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BY
HENRY W. WILLIAMS, GENERAL AGENT.

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☞ FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, WENDELL PHILLIPS. [This committee is responsible only for the financial economy of the paper.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

VOL. XV.—NO. 43. BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1845. WHOLE NO. 771.

J. BROWN TERRINTON, PRINTER.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

THE AMERICAN BOARD—THE ABOLITIONISTS.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3d, 1845.

I was much gratified with my recent tour in New-England, having gone in that direction after looking upon the proceedings of the American Missionary Board, which held its annual session at Boston. It is of the opinion that the anti-slavery agitators were never before discussed in an assembly large as that, so misinformed, so prejudiced and so firm all together, without some portentous and violent manifestation of feeling. There was more dignity in the discussion than I ever witnessed or heard of whenever the Christian question has been brought into the arena. The worst of passions are roused, and after the spirit of Penny has evaporated itself, the parties are no nearer the truth than when they began. Certainly they are no nearer a harmonious view of the truth. Some secret superintending hand seemed to be over that vast assembly, holding all rampant passions in check, and curbing the several combatants to strike as it were in the fear of God, to beware where the stroke should fall. Never before did I feel so much the power of God upon a public assembly. Men did not listen to any restrictions on the freedom of debate, which some stronger spirits were disposed to impose. Especially did they seem to deprecate the application of 'the screws,' as politicians call it, that is the *previous question*, an instrument of silence, new with the Board, and which I should much prefer, even in Ecclesiastical bodies, especially those of a Presbyterian character. The previous question, it seemed to me, could not be put in that Board. This no doubt was a wise, as well as a magnanimous policy, for it deprived abolitionists of their most serviceable argument—the gag. They were permitted to blow off the usual quantum of steam, and felt easier after it. Then came the calm decision of the Board, by a unanimous vote, that they would accept the report of the Committee, thus declaring their policy unchanged to prosecute the great enterprise of missions without mingling with it any of the tenets of the day. This result meets the sympathies of the Christian community in this region, though as you travel South, you would not find the slaveholders relishing all the contents of the Committee's report. I had an opportunity of witnessing the firmness of abolition in one of its forms, the other day, at Wilmington, Delaware, where manuscripts in legend were to be more openly discussed than in past years, and the march of which, will, I doubt not, be onward, unless the Come-outers, Fanatics, as whatever they are called, upset the whole enterprise.

I attended one of their meetings, over which a Hicksite Quaker presided. A young man, who spoke with free to debate the question was a young man, who, if I may be allowed the term, might be called a *rude Philemon*, for he struggled through a perfect shed of grammar and syntax, with propriety to work himself up into a form and fury against not slavery alone, but Christianity, and all the ministers thereof. It was a specimen of infidel zeal. The man called a scholar distinguished. New-England divine a hypocritical priestly friar, because he dared to give his interpretation of Paul's letter to Philemon. He attacked the ministry furiously. He was called to order, but the President seemed disposed to let him go on with the full rapture of his spirit, and with his threat. Thus it is that this cause, which embraces so many just, precious and powerful principles, falls into the hands of men who have a combination of all that is not a sense of decency and propriety in the community. Especially is it important that in a border State, where the whole slavery question is a question of decepticate, waxeth old, and is ready to vanish pay, the incipient public debates and popular measures should be such as to command the respect of sense and of the community in general, without whose co-operation the repeal of one set of laws and the enactment of another would be absolute impracticable. When arraying all for the indulgence of this foul spirit of vituperation, they tell you it is a principle with them to allow the utmost freedom of debate. Freedom indeed! It is like the freedom of Pan, newly landed on the American shore, *the liberty of doing just what he pleases.* There is with a class, as well as with the liberty, metes and bounds, as well as latitudes and longitudes, obligations as well as rights. Among their logomachies and unrestraining words, the laws are silent. These abolitionists go to Philemon for a specimen of speech. They exhibit as little good sense as genuinely feeling. The South is impervious to them. They may as well be talking to the wind, be off. *Non tali auxilio, &c.* It is a poor way to press an argument into a man with your hand on his throat. The system of slavery is one of a long growth, which for years has engaged the profoundest investigations and the strong anxieties of the first, the best minds of the country, and the most thoughtful and benevolent of our philanthropists. The problem is not yet solved. The most obvious difficulties are not removed. They must be met with calm determination, and in a Christian deportment on God. This subject is yet to agitate our public men—with what results, time alone can determine.

From the Richmond (Va.) Compiler.

BRITISH INTOLERANCE.

It is known that there is an inveterate prejudice raising among the religious sects of England generally, towards the southern States of our Union, on account of slavery. One of the ministers of our city—Rev. Mr. Ryland—who is now in England, while sojourning in England, was constrained not to attempt to seek a religious association with his English brethren. He felt very too much the force of their prejudice to hope for cordiality and kindness from them, unless he were recreant to his Lord, and to the society in which his lot is cast. Indeed, he was informed by high authority that he would hail from New-England, all would be well, but if he stuck to Virginia, he would fare badly among his brethren. The following extract from a *jeal ous and faithful spirit*, which redounds to his credit, and which we practise such a *pious fraud*, (as his biber doubtless would call it,) in the cause of Virginia wherever he went. The consequence was he met very little favor and hospitality among the Baptists. The following is the letters relative to English religious society, he says:

"The fourth and almost universal peculiarity, virtuous and uncharitable allusions to this country. This is not indeed, so easy of comprehension. They do blame us. It requires no small measure of self-denial to mingle in English society, social or public, without being pained at the frequent allusions to Lord Tyler and other ministers of Christ, with our Zacks, who open hearts and open doors, have received English brethren to the most generous hospitality in London you would be unchurched, and the devil would be upon the account of political institutions and so cannot change, you would be obliged to leave, for lack of religious outcast. O, God knows how my heart sickens at the other hand so much of sin on the part of the great masses of the people, and so much violent bigotry on the part of the upper classes, so much preaching evil of brethren, with the best credentials from both South and North, certificates which was one Christian symptom, all very contented of Europe, even in the Church itself, but by my own denomination in England, I was fairly whipped as a Southron, even with Daniel Sharp by my side to plead for the common interests of Christian life.

As evidence of the intolerant nature of the English prejudice against the South, is noticed in the papers by the steamer from Liverpool. A Methodist preacher belonging to one of the Southern Conferences, who has spent some time in England in search of health, applied to one of the preachers there to be admitted into the British Conference. He said his credentials were signed by Bishop Soule. The question was then asked by some members of the Conference whether the Bishop had signed them before or since his special identification with the South. Upon which Dr. Newton, as Secretary of the Conference, was depended to wait upon him, examine his credentials, and report to Conference. He did so, and asked the gentleman distinctly, if he was in the cause of the Southern Conferences. He affirmed that he did; and the consequence was, he was not admitted into the British Conference. 'So,' says a letter, 'it would be with any other preacher, however worthy, or be his talents or his fame, connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church South.'

Such is the cruel spirit of British religious intolerance, which places individuals under the banner for the existence of an institution which they had no for or put to meaning for but which was established by British favor and protection. Such, too, is the spirit displayed towards the institution of slavery of this country—the mildest form in which slavery ever existed—in a land where the sufferings and oppressions of paupers, the distress, poverty and hardships of operatives and laborers, reach a degree to which the South held the power in that country is an unknown stranger! Great Britain under one disguise or another, in her own land and at home, in her provinces of East India, Ireland, Canada, Demerara, &c. permits, fosters and encourages slavery in its most revolting and degrading forms.

SELECTIONS.

From the Cleveland American.

LETTER FROM ASHTABULA COUNTY.

ASHTABULA COUNTY, Ohio, Sept. 1845.

The Liberty Convention in this county for nominating, meet this week. The lectures of Abby Kelley of Mr. Foster, Mr. Burleigh, &c. have evidently been productive of good. Many heard from them their first anti-slavery lecture, and the effect has been to set them to examine a subject which they find they previously knew but little about. Their attack on the clergy and churches, although severe and not approved by all in every particular, yet it is acknowledged to contain more truth than poetry. The clergy may wrap themselves in their dignity, and cry out with papal authoritativeness, 'Infidelity and Blasphemy!' but it will require more cogent arguments than these to convince the people that Abby's charges are entirely groundless. The truth is, the people begin to see that the American church is the bulwark of slavery, and the clergy its most faithful sentinels. We find there are a few upright, fearless ones, who are not afraid to use their influence in behalf of Liberty—are not afraid to go to the ballot-box, and by their votes say that they believe that when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn—are not afraid to attend the monthly concert of prayer for the slave—and who dare on the sabbath offer a fervent prayer that the Lord will break the strong arm of the oppressor and bid the oppressed go free. One fact I have to communicate. One of the oldest and most respectable churches in this county has just resolved that we will let the Grand River Presbytery take decided action against slavery, or otherwise consecrate with Christian fellowship. We shall withdraw our fellowship from the Presbytery; a step in which they expect soon to be followed by one or two other churches. We have a church which is based with a most faithful and talented sentinel. He is not afraid to sound the alarm at the approach of danger. The church is composed principally of the people of wealthy jew-holder, does not frighten him. We had the pleasure of hearing him on the Sabbath. Among the topics touched upon were the reasons of his connection with the Presbytery in our churches. After giving various assigned causes, he then brought up the subject of slavery and its abominations, in a clear and plain manner, and showed the guilt of the churches upon the subject. So different was it from the still-born cries of the anti-slavery? Bear who is general in all our pulpits, that it seemed like cold water to a thirsty soul.

Sunday evening Abby Kelley and Mr. Foster recently made a second visit to this county, and in the morning of their friend Mr. Giddings, have thrown a vast amount of truth into the public ear. Mr. F's religious character seems to be misunderstood in this country. He was for many years a professor of religion, a Presbyterian, a member of a literary college in N. Y. While there, he ranked high as a scholar, a Christian, and an abominations of slavery, and the extreme apathy of the American Church, he determined to leave College, and plead the cause of the oppressed. Many inducements were held out to him to stay, but in vain; nothing could retain him. He left and commenced his efforts against this giant sin, or as Wesley calls it, the sum of human villany. His peculiarity consists in calling things by their right names. If a man steals a dollar, he calls him a thief—if he robs you of a dollar, he says he is a robber. If a man takes another of himself, his wife, and children, he calls him a thief and a robber. He is now a Quaker in sentiment, and in his denunciations against the sin of all villany, uses the language of the Bible, a book he most firmly believes. If Northern ministers and churches are so precise and pure as to exclude from their communion the well known sheep thief and horse thief, and at the same time fellowship and commune with men thieves, he boldly denounces them as hypocrites. He says he has many years in the South, and has found no mutual recriminations, and the yoke of the oppressed would soon be broken.

To illustrate clerical tyranny, we will relate an anecdote as given to us, not vouching for its correctness, yet believing it entirely true. When living Ashtabula County, he was at a quarterly meeting, Abby & Co. sent and engaged board. Their hostess was a member of a church, the pastor of which, from his well known connection with slavery, called 'the Pope.' Well, the Pope hearing of the fact that the woman had engaged to board them, calls on her and threatens to deal with her in the church if she fulfils her agreement. When Abby & Co. arrive, she, with tears in her eyes, begs them to release her from the agreement. If they did not, and she kept her word, she would be cast out of the church; if she turned them away, and broke her word, she would remain in good standing, and be a consistent member of the Church of God!

