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BY
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XVII.—NO. 10.

THE LIBERATOR.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1847.

J. BROWN YERRINTON, PRINTER.

WHOLE NO. 843.

RFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[SPEECH OF A DEMAGOGUE AND TRAITOR TO THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY.

At the evening of February 15th, there was a meeting of the spirits in and around Boston, called the Melodeon, for the purpose of presenting Gen. Cushing to the unprincipled adventurer, Colonel John Hendricks presented the pet 'Honorable' (!) Gen. Cushing. The notorious Cushing, in the following Louisiana speech:—

"We are assembled here, ladies and gentlemen, to pay a well-merited compliment—the presentation of a well-merited sword to one of our fellow citizens, to the gallant commander of the regiment of volunteers from Massachusetts, for the Mexican war.

The services rendered to the country by Col. Cushing, in the halls of legislation, and in one of the most important and delicate foreign missions, his high character and well-known abilities, command our respect, and offer a guarantee for his success in his new military career. But it would be a waste of time, to dwell on the high and honorable personal considerations above, which have so eminently fitted him, this compliment is paid, to appreciate him, the head of the volunteers, as a gallant officer, and the spirited citizen, to the service of the regiment—it is given as a tribute of approbation—as the expression of confidence and encouragement to the whole regiment, to stand unshaken in their patriotic and perilous enterprise, the brave men who go forth in defence of the rights of our country, to maintain the honor of the flag, the glorious stars and stripes of the Union, and especially to maintain the lofty character for chivalry and valor that our beloved State gained in the revolution, and which her sons have always been accustomed when called to fight the battles of their country, whether on the land or the water.

Your present duties, and those of your regiment, will lead the spirit of the people can remember—the spirit of valor over and put to shame those about slumbering men. One prominent exception to this war is, that it is a war for the extension of slavery. You will, I trust, pardon me a few remarks on that subject. The nation on a few remarks on that subject. The nation on a few remarks on that subject. The nation on

☞ Here is the speech of Col. Cilley, of N. H. on the Mexican war, in the U. S. Senate, *as reported by himself* in the National Era. This is Liberty partyism, with a vengeance! Compared with the speeches of D. P. King, J. R. Giddings, and other Whigs, this speech is not merely contemptible! It stinks!

Nothing can be more cold-blooded than its suggestions as to drilling and augmenting the U. S. troops.

CORRECTED REPORT OF MR. CILLEY'S REMARKS IN THE SENATE.

