for a few weeks, until tranquillity was again restored, the doctrine of the slaveholding system was opened in that body on the subject of slavery; and many eloquent speeches were made, and startling confessions uttered, in regard not to the actual criminality of slaveholding, but—mark! to the evils and dangers of the system, and the impolicy of allowing slaves to be emancipated, except they were exportated to Liberia, or elsewhere.

What was the result of all this? Was any proposition adopted for the abolition of slavery, even at a remote period, as far off as half a day between now and never? No! Were any steps taken to mitigate the sad condition of the slaves? No, but rather to make their bondage more rigorous. The few privileges which they had before the insurrection, were taken from them, and new laws passed calculated to drive tears in pity from the stones! Instead of the Legislature moved by a selfish spirit of persecution against the free colored inhabitants of the State, and some of the members advocated their forceful expulsion, even at the point of the bayonet, if necessary. Bonds in the shape of laws were adopted, in order to make their existence in Virginia insupportable; and bands of wretches conspired to break into their peaceful dwellings at night, destroy their furniture, beaten and lacerate their persons, and commit numerous outrages on their persons, in order to make their selling to go to Liberia, in order to civilize and evangelize that benighted land! Several cargoes of emigrants were obtained in this diabolical manner. 'Let the reader remember' all this! How came Dr. Dewey to hide these facts? Is he a professed teacher of morals, does he not know that he who intentionally suppresses the truth in an important statement, virtually tells a lie?

'Up to the time of the abolition excitement!' Look at this phraseology—see in what connection it stands—mark the odious design of it! Does it not imply—did not its author intend to have the inference drawn—that, before the banner of immediate emancipation was unfurled to the breeze, the cause of abolition was steadily advancing, the prospects of the enslaved were continually brightening, the day of jubilee was rapidly approaching? Are we not assured that 'the discussion of relief was freely entertained from one end of the country to the other?'

This hopeful state of things continued 'up to the time of the abolition excitement.' Ay, there's the venom of this insinuation, the murderous intent of the slander! O, cruel and cowardly wish! O, monstrous perversion of the facts of history! This defamer of toil-worn, battle-scarred, unconsuming philanthropists and reformers is writing avowedly for the enlightened people of Europe! and in order to save the Anti-slavery slaveholders and their abettors from foreign reproach, he points to the American abolitionists as sinners above all others—as those who have thrown back the cause of emancipation, put a stop to free discussion, crushed the rising hopes of the oppressed, and strengthened the hands of the oppressor! We shall not stop, in this review and at this late period, to vindicate either the anti-slavery movement, or the character and efforts of those who have exposed it. Arrayed against them, in a solid phalanx, are the slaveholders and slave-drivers of the South, joined into the colored race—the drunken, the profane, the lewd, the mobocratic—spiritual wickedness in high places, and political villany in low ones. With them, in heart and hope—in blessing and praise—in sacrifices and services, are the Mahomets, the Moloch and the mighty mass of slavery. The Moloch of slavery has no warfare with any others in the land. Their principles are such as adorn the gospel of Christ, and give renown and lustre to the Declaration of Independence. Their measures are disinterested, peaceful, and holy. Their purposes are disinterested, magnanimous, just, merciful, impartial. Their zeal is as laudable, their courage as noble, their spirit as beneficent, their success as promising, as ever characterized any reform, or any body of reformers, in any age or country. Potentially, it has done more than them; but for those who assail, deride or calumniate them, perpetuated infamy or shameful oblivion is in store.

Convention at Dedham.

We have just returned from the anti-slavery convention at Dedham, which was held on Monday and Tuesday last, in the town-hall, of course, though there is no lack of meeting-houses in the place. We were not able to be present until the morning of the second day. The Convention, for the previous day, we understood, was chiefly upon the proslavery character of Dedham, and particularly upon the position of the clergy and politicians. The forenoon and afternoon of Tuesday were mainly occupied by a spirited discussion respecting the big and democratic parties, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren, and the recent conduct of Senators Bates and Choate in the U. S. Senate, and the annexation of Texas. The conduct of the whig paper (a Mr. Moore) appeared as the champion of the whig party, and Mr. W. H. Spear as the champion of freedom. It was amusing and instructive, during and coming between these rival politicians, in their fraternal union of purpose to destroy the effect of the convention, and to whitewash the black iniquity of their parties. Mr. Moore was delighted with the course pursued by Messrs. Bates and Choate, on the presentation of the Massachusetts resolves. He pronounced it to have been dignified and proper, and honorable to the Commonwealth!! He thought the Legislature, at its late session, did perfectly right not to bestow any censure on them! Massachusetts had always been an anti-slavery State! In the evening, the meeting was almost constantly interrupted, in an indecent, profane and mobocratic manner, by a considerable number of rowdies, who plainly came to the rescue of the clergy and the church, especially of the Rev. Dr. Burgess, who said that they would not 'stand such damned nonsense,' nor allow such 'really charges' to be brought against the divine order. It was a precious and most instructive moral development. The leading disturbers were two notorious runnsellers, one of whom was evidently under the influence of liquor. Yet the words of exhortation were made by those miserable men and their gang—they hissed, stamped, yelled, threatened, raved, and gloried in their shame. These are they who are every where rallying for the defence of the clergy and the church, and who are seeking to crush out the organizing abolitionists, who are found on the original anti-slavery platform! How plainly does it prove the 'divinity' of the clergy, and the purity of the church! Yet, we repeat, the southern overseers, ungraceful to every place in which they occur, they never fail to aid the movement which they are intended to obstruct, and to cover its opponents with shame and confusion of face.

The chair was occupied by Edmund Quincy, and Saml. Ellis of Medfield, was appointed Secretary. The following are the resolutions which were presented to the convention, and discussed by Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Wm. A. White, W. L. Garrison, John Orvis of Vermont, W. H. Spear, Mr. Moore, G. W. Stacey, and others, occupying two days:

Resolved, That the present state of inaction in Dedham, on the subject of American slavery, condemns both priest and politician; but especially the former.

Resolved, That Massachusetts has been dishonored and betrayed by her senators in Congress, Isaac C. Bates and Rufus Choate, who, when she was insulted and denounced on the floor of the U. S. Senate as a traitorous State, for having proposed a righteous and constitutional measure, in the spirit of dastards cowered before the insulter, and slaveholding audacity, and by their silence, virtually admitted the foul accusations brought against this Commonwealth to be just.

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State, at its late session, in refusing to rebuke those recreant representatives, has to be held in equal infamy with them, and should be sternly rebuked in every assembly of the people.

Resolved, That in the election of Henry Clay or Martin Van Buren to the Presidency of the United States, no good can be gained to the cause of liberty, nothing done to promote the interests of the slave, but it will be an indication of gross national profligacy, of a tyrannous disregard of human rights, and of a base subserviency to the slaveholding power.

Resolved, That genuine abolitionism, which has any moral discrimination, cannot cast any suffrage for the elevation of James G. Birney to the Presidency, in view of his attempt to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries, and his abandonment of the anti-slavery platform, in company with those who love of clerical domination and sectarian intolerance made it impracticable for them to remain on it.

Resolved, That American slavery is as humane, as pure, as holy, as the religion of the country, which tolerates and upholds it; that the bulwarks of the system still continue to be the Church and the Democracy; and that the friends of emancipation cannot be too active in their endeavors to expose the rottenness of both these bodies, and the impiety of that religion, which, by the recent intelligence from Washington, the annexation of Texas to the country, by treaty, is now rendered almost certain; and

Whereas, such annexation would be in defiance of all constitutional power, a high-handed act of arbitrary despotism, and an actual dissolution of the Union; and

Whereas, the great object of such annexation is to open a new and an immense market for the traffic in human flesh—to extend and perpetuate the horrible system of slavery—to multiply slave States—to crush yet more effectually the free States of the North—to give the slaveholding power omnipotent sway in both houses of Congress—and to exterminate freedom in this republic—therefore,

Resolved, That if this deed of oppression and blood shall be perpetrated, either at the present or at any other session of Congress, we proclaim our determination not to submit to it, and pledge ourselves to do what in us lies to induce our fellow-citizens of the North to declare the Union at an end, and to institute southern government, as shall be compatible with the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.

