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BY
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. XVI.—NO. 12. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1846. WHOLE NO. 793.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

RECANTATION.

The following 'genial' confession is from the pen of Mr. Henry Clapp of Lynn, editor of the Pioneer. The Emancipator will please copy.

The experience of the last two years has not been wasted. It has been a hard experience, but one which most needed both by the editor and his associates. They have been years marked by many 'afflicting developements,' to be sure, but they were developements which, by the light we have shed upon the philosophy of reform, and the insight they have given some of its anti-reform machinery, have made us more thankful for their memory, rather than regretful.

Hundreds of us have been led in that time to detect seeds of bigotry and superstition where we had looked for fruits of liberal and enlightened, and to discover much ineffected virtue and unalloyed principle where in our short-sightedness we had before seen little else than heartless and hypocritical. Opposing all this, we had escaped the meshes of politics and sect, and were high up on the mount of absolute principle, we found ourselves entangled in a party almost as narrow and as any we had left,—and enlisted as moderates which, though not in principle, yet in practice were as truly so, both in their creed and applications, as any in the country. Thinking that we had adopted a philosophy as broad as the universe, and as genial as the sun, we found, instead, that we had entered a system which, carried out to its legitimate consequences, would result in the gloomiest dogmas of ancient theology. Though assuming the name, and supposing we had received the doctrines, of the present age, Jesus Christ, we found ourselves inculcating precepts and enforcing practices as different from his life-giving principles, as darkness from light. Led on by the instinctive sympathy of sect, and encouraged by the nature of the opposition we had excited, we adopted one mode of warfare after another, until, at last, as the grand object and climax of our system, we came to denounce whole classes of our brothers and sisters as thieves, and adulterers, and pirates, and murderers, with as much coolness as if the keys of St. Peter were in our pocket, and the secrets of all hearts had been disclosed to us by a special revelation.

That the *Pioneer* has wholly outgrown this system earlyandly as yet be asserted without some chagrin, for the poisonous influence of doctrines so foreign to a healthful mind is not easily recovered from. The system of indiscriminate denunciation, wholesale slander, coarse invectives, and unchaste personalities, which characterized the school with which this paper has, till within the last six or seven months, been very properly identified, (and of which we have, until, at least, the great object and climax of our system, we came to denounce whole classes of our brothers and sisters as thieves, and adulterers, and pirates, and murderers, with as much coolness as if the keys of St. Peter were in our pocket, and the secrets of all hearts had been disclosed to us by a special revelation,

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NORTHERN WRITER SLAVERY.

We take the following extract from a communication, marked by all the characteristics of pro-slavery, which was recently published in the Lynn Pioneer:

Where have been the Abolitionists? that class of persons who, if it should be in their power, have a right to look for aid and sympathy? They have sadly disappointed us. With but few exceptions, they have nothing to do with the movement. I have it in mind, now, who I think should, that the *Liberator* will not even exchange with the 'Voice of Industry.' What think of it? The organ of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society will not even exchange with the organ of the New-England Workingmen's Association! I have repeatedly heard it said by persons who have left the Anti-Slavery ranks, that Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and the leaders of the Anti-Slavery party, while they are opposed to *Southern black slavery*, are in favor of *Northern white slavery*. Are they not some of those who are coming to this conclusion? What have Abolitionists ever done to convince this people that they are in favor of their movement? except denounce them for not running Abolitionists? Have they attended their Conventions? Have they, not rather looked upon the movement with jealousy? Yes, they have looked on it as their exclusive property, and have sneered at the Anti-Slavery men, and have still tighter upon the limbs of the slave. Let Abolitionists then come into the ranks, attend their Conventions, and instil the principles of Abolitionism into them, and show them that both are running in the same direction. Come into the Northern laborer of this, (which you can do by standing aloof from them,) and the work of Abolition will be accomplished. He who wrote a successful blow for the Southern slave, made the Southern slave an incalculable amount of good. Make the Northern laborers free and independent, and you make the Southern slave free and independent. The band-cuffs and fetters will then fall from his wrists, and our otherwise happy country will no longer be a hypocritical mockery to the world. Let all then strive to bring about the union of the Abolitionists and the Northern laborers, and it shall be a happy day for humanity. P.

From the Worcester (Liberty party) Gazette.

MEETING OF THE WORCESTER COUNTY LIBERTY PARTY.

The Garrisonians held a Convention in town last Wednesday according to previous notice in the Whig and Democratic papers. Mr. Moody appears to be the leader of convention in these anti-government gatherings. Mr. Beeson, could he divest himself of those associations, which old organization has linked him to, might work wonders for Abolitionism against the ministry, the church, humanity and the Union, he will effect no more than did the Knight of La Mancha in his attack upon the windmills.

Prof. Walker gained possession of the floor, and gave utterance to some wholesome truths, in the shape of blasting the Church, and political parties, and the Union. He ought to be laboring to bring the enlightened opinion of the slaves, and to promote a free enjoyment of liberty, by far the most caustic speaker in his company of drivling zealots, said, among other things, that the Worcester editors dared not come into their 'free meeting' and publish them face to face; but when they were gone, they, the editors, would yelp and bark most courageously. He had often, he said, seen a little cur hide behind the well-curb until he had passed, and then leap forth, with all the prowess of a lion, and bark as though he would tear the man to pieces. But when he turned his stern gaze upon him, he would sneak away to his hiding place. We too have heard of a dog, perhaps the same one, who not only barked, but bit. The traveller was terribly frightened; but recovered. The dog sickened and died.

Now, unless we 'bark,' Parker will prove a false prophet. We will try manfully to relieve him from that dilemma, if nothing more.

THE LIBERATOR.

WORCESTER SOUTH.

Dear Garrison:

Before this, you have doubtless received from the Secretary, the official account of the Worcester South Convention, held at Brinley Hall, Worcester, the 3d and 4th inst. Being a happy participant of this cheering and efficient gathering, I am inclined, with your permission, to chronicle a few thoughts, in reference to the same.

In company with two ardent and faithful abolitionists, namely of this place, but now residents of Rhode Island, I started for Worcester, Tuesday morning. We arrived there just previous to the organization, and found a goodly number of friends waiting to proceed. The Convention commenced in a happy and spirited manner, and the interest augmented to the close. An immediate inspiration of primitive anti-slavery characterized the plain and hearty talk of the first afternoon. 'Liberty party' was kindly and faithfully rebuked by C. L. Remond and others, which brought out two colored brethren present, who claimed to be the friends and advocates of the same. I was sorry to hear one of these defenders speak disparagingly of *moral power*, and so confidently of the ballot-box, which is truly Pandora's box, without even the ingredient of hope; and this sorrow was deepened by the consideration, that this colored brother had himself been a victim of the accursed system of American slavery, which, up to this hour, is *watched* and *nurtured* by the United States Constitution, a most wicked compact written in blood. Why are men so blind and unwilling to act with common honesty in reference to one of the strong pillars of oppression, viz. allegiance to a man-ordained and God-defying compact?

As the discussion proceeded, Bro. White, of Northbridge, with much warmth, demurred at what had been said respecting the Liberty party; bade us desist, and turn to the claims of the bleeding slave, and no longer keep up a quarrel among brethren. We endeavored to show him that it was proper anti-slavery work to expose the chicanery and sectarian craft of our foes, as well in this party, as in either of the Whig or Democratic parties; that it was not a personal contention among brethren, but a fair and honest warfare for *principle*. He besought us to be united, and labor for peace. We said, in reply, that we desired union, but it must be in good faith and with a clear conscience; that we loved peace; but must have *purity* first. He then, in a early part of our sessions, somewhat grieved at what appeared to him pernicious and wrong. It may be, bro. White will walk no more with us in our radical onset against all in Church and State, that opposes the deliverance of the sighing captive; and yet I hope he may see the justice of our position, and manfully arouse in the van-guard, demanding *total abstinence* from all participation in a union with thieves and robbers.