Mr. CILLEY's resolution requesting the President to withdraw the army from Mexico, being under consideration, Mr. C. addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have my reasons for introducing the resolution; and I will, briefly as possible, state some of them. Sir, we are at war with Mexico. As to the manner in which we got into that war, I shall not now undertake to inquire; but I will state that I think the war unnecessary and unjust, and all wrong. If Mexico had wronged us, we should have foreborne. There was no necessity for hurrying into a fight for very small causes. The President proposed a vigorous prosecution of the war, for procuring an honorable peace, yet it seems that peace is no nearer than it was at the commencement of hostilities. Sir, how are we to get peace? "The President says we must 'conquer a peace.' How shall we do it? The taking possession of her territory will not give us peace. We may keep any portion of the Mexican territory for a long time without obtaining peace. We cannot get a peace without negotiation. Well, sir, why not bring our army home? It is unhealthy climate into our own country, where we can *reinforce*, ORGANIZE, and DISCIPLINE THE ARMY, and have some plan of operation that will be efficient, instead of scattering our forces all along the frontier, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean? Sir, it costs too much to prosecute the war in this way, and what is the object? We are now expending a large sum of money in the purchase of Mexican produce, paying them high prices for all that is wanted for our army, enriching her citizens in a large extent of country. Sir, is this the way to obtain peace? I think not, sir. The commanding general has said, that he considers it impracticable to proceed to Mexico by the way of San Luis Potosi. Sir, if this is the case, why not withdraw the army, and MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATION TO CARRY OUR PLAN, if we have any? The Senator from Ohio, in the proposition which he submitted to the Senate, I believe, intimates a desire that large reinforcements should be sent, and be rewarded immediately for the prosecution of the war; but the *great objection* which rests upon my mind in regard to this sudden increase of the army, is that the troops thus hastily raised would be necessarily be *undisciplined and unexperienced*; and if they were enlisted with the utmost dispatch, they could not be concentrated upon the field of hostilities and operations before the commencement of the sickly season. Will you send them into Mexico, to contend with its deadly climate, and sacrifice our soldiers to no purpose? I think my plan better, to withdraw our forces to some healthy place within the boundaries of the United States, where the subsistence of the army could be much cheaper provided, and then, if it is necessary to increase the army to any desirable extent, *to have the soldiers well-drilled*; let them become inured to service, so that when a blow is to be struck, it may be such A BLOW AS WOULD HAVE THE DESIRED EFFECT. What object is intended to be effected by this war, *I have yet to learn*; but if it is only to obtain a peace, on terms to both countries, I think that can be obtained as well with our army in our own country, *until we can have time to have them properly organized and drilled*, and have some plan of operation. Sir, it appears that this war is not to be a short one; it will be a protracted war; and unless we do, as one of our men, why sacrifice our GALLANT LITTLE ARMY, by obliging them to fight against superior forces in numbers, in strongly fortified towns? I am not for any such business as that. I believe he (late of Monterey, where General Taylor tells you that it was wonderful that he should have succeeded;) and I consider it almost a miracle that he did succeed against such odds. And what would have been the consequence had he not succeeded? Who would or ought to have been the blame, (General Taylor or the Administration? I believe he tells yes it was not his plan, but he did it to sustain the Administration. If Vera Cruz is to be occupied in order to march to the city of Mexico, there must have at least 50,000 men. No prudent general would undertake to conquer the city of Mexico with less than 50,000 efficient men. Sir, I believe he will reflect that number of newly levied forces, and send them into Tampico, or any other place in the Mexican territory, to be drilled and disciplined? For they must be disciplined before they will become efficient to contend with the black vomit or the yellow fever. Or do you think that men are soldiers as soon as they enlist? A different opinion prevailed. Sir, it will be a new business to the men and also new to the officer. It requires some little time to become accustomed to the service, as well as to learn the duty of a soldier. Sir, the Senator from Michigan yesterday avowed the opinion that it was unconstitutional for Congress to direct the President as to the course which he should pursue in the prosecution of the war; that the only duty of Congress was to provide him the means he asked for, in the way that he should desire it; and he alone had the right to direct the operations of the army in the way he thought proper. I differ from the Senator in this opinion. I think that it is clearly our duty to deliberate upon the subject, and to propose such measures as we may deem advisable. If we believe those who have the charge of the war are going wrong, it is our duty to propose a better plan. Sir, have we not a right to think on this awful subject of war? Have we nothing to do but to wait all the men and money that the President tells us he wants, without inquiring into the matter, because that war exists, or, as the Senator from Michigan said, that it was all summed up in one short word, and that word was war; that we had no constitutional right to do anything, but to do all the President may require, and make him responsible, thereby clearing himself of all the responsibility? Is that all that is expected of us by those who sent us here? I differ from the honorable

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THE LIBERATOR.

REV. DR. DURBIN'S PLAN.

We again allude to the plan of the Rev. D.D. for the abolition of slavery. It is—1. Demonstration to the shareholders from the Treasury of the U. States that it is unjustifiable; 2. This appropriation to be made constitutionally, by an amendment to the Constitution to that effect. 3. The removal of the Confederation from the country; because they conceptated slaves from our Christians (?) and Republican (?) without being either subdued or exterminated!

As in the aggregate value of the slaves, he computes it at 450 millions of dollars. Several years ago, Henry Clay, in a pro-slavery speech in the U. S. Senate, estimated their value at 1200 millions of dollars; and they have increased numerically very rapidly, since that time. With the annexation of Texas, and the prospect of additional slave territory taken from Mexico, the slaves in all the slaveholding States have increased in value, and, consequently, are to be estimated accordingly. The calculation of this 'divine' man, therefore, is at least one third short of the actual market value of the property. But this is of no consequence. His scheme is impracticable, and absurd.