Suppose now a missionary sent to a Catholic country, should enter a village, engage board, and a Catholic priest should, in order to drive him away, use his clerical authority to turn him houseless into the street—would it not be heralded in every Protestant paper in our land, as persecution? Truly it would. Is persecution more pleasant coming from Protestant hands? We leave this for the Pope to answer. Suppose England should give her abolitionists permission to go into Burmah, where inhabitants mostly follow the Burmun system of Idolatry, and an adjoining province of Bengal, whose idolatrous rites include worship Juggernaut, have the liberty of choosing their Governor. Each idolatrous party brings forward a talented Idolater, one of whom owns twelve hundred, the other twelve hundred, boldly advocates its abominations, especially the immolation of widows on the funeral pile, declaring its abolition a visionary dogma. In short, both candidates are determined to maintain idolatry to its utmost extent. The Christian natives, comparatively few in number, although embracing twenty thousand, put in nomination a pious, talented man—a Christian. On the Sabbath previous to the election our numerous missionaries very devoutly pray that God will bless the Christian candidate, then, on election day, go, and with but few exceptions vote for the Idolaters; and this too in order to put down idolatry! What would be the language of the churches in this nation, of all the churches and Christians on the earth, yea, the heathen themselves, at such inconsistency? It would be such as will *burn* the language of the assembled universe, at the inconsistency of American Christians in sustaining Patriarchal thieves, in order to do what they think God wills. But we do not blame the churches especially. It is an old adage, 'like priest, like people. The Northern clergy have long been responsible for the sins of the country. They pretend to stand as watchmen on the walls of Zion; but, alas! how few are faithful! In their journey from Jerusalem to Jericho, they leave their poor African brethren in the hands of thieves, robbed of themselves, their wives and children; and what is their conduct? Do they pour into the bleeding wounds of the poor fellow-creature the oil and take care of them? No. They pass by on the other side. Many of them go to the Bible for arguments to justify the thieves. They fellowship the thieves at the common table of our Lord—invite them into their pulpits—and then, to crown their infamy, vote for them as rulers—and this too after praying, (those who dare to pray on the subject,) that God will give us men who will rule in righteousness! Why is it these men so shamefully pervert the Bible? Why do they not hold up the great sin of slavery before their congregations, as they would if the thieves should steal their wives and children? But our northern doctrinal professor of religion should be ashamed to apologize for it, or attempt to justify it from the Bible? Don't you think if a few hundred of Cherry-street wives and children should be stolen and sold into southern bondage, we should hear music? Would they turn to their Bibles for arguments to justify the thieves? Or would they cry, 'Should we hear any thing about Onesimus being sent home by Paul? Would such men as Stuart, Fisk, Hodges, Junkin, and a thousand others of similar fry, who apologize for or boldly endeavor to justify such villany, ever be invited into their pulpits? Before they condemned their conduct, would they consult their Bibles to find whether Christ ever said any thing about selling clergymen's families at auction; and then construe his silence into approbation? Or, if when in prophetic vision he saw fit to vote for such a man, as the best way to restore their families from bondage? Do you believe Christ would be invited to our meeting-houses, and pray for the benefit of poor enslaved families? No, never, never! Now the great majority of our churches would be as much alarmed at the sight of a nigger prayer meeting. They are responsible, and will be held as such, if there is any truth in the Bible. The abolitionists believe it is their duty, until they do their duty faithfully, rebuke the robber of the poor for his conduct, call it by the right name, preach against it, pray against it, and vote against it. If we do our duty faithfully, then the people will act right, and the arm of the oppressor will be broken, and the oppressed go free.

WARREN.

PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.—This body met at Harrodsburg on the 25th ult. It continued its session until the 29th, when it adjourned to meet in Shelbyville. Besides the ordinary business, they approved the action of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church concerning slavery and a Southern band are missionaries. The Herald of the 2d inst., speaking of their action, says:

'They commended the action of the assembly on the subject of slavery, and after listening to an interesting address from Rev. Mr. Gibson, on the interesting subject of African colonization, passed resolutions recommending that collections be taken up in their churches for that object, on or about the 4th of July, and that the ministers of the synod pledged themselves to pay over to Col. A. G. Hodges, of Frankfort, the collective sum of five hundred dollars, before the 1st of January, 1846, for the purpose of purchasing a ship to run as a regular packet between New Orleans and Liberia, to carry our emigrants and provisions from the valley of the Mississippi to the colony. A committee was appointed to secure a missionary to the negroes, whose duty it shall be to travel through the State and labor for the negroes in their plantations, and endeavor to arouse the churches and ministry to increased exertion on this subject. [All done to aid slavery.]

FUGITIVE SLAVES.—A and and unwarrantable case is stated in the Camden West Jersey Mail. A party of strangers in a wagon came to the house of Jeremiah Abbons, in the village of Atsabury, a tailoress established on their ruins. They who died that dead, all is 'dignified,' and they supposed that she dignity would shield them from the indignation and curses of men. Did they? No, they were not so contemptible silly as that. They found it necessary in order to cover up the enormity of their crime—murder, cool and premeditated, and only not consummated because no resistance was offered, according to their own admission—but in reality because they found it necessary to put men looking on in sullen silence, ready to die in my defence,) —to publish a manifesto to the world, full of dark, if studied, and damning falsehoods, in order to stun off from the sympathies of men, and abate the horror of their criminal avowal and dastardly revenge.

They supposed, no doubt, that I would either fall by disease or violence, and, as dead men tell no tales, I have, I suppose, been slandered, and blood of their own infamy. This last finishing touch was needed to complete the dark portrait of perpetual slavery—that damnable feeling upon the picture, which makes it stand, wrong and smooth-faced hypocrisy, might be no longer deceived forever!

In this manifesto, and indictment, and libel, I am accused:

1. Of being an abolitionist in its Southern sense and meaning, which I do not deny, but glory in it, and I am declared returning home, 'the organ and agent of an incendiary sect.'

2. I am accused of desiring to put into practical operation the sentiments of the leading article of the True American of the 11th number, where I am spoken of as the very soul of the paper, and the Western apostle transcendent. If possible, his insolence!

3. It is imputed to me as a crime, that I had prepared to defend my property and press, against the illegal violence of the people.

4. I am accused of crime in characterizing American slavery as 'the lowest, the basest, the most unmitigated the world had seen'—of being a 'daring incendiary, hurling his fire-brands of murder and of lust'—of regarding as a haughty and infuriated fanatic, in terms of outrage, to a committee of gentlemen, who made a wonderful mild request'—and of 'denying the right of the citizens to consult together on such a subject'—of being a 'fanatic' who 'would not trust himself for a civil war, in which he expected the non-slaveholding laborers, along with the slaves, to flock to his standard'—of calling on the laborers for what I have sacrificed so much,' of summoning slaves to my help.

5. I am accused of 'attacking the tenure of slave property'—of being 'a trespasser upon the rights of others'—and of pushing the community to extremity.

These are cruel charges, and most cruelly have they been pressed against me. Time was when I would heard, tried and punished, now being punished, may I yet be heard.

With regard to the first allegation: I am so far an abolitionist as certain men named George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and some other such 'fanatics,' who got together in 1776 and enunciated some very 'vain and incendiary' doctrines. I have followed up the same Washington who, some years after that memorable event, declared that so far as his vote could go towards the abolition of slavery, it should never be wanting. The same Washington, at some time subsequent, liberated all his slaves: I was fanatic enough to follow his advice to the example, and would have others do likewise, thinking it better to be just than rich. On the other hand, I am opposed to the doctrine of the True American, that it is lawful for the purpose of liberating a slave, or of murdering by mobs a loyal citizen. I look upon the rebels of the 1776, who took the sword and shot their land in order to perpetuate slavery, as infinitely lower in crime and infamy than the 'incendiary sect' *if such there be*, who would use similar means to liberate the slave. God forbid, that I, or my countrymen, should form an alliance with, or submit to the despotism of either. Neither the Liberty party nor the Government hold any such 'murderous doctrines; they are monopolized by the 'respectable gentlemen' of the 18th of August. The Garrisonian abolitionists are non-resistants; they hold, with O'Connell, that no revolution or change of government is worth a single drop of human blood. The Liberty party holds no doctrine, set forth by their Convention held at Cincinnati, on the 17th day of June, 1845. They say of slavery, 'we believe that its removal can be effected *peaceably, constitutionally*, without real injury to any, with the greatest benefit to all.' So that if I was an abolitionist in its broadest sense, there is no cause or excuse for any number of respectable gentlemen to come upon me and murder me, or trample upon the constitutional liberty of speech and of the press. The Whigs call me a 'Whig;' I wrote to the Abolitionists on the 14th of June, a letter published in the True American, where I call myself a Whig—the Abolitionists call me a Whig—and the Democrats call me a Whig! I hold the principles of the Whigs of '76, 'eternal resistance to tyrants'—and all the renegades, apostates and traitors to Kennedy shall not shake me from whatever measure I choose to advocate, or with whatever men I choose to ally myself.

When my visit to the North is imputed to me as a crime, and I am voted by prominent Whigs of Kentucky, it is time that I should cease to suffer in repute. I have spoken, 'yea! yea as often did I refuse. I had a great work to perform, and did not wish to come into contact with any Whig opponents. To place my opponents on the vantage ground. For the ill I have done, and whatever harm I might receive at the North would be construed by the enemies of emancipation in Kentucky into an alliance with abolitionists.

When at last, however, serious apprehensions began to be entertained that Texas would come into the Union with slavery, sectional aggression, slavery and national dishonor; I felt it my duty to go, and give aid to the cause of my country in whatever field of battle she called me. I was called to the field of battle by the central committee for the Whigs of Kentucky,—by special invitation from about fifty Whig clubs of the North,—by the request before the public of twenty thousand freemen, and I obeyed the tacit approval of the leader of the Whig party, Henry Clay. The day before I left Lexington, I called upon Mr. Clay, and told him the purpose of my mission; that it was thought by our friends that I could have an influence, from my peculiar position, with the anti-slavery, anti-Texas voters of the free States, which no other man could, and that I was willing to go, if I could aid the Whig cause. Mr. C. said nothing, but nodded his head, with an approving smile; and after some unimportant conversation he offered me letters of introduction, which I declined as unnecessary. Whether I accomplished any good there or not, I cannot be expected to say; it is enough for me to know, if I were vain enough to assume to myself consideration which belongs to the vital interests which were at stake in the contest, that never did any man of my age in America draw together so large and intensely interesting audiences. The greatest intellect of the nation, the greatest orator of any age, was with me. I'They had rather hear you than me.' The most large-souled, uncompromising man in the Union was pleased to mention my name. I was called upon for the purpose of my mission; that it was thought by our friends that I could have an influence, from my peculiar position, with the anti-slavery, anti-Texas voters of the free States, which no other man could, and that I was willing to go, if I could aid the Whig cause. Mr. C. said nothing, but nodded his head, with an approving smile; and after some unimportant conversation he offered me letters of introduction, which I declined as unnecessary. Whether I accomplished any good there or not, I cannot be expected to say; is enough for me to know, if I were vain enough to assume to myself consideration which belongs to the vital interests which were at stake in the contest, that never did any man of my age in America draw together so large and intensely interesting audiences. The greatest intellect of the nation, the greatest orator of any age, was with me. 'They had rather hear you than me.' The most large-souled, uncompromising man in the Union was pleased to mention my name. I was called upon for the purpose of bearing the great temple of American liberty.' I mention these things not with the silly vanity of self-elation,—I know my weakness,—and I am overcome at hearts touched with sympathy for a man who had suffered proscription in the cause of justice and truth—for a man of proper feeling and sensibility to contain the unmerited compliment, and loves more to deserve praise than to receive it—but because much enmity and denunciation have been poured upon me, and much fear with being the cause of Mr. Clay's defeat, by my visit to the North, and by forcing him into the Gazette letter!

My war is upon slavery, not upon slaveholders—I repeat once more. As no man in Kentucky had more to lose, so no man had more inducements to move to lose, so no man had more inducements to move to the cause of emancipation, than I. The human probabilities conspire to sustain me, when I assert before heaven and earth, that such a thought never entered my mind. Conscious of no base motive, I am accused of crime against the constitution, of being a 'fanatic' who 'would not trust himself for a civil war,' of 'summoning slaves to my help.'