Unflinching friends of the cause were present from Boston, Quincy, Walpole, Needham, and other places. A generous entertainment was provided by our Dedham friends for all who came.

Convention at Framingham.

This Convention was held on the 6th and 7th inst. Scarcely any of the inhabitants of the place attended, (in consequence of the scandalous imputations cast upon it, in advance, by the Rev. David Brigham,) but there were a goodly number of strangers, who appeared in defence of the anti Brigham in particular, and of the churches generally. Francis Jackson, of Boston, was called to the chair, and W. L. Garrison acted as secretary. The following are the resolutions that were discussed on the occasion, by Henry Clapp, Jr., and Jas. N. Buffum of Lynn, Frederick Douglass, Lunsford Lane, and W. L. Garrison:

Resolved, That the conduct of David Brigham, the Calvinist clergyman in this town, in warning the people against this Convention, and endeavoring to associate it in their minds with those who are anti-slavery bodies have never put forth nor advocated, proves him to be a craven spirited priest, and entitles him to the severe rebuke of every decent man in the community.

Resolved, furthermore, That those men and women who have been induced by the infamous conduct of this Brigham to stay away from our meetings, are in such a state of slavery as to deserve our warmest pity and compassion; and we advise them seriously to consider their present ignominious position, and to inquire if such they can be long done, quietly, to relieve themselves from the iron despotism of their clerical usurper.

Resolved, That the opposition which is now arrayed against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, potentially, is the same that has always sought to prevent emancipation of the slaves, but the overthrow of christian institutions, is identical in spirit with that which, from the beginning, has attempted to crush the anti-slavery movement, subjected abolitionists to lynch law, and with endeavoring to trample them down and trampled in the dust the nominally free colored population of the United States.

Resolved, That the outcry now raised by a profligate priesthood and a corrupt church, against the faithful and uncompromising friends of the slave, that they are disorganizers and infidels, is precisely the same as that which was raised against Jesus of Nazareth, eighteen hundred years ago, by the chief priests, scribes and pharisees, namely, that he was not of God, because he kept not the Sabbath day; that he was an immoral man, a friend of publicans and sinners; and that he was a blasphemer, because he claimed to be the Son of God; thus he was the enemy of government, because he declared his kingdom to be not of this world; and that he had a devil, because he miraculously went about doing good—healing the sick, opening the eyes of the blind, and raising the dead.

Resolved, That the most formidable enemies, with a very few exceptions, to the anti-slavery movement, as well as to every other unpopular reform, are the American churches, and that, plainly claim to other succession from apostolic times than that of being in the spirit and treading in the footsteps of their Christ-rejecting predecessors, the Jewish chief priests, scribes and pharisees.

Resolved, That we are more than ever convinced, by the rapid developements of their true character, that the American churches are the bulwarks of slavery, and that it is the duty of abolitionists to seek their prostration by those weapons which are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan.

Resolved, That the recent conduct of Senators Bates and Choate, in the United States Senate, when Massachusetts was branded as a traitorous State, and covered with scorn and insult by southern slaveholding Senators, proved them to be cowards, and unfitted to be a mouth to the U. S. Constitution as to abolish slave property representation in Congress, was cowardly and servile to a humiliating extent, highly disgraceful to themselves, a base betraying of the rights of their constituents, and a mockery of those "GOOD organizing" abolitionists, who are found on the original anti-slavery platform! How plainly does it prove the 'divinity' of the clergy, and the purity of the church! Yet, we repeat, the southern overseers, ungraceful to every place in which they occur, they never fail to aid the movement which they are intended to obstruct, and to cover its opponents with shame and confusion of face.

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Resolved, That the Legislature of this State, at its present session, shall fail to reprove those recreant Senators for their pusillanimous conduct, in strong and indignant terms, it will share in their infamy, pour contempt on its own culprits of action, and dishonor afresh the honorable name of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the annexation of Texas to this country will be a dissolution of the American Union in form, as it has long been dissolved in fact.

Annexation of Texas.

On our first page is a letter from DANIEL WEBSTER, written in reply to one addressed to him by a large number of influential citizens in Worcester county, asking for a statement of his present views on the question of the annexation of Texas. A considerable portion of it is made up of extracts from a speech delivered by him in the city of New-York, in 1837. He renews his expressions of opposition to the measure, on the ground of its unconstitutionality mainly. In view of the present alarming crisis, his language and spirit are certainly tame, and he so studiously avoids saying any thing respecting southern slavery, as though he were a slave cowering beneath the uplifted lash of the slave driver. His letter comes too late.

By the latest intelligence from Washington, it is conceded on every side that there is imminent danger of this accursed deed being consummated almost immediately. We have no doubt that the slaveholders will triumph, not by their own strength alone, (for alone, they are impotent,) but by the aid of northern traitors, who are always to be found on the floor of Congress, ready to betray the rights and interests of northern freemen either for a paltry political bribe, or for lack of manhood. The infamous course pursued by our State Legislature, in refusing to instruct Messrs. Bates and Choate to exert themselves to the utmost in resisting the proposed annexation, will naturally be regarded by the South as an invitation, on their part, for her to add that 'valley of rascals' to the Union.

In the U. S. House of Representatives on Friday last—

Mr. Winthrop rose and said, that he wished to move a suspension of the rules, in order to bring on a resolution of a subject which, in his judgment, ought to be brought, at an early day, to the solemn consideration of the House and of the country. He thought that it was high time that it was understood by the representatives of the people, and by the people themselves, whether the annexation of Texas was *the settled policy* of this government. He had expected that this question would be settled yesterday, and it would be out of order for him to go into now. But he desired to have the yeas and nays on the motion to suspend the rules.

The resolutions are in the following words:

Resolved, That no proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States ought to be made or assented to, by this Government.

Resolved, That the House will resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, for the consideration of the above resolution, on Wednesday, the 20th inst., and that will continue to be made the special order of the day until disposed of.

The House then, after some conversation between several members, refused to suspend the rules—yeas 40, nays 122—and the resolutions were not received.

This, though not perhaps strictly a mob, is a laringly significant of the temper and disposition of the House on this subject. Woe to this guilty land!

If Texas be annexed, what shall we do? Do you ask that question as slaves, or as freemen? If as slaves, submit without a murmur—bare your backs to the lash of your drivers—and hug your chains! If as freemen, CUT THE CONNEXION, assert your independence, and fully rend the standard of Liberty

THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

☞ All the Conventions which last two days will begin at 1 o'clock, P. M. of the day first named. Where only one day is named, they will commence at 10 A. M.

Conventions in *Plymouth, Bristol* and *Essex* counties will be attended by S. S. Foster, Charles L. Redmond, and J. M. Spear, and will take place as follows:

Fall River—Thursday and Friday, 21st and 22d.
New-Bedford—Saturday and Sunday, 23d and 24th.
Taunton—Monday and Tuesday, 25th and 26th.
Plymouth—Wednesday and Thursday, 27th and 28th.
Pawtucket—Friday and Saturday, 29th and 30th.
Norton—Monday and Tuesday, April 1st and 2d.
Essex—Thursday and Friday, April 4th and 5th.
Rockport—Saturday and Monday, 6th and 8th.
Beverly—Tuesday and Wednesday, 9th and 10th.
Salem—Thursday and Friday, 11th and 12th.
Newburyport—Saturday and Monday, 13th and 15th.
Amesbury Mills—Tuesday, 16th.
Bradford—Wednesday and Thursday, 17th and 18th.
Andover, (South Parish)—Friday, 19th.
☞ Abby Kelley will lecture at New-Bedford on the evening of Friday the 22d, and attend the Convention there.