The idea of so amending the Constitution as to give to Congress the power of abolishing slavery throughout the country, by the purchase of the slave population, is equally preposterous.

The project for banishing this population to the coast of Africa, suggested by Durbin, is the old colonization one, which has long since been shown to be impracticable, as it is nefarious. His 'horrid distinction,' that two distinct races of men cannot live on the same soil, in the enjoyment of equal political and social rights and privileges,' is the same as the American Colonization Society has been eternally inculcating ever since that anti-christian body was organized; and the effect of it has been so disastrous upon the free colored and slave population, as well as upon public sentiment. It has served to discourage the emancipation of those who are pending in the house of bondage, to induce the enactment of cruel laws against free colored persons in the slave States, and to remove the pressure of guilt from the American conscience for our national iniquities. What can more clearly demonstrate the spuriousness of the religion of any man, whether of Rev. Dr. Durbin, who proposed to banish from a Christian country, to a land of darkness and heathenism, across a stormy ocean, thousands of his fellow-creatures, or of the Pope, who, in the name of God has given them 'a skin not colored like mine?' But this is the religion of Dr. Durbin—that ecclesiastical sheet, in the guise of Christianity, the New York Observer—and of the American Church, the bulwark of slavery.

'Let not a man of the devil,' Dr. Durbin deals in the most out of such persecutors, by saying that this expulsion of the colored population would result in the creation of a Christian State in Africa, more worthy of an existence, than would diffuse the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout that vast continent.' So he neglects to add, that if such an expulsion were possible, another result (not fanciful, but certain) would be, the outpouring of many a vial of retribution upon this incorrigible land, and the everlasting shame and infamy of the American people.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is just published. Every member of the Society is entitled to a copy, which may be obtained by calling at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. To others, the price is 25 cents. The Report is handsomely printed and occupies, with the proceedings of the annual meeting, 96 octavo pages. It discusses the prominent events, connected with our cause, that have occurred during the past year, both at home and abroad, and with much ability. The labor of preparing such a Report, from year to year, is very great; but, for many years in succession, Mr. Quincy has gratuitously performed it, in addition to his other valuable efforts, with great alacrity. Most lovely is the cause which can thus, by this vigilant, untiring and disinterested advocate.

BURTON UNDER A MASK. An Liberty party convention recently held in Ohio, George Bradburn drew the following vexatious resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the assertions of slaveholders and their abettors, that our national Constitution gives guarantees of slavery, is a gross perversion of the character of that instrument!!

There is a great deal of folly and effrontery exhibited in the adoption of such an untruthful resolution. The Liberty party professes to be as warmly attached to the Union as either the Whig or the Democratic party; yet it puts a construction upon the Constitution, which should any party forcibly attempt to carry it into execution, would separate this the Union 'city high.' We are indignant at the dishonest mode of dealing with the Constitution, and thus joining, with southern slaveholders and their northern allies in affected veneration for the American Union, and in denouncing straightforward abolitionists!

THE FARMER AND THE SWORD. We have read, with much pleasure, the copy of a sermon which has been sent to us, preached in the South Congregational Church in Boston, Feb. 21, 1847, by F. D. Huntington, on the Famine and the Sword, at the turning condition of Ireland, and the unjustifiable war with Mexico. Its language is clear and expressive, and its sentiments such as the great idea of the brotherhood of nations' is calculated to inspire. We say, Mr. H. says.—We are keeping in mind, amongst upon a poor sister republic, and violating the everlasting laws of Almighty God, by maiming, and killing, and shooting his children.' And in regard to what this nation might have done to mitigate the horrors of the famine abroad, he adds:—'Had all the wealth that has been worse than wasted in the iniquitous war, been poured into the cottages of the Irish and Scotch peasantry, what joy and comfort would glisten those desolated homes!' Surely, a charge like this,—which must naturally suggest itself to every intelligent reader of the turning point—in the present war, in addition to its great cost to extend and eternize slavery, criminal and terrible beyond all parallel. In one year, it will have cost, probably, one hundred millions of dollars. This sum would have been sufficient to avert all the horrors of the famine now raging across the Atlantic.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS IN BARNSTABLE COUNTY. The Cape is to be the seat of operations for the next campaign. Stephen S. Foster, Addison Davis and Parker Pillsbury will conduct it. Let our friends there, endeavor to make it a successful one, by promptly securing the best places for the meetings, giving extensive notices, persuading their neighbors to attend, and aiding the agents in passing from town to town. An effort will be made to procure subscribers to the Liberator. Notice of the conventions will be found in another column.