In the evening of Tuesday, our number greatly increased. Edmund Quincy led off in a concise and *happy* speech on the Constitution, making his remarks practical and tangible to all honest minds. Without the least circumlocution, he set forth the *right* and *wrong* of supporting by voting, or oath taking, the U. S. Constitution. Amasa Walker, of North Brookfield, replied, or rather followed. He displayed considerable brilliancy in his remarks, and happily illustrated the talent of being '*all things to all men*.' He pronounced quite an eulogy upon the friends of old organization; commended us for our worth, honesty and talent; and had only to regret that we were spending our breath and time to no purpose! With great fervor, he exhorted us to return from our 'wild goose chase,' and not be contending with a little miserable piece of parchment, called the Constitution. 'Go on,' said he, and 'say nothing about the Church—show us a *better* one.' Can you show us a worse one? said a voice in the audience.—Never mind that—preach the great *brotherhood* of man, get the *heart* right, and your work is done.' How full of rhetorical flourishes, and even how ludicrous, men of sense will be at times! I could not but think all the while, friend Amasa was talking in this way, of the old matron's admirable and useful minister, who never meddled with *religion or politics*, but always preached the *gospel*. But the most surprising part of Amasa Walker's remarks consisted in his allusion to West India Emancipation. He threw out strong doubts concerning the future, and more than insinuated that the talent of failure already discovered themselves! Should this notice ever meet his eye, I hope he will be induced to define his position, in respect to this matter. He owes it to himself and the bleeding slave. Friend Walker evidently takes his rank with the conservative class, who, as yet, can seen respectable to uphold their *principle*. He is a large-hearted man, and ought to take his stand with those who are ready to be of 'no reputation.' As a lover and friend of the cause of peace on earth, he will strike a more effectual blow when he fears not to sympathize, fully, with those, who for every which appertains to our perfect fidelity to God. But every man must choose his own course, and stand or fall before a common Master.

Parker Pillsbury, Edmund Quincy and C. L. Remond, replied to the remarks of Mr. Walker, in a truthful manner. The meeting grew warm and glowing, and kept the large audience, that filled the beautiful and commodious place of our gathering, in a most attentive mood till 10 o'clock. In manner, he was exceedingly earnest; and in matter, true and faithful. Some may think his accusation, that the remarks of Mr. W. were pro-slavery, was uncharitable, and perhaps, in strict truth, this is the case. But, friend Walker did talk just as pro-slavery people do, when they labor to quiet a troubled conscience.

The question of the Constitution having been thoroughly canvassed, the other great pillar of slavery, viz CHURCH, came up for discussion. The resolution offered by Parker Pillsbury, affirmed as a comprehensive test to lay before the people the abominations and hypocrisy of the American churches, said the American Board of Foreign Missions. The strong points of this discussion were reserved for the last evening of the Convention. The hall was densely filled with one of the most quiet and attentive audiences I ever beheld. Parker read his resolution, and proceeded to make good its charges, and sustain the strong positions assumed, with power and demonstration. The audience were completely spell-bound, while he struck blow after blow with his sledge hammer of logic and truth, in a way that no other man but Parker Pillsbury can. The parallel between Savageism, Mahomedanism and Catholicism, and the pseudo Christianity that cunningly calls itself '*Evangelical*,' were forcible, and commended themselves to the humanity and common sense of the audience. The closing appeal to the mothers of Worcester, in view of the outrages of slavery upon the manhood and purity of the tender sex, was solemn and weighty; and I am greatly deceived if some hearts did not beat quicker in hostility to the foul work of oppression. But I am making a long story of what I designed should be brief, and must close. It is sufficient that I add, what of the large numbers in attendance, the kind hospitality of our Worcester friends, and the radical thoughts uttered and received, our late Worcester County Liberty Convention seemed to be most happy and auspicious gathering. May its influence be felt among the hills and valleys of our County, and be as the voice of truth faithfully echoing the cry—

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

Yours, for truth without compromise,

GEO. W. STACY.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

New-Bedford, 2d mo. 29th, 1846.

Dear Friend Garrison:

Perhaps a year since, I had occasion to write thee on account of some fugitive slaves who came to this place at that time, in which communication I suggested a plan to guard us against impositions from those claiming to be fugitives, which then published in the Liberator, I believe approvingly, as thou recommended it to the notice of the friends of the slave, but there it was lost sight of, no notice taken of it by any notice of it. Perhaps the suggestion was not a wise or a prudent one; then should some one have proposed some other plan. The occasion I think an important one, one which I fear our friends generally do not realize. We are peculiarly situated—here is *one* of the fugitives' depots. There is scarcely a week passes but that more or less of that oppressed race arrive here, and are thrown immediately upon our hands for protection and support; all classes turning them over to the abolitionists to be fed, clothed, and provided for. In the large cities it is not so. A few hundred fugitives in the city of New-York would be but a few drops in that ocean of human beings, and would soon mingle and be lost in the living mass. But here, they preserve their identity. They are strangers, and we take them in. In as doing, we are sometimes taken in ourselves. We are mostly poor, and it draws heavily upon our resources. We spare no pains in endeavoring to ascertain the truth of their stories, but do not always succeed, and after being at considerable expense on their account, find them to be impostors. Some of the fugitives I have seen colored man came here, saying he was from the South, but last from Boston. About the same time, a woman arrived from Providence; the man saying that Wm. Lloyd Garrison had paid a week's board for him and his wife, and had passage here—the woman saying that Amarancy Paine had forwarded her on here, had lent her a bonnet and shawl, (which she told me a few days after she was anxious to return,) that she met a man in the anti-slavery office in P. who knew her, and told Amarancy he had frequently seen her in Boston, and their conduct was such in regard to her being a fugitive, &c. A place was procured for the man, and a promise that his board should be paid until it could be ascertained whether he told the truth in regard to what took place in Boston. I immediately wrote to thyself and to A. Paine, requesting an immediate answer to enable us to avoid hear from both of you in less than thirty-six hours, but as yet I have heard from neither, although it is certain that one of the letters at least was early received. I do not wish to find fault unnecessarily; but our friends must learn to not consider how embarrassing our situation must be. I have reason to believe both those individuals to be impostors, yet I would not condemn them upon mere suspicion; but whatever is gained by the imposter, lessens the chance of the real fugitive. If some plan were devised similar to the one alluded to, it would at least prevent a person arriving from Maine, imposing himself on us as one from Georgia. Thou mayest have forgotten the proposition. It was this:—That some person residing in the border States should, if the fugitive called on him, give him a certificate that to the best of his knowledge, and belief, he was a fugitive slave, and direct it to some person well known, residing in the most probable stopping place, and to be by him endorsed and directed to the next, and so on. Then, as I said before, no doubt not come from the north, pretending to be from the south. But perhaps there might be a better plan, and if any be, that it is but really necessary that any plan should be adopted—that I am willing to leave to the better judgment of wiser heads.

Thine in great haste,

JOHN BAILEY.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

On this subject, we make the following impressive quotation from the late Annual Report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society:—

There are many in the land, whose eyes, sealed in a wilful or in a judicial blindness, refused to see the dangers which, in the year 1844, they could hardly be persuaded that the bolt impended, until it had fallen on their heads. To whomsoever also the event was unexpected, the Religious Abolitionists of the country were well prepared for it. Every one of our successive gatherings, since the project of Annexation was first broached, has our warning trumpet blown, and our voices lifted up to God to be delivered in this behalf. At times when universal security seemed to pervade the country, we have proclaimed that the scheme would never be abandoned, and that, unless an opposition of unexampled unanimity and vigor were presented to it by the North, it would be successful. We had watched too long, and knew too well, the wily and desperate nature of the Slave interest, to be deceived by any apparent relaxation of its wishes, or its efforts to accomplish a measure vital to its own existence. We cannot but feel that, as far as our influence has extended, and our voice reached, we have been faithful in this matter to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But the deed is done. The catastrophe is over. The destruction has overtaken us. A revolution has taken place, of mighty moment that will shake severed the tie binding the youthful colonies to the mother-country. The institutions which our Fathers established, for the preservation of liberty, are now in form as they have been long in effect, cast aside, thrown, burying the hopes of the slave, and the rights of the free, beneath the ruins. Like the Upas in its immortality, is breathing the breath of life into the creature of their hands, and they mingled with it an element which has transformed it into a demon, to make a mockery of the very purposes of its creation. The Slave-power, which those they loved the best. In the emphatic language of Mr. Grimke, just uttered in the early Congress, 'the Union formed by the sacrifices has been subverted, and a new Slaveholding confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion of the Union, the entire control of the Free States of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a Slaveholding oligarchy!' Great this is literally true; so obvious from the fact that six votes in the Slave-power, is a clear majority of four votes in the Senate; thus placing the entire and absolute control of the legislation and policy of the country in its hands. And when we reflect that this Slave-power resides in a compact aristocracy, not probably much exceeding in numbers ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men, we may well curse the folly of our fathers who bequeathed this inheritance to us, and marvel at the patience of the seventeen millions of their sons who consent to abide by it.