Is this the spirit of American Christianity? Is this the spirit of the Presbyterian Church? Is this the spirit of Liberty in every land—without which, Freedom is a mere mockery. These inalienable rights we inherited from our Christian ancestors. The Constitution of the United States does not give them, but merely grants them against abuse and destruction. The Bible, the Bible, the Bible, gives us no power abridging the Liberty of Speech or of the Press? I demand, then, of the American People, through their representatives, have protections in their power against the illegal violence of others—laws to have my Press restored, and its assailants brought to summary punishment. If they do not, then, there never was a better time and place to live under the Autocrat of Russia, or the Dey of Algiers, than here—for one responsible master is better than a thousand—his will may be better known, and his mercy or forbearance more easily propitiated. I cannot but believe that the American people will regard this attention as one more full of satisfied cruelty, arrant cowardice and dangerous precedent of outrageous despotism, than any thing yet perpetrated in our national or State slavocracy. The pretence that my paper was revolutionary and dangerous, I pronounce to the world willfully calumious, and call for the proof. Not a single case of such effects can be produced among 150,000 slaves. No, this was intended only for foreign consumption, and truly has it most miserably answered its purpose.

My appeal to the State of 'Kentucky and the World' will be out in a few days in the True American, when all impartial men will judge us. I do not fear the verdict.

With respect and gratitude,

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

C. M. CLAY.

☞ We take the following extracts from the eloquent Appeal of Mr. Clay, promised by him in the preceding letter, which appears in the 19th number of his 'True American,' occupying more than eleven columns of that paper:

OUR APPEAL.

They, who on the eighteenth day of August, 1845, rose in a small assemblage of Kentucky, and established an irresponsible despotism upon the constitutional liberties of this Commonwealth, in justification of their conduct, 'appealed to God and the world.' So be it. Let Kentucky and the world judge.

When the public peace is disturbed—when the laws are disregarded, the Constitution is overthrown—and when by the avowal of murderous purposes, natural right and Divine justice are insolently violated—when the public safety and the individual wrong and suffering—not even the shedding of blood, are to weighed a moment; but the *great principles of liberty* are to be trodden in mire, the *great principles of liberty* are to be rudely entered by personal enemies; threatening me with the dread alternative of death or dishonor—then was it a crime that the indignant spirit of my mother in the bosoms of the stern vindicators of the law some feeling of pitying sympathy or magnanimous forbearance—then was it right that my wife and children should for long days and nights suffer the terror of impending ruin—then was it right that I should have my property confiscated—my wife and children driven out houseless and exiled from the land of my birth, and the buried ashes of my own loved blood and ever cherished friends. But if, on the other hand, I, and I alone, I, I, I, I, I, I, I, I, I—then let me be restored to the confidence of my countrymen—to the security of the laws—to the inviolate security of the laws—to my rights, and let them be consigned not to a felon's fate which is their due by the Constitution and laws of Kentucky—but live out their days with the indignation and curses of men. Did they? No, they were not so contemptible silly as that. They found it necessary in order to cover up the enormity of their crime—murder, cool and premeditated, and only not consummated because no resistance was offered, according to their own admission—but, in reality because they found it necessary to put men looking on in sullen silence, ready to die in my defence,) —to publish a manifesto to the world, full of dark, if studied, and damning falsehoods, in order to stun off from the sympathies of men, and abate the horror of their criminal avowal and dastardly revenge.

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In this manifesto, and indictment, and libel, I am accused:

1. Of being an abolitionist in its Southern sense and meaning, which I do not deny, but glory in it, and I am declared returning home, 'the organ and agent of an incendiary sect.'

2. I am accused of desiring to put into practical operation the sentiments of the leading article of the True American of the 11th number, where I am spoken of as the very soul of the paper, and the Western apostle transcendent. If possible, his insolence!

3. It is imputed to me as a crime, that I had prepared to defend my property and press, against the illegal violence of the people.

4. I am accused of crime in characterizing American slavery as 'the lowest, the basest, the most unmitigated the world had seen'—of being a 'daring incendiary, hurling his fire-brands of murder and of lust'—of regarding as a haughty and infuriated fanatic, in terms of outrage, to a committee of gentlemen, who made a wonderful mild request'—and of 'denying the right of the citizens to consult together on such a subject'—of being a 'fanatic' who 'would not trust himself for a civil war, in which he expected the non-slaveholding laborers, along with the slaves, to flock to his standard'—of calling on the laborers for what I have sacrificed so much,' of summoning slaves to my help.

5. I am accused of 'attacking the tenure of slave property'—of being 'a trespasser upon the rights of others'—and of pushing the community to extremity.

These are cruel charges, and most cruelly have they been pressed against me. Time was when I would heard, tried and punished, now being punished, may I yet be heard.

With regard to the first allegation: I am so far an abolitionist as certain men named George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and some other such 'fanatics,' who got together in 1776 and enunciated some very 'vain and incendiary' doctrines. I have followed up the same Washington who, some years after that memorable event, declared that so far as his vote could go towards the abolition of slavery, it should never be wanting. The same Washington, at some time subsequent, liberated all his slaves: I was fanatic enough to follow his advice to the example, and would have others do likewise, thinking it better to be just than rich. On the other hand, I am opposed to the doctrine of the True American, that it is lawful for the purpose of liberating a slave, or of murdering by mobs a loyal citizen. I look upon the rebels of the 1776, who took the sword and shot their land in order to perpetuate slavery, as infinitely lower in crime and infamy than the 'incendiary sect' *if such there be*, who would use similar means to liberate the slave. God forbid, that I, or my countrymen, should form an alliance with, or submit to the despotism of either. Neither the Liberty party nor the Government hold any such 'murderous doctrines; they are monopolized by the 'respectable gentlemen' of the 18th of August. The Garrisonian abolitionists are non-resistants; they hold, with O'Connell, that no revolution or change of government is worth a single drop of human blood. The Liberty party holds no doctrine, set forth by their Convention held at Cincinnati, on the 17th day of June, 1845. They say of slavery, 'we believe that its removal can be effected *peaceably, constitutionally*, without real injury to any, with the greatest benefit to all.' So that if I was an abolitionist in its broadest sense, there is no cause or excuse for any number of respectable gentlemen to come upon me and murder me, or trample upon the constitutional liberty of speech and of the press. The Whigs call me a 'Whig;' I wrote to the Abolitionists on the 14th of June, a letter published in the True American, where I call myself a Whig—the Abolitionists call me a Whig—and the Democrats call me a Whig! I hold the principles of the Whigs of '76, 'eternal resistance to tyrants'—and all the renegades, apostates and traitors to Kennedy shall not shake me from whatever measure I choose to advocate, or with whatever men I choose to ally myself.

When my visit to the North is imputed to me as a crime, and I am voted by prominent Whigs of Kentucky, it is time that I should cease to suffer in repute. I have spoken 'yea! yea as often did I refuse. I had a great work to perform, and did not wish to place my opponents on the vantage ground. For the ill I have done, and whatever harm I might receive at the North would be construed by the enemies of emancipation in Kentucky into an alliance with abolitionists.

When at last, however, serious apprehensions began to be entertained that Texas would come into the Union with slavery, sectional aggression, slavery and national dishonor; I felt it my duty to go, and give aid to the cause of my country in whatever field of battle she called me. I was called to the field of battle by the central committee for the Whigs of Kentucky,—by special invitation from about fifty Whig clubs of the North,—by the request before the public of twenty thousand freemen, and I obeyed the tacit approval of the leader of the Whig party, Henry Clay. The day before I left Lexington, I called upon Mr. Clay, and told him the purpose of my mission; that it was thought by our friends that I could have an influence, from my peculiar position, with the anti-slavery, anti-Texas voters of the free States, which no other man could, and that I was willing to go, if I could aid the Whig cause. Mr. C. said nothing, but nodded his head, with an approving smile; and after some unimportant conversation he offered me letters of introduction, which I declined as unnecessary. Whether I accomplished any good there or not, I cannot be expected to say; is enough for me to know, if I were vain enough to assume to myself consideration which belongs to the vital interests which were at stake in the contest, that never did any man of my age in America draw together so large and intensely interesting audiences. The greatest intellect of the nation, the greatest orator of any age, was with me. 'They had rather hear you than me.' The most large-souled, uncompromising man in the Union was pleased to mention my name. I was called upon for the purpose of bearing the great temple of American liberty.'

☞ All men are born free and equal—with certain natural, essential and inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

☞ Three and a-half millions of human souls are in chains, and are held as chattels personal, and bought and sold as marketable commodities.

☞ Seventy thousand infants are born of the slave parents, bidden to be slaves, and offered for sale at the block, regardless of the sacred ties of parentage.

☞ Immediate, Unconditional Emancipation.

☞ Slave-holders, Slave-traders and Slave-drivers are to be placed on the same level of infamy, and in the same fiendish category, as kidnappers and pirates, whose crimes are comparatively in their assumption of power, and their despotic cruelty.

☞ The existing Constitution of the United States is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

☞ Slavery is a crime against God and against humanity, and should be immediately abandoned, without compensation, or power, and the whole system of slavery, with its accompanying evils, should be immediately abolished

y day and night, hang over me and mine—trusting that my position may arouse in the bosoms of Americans an honorable shame and a magnanimous remorse—that they may be induced to the injustice of the infamous compromise, and yet fifteen millions of freemen, and peacably overthrow the slave despotism of this nation, and avoid the damning infamy which means for all time to fix on the character of the civilized world, if they leave me here to die.

To the liberty of my country and of mankind then, I dedicate myself, and those whom I hold dearer—dear—and for the purity of my motives, and the patriotism of my life—the past and the future—I appeal to Kentucky and to the world.

C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, Ky., Sept. 25, 1845.

SPIRIT OF THE GREEN MOUNTAINS.

In his recent Message to the Legislature of Vermont, Gov. Slade speaks in the following emphatic and determined strain, in relation to the consummation of the act of Texan annexation:

I deem no apology necessary for inviting to it your particular attention, nor for the expression of my conviction that Vermont should resist every advance towards the consummation of a measure so utterly subversive of her rights as a member of the existing Confederacy.

This meditated invasion of our rights is not to be regarded, or treated, as an ordinary violation of the Constitution, for which there may be a constitutional remedy in the interpretation of the tribunal provided for. No judicial power can effectually reach the case. Let the deed be done—the foreign State admitted, and its Senators and Representatives be actually in Congress, and, practically, a decision of the Supreme Court would be powerless. To truth, is, the measure is essentially revolutionary. This a fraud upon the Constitution, and utterly subversive of it—changing essentially, our domestic federal relations, and creating a new union, of which neither the parties to the compact nor their material constituent will constitute the bond; a union whose only bond will be the apprehended evils of actual separation, since it is impossible that a confederacy of affection can exist where there is an abiding sense of flagrant injustice and usurpation.

Much has been said in regard to the 'compromises of the Constitution' in favor of Slavery: and so sensitive are the South on this subject—so tenacious of the concessions wrung from the North, as the price of the Union, that the bare proposal by the legislature of Massachusetts, to amend the Constitution, by abolishing the slave representation in Congress, has been denounced as little less than treason to the Union. But this very compromise carries with it an irresistible argument against the measure of annexation. A slight consideration of the subject will render it apparent, that the compromise, securing a slave representation, must have had reference to a Union within the then limits of the United States, because it concerned a sectional interest, the adjustment of which in the compromise, must necessarily have had respect to definite territorial limits—other than the Union might be destroyed, and the compromise practically nullified, by the addition of foreign slave States, giving to the slave interest an unlooked for and permanent preponderance in the Union.

And such nullification will be the effect of consummating the measure of annexation. The compromises touching the question of slavery will be at an end—as clearly so, as would be one of two dependant reciprocal obligations between individuals, where the one had been violated.

The truth is, that, at the time of securing the great and fatal concession of the slave representation—by whose votes in Congress almost every question affecting the relative interests of the slave and non-slaveholding States, including the question of annexation), has been obtained—there was not any where entertained, of extending the bounds of slavery beyond the then limits of the United States. It was, on the contrary, the universal expectation that slavery would decline, and at no distant period cease to near our Federal Union. It was in the spirit of this anticipation that it was declared, in the articles of compact embodied in the celebrated Ordinances of Congress of '87 for the government of the Territory North West of the River Ohio—which passed with but one dissenting vote—that 'there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude therein, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes.' And what still more strikingly evinces the spirit of those times, and the true bearing of that ordinance in respect to slavery, the preamble to that compact declared, that 'religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, laws and constitutions are erected.'