Conventions in *Middlesex* and *Norfolk* will be attended by Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, and Wm. A. White; and will take place as follows:

Foxboro'—Friday and Saturday, 22d and 23d.
Medway—Monday and Tuesday, 25th and 26th.
Wrentham—Wednesday and Thursday, 27th and 28th.

Conventions in *Worcester* county will be attended by Abby Kelley, Dr. E. D. Hudson, S. H. Gay, G. W. Stacey, &c.; and will be held as follows:

Southern Series.

Grafton—Friday and Saturday, 22d and 23d.

Northern Series.

Holden—Monday and Tuesday, 25th and 26th.
Lancaster—Wednesday, 27th.
Stirling—Thursday and Friday, 28th and 29th.
Rutland—Saturday, 30th.
Princeton—Sunday, 31st.
Westminster—Monday and Tuesday, April 1st and 2d.
Fitchburg—Wednesday and Thursday, 3d and 4th.
Leominster—Friday and Saturday, 5th and 6th.
Ashburnham—Monday and Tuesday, 8th and 9th.
Gardner—Wednesday and Thursday, 10th and 11th.
Hubbardston—Friday and Saturday, 12th and 13th.
Petersham—Monday and Tuesday, 15th and 16th.
Athol—Wednesday and Thursday, 17th and 18th.

Wendell Phillips will attend the Conventions at Upton, Millbury and Fitchburg.

☞ The friends of the cause in the above named towns and their immediate vicinity are urgently requested to take every means of giving the widest possible notice of these meetings. Let *each* one consider this *his own personal* duty. See to it, also, that convenient places for assembling are obtained, so as to secure large audiences. Let all that can, be present, especially those who are willing to take a part in the discussions; and thus, while they relieve the agents, give added interest to the debate. We mean to awaken the old, and create a new anti-slavery zeal throughout the Commonwealth. The most important questions are to be discussed by the ablest and most devoted of the friends of the slave. We commend them to the hospitality of the friends every where, and hope that especially they will be aided in getting from place to place, so as to secure the largest expense of the whole undertaking. Any town which does not receive large printed placards to notify the meetings of the Convention during its session, can be supplied by applying at 25 Cornhill.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
Gen. Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

To the Abolitionists of the Commonwealth.

We entreat you to keep in mind the necessity of active financial measures in the progress of the hundred Conventions. Through the efforts of the friends of the movement to represent it as being an anti-slavery movement, but a dishonest attempt to promulgate communism, non-resistance, &c., under pretence of abolishing slavery, we have frequently been defeated in our attempts to obtain places of meeting, except at an additional expense, which will leave the friends who have visited you without adequate means for sustaining themselves, unless your liberality keep pace with the necessities created by the calumnies which are so unjustifiably put in circulation.

Nothing shall be wanting on our part, to sustain the movement, and will *your strenuous co-operation and pecuniary support, it will succeed.*

Do not grudge the extra exertion and expense thus rendered necessary. The more the opposers multiply obstacles, the greater must be our patient, constant energy to overcome them. Let all contributions be sent in to S. Philbrick, Treasurer Mass. A. S. S.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
Gen. Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

Insult to Massachusetts.

On Thursday of last week, Governor Briggs submitted a message in writing to the Senate, informing that body that he had received a printed communication, purporting to be from the Governor of Virginia, forwarding a copy of several resolutions adopted by the Legislature of that State, against abolishing the state representation in Congress, and returning those which had been adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature on that subject, and also the letter of the Secretary which accompanied them, in a most contemptuous manner. Governor B. expressed the conviction that the Legislature of Massachusetts would maintain the ground which they have deliberately taken, with that manliness and dignity that become the representatives of an enlightened and independent people.'

The message was referred to a special joint committee, who subsequently reported sundry resolutions, (which, with the above, we shall publish in our next week,) at once dignified, pertinent and spirited, which were unanimously adopted in both branches of the Legislature, and the Governor requested to communicate copies of them to the Governor of the several States, with the request that they lay the same before their respective legislatures. We are glad to record this instance of self-respect and right action.—'Who's here so base, that he would be a bondman?'

Lectures at Amory Hall.

The Lectures on Sunday forenoon and evening next, will be delivered by Mrs. ROSE, of New-York, on 'Social Reform.' In the afternoon, the same subject will be presented for a free and full discussion.

Lectures at Weymouth.

The Editor of the Liberator expects to lecture in the Universalist meeting-house in Weymouth, on Sunday forenoon and afternoon, March 31st, on topics pertaining to the Sabbath, Worship, the Church and Ministry. In consequence of sudden illness, he was unable to fulfil his previous appointment.

☞ Our respected correspondent 'M——' is informed, that her poetical effusion is defective in euphony and expression, as well as in coherency of thought and sentiment. Her rhythm is accurate, but mere rhyme is not poetry.

☞ The Editor of the Liberator will deliver a lecture on American slavery in Dinsley Hall, Worcester, on Thursday evening next. He expects to be present at the anti-slavery convention, on Saturday and Sunday next, in New-Bedford.

☞ Rev. John Pierpont, of this city, will deliver a lecture on slavery, in the Lyceum Hall, in Dorchester, on Sunday evening next.

Capital Punishment.

We had hoped to find room, in our present number, for some strictures upon the disgraceful manner in which this immensely important subject was treated by the Committee of Representatives, but they must lie over till next week. The report of the majority of the committee, asking to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, was adopted. Then the chairman, Mr. Newhall of Saugus, rose in support of the minority report, proposing the abolition of the gallows, the behaviour of a large portion of the members was highly reprehensible, and one of them acted the part of a blackguard. Mr. N. made a long and able speech, but no one had either the courage or candor to follow him—the yeas and nays were refused to be ordered—the previous question was sprung, and human life treated as though it were of much less importance than 'a bill for the planting and propagating of oysters.' We have commenced, on our last page, the publication of the Minority Report, drawn up by Mr. Newhall—a Report which embodies more of the spirit of the gospel, and exhibits a more reverent regard for the christian standard, we verily believe, than any Report ever before submitted to any legislative assembly in the world.

Collections

Made by the Agents of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, per their Treasurer, Abby Kelley's account to March 1, 1844.