But the end is not yet. We are assured that the vast territory of Texas can furnish forty States of the size of Massachusetts. Let the Slaveholding locust swarms of Slavery light upon and blast successive portions of that virgin soil, State after State, with a Constitution, like that of Texas, recognizing, securing in the most clear and explicit terms, the rights of the master to the slave, will demand, and with justice, admission to the confederacy. And when this territory is occupied, and when the last foot of the daughters of the young Republic of the South-West is gathered into our bosom, she will then place on the head plains of Mexico, one hundred millions of future States,—and, like the prophetic phantom of Bangor's descendant, will come bearing a glass which slaves on many more!

It is yet too soon to predict the consequences of this momentous event. The ink is scarcely dried of the signature that authenticated the dark and ominous deed. An interval of guilt and silence, succeeds to the stormy agitation that heralded it. Whether this repose, on the part of the opposers of the measure, is only a breathing space to enable them to put forth their energies with a new vigor or for the redemption of their country from her disgrace, and themselves from their political serfdom, or whether it evinces but a weak and criminal despondency that despairs of the Republic, and yields a slavish submission to the ascendant tyranny, can be disclosed by time alone. Faithful men, though perhaps a near futurity, can tell whether there is yet virtue and manliness enough in the nation to shake off their disgraceful vassalage, or whether it is destined to add another instance to those already recorded on the page of history, of a People sinking beneath the weight of its own selfishness and crime, and a fresh example,

'Slow nations sink, by darling schemes oppressed,
When Vengeance listens to the fool's request.'

If there be indeed spirit and virtue enough left in the people to maintain this assertion of their own rights as well as on the rights of Humanity, and resist the further aggressions of the encroaching power of Slavery, the annexation of Texas may prove more than a blessing in disguise. It may can effectually do either the one or the other. We need scarcely to say to this audience, that we mean, NOT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION OF THESE STATES. In this alone lies the last hope of the Northern States, for real independence and self-government. The Constitution, and whatever of freedom it may have been supposed to afford to Northern rights, being transmuted under foot, and the nominal balance of power which had been vouchsafed to the North, perhaps from the *Va Victis*—woe to the vanquished—is the just and necessary watchword of such a dissolution. Already the West, whose connect to the annexation of Texas was purchased by the promise of the simultaneous acquisition of Oregon, is beginning to discover that the chivalry of the South, who were willing enough, for their own purposes, to plunge the country into a war with Mexico, which would be mainly waged with Northern commerce, are ready to break their vow of promise to the one and the hope, rather than to risk a collision with the chief consumer of their cotton, and tremble at the prospect of their regiments carrying a crusade for liberty, under the cross of Lorraine, into the heart of their plantations. And it seems by no means impossible, that the Slaveholders, in their generous conciliation of the North, may be tempted to trick with their favorite toy of the Tariff, as to arouse the Almighty Dollar, to put forth its omnipotence, and bring down the Slaveholding manufacturers. Upon such assistances as these we may confidently rely in our agitation of the question of Dissolution. The deliverance of the North may yet be derived from the very quarter, whence, Jacob, and the philosophical historian of a future day may discern, as he traces the downfall of Slavery to the precise causes, which contributed to bring about the destruction of their cherished institution from the hour when the curse of Texas was granted to their prayers.

☞ The following (editorial) article, in Dickens's London Daily News, indicates the degree of interest that is felt in that quarter, in regard to the true anti-slavery movement in this country. We have not a single personal allusion, which we would suppress, were it not that our course has not been followed in order to the 'golden opinions' of the crowd, or secure the applause of posterity, but simply to discharge in a faithful manner high and sacred duties to mankind.

ANTI-SLAVERY ON THE UNITED STATES.

The history of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, is an interesting phenomenon to any who would understand the character of the people of that country. Its rise, its progress, its fortunes, its fortune, its future, may well be called the new theorem of its future history. Nor ought that to be uninteresting to Englishmen, which concerns a nation that claims to carry the language of Shakspeare and Milton over a large part of the habitable hemisphere, and in whose virtues and faults a strong family likeness to the mother country may be traced. At present, we have only to state the fact, that, sleeping in a crevice of the pavement, the question of abolition will ere long become a mighty oak, whose deep-stricken roots will shake the foundations of the gorgeous mosaic of this self-glorifying democracy.

Nor is the subject an insignificant one. History is rarely brought so clearly home to us as when we open the cloaven seas of the Present with wondering admiration, since quite other fingers than those of God pull the wires which make the wooden puppets of the political show-stage dance, and pretty will laugh at that ceremonial folly with which those shift from side to side, as if their mere pouting and grimaces were a matter of vital consequence. We cannot but feel that, as far as our influence has extended, and our voice reached, we have been faithful in this matter to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But the deed is done. The catastrophe is over. The destruction has overtaken us. A revolution has taken place, of mighty moment that will shake severed the tie binding the youthful colonies to the mother-country. The institutions which our Fathers established, for the preservation of liberty, are now in form as they have been long in effect, cast aside, thrown, burying the hopes of the slave, and the rights of the free, beneath the ruins. Like the Upas in its immortality, is breathing the breath of life into the creature of their hands, they mingled with it an element which has transformed into a demon, to make a mockery of the very purposes of its creation. The Slave-power, which those they loved the best. In the emphatic language of Mr. Grimke, just uttered in the early Congress, 'the Union formed by the sacrifices has been subverted, and a new Slaveholding confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion of the Union, the entire control of the Free States of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a Slaveholding oligarchy!' Great this is literally true; so obvious from the fact that six votes in the Slave-power, is a clear majority of four votes in the Senate; thus placing the entire and absolute control of the legislation and policy of the country in its hands. And when we reflect that this Slave-power resides in a compact aristocracy, not probably much exceeding in numbers ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men, we may well curse the folly of our fathers who bequeathed this inheritance to us, and marvel at the patience of the seventeen millions of their sons who consent to abide by it.

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☞ The following (editorial) article, in Dickens's London Daily News, indicates the degree of interest that is felt in that quarter, in regard to the true anti-slavery movement in this country. We have not a single personal allusion, which we would suppress, were it not that our course has not been followed in order to the 'golden opinions' of the crowd, or secure the applause of posterity, but simply to discharge in a faithful manner high and sacred duties to mankind.

ANTI-SLAVERY ON THE UNITED STATES.

The history of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, is an interesting phenomenon to any who would understand the character of the people of that country. Its rise, its progress, its fortunes, its fortune, its future, may well be called the new theorem of its future history. Nor ought that to be uninteresting to Englishmen, which concerns a nation that claims to carry the language of Shakspeare and Milton over a large part of the habitable hemisphere, and in whose virtues and faults a strong family likeness to the mother country may be traced. At present, we have only to state the fact, that, sleeping in a crevice of the pavement, the question of abolition will ere long become a mighty oak, whose deep-stricken roots will shake the foundations of the gorgeous mosaic of this self-glorifying democracy.

Nor is the subject an insignificant one. History is rarely brought so clearly home to us as when we open the cloaven seas of the Present with wondering admiration, since quite other fingers than those of God pull the wires which make the wooden puppets of the political show-stage dance, and pretty will laugh at that ceremonial folly with which those shift from side to side, as if their mere pouting and grimaces were a matter of vital consequence. We cannot but feel that, as far as our influence has extended, and our voice reached, we have been faithful in this matter to our country, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But the deed is done. The catastrophe is over. The destruction has overtaken us. A revolution has taken place, of mighty moment that will shake severed the tie binding the youthful colonies to the mother-country. The institutions which our Fathers established, for the preservation of liberty, are now in form as they have been long in effect, cast aside, thrown, burying the hopes of the slave, and the rights of the free, beneath the ruins. Like the Upas in its immortality, is breathing the breath of life into the creature of their hands, they mingled with it an element which has transformed into a demon, to make a mockery of the very purposes of its creation. The Slave-power, which those they loved the best. In the emphatic language of Mr. Grimke, just uttered in the early Congress, 'the Union formed by the sacrifices has been subverted, and a new Slaveholding confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion of the Union, the entire control of the Free States of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a Slaveholding oligarchy!' Great this is literally true; so obvious from the fact that six votes in the Slave-power, is a clear majority of four votes in the Senate; thus placing the entire and absolute control of the legislation and policy of the country in its hands. And when we reflect that this Slave-power resides in a compact aristocracy, not probably much exceeding in numbers ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND voting men, we may well curse the folly of our fathers who bequeathed this inheritance to us, and marvel at the patience of the seventeen millions of their sons who consent to abide by it.