READ IT. We have commenced, on our first page, the publication of the able and cogent Address of the Officers-bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland, on her present connexion with the Slaveholding Churches of America—issued by the Committee of the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society. It is as important as well as ably written paper, and represents that Church for the evil course it pursued in relation to American slavery, with boldness and a truly excellent spirit. We hope all will place the Church to SEND BACK THE MONEY.

THE UNITARIANS AND SLAVERY.

BROOKLYN, (Ct.) Feb. 23, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR:

In the 'Liberator' of Friday last is a letter, with the heading 'The Unitarians,' which requires, I think, a few words of explanation, in justice to the individuals mentioned therein; although, in this letter, I have no right to speak for more than one of them.

I do not regret the publication of that letter; it may do good; I think it will. So far as it may be thought to contain a just rebuke of myself, I do not object to it. If I am in any error, and especially in one so serious as to be doing anything to sustain slavery, I will consider him my truest friend, who, in the spirit of friendship, will point out to me that error. I know not who your correspondent 'A.' is; but I think, with his understanding of the facts, he has shown no more than a just astonishment, and expressed no more than a just rebuke.

But, as he represents the facts, they do not separate us at all.

J. B. Whittridge, M. D., of South Carolina, is not the 'Vice President' of the American Unitarian Association, but one of fifteen Vice Presidents—not a very material distinction, indeed; but the reason of my making it will by and by appear.

This gentleman was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the A. U. A. in May last, for the first time.

The matter of choosing officers, and most other business indeed, has been the merest formality in that body, ever since I have been a member of it (12 or 13 years),—it being generally arranged beforehand. No want of confidence in this way of proceeding has manifested itself till recently. Last year, for the first time, the members of the Association resolved to elect their whole officers more directly into their own hands, and they spent some time in deciding what candidates they would support for the principal officers. Whether the list of Vice Presidents was then canvassed by the meeting, I do not recollect; if it were, the name of Dr. Whittridge made no impression on my mind; and I think I may venture to say that the name passed, with the other Vice Presidents, without any knowledge, on the part of many present, of the individual bearing it. I think it probable the majority of the members were so situated. I know that some present would have strenuously objected to his election, had it been known, or suspected, that he was a slaveholder. The first intimation I had of this fact was from a paragraph in a number of the Liberator in August last, I think. That paper I laid aside for future reference.

The above statement will, I think, absolve the most of the members of the Association from a *intentional* participation in the election of a slaveholder to office. That it may show them not sufficiently watchful, not sufficiently jealous of the honor of the religion they aim to serve, perhaps I must admit.

The 'Protest' of the 173 Unitarian ministers, of which 'A' speaks, was signed in 1845. Dr. Whittridge, if I am not mistaken, was not elected until 1846; and then in a manner not likely to call particular attention to his case, his name standing with fourteen others on a list, which it had been the custom for a long series of years, only to read to the meeting, and to pronounce elected, without a scrutinizing vote. It is not correct, then, to say to the signers of that protest, as 'A.' does, that 'they very next act they do,' after signing the Protest, is to choose a slaveholder for the Vice President; especially do I believe that the charge, that they *knowingly* voted for such an individual, is very unjust to the signers of that Protest generally.