In Hopkinton—

Benj. Phipps 50c, L. H. Bowker 5, Moses Phipps 1	$ 7 00
E. S. Daniels 3 50, sundry contributions 7 81,	11 31
J. Phipps 25c, P. Daniels 1,	1 25
A friend in South Natick 1,	1 00
In Milford—	
Pently Hunt 1, A. J. Ballou 4, Wm. Hall 50c,	5 50
C. A. Bliss 75c, S. B. Holbrook 25c, M. Jackson 25c,	1 25
P. Rockwood 1, A. Cobb 50c, C. Chapin 25, E. Wright 50,	2 95
W. R. Bliss 1, S. Bicknell 25c, A. Chapin 1, M. Hall 50c,	2 80
G. Bates 25c, W. T. Russell 25c, T. Leonard 25c,	0 75
Levi Taylor 1, G. W. Howard 25c, Mrs. Adams 25c,	1 50
Z. Thayer 25c, C. Price 50c, A friend 50c,	1 50
Aldis Ballou 1, D. S. Godfrey 1, C. K. Scribner 50c,	2 50
E. D. Draper 5 12, a friend 60c, H. R. Cleaveland 25c,	6 97
N. Aldrich 25c, S. S. Brown 25c, H. Fish 50c,	1 00
Dr. Scammell 25c, Mr. Whitney 25c, Mr. Metcalf 75c,	1 25
A. Haynes 50c, O. Ballou 25c, Mr. Mayhew 1,	1 75
C. Thayer 17c, S. Abbe 25c, J. Hero 25c, Mrs. Beals 25c,	0 92
L. Chapin, 50c, I. Chapin 25c, S. Bicknell 50c,	1 25
C. Leland 25c, M. Withers 25, S. Parkhurst 25,	0 75
N. Holbrook 16c, J. S. Collins 50c, Mr. Montague 25c,	0 91
Mr. Thayer 25c, Ira Ide 1, friends 3 27,	4 52
D. B. Whitney 50c, contributions at Conventions, 18,	18 25
C. Aldrich, Upton, 25c, H. Bradish do. 1,	1 25
C. Wing, Hartford, 25c, contributions in do. 1 12,	1 37
R. Hanis, Woonsocket, 1, R. Fowler, Waterford, 50c,	1 50
Dr. Wilder, Waterford, 50c, F. Kelley, Blackstone,	1 50
E. Hammond 50, C. Whitney 25, friends 1 50,	2 25
Contributions in Mendon, 5 50, C. Bullock, Waterford, 12,	5 62
I. B. White 25c, P. Brown 25c, D. Boutell, 25c,	0 75
R. Lenox 25, friends 62, contributions in Southbridge 2 43,	3 30
Mrs. Henshaw, W. Brookfield, 62c, W. Livermore, Spencer, 50c,	1 12
Wm. Doane, Spencer, 16c, contributions in do. 3 45,	3 61
Total,	$98 20

MARRIED—In this city, on Sunday last, at the Bulfinch-street church, by the Rev. Mr. Gray, Mr. Franklin Pierce Howard, of North Bridgewater, to Miss Helen M. Davis, of Boston.

☞ We acknowledge a very beautiful slice of the wedding-cake, and our best wishes are for the unending happiness of the married couple.

In Belfast, (Me.) Feb 21, 1844, Mrs. Rhoda Hall, formerly of Exeter, N. H. aged 74 years.

For many years, she lived the life of a christian. As a mother, she was tender and affectionate. The exemplary life she lived was in accordance with the profession she made, and her death was in keeping with vain world was sudden, yet she was prepared and ready to depart, and died in the full triumphs of faith, praising God for the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Let me die the death of the righteous, that my last end may be like his.'—*Communicated.*

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

A quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society will be holden in the Christian meeting-house, Essex, on Thursday (First Day) and Friday, April 4th and 5th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The friends of Essex ind.ss welcome the abolitionists of the county to the Convention, and to their hospitality.

Let there be a strong rallying of the anti-slavery host. Come one, come all, and celebrate 'an acceptable fast before the Lord, by undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free.'

MARY P. KENNY, *Sec'y.*

Salem, March 11.

☞ Will the Herald of Freedom please copy?

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

POETRY.

☞ The following picture of the religion of the South is 'true to the life,' without caricature, and without the slightest exaggeration. It was delivered several years before the present anti-slavery agitation began, by a Methodist preacher, we have been told, who, while residing at the South, had an opportunity to see slaveholding morals and manners with his own eyes. It has been published some two or three times in our columns; but we have been requested to publish it again, as a portrait that ought to be kept constantly before the people.

SLAVEHOLDERS PARODY.

Come, saints and sinners, hear me tell
How pious priests whip Jack and Nell,
And women buy, and children sell,
And preach all sinners down to hell,
And sing of heavenly union.

They'll bleat and be, dons like goats,
Gorge down black sheep, and strain at motes,
Array their backs in fine broadcloth,
Then seize their negroes by their throats,
And choke for heavenly union.

They'll church you, if you sip a dram,
And damn you, if you steal a lamb;
Yet rob old Tony, Doll and Sam
Of human-rights, and bread, and ham;
Kidnapper's heavenly union.

They'll talk of heaven and Christ's reward,
And shut their fists in your face with a cord,
And scold, and swing the lash abhorr'd,
And sell their brother in the South,
To hand-cuff'd heavenly union.

They'll read and sing a sacred song,
And make a prayer both loud and long,
And teach the right, and do the wrong,
Stealing the brother, sister throng,
With words of heavenly union.

We wonder how such saints can sing,
Or praise the Lord upon the wing,
Who rear, and scold, and whip, and sting,
And to their slaves and mammon cling,
In guilty conscience union.

They'll raise tobacco, corn and rye,
And drive, and thieve, and cheat, and lie,
And buy poor creatures in the sky,
By making switch and cowskin fly,
In hope of heavenly union.

They'll crack old Tony on the scull,
And preach and roar like Bashan bull,
Or braying ass, of mischief full—
Then seize old Jacob by the wool,
And pull for heavenly union.

A roaring, ranting, sleek man-thief,
Who lived on mutton, veal and beef,
And never would afford relief,
To needy sable sons of grief,
Was big with heavenly union.

'I love not the world,' the preacher said,
And winked his eye, and shook his head—
He seized on Tom, and Dick, and Ned,
Cut short their mess, and clothes, and bread,
Yet still loved heavenly union.

Another preacher whining spoke
Of one whose heart for sinners broke—
He tied old Nanny to an oak,
And drew the blood at every stroke,
And pray'd for heavenly union.

Two others oped their iron jaws,
And waved their children-scratching paws;
There sat their children in gew-gaws;
By stinting negroes' backs and maws,
They keep up heavenly union.

All good from Jack another takes,
And entertains their flirts and rakes,
Who dance as merry as crickets do
And cram their mouths with sweeten'd cakes,
And this goes down for union.

From the Christian Reflector.

THE PEACE-MAKER.

The question discussing: 'Shall Britain, or we,
The acres possess that fringe yonder South sea,
To pen diplomatic, the Englishman runs:
His logic raw Jonathan shows in his fists.

Invention was tasked and ingenuity spent,
That cruelty shamed in its murderous trade;
'With right or with wrong we'll have nothing to do,
For Oregon's cure if the Peace-maker's true!'

Keel! swifter of all that in brine ever dipt—
Deck! proudest among our American ships!—
Receive the munition! and bid her in thunder
Proclaim that we will not, we *cannot* knock under.

And hasten, ye gentlemen! hasten, ye fair!
Be Senators, Captains and Citizens there;
For, lo! that our Peace-maker is more than a boast,
The Head of the Nation will prove in a toast.

But Woman! soft Woman! her bosom the throne
Of pity, will she poor pugnacity own?
O yes, where are epaulettes, she has no dread,
And the pas, like the peacock, is dazzled with red.

The 'Peace-maker' spoke—and the men of our pride
Sunk down in their crimson, and instantly died:
The gave in her prowess, of bottle a 'speck,'
And made of our noblest and wisest a wreck.

And wherefore, survivers! complain of your *friend?*
She was formed for destruction, and answered her end;
Her days were not many—she killed but a few;
And are not those sufferers sufficient for you?

Or grieve ye, when bursting her sides out for vent,
Her wrath was not rather on Englishmen spent?
What a pity those splinters of death were not hurled,
Where in conflict our cannon confronted the world!

Then the rough hurtling iron that rained as from
Would have slain, not a brother, but foe as it fell;
And who of the glory can reckon the sum
One shot gathers up at the tap of the drum!

The tears of the orphan, the groans of the wife,
Then were matters of course, for such follow the strife;
And who could be deeply distressed at the woes
That war might inflict on our National foes?