But the end is not yet. We are assured that the vast territory of Texas can furnish forty States of the size of Massachusetts. Let the Slaveholding locust swarms of Slavery light upon and blast successive portions of that virgin soil, State after State, with a Constitution, like that of Texas, recognizing, securing in the most clear and explicit terms, the rights of the master to the slave, will demand, and with justice, admission to the confederacy. And when this territory is occupied, and when the last foot of the daughters of the young Republic of the South-West is gathered into our bosom, she will then place on the head plains of Mexico, one hundred millions of future States,—and, like the prophetic phantom of Bangor's descendant, will come bearing a glass which slaves on many more!

It is yet too soon to predict the consequences of this momentous event. The ink is scarcely dried of the signature that authenticated the dark and ominous deed. An interval of guilt and silence, succeeds to the stormy agitation that heralded it. Whether this repose, on the part of the opposers of the measure, is only a breathing space to enable them to put forth their energies with a new vigor or for the redemption of their country from her disgrace, and themselves from their political serfdom, or whether it evinces but a weak and criminal despondency that despairs of the Republic, and yields a slavish submission to the ascendant tyranny, can be disclosed by time alone. Faithful men, though perhaps a near futurity, can tell whether there is yet virtue and manliness enough in the nation to shake off their disgraceful vassalage, or whether it is destined to add another instance to those already recorded on the page of history, of a People sinking beneath the weight of its own selfishness and crime, and a fresh example,

'Slow nations sink, by darling schemes oppressed,
When Vengeance listens to the fool's request.'

If there be indeed spirit and virtue enough left in the people to maintain this assertion of their own rights as well as on the rights of Humanity, and resist the further aggressions of the encroaching power of Slavery, the annexation of Texas may prove more than a blessing in disguise. It may can effectually do either the one or the other. We need scarcely to say to this audience, that we mean, NOT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION OF THESE STATES. In this alone lies the last hope of the Northern States, for real independence and self-government. The Constitution, and whatever of freedom it may have been supposed to afford to Northern rights, being transmuted under foot, and the nominal balance of power which had been vouchsafed to the North, perhaps from the *Va Victis*—woe to the vanquished—is the just and necessary watchword of such a dissolution. Already the West, whose connect to the annexation of Texas was purchased by the promise of the simultaneous acquisition of Oregon, is beginning to discover that the chivalry of the South, who were willing enough, for their own purposes, to plunge the country into a war with Mexico, which would be mainly waged with Northern commerce, are ready to break their vow of promise to the one and the hope, rather than to risk a collision with the chief consumer of their cotton, and tremble at the prospect of their regiments carrying a crusade for liberty, under the cross of Lorraine, into the heart of their plantations. And it seems by no means impossible, that the Slaveholders, in their generous conciliation of the North, may be tempted to trick with their favorite toy of the Tariff, as to arouse the Almighty Dollar, to put forth its omnipotence, and bring down the Slaveholding manufacturers. Upon such assistances as these we may confidently rely in our agitation of the question of Dissolution. The deliverance of the North may yet be derived from the very quarter, whence, Jacob, and the philosophical historian of a future day may discern, as he traces the downfall of Slavery to the precise causes, which contributed to bring about the destruction of their cherished institution from the hour when the curse of Texas was granted to their prayers.

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

☞ The millions of the American people are in chains and slavery—held as chattels personal, and bought and sold as marketable commodities.

☞ Seventy thousand infants, the offspring of slave parents, kidnapped as soon as born, and permanently made the slave property of Christian, (?) Republican, (?) Democratic (!!!) Americans, every year.

☞ Immediate, Unconditional Emancipation.

☞ Slave-holders, Slave-traders and Slave-drivers are to be placed on the same level of infamy, and in the same detestable category, as kidnappers and man-stealers—a rank of villainy unparalleled in their assumption of power, and their disregard of humanity.

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

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

J. BROWN TERRINTON, PRINTER.

For indeed, all truth has a tendency dangerous to the present constitution of society, and though it be safe, haply a prosperous thing, to announce it when the minds of men are fettered by the fear of custom and confession, and borne along as it were by themselves by the blind workings of a coming retribution, yet, afterward, when they have once more hardened into form, and become cold and cruel, it becomes a dangerous and despised office to preach again that gospel which shall now immitigably drive them from their habitations, and, by their own cultivating, as before it emboldened them by its large offers of a promised land to exile themselves from their fatherland, and become the prophets, a doubtful thing, truly, and more terrible even than a panic in the money-market, to smooth respectability, and to quiet those who have, for years, of affairs that has attained quiet security, and worldly prosperity by a compromise with evil,—is a man with a conscience. How does the gold become tinsel, and the prosperity of worldly-mindedness and poverty struck before those stern, rebuking eyes! How does the conscience, callloused with the imperceptible stratifications of worldly and sectarian, grow sensitive once more, and writhe with ill-concealed agony at the approach of this sincere soul! And if this artillery should be turned against at present the Abolitionists, and the possessors of power, place and fortune in the United States.

If men have once become the vehicles of truth, occasions will continually arise for making a home application of it; for, where the conscience of an entire nation has been compressed within the burning limits of a single principle, it becomes active in proportion to the narrowness of its concentration. Nor, if we must allow a secret and pervading agency to that subtle magnetic influence, from the general mind, which is called public opinion, and which is truly but the exponent of the errors, the prejudices, and the selfish interests of the day, would the wise observer of history do well to mark the potent workings of another influence, which radiates from the spirits of those who are before their age, and which makes the world uneasy against its will, that the great thought of some solitary and perhaps despised mind is drawing silently into league with the world, whose spirit is ever and ever flinging unceasingly in the souls of men—whatever of human nature has not forgotten its august destiny—to make war upon the corruptions of the time. The whole force of public opinion is in the direction in favor of the Abolition movement; but this other and mightier, though less palpable, element of man's progress is active in its behalf. This it is which gives to the political aspirant in the midst of the free frenzy of his Fourth of July oration; and which makes the Christian minister, amidst the battle of factions in the clinking of his high-heaped gold.

Of this truth, the people of the Free States are continually unwillingly persuaded; but, as interest is slower of belief than conscience, they seldom act as they retreat behind what are singularly enough called the sacred compromises of the Constitution, and throw dust in the too indulgent eyes of conscience by shifting all present guilt from their own shoulders to the broad and patient ones of their original fathers, who bequeathed it to them. They are like a country, also, can never be a thing by itself, but is made up of the private religions of its several citizens, yet it can never rise higher (especially where, as in America, it is nowhere established by law, but depends on the popular favor for support) than the morality of its members, of which it soon becomes the representative, and, in fact, the guide. And Christianity, therefore, never wants a convenient interpretation, which fits it to the exact measure of the fashionable morality. In ancient times, slavery, therefore, it was not long before the Abolitionists found a deadly opponent in the Church as well as in the State. Nor is the position into which truth leads her sincere advocate may be named unfortunate, this was so; for it enabled their adversaries also to enshield themselves with a very good counterfeit of principle, and to put on against them as the enemies of all religious institutions; defending, as Milton once said, the gods of their belfries, under protence of zeal for the God of their souls, and thus adroitly changing the issue of the controversy to a point in which the popular feeling could remain blind to the merits of the inquiry, and cunningly making a pretence of religion a stumbling-block in the way of conscience.

In future articles, we shall go more into particulars, and show by the testimony of unlimited facts to what a depth of political and moral degradation the despotism of slavery in America has reduced a nation, the people of which, whose government, if it be carried out, might have raised it to an unexampled height of virtue and prosperity. R.

From the Christian Citizen.

INTERCEPTED CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Cousin Job:

I am glad you are going to England, (and I only wish I could go with you,) for I think it is time we were all set to work in earnest. This great country, the most powerful on earth, and the most free, if it be free, is actually a country of wide slavery, and so of the wrong them, and the wrong here, we can kind of strike a balance, and make all come out

From the Belfast News-Letter.