Nevertheless, I am bound to state, that the name of the Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia, has stood on the list of Vice Presidents of the A. U. A. for many years; and the question, 'Is he a slaveholder or?' has never been raised, to my knowledge. I can only account for it on the supposition of the little attention given to choosing their officers.

I must further say, that the Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., of New-York, is the present PRESIDENT of the A. U. A. If it is true, that he has been recently at Washington, what he is publicly reported to have said, respecting slavery and abolition, I think the principles of our body are more dishonored, and the views we profess to hold more outraged, in the person of the *President* of that Association, than in those of any one of its other members.

I am, with sincere esteem,
Your friend,
SAMUEL MAY.

THE PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOR.

PLYMOUTH, Feb. 27th, 1848.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I perceive among other interesting matters in the Liberator of the 19th, a communication from Lea. H. Gause, of Pennsylvania, soliciting your views and opinions in regard to the products of slave-labor by yourself and other advocates of the anti-slavery cause. Seeing no reply in the last number, as intimated, and supposing it to be crowded out by other matters, and having given the subject considerable reflection myself, without being able to arrive at any given point to which conscience would say, 'This far shalt thou come,' (with a strict,) and no farther—and being desirous of more light, as well as others, on the subject, I should be glad if you or some others would freely express your views.

Friend Gause says—'To me, there has been no anti-slavery duty more clear, than that of abstaining from the use of slave labor produced.' I would signify as he has practically adopted the motto of 'No Union with Slaveholders'—meaning to be understood, no doubt, as giving no voluntary aid to the system of slavery whatever.

Whether the writer keeps clear from any participation, and in any way from contributing to the support of slavery, because in more favorable circumstances, than many others who do not entirely shun—or from fixed principles to abide the consequences, cost what it may—is a very different thing, in my opinion. But as that duty is clear to the writer of the communication, I hope its rays will shine into the minds of all the haters of slavery.

I think there are few persons, if any, in this section of the country, who have suffered more for the slave than myself; and I am yet suffering, in some degree, pleasing as I do, to be a sufferer for Christ in behalf of the down-trodden; and if there is any thing more that I can do, than what I am doing, to benefit the cause, I am anxious to be made acquainted with it. I have, for a long time, made use of free labor produce, when it came in competition with slave labor produce, if it could be had at higher prices for the former. But, as slave produce and taxation for slavery comes in so many forms, I think it is very difficult for me to avoid participating in it altogether. For instance—I have, for the last year and a half, spent much time and money in my time lecturing on the subject of slavery, in different sections of this country. Much of the food placed before me, I have reason to believe, is mixed with the products of slave labor. If I ask whether it is free or slave labor, I get no satisfactory answer. At night, the only bed I can sleep in, may be composed of the produce of slave labor. Most of the means by which I sustain myself and family, are the little profits I derive from the sale of anti-slavery publications, printed on slave-grown cotton. I have a family to clothe and feed, with my limited means, which compels me to procure the cheapest articles, to meet their necessities as well as I can, and it is mixed with the products of unpaid labor.

I subscribe for an anti-slavery, or any other reformatory periodical. It comes to me through a post office, managed by a slaveholder, printed on slave-grown cotton paper.

I write a letter to my wife, or to you, friend Garrison; and what do I write on, but paper manufactured from cotton raised by slave labor? And it reaches its destination by the direction of a slaveholder—&c. &c.

Again, if we try to evade the use of those slave grown articles, and substitute imported articles in their place, we are paying a tax to support a slaveholding government, all steeped in innocent blood, and now carrying on a cruel war against a feeble government, for the sake of establishing permanently the traffic in helpless men, women and children on its soil, where it had been abolished by a half civilized people.

I pray God for the annihilation of slavery and war by all means.