If it had been asserted in the Convention that formed the Constitution, that under the clause declaring that 'new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union,' *foreign* slave States might and would come in, it is very manifest that the clause would not have been adopted without an express negation of such a construction—much more, that a provision for the representation of three-fifths of the slave population would not have been permitted a place in the Constitution. The fact that such a provision was made is therefore conclusive evidence, that the admission into the Union of foreign slave States under the Constitution, entered into no one's conceptions, and would have been expressly guarded against, if suggested from any quarter.

It follows that every assertion by the South of the sacredness of the slave representation compromise, is an argument out of its own mouth, that the introduction of foreign slave States into the Union is, itself, a violation of the compromises of the Constitution. And it furthermore follows, that such introduction of foreign slave States, in effect discharges the North from its obligation to a continuance of the slave representation—a representation sufficiently onerous when confined to the *Constitutional* Union, but intolerable when extended to a new Union, formed by the introduction of foreign slave States, for the purpose of perpetuating the dominion of the slave power. Let the South either relinquish the unrighteous advantage of the slave representation, or cease to press for the admission of foreign slave States. To claim both is an aggravation of injustice, equalled only by that of the system for whose support and continuance it is perpetrated.

Equally unjust and absurd is it to claim an exception of the constitutional stipulation for the surrender of fugitives from oppression, and for protection against domestic violence, while the right is claimed and exercised to augment and perpetuate, indefinitely, the burden of these obligations, by the annexation of foreign slave States to the Union.

Slavery, moreover, is an element of weakness, inviting invasion, which the Constitution binds the nation to repel, in whatever quarter it may threaten. How long, and to what extent this obligation is to be binding, may hereafter become a question. The advocates of annexation would do well now to consider it; as they would also the question, to what extent there shall be maintained, at an enormous expense, a navy to prevent the coastwise slave trade, destined to acquire unwonted activity under annexation policy.

To these motives for resisting the consummation of the threatened measure, must be added its injustice to Mexico, and the disgrace of perpetrating it, because it is unable to repel. And to render this injustice the more flagrant, and the grasping spirit in which the whole annexation movement originated and has been conducted, the more manifest, it would now seem, that the Executive is pushing a claim to territory as a part of Texas, clearly beyond any limits ever assigned to the department of that name, and not even in the contemplation of the government to whom the overture for annexation has been made.

The impotence of Mexico may be to us an effectual protection. We are probably safe from the injury her sense of wrong may prompt her to inflict. But who shall protect us from the just judgment of an impartial world, or blot the stain of injustice from the pages of our country's history?

In reference to the position sometimes taken, that the action of Congress had upon the subject of annexation concludes us from further opposition to the measure, it is sufficient to say, that no right can be concluded by any action, of the character of that legislation under which the overture to Texas has been made. It is an attempt to annex by joint resolution of Congress, the unconstitutionality of which was so apparent, that it became necessary to connect with it an alternative resolution, providing for annexation by treaty. It was by this means, and an alternative, that conscientious scruples as to annexation by joint resolution were quieted. Should the alternative left it in the power of the President to give effect, as he has chosen, to the joint resolution itself, and thus do the very thing which those scruples would not allow could be done.

We have, thus, a double violation of the Constitution; to which must be added, the fact that the President elect made his appearance at the scene of action and turned the trembling scale, by throwing into it the weight of his incoming official patronage.

Shall such an act, carried by such means, have the effect in this free country, of concluding and silencing opposition to the consummation of a measure, Let the spirit of free, intelligent and unabused Vermont answer.

And where will Vermont soon be, if the policy of foreign annexation is to prevail, and become the settled policy of the country? She will be in the condition of an appendage of a vast slave empire, embracing about half the Continent, and ruled by every part of Mexico—all of which will be overrun by slaveholders, who will, in due time, declare independence, and claim and obtain admission into the Union.

But annexation may be consummated. Slavery may introduce its corrupting influence into the state of the United States. It may annul the compromises of the Constitution, and destroy the bond that holds these States together. What, then, shall Vermont do? What will be her part? We do admit of no question. If, from a regard to peace, she shall forbear to exercise her right, it should be with a solemn declaration to the history of the world, that she thereby acknowledges no right of annexation, and forbears from no diminished conviction that it will subvert the Constitution, and essentially destroy the Union of which it is the bond; and that she reserves the right of such future action, as circumstances may suggest.

But, in the event of annexation, there will remain a great practical duty for us to perform. It will be, to go to the very verge of our constitutional power to effect, if possible, a peaceful dissolution of our ties in our country, and the great crime of our age.' Slavery will, by annexation, have been taken under the special protection of the national government, and made, in the highest sense, a national institution; and, thenceforth, will become a leading and controlling element in our Union. We will then be seen in a stronger and clearer light than it has ever been. The success of annexation will have signally illustrated its character and tendency. It will then be when it will be able no longer to adjust its influence, in the scale of parties, so as to maintain its ascendancy by Northern co-operation; for the North will have learned the lesson of submission necessary to union, in order to roll back the tide of its usurpations, and to change the policy of the government that it shall cease to be the agent of slavery, and act in direct opposition to the interests of the South. In the event, not the slightest injury was done; but this does not take away sin from them who purposed it.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, OCT. 24, 1845.

THE BAZAAR.

The confidence of the Committee in the friends of Freedom throughout the land has been thus for nobly met.

From various parts of the Free States, they have received the most cheering responses to their call for aid. Those who have replied seem to feel the fact, that it is no more *our* cause, *our* business, *our* responsibility, as Christians.

The following, being valuable letters, demand immediate acknowledgment, that it may be known to the writers that they have reached their destination:—

Paulina S. Wright, Oct. 13th.
Maria Weston, do.
D. & C. A. Joy, Northampton, 12th.
Margaret Hyatt, Hudson, 10th.
Unknown friends in Manchester, Mass.
Robert Purvis, (box.)
J. R. Giddings.
Edmund Jackson, $21, by hand of H. Chapman.

The following communication from Nantucket, is a specimen of the cheering communications the committee have received from many towns. All the rest should follow the example.

At a meeting of anti-slavery friends, held on the evening of the 17th instant, it was voted that we prepare a Nantucket table at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair as a valuable instrumentality in promoting the anti-slavery cause, not only as a means of presenting a field of varied and attractive industry to all classes of persons, and thereby making the peculiar tastes and capacities of each avail in promoting its pecuniary interest, but also as a means of enlisting the sympathies and encouraging the efforts of friends, by the united action and friendly social gatherings necessarily attending the preparation for such occasions.

Per order,
ANNA GARDNER, *Sec.*

We are encouraged to prepare for a SHOE-TABLE, and ask the co-operation of friends in other shoe-making towns, with those already engaged in working for it. We have received a quantity of beautiful women's and gentlemen's shoes, ladies and children's, which we ask the aid of our anti-slavery coadjutors among the shoe-makers to make up. By a general distribution of them, one pair to each friend, the work will not be burdensome to any.

☞ Friends will bear in mind, that an engraving of Mr. Garrison is to form the frontispiece, and many admirable articles are already in the printer's hand.

☞ Friends of whom we have promise of literary contributions are requested to be speedy.

☞ Pecuniary contributions are needed for the publication.—E. W. G.

TO THE BENEVOLENT.

We are requested to state that Messrs. John M. Brown and L. Hayden, (two intelligent colored young men,) are now in this city and vicinity, soliciting aid for the erection of a meeting-house (the basement of it to be a school-room) in Detroit, for the educational and religious improvement of the growing but destitute colored population in that city. Entire confidence may be placed in their integrity, as they bring with them strong recommendations from Rev. J. V. Watson, Rev. R. R. Richards, Judge Wilkins of the U. S. Court, Michigan, G. B. Throop, President of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, Hiram Wilson, James Canningham Fuller, Gerrit Smith, Samuel J. May, Hosea Ballou, Charles H. Stewart, and others, as well as a certificate from the Trustees. They intend holding public meetings in some of the adjacent towns, and have many thrilling facts to communicate, both in regard to the slave system, and to the escape of fugitive slaves. Give them a hearing.

THE NON-RESISTANCE ANNIVERSARY.

This anniversary was held in the Tremont Chapel on Thursday and Friday of last week, and we are happy to say that the spirit of integrity, and the interest steadily increasing from the beginning to the close of the proceedings. It was more edifying, by far, than any that had preceded it, and very much was done to enlighten those present as to the scope, spirit and purpose of non-resistance. We find it impossible to give even the official report of the doings this week, but will do something more than this in our next number.

DR. PARKMAN AND JAMES HAUGHTON.

We suppose the article we have copied from the Christian Register, signed 'One of the Proscribed Ministers,' may be fairly attributed to the pen of the Rev. Dr. Parkman, of this city. The Dr. appears to be desirous of making a light matter of the faithful and solemn remonstrance letter of James Haughton to him, and the attempt to 'proscribe' him in England because he was not an abolitionist; but it is evident that he feels quite splenetic about it. He evidently to console himself, however, with the fact, that and abolitionist as he was, as well as his associates, neither he nor they were treated any the less hospitably in England on that account!

LETTERS FROM FREDERICK DOUGLASS. NO. III.

DERRIG, (Great Brunswick Street,)
September 20th, 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I promised you a letter occasionally, to keep you informed of my movings while I remained abroad. I sometimes fear I shall be compelled to break my promise, if by keeping it is meant writing letters to you fit for publication. You know some of my objects in coming here was to get a little respite, if I could, from the incessant labor I have performed, ready and able to join you vigorously in the prosecution of our holy cause. But, really, if the labor of the last two weeks be a fair sample of what awaits me, I have certainly sought repose in the wrong place. I have work enough here, on the platform, every night, and every day, and every portion of my strength, were I to stay in this city a whole six months. The cause of temperance alone would afford work enough to occupy every inch of my time. I have invitation after invitation to address temperance meetings, which I am compelled to decline. How different here, from my treatment at home! In this country, I am welcomed to the temperance platform, side by side with white speakers, and am received as kindly and warmly as though my skin were white.

I have but just recovered from a great Repeal meeting, held at Corcoillian Hall. It was a very large meeting—much larger than usual, I was told, on account of the presence of Mr. O'Connell, who has just returned from his residence at Derrynane, where he has been spending the summer, recruiting for the repeal campaign, which commences at present autumn. On approaching the door, or gate way leading to the Hall, and observing the denseness of the crowd, I almost despaired of getting in; but, having by the kindness of James Haughton, Esq. obtained a note of introduction to the Secretary of the Hall, I was enabled, by dint of much pushing, to persevere by the evident disposition of the friendly crowd to let me pass,—many of whom seemed to be holding in their breath, and thus contracting their dimensions, to allow me passage way,—I pressed forward, and was soon gladdened by a sight of the interior of the meeting. The meeting had been in progress for sometime before I got in. When I entered, one after another was announcing the Repeal rent for the week. The audience appeared to be in deep sympathy with the Repeal movement, and the announcement of each consecutive contribution was followed by a hearty round of applause, and sometimes a vote of thanks was taken for the donors. At the close of this business, Mr. O'Connell rose and delivered a speech of about an hour and a quarter long. It was a great speech, abounding in lively, powerful and pathetic eloquence in rhetoric, bitting in its sarcasm, melting in its pathos, and burning in its rebukes. Upon the subject of slavery in general, and American slavery in particular, Mr. O'Connell grew warm and energetic, defending his course on this subject. He said, with a earnestness which I shall never forget, 'I have been assailed for attacking the American institution, as it is called,—negro slavery. I am not ashamed of that attack. I do not shrink from it. I am the advocate of civil and religious liberty, all over the globe, and wherever tyranny exists, I am the foe of the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will. I am the friend of liberty in every class and color. My sympathy with distress is not confined within the narrow bounds of my own green island. No—it extends itself to every corner of the earth. My heart walks abroad, and wherever the miserable are to be succored, or the slave to be set free, there my spirit is at home, and I delight to dwell.'