BELFAST ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On Tuesday evening, a very numerous and respectable public meeting was held in the Independent Meeting-House, Donegall-street, in furtherance of the objects of the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society. The interest attaching to this meeting was greatly enhanced by a previous announcement, circulated by placards, that Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS (who has returned to Belfast from England, where he has been, on his great mission, for a fortnight) would address the meeting. At half-past 7, although the admission was not gratuitous, the meeting-house was crowded to excess, not a spare seat attainable. The platform was occupied by a large number of the clergy of the town, and of the influential laity who have evinced so creditable an interest in the abolition of slavery in the United States. The meeting having been constituted in the customary manner,

The chair was taken by James Gibson, Esq., amid loud cheering. After making some pertinent introductory remarks, he introduced Mr. Douglass to the meeting.

Mr. DOUGLASS was received with loud plaudits. He spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen, one of the most painful duties I have been called upon to perform in the advocacy of the Abolition of Slavery, has been to expose the cowardly and sinful position of the American Churches with regard to that question. That was almost the only duty which, when I commenced the advocacy of this cause, I felt inclined to shrink from. Really, any attempt to expose the inconsistencies of the religious organizations of our land is the most painful undertaking. I had always looked upon these churches as possessing, in a superlative degree, the love of virtue and of justice—the love of humanity—the love of God. I had not supposed that they were capable of descending to the mean and mean act of upholding and sustaining a system, by which three millions of people have been divested of every right and privilege which they ought to enjoy. (Hear.) But, in examining into the character of these churches, I was led to see, that unless the deeds of these churches were made known—unless the light of truth should be permitted to shine into their dark recesses—there will be forever a sink of iniquity in the midst of them. The only way of purifying our church from the deep damnation into which she was plunging, was to expose her deeds to the light. But, in exposing these deeds, I do not wish to place myself in the position of an enemy. Let no man rank me among the enemies of the church, or of religion, because I dare to remove the mask from her face, and give the nations a sight of her enormities. It is for her salvation and purification I do it, and for the redemption and disenthralment of my race. (Hear, hear.)

I was exceedingly pleased to hear, at the meeting before the last, that the minister who occupies the pulpit of this house, (Mr. Hodgens), welcomed me to this platform, within these walls, before these people, to expose the corruptions of the Congregational Church of America. It was a noble act, which speaketh honestly that Rev. gentleman with the friends of truth. It displayed a consciousness of innocence on his part, or, at least, an openness and a magnanimity, that are seldom found. (Hear, hear, hear, hear)—and a willingness for self-examination seldom displayed. Innocence, you know, lives in the sunlight—it rushes out into the daylight, asks to be examined, and searched, and tried. (Hear, hear, hear.) This is its language. You never hear it, cry, 'Rocks, cover us; and Mountains, on us fall.' but leads us from the face of Truth and Justice? This is the language of guilt—of those convinced of their own iniquity. Innocence never bolts and bars its meeting-house doors, to shut out the light, nor hides itself behind some 'important engagement.' (Hear, and laughter.) It never does any such thing as this. It courts the light as its sun. Its element is the light. It opens its own eyes, and is willing to have the eyes of the world opened on itself. It is glorious, and I love it. The nature of guilt was never set forth more clearly in a few words, than by the Blessed Redeemer, when he said, that 'it hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest its deeds be reproved.' Eighteen hundred years ago, as it is now, was the reason obvious—because God looks on sin with no degree of allowance; and truth will not, hold it in any guiltless, who, in the light of the nineteenth century, upholds American Slavery, in any shape or form whatever. (Cheers.)

Before entering on the subject of my discourse at large, I beg to say a few words as to my position among you. One among the reasons which led to destroy the influence of these lectures has been that of circulating a suspicion, that I am not a really sincere person—that my character is not good. (It may be an impostor) has been said of me. I am not an impostor. If those who insinuate that I am one can prove it, I shall be as ready as any one to give way. Besides, I would inform this audience, that the story that am I here without credentials is absolutely false. I have any quantity of testimonials you may demand from the most distinguished Abolitionists of the day. I have been in Ireland four months, and have delivered upwards of fifty lectures in different parts of the country, and it was not until I reached Belfast, that I had been even asked for credentials. No enquiries were made of me in Dublin, for I had been known to the Abolitionists of the city for the last four years, through the American papers. They knew me, and understood me, and had heard all about me, and I had no need of showing to them even a letter of introduction. I had no need of one. But, what sensible people you are in Belfast! (Laughter.) How cautious lest they should make a mistake! How prudent they are, and how desirous of being placed on a firm footing, lest they should take into fellowship such characters as won't bear examination—especially how they receive a fugitive slave! But when the Free Church of Scotland is—(hear, hear,)—Well, I won't say another word about them.

One of the prevalent apologies for the American slaveholders is, that the laws of the States, or at least of several of them, are such as to deprive the masters of the privilege of emancipating the slaves. This is the objection made by every apologist for Christian union with the slaveholders. My motto is, 'NO UNION WITH THE SLAVEHOLDERS!' (Cheers.) Seriously, I believe there can be no union between light and darkness. You cannot serve God and Mammon. Justice can have no fellowship with injustice. Liberty can have no fellowship with slavery. But those who go for uniting with slaveholders, may always have some strong cause for their conduct. Such as this—the answer, it appears, a number of good slaveholders in the States, whose breasts are overborne with sorrow on being placed in such an unhappy relation to their slaves—(hear)—and there are circumstances over which they have no control, and so forth, and so forth. (Laughter at the droll manner in which the speaker imitated the whining tone of those situated as those slaveholders are,' and so forth—(Laughter)—'cannot be held accountable for the evil, when they cannot help themselves,' and so forth—'but then, they would very gladly get rid of it if the laws——' and so forth. (Continued laughter.) I pronounce this apology to be a false apology. There is not a slaveholder in the United States, who may not, if he will, emancipate his slaves, by taking them across Mason's and Dixon's line, and all the apologies built upon this supposition falls to the ground, disunited upon it—must fall to the ground. When they presume to offer for this excuse, tell them of Brisbane of South Carolina, who when he became convinced of the guilt of holding slaves, took them to Ohio, and then went to work with his own hands, like an honest man. (Cheers.) If any other instances are required, take that of James G. Birney, who emancipated his slaves, and a hundred of them. But, besides this, there are, in fact, only two or three of the States in which it is necessary to remove the slaves which are emancipated. There are twelve States, in which the master may emancipate his slaves on the spot. They are always glad to have the emancipated slave in New England; and even if the Northern States were not disposed to take them, thank God, the British lion secures dominion in the West Indies, Jamaica, Canada, Canada is open to them, and, I am sure, will not charge brother Jonathan with the expense of their keeping. So much for the story that there are no places for the slaves.

Oh, what a vast amount of reasoning it takes to uphold a bad cause. Truth needs but little argument, and no long drawn metaphysical skill to establish a position. There is something in the heart which instantly responds to its voice. You feel distinctly when error is spoken, and there is something in you the way you feel when the word freedom so fires your ears! Freedom! the word produces a thrill of joy even in the breast of the slaveholder himself—in the breast of his slaves. Then the term is musical to his ear, but when it is mentioned in the slave's presence, then is the sweetest music to the very quick, and he trembles more like a dumb man. Yes, the word is music to him, the very name of freedom, while we speak with horror at the sound of slavery. We feel, then, that the slaveholder is a wronged man! We feel that he is wronged, and we have no fellowship with the meek and lowly Jesus.

It is said, we ought not to enter into politics, and time. I don't know. Politics are—I don't know. May be right, I don't know. May be wrong. Judge you, that we have to judge? I admit the truth of this part of scripture, but those who quote it, should read it a little further, where it is said, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' (Cheers.) I do not judge you when you cut me, if I cry out that you hurt me. Neither is it not judging the acts of a man, when I tell you, that you have done me an injury. I know that, by injuring me, you are acting contrary to Christianity. Now, I have been, for years, in contact with some Christian slaveholders in the States, I tell you as well might you talk of sober drunkards. (Laughter.) Just as if the lash in the hands of a Christian is not as injurious to my back, as it would be in the hands of a wicked man.. (Hear, hear.) As far as my experience goes, I would rather suffer under the lash of the latter than of the former. I have mentioned in my narrative, that next to being a slave, there is no greater calamity than being the slave of a Christian master. (Hear.) I speak this from my own experience, and it is further proved by theory. There is a reason for it. When the religious feeling of a slaveholder becomes depraved, they become the most corrupt and offensive. So when the most excellent element is perverted to a bad use, it becomes the basest and most hateful in nature. The religious element mixes up and stamps man with the image of God, when pure—but, when perverted, it makes him a fallen angel, and more dangerous and hateful. It becomes the more cruel, the more the religious element is perverted in him. It was so with my master.