Ye sages—*ye children!* in things that concern
Humanity's rights, 'tis time that ye learn;
Ye have fall in your wisdom of folly the end—
Be wise! and believe it the voice of a God.

If 'War is the pastime,' or has been, 'of kings,'
Let their treasonful subjects pay for its stings;
But for us—free from thrones—shall we *always* be fooled
By men whom Ambition has ever befooled?

SONNET.

BY MRS. HORNBLOWER.

Go to thy bed of down, but as the storm
Of winter rages, oh! forget not those,
Round whose unpitied head that tempest blows;
And at this season so delightful and warm,
Lulling to gentle slumbers, let the prayer
Of natural pity move thee for the poor,
Who wander outcasts from the rich man's door,
And shiver in the bleak and midnight air;
Whose fate is death or famine. Then will rise
When morning dawns, gaze a happy life;
But even existence is to them a sorrow,
And they are shut from home's soft sympathies.
Oh! seek them! save them! so shall heaven repay
With sweeter dreams thy night, with heavenlier hopes thy day.

REFORMATORY.

Clerical Defence of the Gallows.

DEAR SIR:

Although very unwell, and not to write, I am hardly forbear to make some remarks on the peculiar position which has been recently taken, in respect to Capital Punishment, by our quondam friends, Messrs. Phelps, Colver, Leavitt, and others. That they should seize any fair opportunity to make demonstrations of hostility against their old friends, and the views from which it was once their delight to be spoken of, is not very strange; but it is strange and surprising that professed *Christians*, affecting to hold murder in abhorrence, should advocate in our Legislature the perpetuity of a law, which, in its effects, inflicts death not on those alone who are guilty of murder, but also on all who may, on trial, be *declared* guilty, by juries, the fallibility of whose decisions has been made most woefully manifest.

It must be that these gentlemen do know that innocent blood has been shed by such juries, and cannot surely mean to say, that, so long as the law continues, and yet, so anxious are they that the work of vengeance and recompense should not rest with Him to whom alone it belongs, that they volunteer and come out unculled for, to take on themselves the fearful responsibility. The prophecy, that 'all who take the sword shall perish with the sword,' has no terrors for them, because, probably, they see not its fulfilment in the present world. They make it very apparent, that their swords are not yet beaten into ploughshares, and that if the first disciples had been at all like *them*, there would have been no occasion for our Saviour to give to Pilate the reasons why his servants would not fight.

Their zeal in this matter reminds me of a similar disposition, manifested in and about Bennington, Vermont, some twenty or thirty years ago. A certain Russell Colvin, residing in that vicinity, had been brutally threatened by his brother-in-law, Jesse and Stephen Bourne; soon after which, he disappeared, and was gone, no one knew whither. He had been gone about eight years, when an old lady, residing in that neighborhood, dreamt three nights successively, that, under a certain tree, lay buried the bones of said Colvin, murdered by his brothers-in-law aforesaid. This occasioned a digging about the tree, where bones were found, which, by some physicians, were declared to be human, and to which others declared were not human bones. The avenging spirit never sleeps very soundly, and this was quite enough to wake it up.

Messengers were immediately despatched in pursuit of the Bourne, who, at first, were said to have moved from the place. They were apprehended; brought to Bennington, examined, and committed for trial. Here it was generally thought there was a special Providence in thus bringing the culprits to justice.

The prisoners, poor and ignorant, had never had many friends; and now, in their greatest need, apparently none. There appeared to be an awful tide against them. All about them there were stern countenances; few sinners who could commiserate with sinners; all, all, pious and stern. Their nights must have been sleepless, and, probably, their weak minds greatly enfeebled and unsettled thereby. This probably inclined them to receive advice, which they ought to have rejected, and to confide where they had reason to distrust.

They were advised to confess—were told that if they would do that, a petition to the Governor for pardon would be presented, and probably granted; but if they refused to confess, their cases would prove hopeless. Thus beset, Stephen was so demented that he actually did confess—did sign a written circumstantial confession. Afterwards, when too late, however, the Judge very properly charged the jury to pay no regard to this confession. They, nevertheless, brought in a verdict, declaring him guilty. Jesse was acquitted. The Judge pronounced upon them the sentence upon him, it so befell the poor fellow of strength, that the officers were obliged to convey him back to prison in a state of utter helplessness. He there protested that he was as innocent as the child unborn. It was well for Jesse that he was not yet sent to his protestations. At length, however, a humane gentleman called to see him, who, having listened to his story, was inclined to believe that it was possible, if not probable, that Colvin might still be living. He immediately wrote to Boston for the papers, describing as well as he could the person and peculiarities of Colvin, giving his reasons for believing it possible that he might be found living in some part of the country, and requesting the editors of papers generally to copy and give currency to the article, that the condemned man might, if innocent, escape the dreadful doom that awaited him. Such an article, fortunately, met the eye of a gentleman residing in New-Jersey, who instantly concluded that the person described could be no other than the identical Colvin, who was then residing in that neighborhood. This he found to be in truth the case, when, without any delay, he instantly procured a carriage, and took him on to Bennington, in time to arrest the arm of vengeance, and disappointed the hundreds who could delight in witnessing the death of the sinner.'

Those Rev. gentlemen do know that we have many lessons of this sort, but not near so many as we shall have in the day when the earth shall disclose its blood.

Not many years since, we had in the papers an account of the dying confession of a man, who, I think, was named Tripp. He, in his passage from some part of Europe to Boston, he poisoned a fellow-passenger on board, in order to get possession of some gold which he had with him. In the character of a physician, Tardy was very assiduous in administering remedies to his poor victim in his last moments; and afterwards very prompt in assuring that it was a case of poisoning, and was very active in turning suspicion on the cook of the vessel. The case turned against the poor fellow, principally on the Doctor's evidence. The jury declared him guilty. He was a colored man, and, I think, a hundred dollars at his arrest. In time, He was legally condemned, and was murdered on Boston Common, in due form.

The Rev. gentlemen probably are not ignorant of these, and many other cases like them; yet it would seem that nothing short of blood can satisfy them. What manner of spirit are they of? of the life-giving, life-preserving spirit, or the life-destroying spirit?

I would entreat them, for Christ's sake, to be reconciled to the great life-giving spirit. I would entreat them to resist the cold, 'the destroying spirit,' and 'draw near to God.' Who is God? Is God a life-giving God; that they would put away their evil hearts of unbelief in departing from the living God, and no longer despise 'the riches of his goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering.' T.

Massachusetts Legislature.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
March 2, 1844.

The subscriber, Chairman of the Special Committee of the House, on the subject of the Abolition of Capital Punishment, differing in his views from the majority of the Committee, as to the propriety of immediate action on the subject by this Legislature, would hereby ask leave to submit to the House the following

MINORITY REPORT.