JONATHAN WALKER.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

The ransom of Douglass has drawn out Lindley Coates, with a host of others, in opposition to the course the Editor of the Liberator has taken in this case. But I think the Editor is right, and Lindley Coates and others wrong. The Editor, if I am not mistaken, has never reasoned in this way before, on the subject of compensation; and I presume never would, if circumstances had not compelled him. He was set in a narrow place. His dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass, was in slavery; and compensation was the only means that could release him. He then could reason correctly; he could then make himself believe that it was right to buy a slave.—But he has to remember the act with the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, in his face, or there is no meaning in words. The error that makes the difficulty is in the Declaration of Sentiments, and not in the reasoning of the Editor to justify the purchase of Douglass. The only objection I see is in the amount. I think it is seven times more than he could have been bought for, if an agency had been employed in Wilmington or Baltimore; but it is an evidence of high-toned generosity in those who paid the money, or who justify the act, which I feel it right to sustain and support.

Lindley Coates reasons very logically; and if his position is admitted, that it is wrong to buy a slave at all, there can be no doubt but his conclusions are correct. But I deny the position. The right or wrong of buying a slave depends upon circumstances; and a case might occur, in which it would be wrong not to buy a slave. There is, in his position, no discretionary power for necessity; and every body knows that necessity has no law, for that its mandates are superior to all law.

If Lindley Coates's wife or child was in the grasp of an unprincipled villain of despotic power, and there was nothing but silver or gold would soften his heart, does anti-slavery body believe, he would hesitate a moment of time under such circumstances would convert him into a slave-buyer?

The erroneous doctrine which supposes we know how to act in such cases, independent of circumstances, is the cause of all the inconsistency and controversy, respecting the propriety of buying a slave. It is a doctrine founded on a false theory. Man is a finite being, of limited powers; and if he cannot do all he would, he ought to do all that he can.

This opinion is not founded on the belief, that there is no stability or permanency in the great principles of right. It assumes that no man can say, whether an act is right or wrong, by an abstract view. The circumstances of the case must be placed before his mind, or he can never chose the right. What is right to-day, will be right to-morrow, under similar circumstances, and so in all future time. But the right and wrong of human actions depend on circumstances. A man in good health and spirits to-day, would be right in eating, drinking, and enjoying life; but to-morrow he may be sick, and then eating and drinking would produce pain; in the place of enjoyment, and, of course, would be wrong.

When there is no necessity, it is wrong to take the goods of another without consent; but, in a town of want of food and raiment, it might be wrong not to do it.

To buy a slave, in order to increase your own enjoyment, is wrong; but to buy him, in order to increase his enjoyment, is right in the abstract. This is the true criterion to judge of right and wrong, good and evil. All abstract notions of right and wrong serve only to distract the human understanding, and create disputes, as we see in the present case. What is it, but vague and indistinct ideas of the principles of right, that could make such men as Lindley Coates and the Editor of the Liberator misunderstand each other in so plain a case?

If a system of ethics, or a constitution of obligations, is so loosely framed as to throw men of the best talents and purest motives into confusion, what must it do with minds of a lower order, with similar motives and ungovernable passions?

Old organization abolitionists show to the world a rare specimen of the best men, with the highest attainments, possessing the most impracticable notions of morals and politics, with a religion as pure as that of any other sect, but so overburdened with puritanical zeal, that it destroys much of the good fruits of expanded and liberal views.

It is to be hoped that the present dispute about the right or wrong of buying a slave, will advance the cause of pure religion and human governments, and, above all, in charity for those who differ with them on those important subjects. For it cannot be supposed, that principles so unintelligible to the mass of mankind, that upon the least jar are liable to bring such men as Lindley Coates and the Editor of the Liberator, are the best calculated to advance the cause of emancipation, and to increase the sum of human happiness in the world, by cementing all hearts and all hands in the bonds of universal brotherhood.

The rule to judge of right and wrong, in human actions, appears to me to be, 'do unto I believe it is,' 'that a way-faring man, though a fool, shall not err therein.' It should appeal to the feelings and senses, and not to the imagination. I do not object to the spiritual-minded man indulging in all the reveries of spiritual imaginations, but let all this be a private affair between him and his Maker. To his fellow-man, let him speak in the language of his senses. It can be of no use to urge the abstract principles of right and wrong as a rule for human actions. There is perhaps, no better way than to judge a man, who is willing to suffer that others may enjoy, to be a good man; and he who is willing that others should suffer for his enjoyment, to be a bad man.