Some persons have asked me, what I think of that slaveholders become worse after their conversion, and it was thought that I was hereby injuring the cause of religion. I say, but I say this it is the same principle upon which Christ denounced the Scribes and Pharisees, when he said they would compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and after they had made him, he was twice the child of hell he was before. They do make proselytes, and convert men to what they call religion, but their converts are still in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity. Why is it, if this be not the case, that if they are woman-whippers, cradle plunderers and man-stealers before they become Christians, they are woman-whippers, cradle-plunderers and man-stealers after it—(hear)—and that 'religion' is to them but an additional stimulant to re-enact these atrocities deeds? The religious slaveholder is a terrible one to whom I have been myself happily delivered, so that I am not to be told that it is a good thing to have a 'religious' slaveholder in the master.

[Mr. Douglass continued to address the meeting for nearly an hour further, on the subject of the Church of Scotland, in reference to American slavery, but we are obliged to curtail the reporter's notes.]

From the Lexington, Ky., True American.

THE SEDITION LAW.

It will be seen from the act of the Kentucky Legislature, in to-day's paper, that the sedition law has dragged its slow limbs a very little further still. After the infamous and cowardly mob of the 18th, and the reappearance of the True American, the poor mobbites, who have become the laughing stock of the very boys in the streets, some of them being even hung in effigy, seeing that they had taken off their types in the absence of the legal owner, expressing their fear of our own use, whilst the living editor was walking about among them, consoled themselves by nodding their heads and saying, 'never mind, boys, we'll fix him in the penitentiary yet.' Sure enough, when the Legislature met, a bill was brought in, utterly destroying the liberty of the press, and subversive of the freedom of the Bible, and the Declaration of Independence, by being '*calculated* to excite slaves to insubordination'!—PENIX!

The Southern interest in the State were the foremost in this matter, with some honorable exceptions; but failing to play the tyrant over their own citizens by disregarding every principle of reason, justice, the common law, the Constitution and common sense, in their usual spirit of kicking the northern dog whenever they intended their ire over the *Free States*. Of course, when it came to the lower house, this Quixotic law was cut up—'gutted,' as some of the papers vaunted. The action will no doubt be surprised to find the more numerous body of the Legislature, composed mostly of young men, sitting as censors, and correcting the mistakes of their elders. But they must remember, that the senate is of the old dynasty, and knows not of the young Giant Liberty, which is springing into life and vigorous manhood around them. We had the pleasure of looking in upon the House, and hearing many members priding themselves on the improvement was going on, and its dying effort—never to rally again! And so we venture to say it will be forever. In the mean time, we ask our brothers, *the five hundred thousand white non-slave-holders, to make those tools of slaveholders, who were willing to sell our liberties for gold, meet the doom of traitors! and whenever they present themselves at the polls for place, to see if we are not the same other men then they, to represent* FREEMEN. For we now—since the Kentucky Legislature has refused to stand by the constitution of the 18th August, giving an earnest that the law will be *vindicated*—are proud to say, that *Kentucky is yet free*, to us the *white*s, at least. God speed the time when not a man, of any color, shall desecrate her lovely soil and glorious name!

The liberty of the press was most ably sustained by the mountaineers, and by the slaves each. We are glad of this, for it proves that the *true* cause begins to be understood, and that we, the *non-slaveholders of the South*, are about to vindicate our *slavery*. *We have the power*, when we understand each other, and we *will use it*. The legislature having very justly passed the law to punish all the abuses of the liberty, and *the exciting slaves to insurrection*, we suppose we shall have no more lynchers using the plea of *necessity* for their cowardly plots of assassination!

☞ Read this instructive paragraph:—

Not one year has passed since the mob of the 18th, and yet we have lived to see some of its most prominent actors drinking the bitter cup which they would have thrust upon us. Some have been publicly disgraced—some have suffered the loss of fields and houses—some have been reduced to poverty—some have gone to that borne whence no traveller returns; and some are now walking about amongst men, in the full flush of manhood, with the horrible image of inevitable death before their eyes daily, with haggard countenances, showing their consciousness of the blood (with crime of second murder!—living over the four days and more, which they inflicted on a supposed dying man! However much we attempt to dispel the force of the Special Providence, yet, in our *lucid intervals*, reflection will seize upon the mind—remorse upon the soul—and, we venture to say, that not one of all those triumphant Democrats, who, in the frenzy, perpetrated the foulest crime known among men, will pass away, without bitterly regretting that day—for as we formerly felt, and I am accurate.' And when you of those evils arise, to which all men are liable in the course of nature, *they shall then remember, and we shall be avenged!*—*Ibid.*

WORSHIPPERS OF MAMMON. Parker Pillsbury, Editor of the Concord, N. H. Herald, says of a class of our fellow-citizens of the Bay State:—'The pride of our holy religion! 'are accurate.' And when you of those evils arise, to which all men are liable in the course of nature, *they shall then remember, and we shall be avenged!*—*Ibid.*

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☞ H. C. WRIGHT'S LETTERS. Among the various and most interesting Foreign Letters which we see in any of our American journals, are those of HENRY C. WRIGHT of Philadelphia, communicated to the Boston Liberator. He has a fine talent for observation, a highly thoughtful and philosophic turn of mind, and generally sees down such incidents and reflections as other minds overlook and neglect. In our next we shall give several columns of extracts from his journal, which no one can read but with the keenest interest.—*Tankee Blade.*

THE LIBERATOR.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

FOR THE VISITER.

Mr. Editor:—Since the publication of the Report of the Committee of the Baltimore Saturday Visiter, on the Subject of Slavery, in Cuba, Chapin & Co. of the lower House of the Legislature of Maryland, this public journal of Baltimore has been unusually large of late, running as high as FORTY one pages, and in this accumulation of matter, there has been a portion of the country, and a very fair proportion of them from the city of his home. Thus will appear that Mr. Hook has brought the PEOPLE having determined, seemingly, that the editor, who is in such imminent danger of missing the closing year of his life, if he should be called upon to enjoy some of the luxuries of what is known as the 'cow-hide' Pratt, of the DAILY ACTON, can well spare the rod.

But, 'Gentlemen of the House of Delegates,' this is not all: You have enabled us to get a hearing, both at home and abroad, from hundreds whose ears would not have been open before. Our congregation is gloriously increasing from the ranks of those who are eager to hear, while hearing not, the truth on the Slavery question. One of these, I am chance to be! At the present rate of increase, we shall soon have by far the largest congregation in town.'

CUBA

The resolution concerning the purchase of Cuba, introduced by Mr. Cameron, sometime since in the Senate, has accomplished one of its objects; it has set people in Cuba to talking about the measure. The following extract of a letter received from a gentleman residing in the neighborhood of Havana:

'The proposition to purchase Cuba has awakened the Editors of the Havana Journals, and, very naturally, to the merits of the question, and induced them as one man to reflect upon a union with the U. States. I no doubt that the Spanish Cortes, in its next enactments, a very intelligent old Spaniard, has given me all the objections which are urged against the measure in Havana, and he liked them, I dare say, at some other time. He assured me, however, that a strong party in Cuba is in favor of it.

Thus slowly the scheme moves on.

CONGRESS IN BRAZIL.

U. S. FRIGATE CONGRESS,
RIO DE JANEIRO, January 6, 1846.

The condition of the slave population here is much less abject and wretched than I expected to find it. Their condition is blended with kindness and humanity. Their color operates less to their prejudice than with us. Their freedom in many cases has been purchased by them, and, as it seems, is often in, by a few years of industry and frugality. The owner who should attach an exorbitant value to a slave, (restored to his rights) would be deemed by his neighbors unreasonable. When free, he goes to the ballot-box, and is eligible to a seat in the national legislature. Nor would any body dare go into hysterics should he take to his home a woman whose color should be a shade lighter than his own. It is for us to preach up humanity, freedom, and liberty, and then practice the contrary upon our own, if an African takes a seat at the same table on board a steamboat! and even in our churches he obliged to look out upon the centre aisle, and dodge along toward heaven, like a man who has no business travelling on the 'narrow way.' The misery is, that they who preach equality the loudest, are generally the last to practice it themselves. It is one thing to level downwards—it is a very different thing to level upwards. Give me the man whose favors are like the rays of the sun, which, if they fall on the loftiest objects, it is only that they may glance in the valleys.