The subject on which he is about to enter, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a subject of very vital interest to the human family. This consideration alone ought to give him encouragement to enter upon it fearlessly, and at the same time with the greatest caution as well as candor. It ought to be an encouraging consideration, that the subject of the inviolability of human life is deeply engaging the attention of the whole civilized world. Men of the highest rank in society, of the deepest and holiest principles of humanity, of the most wide-extended benevolence, as well as the most student love of justice and good government, are engaging in this as one of the greatest enterprises of moral reform. Every one must be deeply sensible that the question of the abolition of Capital Punishment has a widely extended bearing on the generally received and acknowledged principles of Christianity, as well as on the most fundamentals of human legislation and government. As sacred as it may regard their own opinions of religious truth, and as deeply as they may be interested in their own form, mode, or principles of government, still they ought to be willing and ready at all times to give to all subjects, in any way connected with the question, the most serious and prayerful consideration. In entering upon this investigation, the inquiry should be, as with one of old, 'What is truth?' And if the question should be so decided as to be satisfactory or profitable, that consideration alone should be sufficient compensation. May it not be safe to believe, that those even who may differ as to the premises or conclusions, will at least give the subject a careful examination? A large portion of the community are unsettled in their opinions as to the propriety of capital punishment in our criminal code. Some are decidedly opposed to alteration, others are hesitating, others are fearful of results, while some are unwilling to indulge the hope that great benefits would result from such legislation. In view of such a state of the public mind, how very desirable it must be to arrive at correct conclusions! The mind should be divested as much as possible of all prepossessions, and the investigation should be pursued as far as possible, when the rights and justice of the law are to be considered, as though we had never heard of its existence before. Old customs, or ancient usages, ought to settle nothing with the public in this question. Experience we all know that the greatest absurdities have been held as truths immutably based, not to be controverted, and the greatest cruelties have been practised by man toward his fellow-man, as divine requisitions, not to be omitted. The age of precedent has passed away, or at least, it ought to be; and the welfare of the race is to be considered. We are not to plod our way from city to city on foot or on horseback, because our fathers did so before us. It is high time that the world should take higher ground than to meet every improvement as a mere innovation. If, on the whole, the race is improving, and the world is making progress in the knowledge of the principles of truth, they must expect to see time-honored customs, ceremonies, opinions and practices giving way before advancing progress, and sinking into obsolete and forgetfulness. How many institutions and practices in olden time, held as sacred and indispensable, have passed away with the ignorance and superstition of the age; and how many more, now held in high veneration, will meet with the same fate, remains to be seen. Time, in its onward march, compels us to leave behind us, in the past, while experience, phœnix like, springs up from the ashes, to become the beacon-light of the future, and together they become guides and influence the mind and influence in the world. The world, then, need not to despair, but may look forward with confiding hope. Truth is unchangeable and immutable. Nothing can stand the ordeal but what is unchangeably good. As shines the sun with more splendor, when bursting through the morning clouds, so will the true principles of government, and of the correction of moral evil, shine with more brilliancy when fully emerged from the darkness and murky clouds of human error and fallibility.

The subscriber would here observe, that he feels himself bound, in this exposition, to give the general and prevailing views now take strong hold on the public mind, regarding the sacredness of human life, as well as his own views of the same, which may, at many respects, be far too narrow and contracted for the widely extended knowledge and benevolence of the age.

The fact of civil governments, their authority, their prerogatives, and their object, seem to present themselves to the inquirer as the great basis on which, it is asserted on the one hand, rests the right of taking life, and on the other, its inviolability. Now it is impossible that conclusions so opposite in their character as the forfeiture of life and its security, can rest on the same foundation, or be drawn from the same premises. A true understanding of government and its objects must settle the question on one side or the other. This, then, must be the main point of investigation for the critic, the philosopher, the Christian. Other considerations may satisfy some minds, but this—even—should satisfy none. The sight and justice of the law that takes life, are brought to the test of close examination. Here are the balances in which it may be weighed—and, if weighed and found wanting in authority and merit, society ought to discard it.

Government, properly understood, seems to be nothing more or less than an organization of society, a community of individuals united for the general good. It has been called a special partnership, entered into for a specific purpose. It is said, in former reports made to this House, 'How can the besom, or partnership, be dissolved, from which we are forced by the irresistible influence of circumstances; and how can submission be regarded as a voluntary acquiescence, when there is no other course to avoid submission except by resistance or flight? It is palpable folly to pretend that an actual, voluntary compact exists; and they who derive the right to punish capitally from any supposed compact, must first suppose an agreement which the facts in the case show was not, and never could be, entered into by individual members of society.' The great work to be effected by government is found to be negative in its character, being rather a prevention of evil than an enforcement of good. Christianity has been almost brought the professedly Christian world to believe, as many men frequently say, that there are two governments, a human and a divine, the one of 'dust to dust,' and feet, and differing only in the degrees of perfection. This is a great error, and gives rise to that widely prevailing opinion, that an era will arrive, at some future time, when society, in its highest and most perfect sense, will be observed by all men; but, till that era arrive, it is just and right to be exercised by a different spirit, and governed by a different code of morals. To that man who regards God as the source and cause of all that is good, there can be but one perfect system of government, and but one true code of morals. Moral duties exist in that relation which man sustains to God and his fellow-man. Morality has an independent existence. It has never been created by any mortal man. Its requirements were as perfect in past days as they will be at any future period. This shows the error of such opinions, and of such arguments, and both right. There can be but one true government; and, to be perfect, that must be based on truth, and developed in the principles of morality. Hence we must conclude, that all the authority of government must rest on individual obligation, and individual obligation must exist separate and distinct from government, and prior to it. Every individual is obligated to do as much, and act as perfect a part, being instructed by morality alone, as though he had the teachings and the requirements of all the governments in the world. Governments, then, cannot superseded individual responsibility. To assume such power, would be to destroy all sense of responsibility of the creature to the Creator. Individual obligation must, consequently, be the duty or obligation of society or Government. Individual duties must be the duties of society. A true moral code for one, must be the same for all. Hence society, in its organization, is no more an individual, acting a true part, and fulfilling all moral duties, must be a representative of society or good government. For, a true government, in all its duties as such, must be nothing more nor less than one continued practice of morality, adapted to all the various conditions and characters in society. It would only be a union of individual strength and effort, put forth and exercised jointly to better profit and advantage, than it could be separately. Whether one or many act, it can neither change the character of moral opposites. Right and wrong will be the same with the many as with the few. A wrong must present all the features of wrong, whether it be seen in one individual, or ten, or even a nation, or the world. Right must be right in all times, conditions and circumstances, and neither time nor place can be changed in its character. If this view of government be correct, that it cannot create a single obligation, and cannot transcend individual responsibility, then, in order to keep its powers and duties, we must go to the individual man, and see what is right or wrong there.

The whole duty of man is summed up in a positive and a negative; positively, he must do what is right and good,—negatively, he must do no wrong or evil. He is bound to the race by the ties of consanguinity and relationship; these can never be severed, nor even by the voluntary agreement of the individuals themselves.

The world is ever ready to acknowledge this truth, that man cannot exculpate himself from the obligation of doing the duty he owes to himself, and of doing it fully; but, with his neighbor, or his enemy, it is quite another thing; but a comprehensive view of morality teaches us, that man is equally inexcusable in the neglect of his duty to his neighbor, or his enemy, as to himself. He is a part of humanity, the great whole, and so is his erring brother, or his greatest foe.

Every act of government put forth to correct evil should be the strong arm of brethren, reached forth to restrain an erring brother from the commission of crime, and to extricate him from the evils which misfortune, ignorance or crime may have plunged him into. The criminal himself is a member of the social compact, called government. He has entered into it, that he may share its benefits. No act of crime he can commit releases him from this obligation to the moral law, or justify in society a departure from its same law in one single iota. No matter how degraded, or how far sunk in the vortex of the criminal, he is nevertheless bound by the moral law of God to reform, live a good life, and repair, as far as possible, the evil that he has done, and spend his remaining days in fulfilling the demands of this perfect law. Now, if there be, in society or government, the moral right to take life, then, it follows, of course, that the individual must fulfil his obligation to the moral law, which did require him to reform, and spend his whole life in doing good. In this case, there would be a direct conflict in the one with the other. An erring mortal could not, in this case, reform and meet the demands of an acknowledged law of God, because government would have the moral right to prevent it. The forfeit of life in any case to society, must inevitably destroy all individual responsibility to fulfil the moral law, which is the source and cause of all virtue. Then, there is a self-evident truth, that life cannot be forfeited in any manner, while individual obligation remains to fulfil the moral law. The Author of life has given man life, and he alone can take it. Human life cannot be a contingency. What man receives unconditionally, as a divine gift, he cannot hold on conditions made by man. A man's life is not his own, to take himself, or barter it with his fellow.