All mankind agree about things that are obvious to themselves; and when agreement is important, individuals should not obstruse and metaphysical reasoning should be avoided. I am willing to award great merit to the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, and the purest and best motives to its framers, I am constrained to say, that its want of clearness has been the cause of many refusing to place themselves under the restrictions that may be justly inferred from its language. I will terminate my article by quoting a sentiment from some strictures made upon it many years ago:—'That the slave has a right to immediate and unconditional emancipation, there can be no doubt; but the right of compensation, either to the slave or his master, must depend upon circumstances, and is consequently conditional.'

B. WEBB.

Wilmington, Delaware, 24 mo. 26th, 1847.

☞ As to the insinuation contained in the above ornamental letter, that we have abandoned the doctrine of compensation, as laid down in the Declaration of Sentiments, because we found ourselves 'in a narrow place' concerning our dear friend, the noble-spirited Douglass, we have only to say that it is utterly false. Our views on this point are precisely the same as they were in 1833.—*Ed. Lib.*

THE CASE OF DOUGLASS.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I say read, with much interest, the arguments, pro and con, respecting the purchasing of Frederick Douglass. When I first heard of the transaction, I was truly rejoiced that so useful an instrument in the anti-slavery cause was released from the liability of being again reduced to slavery. Some have said that he was already free. But was there a place in these United States, where he could have protected him from the claims of his master? True, it might be said, he was north of Mason and Dixon's line. But, was he less legally a slave on that account? H. C. Wright, in his letter to F. Douglass, gives us a specimen of the arguments Lindley Coates reasons very plausibly, and discourses about its being wrong to compensate the slaveholder. Let these worthy friends put put themselves in the slave's stead; let them be subject, to the caprice of Thomas Auld, or toiling in hopeless bondage in the rice swamps of Georgia; let them know that either of them would object to being released by the ransom of some kind friend? Would they, under such circumstances, reason about the abstract propriety of paying for their freedom? If the slaveholder or the highwayman wrongfully take my liberty or purse, let him look to it. I think it right to redeem myself or my brother—to restore ourselves to ourselves, or to our families.

L. Coates says, if attacked by a highwayman, much good might be done by expostulating with him on the wickedness of his conduct. That might be so; but there is some difference in the relative positions of the man-stealer and the money-stealer. The first may have his conscience quieted by the customs with which he is surrounded. He finds himself supported by Church and State; he is allowed by many to be a good Christian. The latter is an outcast from society, and is a subject for the gallows or state prison.

One of these self-emancipated slaves has informed us, that he once expostulated with his master, and said, 'Have I not served you these nine years, master Clay?' The answer was, 'You impudent fellow! did I not buy you when you was a boy?' He followed this injunction to the *overseer*:—'That fellow must be brought to a sense of his situation'—a most severe flogging was then given to him. And such, I suppose, would usually be the result, if a slave should attempt to expostulate with his master.

An ordinary runaway slave might come to the North, and be comparatively safe from being returned to slavery, by his obscurity. Not so with Frederick Douglass. Thou said truly—his case is *sui generis*.

H.

Worcester, 2d mo. 23, 1847.

ANTI-SLAVERY LABOR.

FRANKLIN CITY, Feb. 17, 1847.

DEAR SIR:—

Inclosed, you will find the Dissolution petition, for publication in the Liberator, and publishing signatures. I have done what I could to that end, and you will perceive by the number of names affixed, is not much. The cause of anti-slavery in this vicinity is yet in its infancy. Lamentable ignorance pervades the minds of the people, with regard to their individual, state and national relations to the 'peculiar institution.' The measure proposed in the petition being of so new and startling a character—being emphatically a *do something* measure, not an *all talk and no work done*—it is not a matter of surprise to me that I have found so few ready to bear the reproach of being known to be in favor of this revolutionary movement. Before I could obtain signatures to the petition, I knew of but one individual in the whole town that would affix his name to it. I have obtained some half dozen voters, and about as many women and non-voters. But the interest of this measure does not end here. It has caused discussions without number, in this town; and discussion is what the truth, especially anti-slavery truth, most needs, and always invites. Although this measure is too radical altogether for people here to swallow, yet the discussion it has elicited and the attention it has turned to the subject, will be productive of good.