SLAVERY IN TUNIS.—'This, (December 14,) being the Ed Elkabeer, the great feast of the Mahometans, all is again full of life. The Bey received, in state, all the principal officers, military, civil, and ecclesiastical. A friend of mine, who was at the Bey Palace this morning, informed me that the gold and diamonds on the hilt of the sword, belonging to the Bey, a French officer of some standing remarked that the appearance of the Bey's Court this morning, surpassed in magnificence those of the great Duc d'Orleans, when he visited Tunis several years ago, and evinced a very great deal more. The Bey has no indication (nor would he be justified if he had) to force his subjects to act as his slaves, and to take by force possession, provided they treat them well; but he has no scruple to give freedom to those poor slaves who have been cruelly handled by their masters. Unfortunate creatures have this day received their certificates of freedom at the hands of Sir Thomas. It is impossible to describe the joy they manifested, when the paper was handed to them. Some threw themselves on the ground, and actually kissed it. How sweet indeed is liberty! How many blessings did Heaven bestow on those beings call down upon the head of him who had been instrumental in procuring it for them! No one can have an idea but those who are on the spot how dear the names 'English' and 'England' have become to them. A friend of mine related to me a few days ago, that having asked an emancipated slave, what he liked the most, the answer was, 'I know no one but Mahomed and the English Consul,' was his reply. By this he meant to say that Mahomed protected the Mahometans in the world, and the English Consul in this.'—*Malta Mail.*

☞ REPROOF AND EXPOSTULATION!! The following paragraph, from the Louisville (Ky.) Intelligencer, shows how *severe* the 'wealthiest merchants' and other Southern *gentlemen* are to 'amalgamation'?

'There has been quite a stir recently in New-Orleans, in consequence of a marriage of a white man named Buddington, a Teller in the Canal Bank, to the negro daughter of one of the wealthiest merchants of that city. It should be mentioned, that he was obliged to swear that he had negro blood in his veins, and to do this he made an incision in his arm, and put some of his blood in the cut. The marriage was performed by a Catholic clergyman, and the bridegroom has received with his wife a fortune of fifty or sixty thousand dollars. The negroes serenading him with such abominable music, that to get rid of their discord, he paid them $400, to be used for *charitable purposes*.'

☞ REV. EDWARD BRITE, of Pittsburgh has formally withdrawn from the Liberty party, on the ground that it nominates for office, men associated with the various religious organizations of the country, which are alleged to be pro-slavery. In other words, he will not act with the Liberty party, because it will not adopt an exclusive test of orthodoxy.—*Cin. Herald.*

Or rather, because its members recognize as good Christians, those whom they declare are too corrupt for their political associates. Because they think men good enough for pious deacons, to whose abolitionism they have not sufficient confidence to make them counselors of their town. Because they think men good enough for Christian ministers, whom they pro-slavery to be their candidates for county hangmen. Because they cast reproach upon the name of Christianity, by receiving a higher degree of immorality in the non-pressing politician than of the professing Christian.—*Ohio J. S. Pugle.*

SHADE OF WASHINGTON!—'A fellow, by the name of Hatmon, Mt. Holly, offers, in the Vermonter, to pay the sum of one hundred dollars to any one who will arrest and return his slave Washington, who' was taken out of Mt. Holly, Vermont, the days previous to the morning news! We should think he would naturally have taken refuge under the eves of Washington's Tomb, at Mt. Vernon, under the direct impression that the shade would respect the sanctity of the place.—*Burrill.*

EXCHANGE NO ROBBERY. A person informs the Christian Intelligencer, that Mr. Lewis, who has been at Mr. *Malcom Jack*, and receive in payment goods or SLAVES! Said Jack is said to be 14 hands high, and therefore, if he should be sold, he would be the tallest slave of God's living images. O humanity! Give this proposition one sober thought. 'How much better is a man than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful and lawful for man. How much better is a man than a man? asks the owner of the one and the owner of the other, in the market of a Christian City.

The Energetic Physician.—That was a good saying of Erasmus about Luther, when some one was bewailing the violence of his writings, 'Bah! Luther God help! Luther! God help! Luther! God help! Luther!

WHOLE NUMBER DCCXCIII.

Vol. XII

PUBLISHER—CHRISTIAN CITIZEN—NATHANIEL ROGERS, Editor.

LETTER FROM

SETH ARNOTON, March 14th, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—I cannot refrain from addressing you at this time, to express my gratitude to your excellent journal, the Liberator. I consider it to be, in a reformatory view, the first and best paper in the country. Of its merits, I have read and re-read the paper have been so well and universally expressed, that I will not attempt to add to them. The position taken by the Liberator relative to Freedom of Discussion, and the Rights of Colored Citizens, has been strongly sustained by Elmer Lee, Governor Davis and Elizur Wright, and I have long looked to the Liberator in my estimation, as the only paper in the country, which would generally first call for the truth, and first take it from the table, and read it, and stand by it, and stand by it, and stand by

RELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT.

From the Christian World:

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

EXPOSITION OF THE NINTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

There are two modes of dealing with a subject of reform is institutions: one positive, laying upon the foundation principles of a new or your own; the other negative, answering objections of opponents.

The negative side makes a large part of the work of all reforms. The old thought, on which institution stands, is in the way of the new thought, and must see all its declarations, and must be answered to the utermost. No matter whether the objection has any thing in it for you, or not, it has for some body. It is made; and the new truth must answer it, always can answer it, putting it forever out of the way, and going then forward to establish itself.

Especially on the subject of abolishing capital punishment, the negative side is full. Church and State are to be answered. Human law here claims the intention of the divine; and the ministers of civil policy. The church interprets the Bible to command capital punishment, and the state seeks to found its statute on the Bible, as interpreted.

The support which capital punishment is supposed to have from the Bible, is popularly called the scriptural argument; and this scriptural argument rests mainly on the single chapter of Genesis—the revelation therein of God's law to Noah.

And it is to be taken, that the great body of all persons who are inclined to orthodox views of religion, with the orthodox clergy at their head, sincerely believe capital punishment sanctioned by the express revelation of the will of God, in this chapter of Genesis. The shadow of this belief, more or less dark, as it may be, rests upon almost the whole heart of Christendom.

If we come to this chapter, prepared beforehand to find it authority for capital punishment, with minds filled with prejudices, leaving no room for a present judgment, we may find a much authority forever. But without such preparation and preoccupation of mind, we shall find it no such thing. As we are in this respect, we are not interpretators, likely to be. Let us dismiss prejudice, if so it may be; let us clear our hearts of the dark shadow, that we may have them open to the image of the shining truth.

Let us first read the chapter as it stands in our Bible,—the first 7 verses,—which belong together, and complete the whole of one distinct matter:

1. And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

2. And the fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

3. Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you, all things.

4. But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ye shall not eat.

5. And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man.

6. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; *for* in the image of God made he man.

7. And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multply therein.

The common interpretation supposes that God will here have every man put to death, and has so appointed it here—that in the 5th and 6th verses lies the divine requirement of capital punishment. In the discussion, at the Broadway Tabernacle, in New-York, I have heard it was called *the point of God's moral universe*, resting its eternal basis here.

First—it is to be noted, that if this be a divine requirement of capital punishment, it is only for *man-slaying*. There is no sanction here for the death penalty to be inflicted for any other crime—no warrant for it, except for *man-slaying alone*—not for treason, nor rape, nor robbery, nor any other crime usually punished with death—only for the single fact of slaying a man.

And it requires equally that you inflict the death penalty upon the beast that shall slay a man's life as well as man. And this the Mosaic law did. And in the old English law, a beast, or any other article of property, which was the cause of death to a human being, was forfeit to the king, and devoted to pious uses, and known in law as *deodand*; that is *Deo dandus*, to be given to God. Whence in our old forms of indictment we have charged the value of the instrument of death is set forth, as thus: 'with a certain deadly weapon called a dirk, of the value of fifty cents.'

But does our modern civilized law require the blood of the beast to be shed? Yet the divine law, if it must stand for divine, is for us, demands its sacrifices. We believe it not. We bring the man-murderer, only; we spare the beast-murderer, withholding him from the divine demand. Does any one of those who stand for this sanction of the death penalty, sacrifice to Deity the horse that has kicked, and by kicking, killed a man? Yet, as to interpret the chapter, as to demand the human sacrifice, is also to demand that of the beast: 'And surely the blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; for in the image of God made he man.' Beast and man must equally die; and the insane man, as well as the sane; and the man who kills on sudden provocation, as well as on deliberate malice. Is this the law of our society? But this is the law of this chapter of Genesis; if you will interpret it for capital punishment.