In the common speaking of the day, men talk of the giving up their lives for the welfare of society, and even that of life is considered as being cast into the same common interest. But how preposterous is the very idea! Man cannot, in fact, give up to society a single right in a mere fiction, a creature of the imagination. What are individual rights, properly understood? They are the duties, and the moral obligation? The right of doing right, of discharging duty fully, and of reaping its advantages, is all the right any man possesses. No man can truly say that he has a right to give up to society. No man has the right to do wrong. He has the power, but not the right; therefore he yields up to society the power, but not the right, he hurled into the watch-care of his brethren, that they may collectively exercise toward him their individual rights, that, in fulfilling their moral duties, they may be the true method of repelling wrong, but by doing right.

But it may be asked, where are the advantages of government? If all are called upon to fulfil individual rights and duties, why have any government? For this simple reason, that two can bear a greater burden than one.

Union is our bond to be strength. If one man were assailed by a furious maniac, he might not be able to protect himself from injury, but by the assistance of a brother, the danger might be rendered secure from harm; so, in a true and perfect government, there will be a concentration and union of power to protect the individual in the fulfilling of his and reduce those subject to it to order, which is to know and feel their obligations, and fully discharge them. Here, then, is the necessity and end of a true government, and it is only from a false injunction, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;' and has fulfilled its office when this command is fulfilled.

How preposterous must be that idea, that a view of moral truth, moral duty, and moral responsibility, would allow to government a power that must violate moral truth and duty, and counteract that elevated moral action that God requires of individual man!

There is not, there cannot be any responsibility in government, considered merely as such. And why not? For this reason, that its power and authority are merged in the individual. If one man had the strength, and the moral qualifications of all, he might rightfully do all that any social compact can rightfully do; yes, he would be bound to do it. Hence, if he could, with the moral consciences, can be taken by a compact of individuals, whether ten thousand or ten millions, it could be by one individual, because the moral happiness of that one must be the same as all. Suppose a certain number of persons, forming a social compact of government, were assembled together, and, by the power of lots, for the purpose of taking the life of one who had forfeited it by crime; and just at the juncture of proceeding deliberately to the work of death, one other another they should withdraw from the compact—when would the right of taking life be impaired? Suppose the withdrawal should have been prevailed, in part had left, would the right then cease? Suppose it to go on till there was but one who should adhere to the constitution and law—would he have the right of life? Or, suppose the right which of taking life belongs to the compact, where shall we find it in this supposed case? Does it belong to the one, or all, or half, or any number less than the body, and certainly devolves upon those, who claim for society this right, to show when and where it begins and ends. In the case of the one who had the sole right of society over individuals is but an unwarrantable assumption. In the supposed case, no one would say that the one man left had the right to kill erring brothers who had left the compact, and why have? When would the right commence? There are even now in our midst, communities of individuals who have adopted constitutions almost like governmental compact, and are socially instituting such rules as they suppose the individual good requires, and all this without the sanction of any, but acknowledged by our fathers in their declaration of independence. Now, suppose such community should claim to assume the power of life and death, and should proceed to execute it with death, for offence. Would they have the right to do so? And why not, if the right belongs to a compact? In such case, it would be the one man left, and his right is declared by government to be truth. It is well said in a former report made to this House on the subject, 'Laws are made to protect every man and his neighbor, that in such or such a case, his neighbor may kill him? Such a contract, if executed, would involve the parties in the guilt of murder, the one in the other in the guilt of murder. If a man cannot say to his next neighbor—When I have burned your house in the night-time, or wrested your purse from you on the highway, or, in attempting to rob you in the night, to take a morsel of meat for my starving child, do you seize me, shut me up a few weeks, then bring me out and shoot me dead? In this case, if your turn comes first, I will serve you in the same way;—would such an agreement between two neighbors be any more or less distinct from murder? Nor, if the number were a hundred, instead of ten, who should form this infernal compact; nor if there should be ten, or eight hundred, or even fourteen millions, who should so agree, would the increase of the number of partners vary one hair's breadth the moral character of the transaction.'

I am aware that it will be said, that, according to this mode of reasoning, governments have no right to imprison, fine, or restrain liberty. As a mere act of vengeance, they have not the right. As a mere penalty for crime, they have not. But as a means of correction to the criminal, and as a safeguard to society, they have the right, and to which society cannot be overlooked in the moral right of government. The imprisonment of a man, be he ever so guilty, is a deprivation of his individual rights, and as a means of reformation to the offender. When either of these great ends is lost sight of, the moral law is in some way of $10,000.

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Scenes of Violence and Horror in the Bloom of Youth!!

Affray.—The Nashville Whig of the 5th says—'We had another 'shooting match' in this city on the night of Thursday, in which two young men, in the bloom and vigor of youth, were both wounded, and the other slightly. Such scenes are much too frequent in this city to suffer from the unfortunate wounding upon them the severest condemnation. Unless some effectual means be adopted to check such occurrences, our city will get a bad name abroad.'

(Very good comments, on the murderous affray but they come with an ill grace from a paper which would place at the head of this nation a man, whose infamous notoriety as a duellist entitles him to stand in the front rank of these desperate characters. Is this the way the editor would put his 'seal of condemnation' upon this murderous barbarous practice? Are these the 'effectual means' he would adopt to 'check such occurrences,' and to render them less frequent? If they are, he and his *consistent* party should hold the patent right for this wonderful discovery in the mode of amending national morals!)

Fatal Duel.—A fatal duel was fought on the 29th ult. at Vicksburg, Miss., between Mr. Hamilton, editor of the Vicksburg Whig, (and brother of the member of Congress from Mississippi,) and Mr. Ryan, editor of the Vicksburg Sentinel, with pistols, and at the usual distance. At the fourth fire, Mr. Ryan fell, mortally wounded, he being shot directly through the body. He died within ten minutes. The same parties had before met, and exchanged shots with rifles, at Natchez, upon the same ground, the ground Mr. Ryan was the successor of Dr. Hagan in the editorial chair, who was killed within the last year.

Shocking Murder.—The Natchez Courier of the 29th ult. gives the following particulars of a dreadful murder by perpetrators of assassinate:

A Miss Demoss was killed about the 15th ultimo, near Rhodes, Claiborne parish, La. of the race in the house of a neighbor, in the evening, to return to the house of her father, a respectable planter, but not serving a sentence convicted, and a young man, by name Lambright, was met in the woods. Upon the searching party proposing to go up a certain place, he refused to go, and said he had been there, hunting, &c. They did go, however, and found her dead. She had been violated, severely beaten, and the body was held under the water to finish the work of death. Some other circumstances have excited suspicion of Lambright, but there is no positive evidence against him. He is a young man, married, with one child, and, before marriage, had addressed Miss Demoss, but was by her rejected.

Petit Assault.—We announce with sincere regret, that Mr. Lawrence Keyes, one of the most highly esteemed citizens, Col. D. H. Twogood. From some cause, Mr. T., who was present at a meeting at Banks' Arcade, on Saturday evening last, supposed that Mr. L. C. Horsey, also present, had acted in an unbecoming manner. The parties met, words passed, and Mr. T. was felled to the floor, and stamped upon the head and breast, at the entrance of the gallery for the accommodation of the ladies. He was picked up by his friends, and carried to his office, where, medical aid was rendered in, and every attention rendered the deceased, who lingered until 6 o'clock yesterday morning, when he expired.—*New-Orleans Pic., 26th ult.*

Murder.—We learn from the Richmond (Ky.) Review, that on the morning of the 27th ult. a colored girl of that county was found in a yard with her throat cut from ear to ear. A colored man has already confessed the crime, and implicated two others (a woman and girl) as accomplices. They have all been lodged in jail.