Mr. O'Connell was in his happiest mood while delivering this speech. The fire of freedom was burning in his mighty heart. He had but to open his mouth, to put in possession of thoughts that burnished, and words that fell, like those many speakers within the last four years—speakers of the first order; but I confess, I have never heard one, by whom I was more completely captivated than Mr. O'Connell. I was delighted to see how such monster meetings as those of Repeal could be held peacefully. It is now no matter of astonishment at all. It seems to me that the voice of O'Connell is enough to calm the most violent passion, even though it were already manifested in a mob. There is a kind of, I know not, sunniness in it, beyond any voice I ever heard. His power over an audience is perfect.

When he had taken his seat, a number withdrew from the Hall, and, taking advantage of the space left vacant thereby, I got quite near the platform, for no higher object than that of obtaining a favorable view of the Liberator. But almost as soon as I did so, friend Buffum had by some means (I know not what) obtained an introduction to Mr. John O'Connell, son of Daniel O'Connell, and nothing would do but I must accompany them to see how far which I was quite unprepared, and one from which I naturally shrunk. But Buffum, in real Yankee style, had resolved (to use a Yankee term) to 'put me through' at all hazards. On being introduced to Mr. O'Connell, an opportunity was afforded me to speak; and although I was ignorant what to say, I managed to say something, which was quite well received.

The Hutchinson family have been here a week or more, and have attended two of my lectures on slavery; and have sung, during each, some of their stirring songs to render the meetings interesting.

My Narrative is just published, and I have sold one hundred copies in this city. Our work goes on nobly. James and myself leave here for Wexford on Monday next. I shall probably be gone about three weeks, and from there go to Waterford, and then to Cork, where we shall spend a week or ten days. I have also engagements in Belfast, which will detain me in Ireland all of one month longer.

Much love to my anti-slavery friends.

Ever one with you, through the good and evil report,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

Dublin, 2d of 10th mo., 1845.

MY DEAR GARRISON:

Frederick Douglass delivered his last lecture—at least, the last during his present visit to Dublin—yesterday evening. It was very well attended, considering the Music Hall. He has been well received by all classes since he came to Dublin, and has had numerous invitations to the tables of many excellent people. His visit has occasioned deep interest in the anti-slavery cause, and many who never thought on the subject before, now come forward to do what which it is a sin to neglect. Some of his true and guarded statements respecting the American Methodists gave great offence to Methodists here; but when they learned that he was not attacking Methodism, but only the system of slavery, which is the sum of all villanies—many of them ceased their hostility, and have shown themselves friendly; not however before, by their complaints and remonstrances and threats of noisy replies to F. D., they had frightened Friends into closing the doors of their meeting-houses against him. Our Society here, as well as in America, are timid people, loving to be thought much of by the community, and seeking to dwell in the quiet. Their instincts are all as far as possible different from the strong tendencies of George Fox and his stern and unflinching contemporaries and coadjutors. The general impression F. D. has made here, is highly favorable, both to himself and to his race, by the mother's side. I have no doubt that he will make his way readily through the country, aided by the kindness and sympathy of his truly noble-hearted friend, James N. Buffum, of whose many excellent qualities I can hardly trust myself to write in the terms of respect and regard which I feel for him. I have never known a man in whom, on so short an acquaintance, I have felt such confidence. Frederick goes from hence to Wexford; then to Waterford and Cork; perhaps to Limerick. Having this visit to the principal towns in the South of Ireland, he will return to Dublin, on his way to Belfast, the capital of Ulster. He has been invited thither. He will then pass over, most probably, to Glasgow, visit Scotland, and then into England. Elizabeth Pease has written to welcome him. I shall have letters from Harriet Martineau, William Boultbee of Birmingham, William James of Bristol, and other friends of the cause, respecting him. I have printed an edition of 2000 copies of his Narrative, and 100 are already sold in a few days in Dublin alone.

The Hutchinson family are here. They are a delightful troop. They have sung the first songs ever sung at an anti-slavery meeting in Dublin. They have a glorious gift, and nobly they employ it for the good of humanity. Their style of singing is so different from the scientific and artificial style so much in vogue here, that I cannot give an opinion as to their probable success. But this I know, that I have heard them several times in public, and that great delight was manifested by the audience. For their own sake, as well as for the cause of temperance and anti-slavery, I wish them success. They have been greatly noticed in fashionable circles, and I believe are fully satisfied with the reception they have met with from their Dublin friends.

I think anti-slavery in Dublin has received a great impulse from F. D's lectures, and I am in hopes that we shall be able to do our part of some, at least, of the deeds, and not by words and professions and resolutions only. Henry C. Wright is writing away like Trojan in Scotland, and is making Frederick's way smooth before him amongst the intelligent and enlightened people of that country.

Thine, very truly,
R. D. WEBB.

☞ The closing of the doors of the Friends' meeting-house in Dublin against the noble-hearted Douglass, the representative of three millions of American slaves, has elicited the following excellent appeal from Richard D. Webb and Thomas Webb, highly esteemed members of the Society of Friends:—

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN DUBLIN.

DUBLIN, 17th of ninth month, 1845.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We learn with regret, that the Monthly Meeting of Dublin has this day' continued to withhold the Meeting-house of the Friends' Meeting House in Eustace-street, from FREDERICK DOUGLASS, for his lectures on American Slavery.

We cannot imagine anything more inconsistent with the profession the Society makes before the world, than the reasons we have heard assigned for this decision. No objection was made to the character of the lecture, nor to the truthfulness of his testimony; as far as he is concerned, the FACTS he was obliged to bring forward to prove his position form the chief objection to the use of Friends. The objections that were made were of three kinds.

Some Friends, who make no special objection to anything that has been said in Douglass's or any other lectures delivered by Frederick Douglass, do not wish that their meeting-house should be applied to any other purpose than those of worship and discipline. Some cause of humanity appears not in their eyes holy enough for the meeting-house premises. We know they would not like it to be used for a Temperance Meeting, or even for other Christian professors, that there is something especially sacred in the bricks and mortar of a place of worship which should not be used for purposes of consecration as rank superstition. Nevertheless, many, although they cannot precisely tell why, do not feel easy at the idea of their house being used for any purpose, except in a religious capacity. The association of ideas is so strong upon their minds, that they unconsciously give to the same sacredness to a place which they have long been accustomed to see occupied by a sanctimonious and even openly manifested by others. It would otherwise be difficult for such as these, to assign any objection to the meeting-house being used for the purpose of hearing Frederick Douglass, who was once a slave, and is now a man, reveal the dark secrets of the house of bondage, and pour out the vials of his wrath upon the many assist in the blessed duty of 'undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free.'

Others are fearful that Frederick Douglass does not express himself in a sufficiently gentle spirit. Only think of those who have been nurtured in the lap of ease, and who have experienced neither hunger, or the midnight of the mind which is the fate of the bondman, asking a slave to speak in behalf of the cause of Slavery. Frederick Douglass drunk the bitter cup to the dregs. His back is even now furrowed with the cowskin, his soul burns with the wrongs he has endured and witnessed; and yet they expect him to make a brute of him; and at this moment, if they yet live, his grandmother, his brothers and sisters, and other companions of his youth, are crouching beneath the iron heels of Christian professors in the South.

Objections such as these, are called *pro-slavery* in America. They are such as are continually thrown in the face of Abolitionists, by those who say they are *anti-slavery as anybody*, whilst they do nothing themselves to prove their sincerity, and never be satisfied by any thing that is done by others for the overthrow of Slavery.

A third class of objectors are those who, while they have no objection to an Anti-Slavery lecture should be delivered in our meeting-house, cannot bear that any thing offensive to any class of professors should be said in connection with it. We have nothing in the slightest degree insinuating that Friends have not done their duty in the Anti-slavery cause. We may perhaps be disposed to think, that they have done, but it will never do to charge it home to the sinner, or to say to him, 'Thou art the man.' Yet thy exposure is the very thing that is necessary to the salvation of thy soul. Friends are fond of quoting the cloak of religion to serve the devil in. Anti-Slavery people are fond of quoting the cloak of religion to serve the devil in. Anti-Slavery people are fond of quoting pro-slavery religion and pro-slavery societies, which, whilst they profess regard for the slave, refuse to make any effort to break his chains.

The Christian professors of the various sects in the free States recognize their fellow-professors of the South. This intercourse, cemented by commerce, education, and social intercourse, inevitably tends to strengthen the pro-slavery sentiment in the national mind. We can scarcely appreciate how powerful are sectarian influences; they bring down with them, strengthened with our strength; it is difficult to be unmoved by any insinuation derogatory to the fair fame of the religious body to which we belong. We have heard the claims of humanity in deference to those of our sectarian organization. No wonder, then, that religious bodies in Europe should find difficulty when they hear the conduct of their slaveholding fellow-professors portrayed in the colors which truth demands; when they have documentary evidence of the extent to which Conferences, Synods and General Assemblies have conceded to the demands of avarice and oppression.

If the assertion of Christianity of the slave States support the horrible system of Slavery, it must be exposed to the execration of the world. It must be proved to the world that it is not a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, an Independent. The facts must be told. A mere relation of the cruelties of the system of American Slavery will accomplish do. We must strip away the mask of religion worn by the slaveholder. This must be done; and no man who relies upon principle will hesitate to do so.

Since the increase of steam navigation has brought the United States so near to us, we have learned that Christian Professors in the Old Country have been obliged to lower their testimony—their practical testimony, we mean—in order to conciliate the support of the pro-slavery portion of Christ. We know that they are so deeply involved with the odious prejudice against color, that religion of the institution of Slavery; is any other portion of the people. We are aware that there are some bright exceptions, but, alas! they are comparatively few. The sum of the Society's exertions in America, have consisted in occasional addresses from a Yearly Meeting or a Yearly Meeting's Committee, instead of the hearty individual exertions which result from a true appreciation of the evils of Slavery, and a sincere desire for their removal. If we are in earnest we would not rest satisfied that half-dozen select friends should keep the conscience of a whole Yearly Meeting at ease as to their duties, when every one should put his shoulder to the work, for the extinction of this cruel, bloody, unchristian system.

What is 'a testimony' worth, if it be not witnessed upon? Are we to be satisfied that we have done our duty in the matter, if once a year we send a gently breathed whisper across the Atlantic, to our American brethren, reminding them that we, whilst they remain silent, will half whisper in reply, to the effect that they will set this down as a 'yearly opening' come? A right opening! When such money is to be made, or political purposes to be gratified by their assistance, do they sit quietly down? Let us be faithful to our testimony, and we will wait to stand well with the community, and to secure our regard for the claims of humanity. We do not act as if we believed that God has made men to be bought and sold. We believe that God has made men to be free, to dwell upon the face of the earth. As a Society, we have not yet learned to see this question: we are complacently, satisfied with the good deeds of our predecessors.

Oh, that the conscciences of Friends were roused on this great question. This wretch, as we saw, if we turned our attention to its many important bearings; to the degradation of the slaveholder; to the suffering of the bondman; to the moral pestilence of the unhappy slave. Think of 2,000,000 women, and children, in the worse than Egyptian night of Slavery. Feel for the mighty energy of every right principle, which reconciles all nations, professing Christians to the perpetration of such wickedness. Neither civilization, nor religion, nor the happiness of the human family, can prosper, to any extended sense, so long as Slavery is permitted to curse the United States. Every one has it in his power to do something, if it be but little. In the amount of religious profession, no scheme, no policies, no wasting of the outside of the cup and the platter, will excuse us from doing our parts in the matter.

We remain respectfully, your friends,
RICHARD D. WEBB,
THOMAS WEBB.

FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.

ABBOTSFORD, Sept. 27, 1845.