Now if you depart from its authority, by dispensing with it, in the case of the beast; of the insane man, who, in the view of our society, is irresponsible, like the beast; of the man slayer in sudden passion; then you have used your own discretion to set aside what you yet call a command of the Almighty, and you may not say more, if you may dispense with the whole, in your discretion, if you may dispense with a part, in your discretion. Human discretion is your law, not the word of God, in your hands. But is the man to be found in our society, who contends for the requirement of the whole of that scripture? Yet no part of it is more authoritative than the rest; and if not the whole, then no part is sacred command to a man.

If, then, you take the common interpretation, the divine demand of the civil magistrate, the divine command to the civil magistrate is just this—no more; and let civilized society see to it, no less—*death for him who kills a man, by slay other trees; and death of insane, as well as sane; and death for manslaughter, as well as for murder.* But, in neither of these last three cases could any called civilized law exact such penalty: any called civilized sect of religion be found to sanction it. Society, the sects disallow their own interpretation; and shall they nevertheless hold our hearts and minds bound by their will? For it is their interpretation, which they act upon, and not the expressed will of the Almighty, as they would have it seem to be.

But that 9th chapter of Genesis is wholly misinterpreted in the common mode, as has no reference to murder at all, as we understand that crime, but touches a far more dreadful subject. Let me ask you to read those 7 verses again, and then follow on in this exposition.

You find the subject matter of the chapter to be the multiplication of the race of Noah, and the food they should eat.

To Adam and his race, the herb bearing seed, and the fruit of the tree yielding seed, alone, had been given for food.

And the account of the posterity of Adam, of Noah's time, is that all flesh had corrupted the way of God upon the earth, and that the whole earth was filled with violence.

Among these violences is likely to have been cannibalism. It is clear that the antediluvians had fallen from the pure and bloodless diet of the Adamic period to animal food; perhaps thence to human food.

And now the flood has done its work, and Noah's race is to start a new peopling of the earth.

How shall they be nourished? This is to them a first point, next to life.

The chapter begins with its blessing and prophecy of increase; and then comes food of the flesh of all beasts, birds, fish, reptiles, even as the green herb, on vegetables of the garden. The new race was to start, not as their first ancestor Adam, on the guiltless feast of paradise, but on flesh also, obtained by the destruction of life.

And thereupon follows, in natural order, the prohibition to touch human flesh. Not now alone the vegetable of the garden, but the flesh of the slaughtered animal you may eat—but, of human, beware—let the blood of the animal suffice.

Whose shall shed the blood of man, for meat, be it man or beast, shall have his own blood shed.

For in the image of God made he man. Then this has true meaning, which is not in the mode of construction, is wholly contradictory for God's image is as much violated in killing the murderer by the hangman, as in killing the murdered by the murderer. The animal, he bears not Jehovah's image, and hence may slay for food—but man is made in God's image, and for this.

And see the correspondence of the blessing of increase, and the appointment of food, in this chapter to Noah, and the first chapter of Genesis, in Adam:

Gen. i. 28. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

29. And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

Nothing there of penalty for crime, and nothing, as so here, in the 9th chapter, of the man the nothing to be settled. There, as here, is the blessing of increase, and the assignment of food. Any such thing as penalty for crime, there, and here, is wholly incongruous.

The period for the annunciation of the municipal law is not at hand, but shall come by and by, in the progress of the race; but is not now. Now is the period of populating and subsisting. The municipal law grows into the state of declaration and government—of penalty for crime.

From the beginning of Genesis, down to the Mosaic code, from Cain down, no murder which is mentioned in the Scriptures, is supposed to have stated to have been punished with death. Distinctly, the children of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, are related to have murdered men, women, and murder, and their father pronounced the curse upon them for it. And Moses is related to have murdered the Egyptian. Yet they were not punished with death: *The time, the age of Jehovah* not yet; but this law commanding penalty for the shedding of human blood in what we call murder. Contemporaneous expression of public judgment, in the old court, which administer law. What meaning did the age, which enacted a law, put upon it? 'Ask judges; and then that is the meaning is conclusive.

If we should set down the title of the divine statute contained in the first 7 verses of the 9th chapter of Genesis, it should stand thus:—*Ordaining Noah and his posterity: their blessing, their increase, their food.*

In this scriptural statute, the mention of murder and its punishment is as much out of place, as it is in law of the United States, entitled, 'An Act concerning the distribution of the Public Lands,' you should find a denunciation of the state trade as piracy, and the penalty of death for its punishment. In the one case, as in the other, the things do not belong together, are not naturally found together, by any thought of divine or human order shall never be set together. Nothing but the absolute certainty of language, leaving no room for interpretation, could make it possible to have this most necessary finisse of things should be so transgressed.

In the 'Supplement to the Revised Statutes' of Massachusetts, there is an act entitled, 'An Act concerning the Supreme Judicial Court and Court of Common Pleas.' The 4th section of the act is as follows: 'That no bill of exceptions shall lie from judgment of the Court of Common Pleas upon the verdict of a jury; but all questions of law, except in cases of any arrest in plea of abatement, may be carried upon the Supreme Judicial Court by bill of exceptions, or writ of error.' And yet this statute does not take away from any *criminal*, found guilty by the verdict of a jury, the right of appeal. And why not? Simply because the *subject matter* of the statute is found to be civil, and not criminal cases. Yet the words of the section are wholly general, and of themselves, do cover as well criminal as civil cases. The subject matter of the statute restrains their operation; 'I'm not talk about where in the statutes to find provision for appeal in criminal cases: here is not its fitting place.

The title of the Noachic statute, if set forth after the manner of a law, would be as above stated—Murder would find no place in it; it would be wholly out of place in it. 'The shedding of blood produces a kind of pollution, not at all referable to the killing of man in anger, or revenge, or the like, but solely in reference to the main subject of the revelation in the statute, food—shedding man's blood for food.

Strikingly appropriate to this view is a familiar case in the law of England, used by Blackstone, to illustrate the rule of construction, that the subject matter is to determine the meaning of the words of a statute. The Pope of Rome claimed the right to appoint the bishops in England to the rich livings of the church, and receive pay for them, and these were called *provisions*. A law of Edward III. forbade the exercise of this pretended power to foreigners at Rome. But no interpretation would make this a prohibition against purchasing meats, grain, or any other article of food. The word provisions would have reference to the *subject matter* of the statute, which was wholly another thing.

The subject matter of this Noachic statute is food. The blood of man, spoken of in it, is the blood of man, shed for food. It prohibits cannibalism; that is what it does. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood for food, by man shall his blood be shed.*

You shall eat all green things, all vegetables, and fruits, and all animal flesh; but there stop; lay not your hand on the life of man, slay him for food; he has or man who, does this, he must die, for man is made in God's image, and to eat him is description.

This is the true, natural, and consistent interpretation which you can put upon the 9th chapter of Genesis, as it now stands in the common text of the English Bible as we have it, translated for us by commission of King James, which is the Bible, according to the knowledge of its English translators, and the pleasure of King James.

But there are versions in which the earth with filled before the flood, had been cannibalism, and it had been so named in the 5th chapter, is there a person who would doubt about the interpretation which has been given? Is there what we call mystery of wickedness, this so'emn *all flesh had corrupted his way on the earth, and the whole earth was filled with violence*, and yet no cannibalism? And we will now go on to seek, and set forth the true meaning of the text, from these sources.

Appointing the English Bible, three sources where to seek authentic justice, as far as in this time it can be had, are the original Hebrew, the Samritan, and the Greek.

1. The Greek the revelation, whatever it is, embalmed in the original Hebrew.

This language ceased to be spoken by the Jews, after their return from Babylon, a hundred and fifty years before Christ. When they returned to Jerusalem, they spoke a new language, called the Aramean, or Chaldaic, which they had learned in the foreign land of their captivity. The Hebrew of their scriptures then became a dead language to them as to us: and we have the same record which we have of the Greek version, that they had set forth in the exact word of scripture. The Septuagint version also, strongly and strikingly, though not exactly, attestation it. And we will now go on to seek, and set forth the true meaning of the text, from these sources.

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