Fatal Affray.—Mr. John Adams, merchant and P. M. at Decatur (Ala.) recently engaged in a street fight with Nathaniel B. Johnson, Sheriff of Newton Co. which resulted in the death of the former by being stabbed in the abdomen with a knife. Johnson has given himself into the hands of the authorities.

Mortal Affray.—A mortal combat took place on Saturday last, near Bayou Sara, between Thomas Baker, the latter son-in-law of the former, and both planters in the parish of West Feliciana, near the mouth of Thompson's Creek. Mr. Thomas Baker was shot in the head with a pistol ball, and expired in a few minutes. They were both much connected.—*New-Orleans Bee, Feb. 27.*

Affray.—On the 29th ult. a Mr. John Bell, of Alexandria, Louisiana, discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot at a negro wench, named Lucee, who struck him with a knife in the lower part of the back and in the side. Bell was held to bail in the sum of $2000 for his appearance next beg.—*New-Orleans Picayune, March 1.*

Another Death from Prize Fighting.—Bill Ford, who fought in a prize match with Tom O'Donnell, at New-Orleans on the 22d ult., has died of the injuries received in the fight. O'Donnell has been arrested. It will be remembered that Ford was one of the seconds at the killing of M'Coy, Westchester county, New-York, and died in consequence—to meet a similar death himself.

MURDER. The Tuscumbi North Alabamian says James M. Bowling, residing near Mount Hope, in Lawrence county, on the night of the 16th ult. was almost instantly killed, by some persons unknown, a few days since. His body was found soon after his death, in a small plantation, about three quarters of a mile from his residence.

A Slave Shot.—The Plaquimine, La. Gazette states, that on the night of Sunday, the 17th ult. a girl belonging to Mr. Joseph Bouligny, was shot, while endeavoring to escape from a house she ordered her to stop. She was in company with three or four other negroes, who had ordered the house, first tried to stop her, by firing at her with fine shot, which did not injure her materially, and as she continued to run, he BREAKS HER DOWN WITH A CHARGE OF BUCK SHOT!!

Homicide.—Mr. Sickles, an old citizen of Natchez, Miss., shot and killed a man named John Cook, on the 18th ult., who was at the time in the act of breaking down the old man's fence. Cook was the father of Mr. S., and had just been using the most insulting language towards him.

☞ We learn that the Negroes belonging to the estate of the late Col. Kent, of Anne Arundel county, were sold on the 20th ult. at prices which indicate an increase in the value of this species of property. Negro men, field hands, sold at $700, and women and children in the same proportion.—*Marlboro' (Md.) Gazette.*

The city of Varna, in European Turkey, has been nearly destroyed by fire; the damage being estimated at $1,000,000 piasters.

Affray near Rahway, N. J.—John Stansbury is said to have been mortally wounded on Saturday last, by Alexander Cook, who shot him while assailing his house in company with some others.

Fire in East Abington, Mass.—On Tuesday morning last, the dwelling-house occupied by Rev. Horace, Walker, at East Abington, was totally consumed by fire. It was insured.

It is said that Nicholas Biddle has left a history of the most important events of his life, with the names of the associates who advised and sided him, and that this history is to be published.

General Bertrand, the brave and devoted friend of Napoleon, who visited this country a few months since, died soon after his return to France. His death excited great feeling throughout Paris.

Capt. Stockton, says the Washington correspondent of the Boston Mail, has adopted, at his own, the orphans of the late Commodore Kennon, and has also presented the widow of the late Secretary of the Navy with the income arm of $10,000.

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VOLUME XIV.—No.

FRESH SUPPLIES.

THE second edition of Letters from Slavery, by S. S. Foster, just received and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 25 Cornhill.

Also, for sale a quantity of the "Heroes of Priesthood," or Exposure of the Hierarchy of the Brookfield, connected with Anti-Slavery Principles and Anti-Slavery Methods, &c.

The Sick Man's Friend.

BEING a plain practical medical work, on the use of Vegetable Medicines, and Hydropathic Remedies, for sale by the author, DR. P. E. SMITH, Lynn. Also, just published for sale by WILLIAM JOHNSON, 25 Cornhill. Price $1 00, bound in sheep, 75 cents.

Books and Stationery.

BELA MARSH

HAS taken the early part of the season, and is now receiving, for sale, a general assortment of Classical and Miscellaneous Books, Blank Books and Stationery, on liberal terms. 25 Cornhill.

Rare Books.

PRESSNITZ on Water Cure; Shelton's Discoveries in Nature; Shelton's Lectures on the Second Advent; The Tree Scripture Doctrine; Gazetteers, (latest edition.) For sale by BELA MARSH.

Feb. 16

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

JUST PUBLISHED,

A NEW work on CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, by CHARLES SPEAR—and for sale by him at No. 25 Cornhill, Boston.

It contains a variety of thrilling and interesting evidence; also all the capital offences in every state in the Union, and a variety of other matter on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the INNOCENT. Facts are drawn from history, and from the Bible, which have never before been examined. The work is embellished with 12 engravings.—Price 62 cents.

PHYSIOLOGICAL BOOKS.

BELA MARSH, No. 25, Cornhill, (Anti-Slavery Office,) Publisher of Curtis on Human Life, has for sale all the other works upon the same subject, and also all the various works from the pen of Dr. Alcott, and other popular authors. He has in all a very complete assortment of works on the subject, which he offers at the lowest cash prices. "Facts," will be sent to any one, free, on application.

J. T. HILTON,

Commission Merchant

FOR THE SALE OF NEW AND SECOND HAND FURNITURE,

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FOR RESPECTABLE COLORED SEAMEN

HENRY FOREMAN

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FOR COLORED SEAMEN.

The subscriber begs leave to inform such seamen as may visit the port of Boston, that he has opened a excellent Boarding House for their accommodation on temperance principles, at No. 5, Sea Street (the house formerly occupied as the Bethel Church,) and will happy to receive their patronage. No pains will be spared to make their stay comfortable and satisfactory. The rules of the house will be in accordance with good order and the principles of temperance.

CHARLES A. BATTIEE,

No. 5, Sun Court Street, Boston.

Boston, June 8, 1842. (tf.)

Rev. Billy Hibbard's

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FAMILY PILLS.

ALL who are acquainted with the name of the Pills will do him the justice to say, that he is one of the best friends to the public. The use of these Family Pills has been so extensive and so efficacious, that an extended description of their virtues is deemed needless. Suffice it to say, that they are a family medicine of more importance to the public where they are to be had; and, if those who are not held up as a specific for every disease, or as a panacea, would be more generally known and recommended and cured many a sick stomach, chronic diseases; and what they were intended for, viz. to purge the body, they do quite well, as the language of the inventor—As every person is not able to procure the services of a physician, and rest one of these Pills will satisfy every person that they are to be the best family physician, during ordinary complaints.

They are for sale, wholesale and retail, by SAM'L EVERETT, No. 25, High-street, Charlestown, wholesale agent. Price, 50 cents per box. Agents may also be had.

REV. T. HIBBARDS

CARMINATIVE SALVE

This Salve relieves and cures Felons, Bite, Tumors, Sprains, Bruises, Milk Cakes, Ages in the Sore Throat, Burns, Scalds, Corns, Salt Rheum, Swelling, King's Evil, Tetter, Chilblains, Chapped Hands, Lips, &c. occasioned by cold, together with other painful complaints—but it is no use to enumerate, suffice it to say, it will cure the Piles, Tetter, and, in fact, all sorts of pains and ways. Price 25 cents per box.

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