DEAR GARRISON:

Did you ever read 'The Antiquary, by Scott? Abbotsford is the locality—the *Merryport*, I think he calls it. Here is the old Abbey, and the wonderful cave and rocks on the coast where *Eddie Ochiltree* used to resort and meditate on human affairs, and by a *baggarly* property, which he had, in his youth, in 1171, William 1., called the Lion of Scotland, and here was buried. It is a very magnificent ruin. His wife Johnson fell upon his knees and kissed its feet when he was here. Wretch! He adored these old walls, but hated the life of monks. In this ruin, the Prince held a council with his nobles, and drew up his document against the Pope. It was the richest endowed Abbey in the kingdom at one time, and one of the most celebrated in Europe. It was called the Abbey of Aberbrothwich, now contracted to Arbroath. Population, 3,000 inhabitants, on the shore of the German ocean. Yesterday I spent wandering among the wonderful caverns and rocks of red sandstone, worn into all conceivable forms by the action of the billows. The coast for four miles north of the town is truly wonderful. I am to lecture here on Dundee next week, on slavery. The *Free* are quite an infamous game. In this town, their leading pastor, Wm. Lesley, refuses to act on a *Test Society* committee, solely because one of the Residuents, a State Church priest, is allowed to be a member. Lesley concerned in the Breadalby and Kupitch Christ—says if he acts with the Residuary as a committee, he acknowledges him as a minister of Christ. Yet this same Lesley pleads strongly and boisterously for his right to go to America, and take man-stealing by the hand, and fellowship the slave-holding ministers of the Free Church—as evangelical, preaching, devoted, honored ministers of Christ, serving God in the gospel of his Son.' These Free Church ministers would sell the Son of God to get money. They do so, by their proxies, the American slaveholders.

I am on my way north, and you will hear from me in Aberdeen, Inverness or Oban. I lecture on the Dissolution of the American Union in all places, to urge the people to use their influence with their leading ministers, that Christian and desirable end—on the ground that *the Dissolution of the American Union is essential to the abolition of American slavery.*

I hear oft from James and Frederick in Dublin. Expect to meet them in Glasgow next week. We are in a glorious cause—the Christian revolution. Free is institution that cannot exist without the sacrifice of man!

Yours truly,
H. C. WRIGHT.

ANOTHER PEAL FROM O'CONNELL'S ROD.

In the letter of Frederick Douglass, (of whose health and success we rejoice to hear,) is a reference to a powerful speech delivered by the Irish Liberator before the Repeal Association in Dublin, in course of which he declared himself faithful and glorious testimony against American slavery and all its abettors. Fresh thanks and honors be given to the disinterested and undaunted friend of emancipation! In the Dublin Evening Post of Sept. 20, the speech of Mr. O'Connell is reported at considerable length from which we take the following extract:

It is quite true that from many parts of America we refused sympathy, because the evidence of sympathy was accompanied by principles which we could not approve. We could take no sympathy and no assistance inconsistent with our allegiance to the Sovereign, and unworthy of our ancestors to our native land (cheers.) I have been asked, I have been called upon to join an institution, as it is called—negro slavery (hear, hear.) I am not ashamed that attack—I do not shrink from it. I am the advocate of civil and religious liberty all over the globe, and wherever tyranny exists, I am the foe of the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will, (great cheering.) It has been said, that I ought to be ashamed of Ireland, that I ought to be ashamed of Ireland, that I ought to be ashamed with American slavery. Why do not the Americans show us their sympathy—their struggles, and why should we not show our sympathy in Ireland? Why should I not be ashamed of my country amongst themselves (cheers.) But I confess I have another group to speak for desiring to abolish slavery in America. I do not mean to the foe of the earth is there not a thing as domestic slavery; 'its true in some parts of the islands belonging to monarchies, slavery exists, but I do not mean to speak of that. Is there slavery amongst the Russian serf is far different from the slave of America; and, therefore, I do not wish to be the lover of liberty should be able to draw a comparison between the democratic republic of America and the despotic States of Europe, (hear, hear.) I am in favor of the democratic spirit, and I wish to be known as the friend of slavery, (cheers.) I do not wish to visit America with force and violence. I would be the last man in the world to counsel it; I would just be for calling war to free the negro—at least, not for making war to free the negro, and sword; but I would be for the most vigorous and decisive measures of government and humanity to procure the extinction of tyranny, and that contempt and indignation on those who call themselves freemen, and who keep their fellow-men in slavery, I would be the last to the sentiments of that kind to bear such a system until the very name of slavery would be regarded with horror in the Republic of America. I would be the last to be astonished to see a Russian serf attributing to me motives of a Russian serf. I quote from an extract published at Boston, in the Liberator, and from the *Tablet* of the 16th instant: 'Men do not estimate Mr. O'Connell differently according to the different points of view from which they contemplate him; nor is a man to be regarded as consistent in devotion to the interests of Ireland, for we know he cannot feel tomorrow as he does to the warm-hearted and enthusiastic Irish. We protest in behalf against making the idolatrous worship of any one the test of one's devotion to the cause with which we are identified. For ourselves, we are American citizens and patriots, and we feel our feelings wounded, our prejudices aroused, and our energies unpowered warped by Mr. O'Connell's unprovoked attacks on our country; for we are as sensitive to the interests, to the honor and glory of America, as Irishmen are to those of Ireland. We are as quick to resent any attack upon the country come it from what quarter it may.' I never attacked

this country—I wholly deny it—but I attacked it wherever in America, and I attacked it equally in every other country on the face of the earth, (cheers.) The article goes on to speak of me in the direst language, and then adds:—" Nevertheless, the name of Mr. O'Connell has, in his speeches, made a mock BY WRITERS." Now, I will never bow down to any country by insinuations. I never bow down to any opinion of American slavery that I had not avowedly written. I speak, and never have spoken, with the consent of the Association, and I do not consider quite conclusive as regards my speeches and things which I never spoke, the assertions of this writer:—We have strong reason for believing that these remarks do not accuse the writer of any dishonest intention, but that he and with his own private views and feelings, and that they are made merely for the purpose of controlling his friends, or silencing enemies in England and Scotland." There never was a man yet, more of a gentleman than my thoughts, than I am. I speak of consistency, but more speeches than any human being, have made to our and the American repeal cause than no one else. I speak, and one thing, I think I have a right to say, for the purpose of conciliating friends, and silencing enemies in England and Scotland." What a man have I of me! (loud cheers.)—Mr. O'Connell is better informed as to the state of things than this writer. Such speeches would indicate. But, he appears to be of importance for his success to conciliate, and, if or as possible, to enlist the Abolitionists in Great Britain on his side, and to have it clearly and fairly understood by the British Government, and people, that however ardently he may desire Repeal he is not prepared to purchase it by courting and pacifying foreign alliance or sympathy. Thus, he repelled the proffered sympathy of the French Liberals, and then he has repelled, in some degree, the proffered sympathy of American citizens.' Yet, that is an accusation of being a base hypocrite and intimation of affected to be the friend of anti-republican, merely to conciliate the Abolitionists in England. In the year '25, when I left my profession, and went over to England, there was not a Abolitionist in England, at which I attended, and afterwards, when I went to parliament, another meeting was appointed, greater in magnitude than Wm. Wilberforce was ever seen in the House of Commons—the Algerine Bill was carried through the house by a majority of 11—therefore, the Emancipation Bill was carried by the power of the West Indian interest, but when they sent a respected friend of mine—the Knight of Kerry—to me, to ask why I did not take a certain part with respect to the West Indies, I replied, I represent the Irish people here, and I will act as the Irish people would sanction—sympathy, liberty, cause, slavery, to myself, I will never—sympathy slavery at home nor abroad, (cheers.) I said I came here on principle; the Irish people yet, are here to carry out their principles; their principles are abhorrence of slavery, and, therefore, I will take my part at that anti-slavery meeting, and though it should be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favor of human liberty, and I will strike that blow, (cheers.) So far was I from cultivating the slavery interest, that I adopted that course, though I regretted to lose their votes. But I insist on it, I do not—I say that I did not lose them. They acted nobly, and said they would not resign upon Ireland my attack upon them, (cheers.) Did I believe so? I believe so, I say that I was courting the anti-slavery party. ...Let me remind the Association, that a letter, bearing the 1st year '38 or '39, Fox, Fowell Buxton and the anti-slavery party called a meeting in' Exeter hall, for the civilization of the interior of Africa. I attended: but they determined that I should not take a part in the meeting. They arranged that I should not be heard.—The people that attended the meeting were kind enough to be impatient to hear me, but they voted the chairman out of the chair, and got up a tune on the organ lest I should speak to the people, (laughter.) That was the way I conciliated the anti-slavery party. And when the bow! was raised in England against the Maynooth Bill, who were the most active in raising that bowl? The anti-slavery party, (hear.) Did I, then, do, I ask, any thing improper, apologizing for taking the part they did, and attributing their opposition to the grant to their attachment to the principle of religious liberty, (hear, cause, (cheers.) I said to them publicly, how can you say it is the voluntary principle you are going upon?

The Presbyterians receive 26,000l. a-year by annual votes—you never opposed the Presbyterian grant; it is equally obnoxious to the voluntary principle; but when a grant is proposed to be given to the Catholics, you oppose it (hear, hear.) But have I insulted the Americans, when I talked of the horrors of domestic slavery? I happened to receive a New Orleans paper, published in the centre of domestic slavery—it is called the *Jeffersonian Republic*, (laughter,) and that paper, in its issue of April 1 perceives that, in connection with the institution of slavery in New Orleans—for I find that in America the old aristocratic institution—the public whipping-post—men are licensed to keep shambles of torture, hear, hear,)—the master sends his slave to the shambles, there to get a hundred and one lashes, and the man gets the hundred lashes, or whatever degree of punishment his master desires (hear, hear.) Men are actually shambles kept there for the nature of slaves, and there are persons who earn a livelihood—what a hideous livelihood—by flogging human beings at the instance of those who are called their masters (hear, hear.) Am I to blame if I attack a system of that kind (hear, hear!) Male or female—young or old—whipped at the discretion of a man, who may, and is not actually killing the individual (hear, hear.) They would thus make the man forbear whether he is guilty of a theft or not, by fear, hear.) Christian men who profess to see those scenes going on around them? (hear, hear, I conclude that this is not the statement of a calumniator, or a libeller, or a misrepresenter, but it is the statement published in the darkest hole of slavery, by Negro slaves! (hear, hear.) Let them blame the Association for the exertions they—let their support be taken from Ireland—(cheers.) I denounce you, wherever you are (loud cheers.) Come free, come free—oppression to Ireland—let Ireland be free to say, I have my conscience clear, (loud cheers.) Let Ireland, (hear.) Jabber the tyranny of man, and by denunciating, brutalizing, torturing practice (cheers.) Is it I who have calumniated America, or, if they be calumniated—but the American repeal, is not the statement of a calumniator, but it is the statement of a calumniator

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE NEW MARRIAGE.

Ye friends of Freedom, stand erect!
Her holy cause we must protect;
The slave's release we must effect,
Some how or other;
Straight forward press! our course we know;
Heed not the tyrant's word or blow;
God-bidden, let us fearless go
And save our brother!

Why linger arguing with knaves,
About the right of holding slaves,
Till avarice has dug the graves
Of millions more?
Shame! shame! that we must work so long,
With truth and argument so strong,
To make men see th' infernal wrong,
And such deplore!

God holds his thunders in his hand,
And threatens vengeance on the land;
When these are hurl'd, who then shall stand
Before the blow?
The cloud looms up thick, black, and near—
Enough to make the boldest fear;
The signs in bold relief appear,
And stronger grow.

This land of bondage widens out—
The cannon roar, and freemen (!) shout;
And all this hellish noise about
This Texas union!
There must be jubilee in hell,
When deeds so devilish take so well;
And Satan rings his roll-call bell,
For this communion.

But fling aloft the motto clear,
'*No Union with Slaveholders*' here!
There is no time to doubt or fear
In such a cause.
The land is curs'd with unpaid toil;
Its sweat and blood have drench'd the soil;
Let none a single inch recoil,
Or moment pause.

Come, all who care for justice, now
To God, and truth, and freedom vow,
That we assent will never bow
To such a marriage.
Our cause must triumph soon, we know;
A bold, determined front we'll show;
Then from this wedlock nought shall grow,
But sore miscarriage.

Bedford, Mass. 1845. D. P.

From the Democratic Review, for Oct.

THE FISHERMEN.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

Hurrah! the seaward breezes
Sweep down the bay amain;
Heave up, my lads, the anchor,
Run up the sail again!
Leave to the lubber landsmen
The rail-car and the steed;
The stars of Heaven shall guide us,
The breath of Heaven shall speed.

From the hill-top looks the steeple,
And the light-house from the sand;
And the scattered pines are waving
Their farewell from the land.
One glance, my lads, behind us,
For the homes we leave one sigh,
Ere we take the change and chances
Of the ocean and the sky.

Now, brothers, for the iceberge
Of frozen Labrador,
Floating special in the moonshine,
Along the bay, black shore!
Where like snow the gannet's feathers
On Bradore's rocks are shaken,
And the noisy murre are flying
Like black scads overhead;

Where in mist the rock is hiding,
And the sharp reef lurks below;
And the white squall smites in Summer,
And the Autumn tempests blow;
Where through grey and rolling vapor,
From evening unto morn,
A thousand boats are trailing,
Horn answering unto horn.

Hurrah! for the Red Island,*
With the white cross on its crown!
Hurrah! for Meccatina,†
And its mountains bare and brown!
Where the Carbon's tall antlers
O'er the dwarf wood freely toss,
And the fleetest of the Mickmack
Has no sound upon the moss!

There we'll drop our lines, and gather
Old Ocean's treasures in,
Where'er the mottled mackerel
Turns up a steel-dark fin;
Where'er the brown cod glideth
Amidst the kelp cham,
We will reap the North-land's harvest,
As her reapers only can.

Our wet hands spread the carpet,
And light the hearth of home;
From our fish, as in the olde time,
The silver coin shall come.
As the demon fled the chamber
Where the fish of Tobit lay,‡
So ours from all our dwellings
Shall frighten Want away.

Though the mist upon our jackets
In the bitter air congeals,
And our lines wind stiff and slowly
From off the frozen reels;
Though the fog be dark around us,
And the storm blow high and loud,
We will whistle down the wild wind,
And laugh beneath the cloud!

In the darkness as in daylight,
On the water as on land,
God's eye is looking on us,
And beneath us is His hand!
Death will find us soon or later,
On the deck or in the cot;
And we cannot meet him better
Than in working out our lot.

Hurrah!—hurrah!—the west wind
Comes creeping down the bay;
The rising sails are filling—
Give way, my lads, give way!
Leave the coward landsman clinging
To the dull earth, like a weed—
The stars of Heaven shall guide us,
The breath of Heaven shall speed!

* An island of red sand-stone in the Magdalen group.

† Our next harbor was Little Meccatina. There the mountains were more lofty, and the moss less beautiful. Near us was a rock two thousand feet high, which we ascended, and saw from the summit, a chain of mountains and an interminable sea of lakes and islands—a wild and impressive place.—*Notes of Audubon's Voyage to Labrador*, 1833.

‡ Tobit viii. 3 Apoc.

MY CHILD.

My child lay dead!—her gentle eyelids closed,
Like one who on a bed of down reposed:
No alter'd feature could my fancy trace,
For e'en in death, she showed a beauteous grace.
There was the form I'd press'd unto my breast
Still left to me—God took the better part:
And, whilst the mortal clay to earth was given,
Her pure young spirit soared to live in heaven!

REFORMATORY.

THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL REFORM.

MONOPOLIZED MACHINERY.

To Wm. Lloyd Garrison:

Dear Sir—I have examined, in previous articles, several of the false institutions and arrangements of the present false system of society, and will now name the work of analysis and examination, by viewing one more of the 'brood of abominations' engendered by spurious civilization. Let me once more restate,—and I do so because I would draw the attention of your readers most seriously to the subject,—that the great want of Humanity, the fundamental problem which the age has to solve, is a Social Reform. No *profound* and *universal* improvements in the condition of Man, no essential moral and social elevation of all classes can be expected, so long as the present false, corrupt and degrading social organization is permitted to exist, and by its action and influence pervert and debase mankind. With its vile and wretched institutions of society, hired labor, anarchical competition, fraudulent commerce, monopolized machinery, &c., it engenders universal discord, the conflict of all interests, strife, envious rivalry, overreaching, fraud, and the most selfish selfishness. Go through the streets of our cities, seek the haunts of men, mingle with them, and see the effects which a satanic system of society produces upon them. The common and ruling passion called out by this society is the greedy and all-absorbing desire of wealth, or land of gold, the worship of the 'almighty dollar' is the true religion of the day. See those pale and anxious faces, the keen and distrustful eye, which seems to say, 'where is my prey,' and behind which, the soul, withdrawn within itself, is wrapped in utter selfishness;—see the discords between men, the jealousies, the wranglings, the higglings and bargainings, the contempt of man for man, the universal distrust, the reciprocal hates and curses,—see all this, see the *whole* and the *real* state of things, and then reflect what amount of conviction and love many ideas of universal brotherhood, sympathy, the love of man, and the desire of his social salvation, can be instilled into the minds of men, who are acted upon by such influences, and what general improvement, what social elevation can be effected, so long as the present social pandemonium, with its perverting and fiendish influences, is permitted to subsist, and to school and train Humanity from the cradle to the grave in all its abominations.

Yes, a SOCIAL REFORM, and the establishment of an *entirely new* System of Society on earth, is the condition, *sine qua non*, of the elevation of the Human Race to justice, dignity and philanthropy, and the success of the various reforms and aspirations for which so many generous souls are laboring in the present age.

But, to return from this digression: Let us examine one more of the operations of Spurious Civilization, which has been put in play in these latest of times, and which has been most effectual in spoiling and degrading the Producing Classes, and of subjecting them to the *Industrial Feudalism* that is now in process of organization in the present age under the combined power and influence of Capital and commerce. I refer to Machinery, monopolized *de facto* by a very small minority of capitalists, controlled by them, and made to work *against* the mass, instead of working *for* them.

This question is one of rather an intricate nature—at least it seems so, yet difficulties appear to understand nothing about it—and it is worthy of a careful analysis, particularly as it furnishes a true solution for the Tariff Question, which is now revived only in *one aspect*—namely, of protection to the master manufacturer alone, and not to the laborer. We have no protection, but who now is not by our one-sided tariffs, for monopolized machinery, which works against the operatives, and free competition among them, cut down the price of wages, and thus take from the laborer the fruits of his industry. The present system of Tariffs is evidently one-sided, as they protect the property of the Capitalist only, and not that of the poor man.

Monopolized Machinery has done more in England to impoverish the Working Classes engaged in manufactures, than the national debt and the drainings of the aristocracy united. Its influence can be exercised in a republic as well as in a monarchy, and what a prognostic does it furnish for the comfort and welfare of the working classes in our own country, where the rapacity of gain is perhaps greater than in England, and the cunning of money-making more inventive!

Machinery begun to be introduced upon an extensive scale in England, about the year 1798. The inventions of Watt and Arkwright gave the decided impetus. At that period, there was machinery equal to the labor of twelve millions of men; at the present time, it is estimated that the machinery of Great Britain can do the work of six hundred millions of men. With such a gigantically increased means of production, would it not be supposed that the Laboring Classes would be rendered more comfortable, as a great deal more is produced? Certainly—but directly the reverse is the case: these classes are rendered the most grovelling, poor, and the most hopeless dependance and servitude. Wages, or the price of labor, and, as a consequence, the means of subsistence and comfort, are reduced at least *one third* what they were in 1798, and the most brutalizing toil and semi-starvation are the lot of the poor 'sons of industry.'

Let us explain the operation of *monopolized machinery* by a simple practical illustration which will be easily understood, and which makes it clear that in the operation of this principle lies the secret of the increasing misery of the Working Classes in modern times.

We will suppose that a hundred weavers, working with hand looms, can weave a hundred yards of cloth in a day. Perfected machinery has not been invented, and the master manufacturer, in order to conduct his business, must employ these *one hundred* men, with whose labor he cannot dispense, and pay them *fair wages*—that is, enough to place them and their families above want. It is not always easy to obtain laborers in sufficient numbers to do the work, when there is no labor-saving machinery, and this produces some slight competition among the master-manufacturers, which keeps up the price of labor. But soon machinery is perfected, power-looms are invented. With these new looms, the laborers can produce five times as much, say 500 yards of cloth a day. The laborers have not the means of buying the machinery; the manufacturer alone can purchase it, and he does so, and introduces it into his establishment. The product of the operatives is now *five times* as great as it was; will they receive *five times* as much wages as they did? Or supposing that the market value of the 500 yards of cloth is not five times as great as the 100 yards manufactured by hand-looms, will the 100 men receive an increase of wages *in proportion to the increase in the value of the product?* No. Will they get any higher wages than they did when their product was only 100 yards per day? No. The manufacturer will say to the laborers—'These 500 yards of cloth are my property; the machinery which produced it is my machinery, and the profits of it are *mine*. I *hire* you to work for me, and I give you *fair wages*, or as much as you can get any where else, and I can give you no more.'

This is the decision of the master-manufacturer, from which there is no appeal. If the laborers could have bought the machinery and owned it themselves, they would then have owned the profits of their labor, and they would have divided among themselves the increased product of the additional 400 yards. In this case, the machinery would have worked *for* them, but being owned by the capitalist who was able to purchase it, it works for him alone.

Let us suppose again, that in addition to the five-fold income of productive power, new improvements are made, which the master-manufacturer introduces, so that the means of production are increased another five-fold—enabling the 100 men to produce twenty-five times as much as they did at first with hand-looms, or 2500 yards of cloth a day. With this immensely increased product, will there be a corresponding increase in the price of wages, or the pay for labor? Not at all. The machinery is owned as before by the capitalist, and not by those who work it; he *hires* the laborers as before, and pays them 'fair wages,' that is, the lowest price to which a free competition cuts down the price of work.

But now comes the crisis for the working classes: for at this point,—that is, of an overstocked market,—commence the uncertainties of finding employment, the decrease of wages, and the appalling competition of iron and steam with human nerves and sinews.

The immensely increased product exceeds the demand, the market is glutted, and the cloth cannot be sold as fast as it is manufactured. What does the master-manufacturer, or rather, under the circumstances, what has he to do? The 100 men he employs make more cloth than can be sold; as a consequence, he must either destroy or put aside his machinery, or he must turn off his laborers. Iron and steam *work cheaper* than human bone and muscle, and Interest, which is the soul of all business affairs, decides of course that the machinery shall be kept, and the laborer turned away. If but one half of the cloth can be sold, then one half of the laborers are discharged, and so in proportion to a greater or lesser demand in the market. The half of the laborers who remain are glad to work for their former wages, although they produce 25 times as much as before; but this boon is not granted them, and the monstrous anomaly is presented, that just in proportion as the labor of the working classes is rendered productive, just in proportion is the uncertainty of regular employment increased, and the wages cut down. Let us see how these opposites are produced.

The Laborers, who are thrown out of employment from over production, are reduced, with their families, to utter destitution. Then begins the war of the non-productive and fearful strife among men forced by starvation to obtain work. The discharged laborers return to the master-manufacturer, and offer to work for less wages than those retained, whose places they endeavor to fill, or they go to some other manufactory, and strive to drive their fellow-workmen from their from their posts, by underbidding them in the labor-market.

Self-interest and the opposition of rival manufacturers in business, induce or force them to accept the lowest offer of the laborer, and either to employ those who seek work, or reduce those in their employ to the rate that others are willing to take. Every addition and improvement in labor-saving machinery render fewer hands necessary to the capitalists, and increase the competition among the laborers for employment, until finally they are sunk into the lowest depths of poverty and wretchedness.

These begins and is prosecuted, in the field of Industry, a War, whose weapons are want and starvation, and whose fruits are the subjection of Labor to Capital, and the building up of a few fortunes upon the misery and degradation of the multitudes. And this war is taking the place of the older war of the bayonet and the cannon on the bloody battle-field, and is destined to end in a grand system of industrial tyranny and Feudalism, as the latter has always ended in a military tyranny and Feudalism.

This brief sketch shows us the operation of monopolized machinery, or machinery in the hands of the few, which works AGAINST instead of FOR the Mass.

In Association, or the Combined Order, an entirely different system prevails. The hands, edifices, manufactories, machinery and other property now possessed by stock jobbers, would belong, like our railroads. This stock is owned by those who by their capital or labor have made the improvements. A fair and just interest is paid on the same, and the balance is divided among the associated manufacturers of the age. Altogether, the evening's entertainment was of a highly intellectual and instructive character, and the enthusiastic reception these strangers met with on their first appearance here, we trust, will be indicative of a long and successful sojourn in the United Kingdom.—*Liverpool paper.*

Destructive Fire in London.—A dreadful fire occurred in London on the 16th Sept. It broke out upon the premises of Mr. Gillow, the well-known upholsterer, William-st. Blackfriars. The premises were of immense extent, spreading from William-st. to the water side.

The warehouse was full of oil and other inflammable matters, and so rapid was the devouring element that it was with difficulty many who were in the warehouse escaped.

At the end of the wharf, near the river, covered with a hundred tons of inflammable matter, a general rush was made to the water side, and into the river many people precipitated themselves; but the burning fragments fell in the same direction, and on falling into the water it floated along the surface, setting in flames all it came in contact with, and at first seemed quite out of a most gaming character. At a moderate calculation, there must have been nearly one hundred persons, who had gone the different craft in the river, and to escape from being devoured by the flames, they also leaped into the river, but even then they became surrounded with flames. A number of small boats quickly put off to render assistance to the poor fellows, and several were rescued and conveyed in safety to the shore. The total loss of property is stated to be about £10,000.

The New-York Tribune of Thursday week says—'There was one scene in Broadway yesterday of a rather novel and striking character. The colored Odd Fellows, to the number of more than a thousand, marched down the street at exactly fashionable high tide, while the sidewalks on both sides were densely packed with fashionable friends of the Odd Fellows' marchers, and these met the 'upper ten thousand' going up, just opposite the Carlton House. The shock was surprising, if not tremendous; and some little time was lost in people disentangling themselves. After this, the Odd Fellows, with their spirited band, entered the Tabernacle, where a variety of interesting exercises were gone through in presence of a large audience.'

In 1797, the vestry of Trinity Church ordered that 'no negroe be buried within the bounds and limits of the church-yard, and that no person whatsoever do presume to break up any ground for the burying of his negro, as they will answer it at their peril.'

The Cotton Crop.—The total crop of the country is estimated generally at from 2,200,000 to 2,300,000 bales, consequently there will be a large falling off in or venturing beyond the other.—*Mobile Price Current.*

Another Monster Steamer.—There is now being built, at Boston, a ship 70 feet long, 36 feet of 12th street, another monster steamer for the People's Line. She is 236 feet long, 40 feet breadth of beam, and an engine of 70 inch cylinder, 12 feet in stroke, so as to render her of as light a draft as possible. She is calculated to draw but 3 feet 9 inches of water. She is to have a 70 inch cylinder, with an eight feet stroke.—*N. Y. News.*

Cheap Fare to Albany.—The fare from New York to Albany and Troy is now almost nothing. The steamboat North America left yesterday afternoon at 5 o'clock, fare 50 cents, and the Hudson at 6 o'clock, fare the same—the Columbia, the same hour, for 25 cents, and the James Madison for 12 1-2 cents.

Poison by Arsenic.—A late number of the London Lancet contains an article of extraordinary interest on several cases of accidental poisoning by arsenic, successfully treated with the Hydrated Peroxide of Iron. It appears, from the most indisputable chemical authority, that it is a positive antidote, instantly neutralizing the arsenic, and converting it into a perfectly harmless substance.

Penalty for killing a colored man in a free State.—The murderer of the colored man, Tucker, at Indianapolis, on the 4th of July, has been tried, convicted, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. If it had been a white man, the punishment would have been death, probably, or at least imprisonment for life. Such distinctions are contemptible.

The Long Island Rail-Road Company now *average* 30 miles an hour on their road of 95 miles. On some trips, the cars have run 38 miles per hour.

THE BLOODY AND OPPRESSIVE SOUTH.

From the Savannah Republican.

Serious Affray at St. Augustine, Fla.—A very deplorable affair took place here on the 14th inst. It appears that some differences had existed between A. A. Nunes, editor of The News, and Col. Mackay, Sheriff of Duval County, in consequence thereof, Mr. Nunes and his brothers-in-law, Charles Loring, and Wm. W. Loring, (who is a medical student of the St. Augustine, had prepared themselves, and seriously threatened the life of Col. Mackay. On the morning in question, Mackay with some of his friends, called at Mr. Nunes' were on their way to the Surveyor's office the latter had occasion to go into the store of a dry goods merchant, opposite the Nunes' residence. At a moment or two afterwards, Mr. Nunes and Mr. W. W. Loring appeared on opposite corners, when Mr. W. W. Loring approached and addressed Colonel Mackay, he (Mackay) said, 'I know of your threats and intentions, and if you advance, I'll fire.' Loring stood, seeing his brother Charles Loring coming up towards him. Charles Loring advancing towards George Mackay, was addressed in like manner, who replied, 'I fire not first, if you do.' Continuing to advance, Mackay raised his pistol, but it missed fire. Charles and W. W. Loring fired simultaneously at Colonel Mackay, but neither shot took effect.

When the two Lorings fired, Nunes ran toward Mackay with another pistol, and fired with effect. Mackay also continued to fire, bring upon the others. The affray then became exciting in the highest degree. Alex. Mackay coming to the assistance of his brother, made the fight rather more equal, and it continued with pistols, knives and sticks. Nunes left the ground with some bad cuts, and expired soon after he got into the stomach. W. W. Loring is badly wounded in the right shoulder, the bone being slightly shattered. Charles Loring was wounded in the leg, also wounded just under the right ribs by a stab some three or four inches deep—but astonishing to relate, neither of the Mackays received a single shot or wound. The ball was immediately extracted from W. W. Loring. After the affair was over, justices Hemming and Benton, and Judge Bulow, arrived to serve parties concerned. The Mackays were required to give bail for their appearance at Court, and to keep the peace for one year. The Lorings were immediately bound. The other parties have not yet done so, being confined to their beds.

Yours, &c.

Bigelow's Murderers Arrested.—Mr. Bigelow had lately returned from Texas with money, which became known to the murderers, who resolved upon the horrid deed. There were four of them, one only young, only 14 or 15 years of age, and they went to the house of Bigelow under the pretence of obtaining work, and remained playing marbles and riding around until night, when, as was supposed, they requested to be permitted to stay all night. After nightfall, as Mr. B. turned to his bed, one of them, made an attempt to catch and confine his arms, when he suspected their motive, threw himself, and struggled with the foremost murderer. He had run about one hundred yards, and stumbled and fell, when he was caught by one, and held out to prevent the others. But the strongest part of the story remains yet to be told. One of the murderers returned next day, it being then unknown who the perpetrators were, and assisted in digging the grave, shrouded him, and even stood by and showed the features of the well-loved face to any friend who came to take a last look at their murdered friend. We have not learned in what way the discovery was made; but suspicion being fixed upon them, they were arrested, when two of them confessed the horrid deed. The money has not been recovered. The sister of one of the murderers stoutly maintains that her brother is innocent, defend him, and it is thought she will use B's money to pay him with. It is said they undoubtedly will be hanged. The Charge of Murder is made in addition to have the nation cleared of this murderous gang; it recommends the most summary measures.—*Arkansas Intelligencer.*

Committed.—A negro man by the name of Charles was yesterday committed to jail by the request of his master, from whom he had run away over two years ago. According to the report of his movements, he has lived in Canada and Michigan nearly all the time he was absent, and says he was induced to leave his master owing to the persuasions of a gang of abolitionists, or white abolitionists. He himself being a pretty smart fellow, was employed on two occasions by them to return to his State, and succeeded in carrying off slaves. The first step was rather an unprofitable one, as he was only successful in carrying off two: in the second, better fortune attended him, and several were taken over the river. Having his own freedom, and finding negro stealing a very lucrative business, he undertook a third trip, finally settled in Michigan, and after being there for twelve or eighteen months, concluded more to visit his old master, for that purpose he does not say. His master getting wind of it, laid a plan to catch him, which he succeeded in. We have no account of the manner he could tell an interesting story, and by which the holders of slaves in the vicinity found out, if he should be so inclined.—*St. Louis New Era.*

Attempted Escape of Slaves.—The watch detected on Saturday a plan of escape of several slaves, and three of them have been committed and committed to jail. A vessel which had dropped down below Town Point was suspected to have been engaged as the means of escape, and a boat was discovered to have made on board of her, but there was no evidence of the fact. The individuals who have been thus arrested in attempting what are to be envied by thousands of their color and tens of thousands of the whites, in the so called Free States; and some of them no doubt would have rued the change to such freedom, if they had succeeded. The master spirit of the enterprise, however, was conscious of an intelligence beyond his station, for which he is indebted to the kindness of his owners, might have fared better than his dupes.—*Norfolk Herald.*

The Brownsville (Tenn.) Murder.—We find the following in the last number of the Memphis Appeal:

We learn from gentlemen from Brownsville, that on Wednesday morning last, a man named Ross, and a negro fellow belonging to him, have been arrested, the former on strong suspicion of having instigated the latter to murder his master Lee, as he was noticed in our last. The motive alleged for the perpetration of the foul deed, is supposed to be to secure the payment of money which Lee owed Ross, from which Bostick holds the old man's notes obtained while he was in a state of intoxication. We also learn that a committee of citizens have been engaged in obtaining the requisite information and testimony; and that circumstances have come to their knowledge predicating a strong conviction that other individuals were marked for similar destruction, through similar motives.

Step the Murderer.—We have received a handbill offering a reward for the apprehension, of Fairfax county, Va., was most inhumanly murdered by a negro man, whom he had apprehended as a runaway, shock was perpetrated, it is said, in Fairfax county, on Tuesday, the 7th inst., while he was in the act of carrying him before a magistrate. The negro made a snapper of W. Ashby, son of W. Brawner, of Prince William county, Va., is of a black color, sleek appearance, about 5 feet 8 inches high. He had on, at the time of committing the offence, a brown-frock coat, white summer pantaloons, and a straw hat.—*Balt. Sun.*

Serious Assault.—An affray occurred on Saturday morning, at the corner of Fayette and Calvert-streets, in which a number of persons were concerned. Watchman Hughes, in an attempt to disperse the rabble, was assaulted in the head, just above the left temple, with a large pocket knife, the point of which broke off in the bone of the skull bone. Fears are entertained that he will not survive. Wm. Schaefer, one of the party, charged with inflicting the wound, has been committed to jail.—*Balt. Sun.*

Duel.—On Thursday, a duel was fought in the vicinity of this city between Mr. G. Alexander Ramsay and Mr. Augustin McCrader, with pistols. At the second fire, the gentleman wounded Ramsay in the abdomen, and McGruder under the left eye.—*N. Y. Pic., Sept. 27.*

Murder.—The Kentucky Intelligencer says that a negro man, belonging to Mr. Isaac Williams, of Williamstown, named Gibson, a day or two since, got into a fray with Messrs. O. P. Hogan and Alfred Kendall, in which the latter received a blow upon them both. We understand that Hogan has since died, and that Kendall is not expected to live. A reward of $200 is offered for his apprehension.

Murder.—About three o'clock yesterday morning, an old man, named Joachim Baissous, was found murdered in Bienville street, near the corner of Roman-street, in the First Municipality. It appears that the old man got out of his bed, and went to the door, apparently for an opening the door, he was shot by some person at present unknown; three bullets entered his body, one of them lodging in the side of the back bone, and the third in his bowels. The unfortunate man lived two or three hours after the shot. The deceased was formerly a carter of the Bec, and at the time of his death, we understand was a drayman. He has left a wife and six children to bewail his unfortunate end.—*N. O. Tropic, 26th ult.*

John Perry was committed to prison at Wäreville, Va., a few days since, for the murder of Thomas Kean, with a knife, in a quarrel, on the race course.

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