Do with this petition as you see fit. If worthy of presentation with others to the Legislature, let it be presented; but if the number of signatures is so small as to render it entirely insignificant, let it be cast aside, though much time and much exertion has been used to obtain these few, *here*, as there has in other places where you can count by scores instead of units, because of their having less rocky and barren soil on which to labor.

Respectfully yours,

J. T. CARTER.

☞ We wish there were many more such working abolitionists in this Commonwealth as the writer of the above letter appears to be.—*Ed. Lib.*

INTREPID ACTION AND NARROW ESCAPE.

Our amiable and worthy friend, LORENZO MOORY, whose residence is in East Boston, performed a very gallant act on Monday afternoon last, at the imminent peril of his life, and much to his bodily injury and must for some time be confined to his house, in consequence. The following handsome editorial notice of this act appears in the Morning Post of Wednesday, and we believe accurately gives the particulars:—

A NOBLE NON-RESISTANT. On Monday afternoon, two horses, attached to a sleigh, upon runners without a driver, came dashing along at the top of their speed up the ferry wharf from the Eastern railroad depot, causing the greatest alarm to the many whom were several military gentlemen, to get shelter in stores and doors to avoid being run over. Several children were playing at the head of the wharf, who seemed in imminent peril of being trampled under foot, when a man started from among those who were looking for a place of safety, and placed himself in the road immediately before the horses, with the intention of arresting their progress. On they came at full speed, and seeing the present danger the man had, who had thus thrown himself before them, especially as the road was covered with ice, which rendered his footing uncertain, they picked up the stout his ground nobly, and as the horses dashed upon him, seized one of them by the bridle with such effect that he tripped and fell upon the ice, but the man was also thrown down by the sheek, and the other horse continued plunging with such force that he drew the sleigh over the prostrate body upon the shaft, leaving the carriage still upright on the runners. At this danger over, the crowd came to the rescue, and secured the horses, and picked up the man, who was lying on the ground almost insensible, with his body much bruised and his clothes torn. In the carriage was a lady, who was thrown into fainting fear, but had sustained no bodily injury. The individual who had thus exposed his life, and thereby had unquestionably saved several children from serious injury, not to speak of the passenger in the coach, was Mr. Lorenzo Moody, a resident of East Boston, a well-known non-resistant. He was taken to the Eastern Exchange Hotel, where medical aid was procured, and he was then carried home in a carriage, and is now confined to his bed. Though a strong non-resistant, this act evinces a nobleness of nature that cannot but be admired by many, who others was at stake. We regret to state that Mr. Moody is not overburdened with the good things of this life, and that his family are dependent on his labors, he can ill afford the loss of time which his generous daring has entailed upon him.

Our readers will be glad to know the sequel of this touching story. Their friends are aware, that Mr. Moody's devotion to our cause has left him wholly dependant on his own exertions for support. His dress was entirely destroyed. The lady in the coach was the daughter of Col. Pierce, of Portsmouth, N. H., reputed to be a very wealthy man. Although close to the spot, he never took the trouble to come near Mr. Moody during the scene; but, a day or two after, waited on him at his house, thanked him for the bold feat, which, he said, had saved his daughter's life, and presented him a folded bill—which, we understand, proved to be two dollars! The young lady will hardly feel flattered to learn at what price her life was valued by her father. We really hope, for his own credit, as well as to evince his approbation of so laudable act, that the person would at any time have the courage to perform, that Col. Pierce will yet take Mr. Moody's case into consideration—his destitution, the situation of his family, his bodily bruises and sufferings, his narrow escape from instant death, while saving the life of Col. Pierce's daughter, and the loss of time of limbs of others, his confinement to his bed, and the expense of his illness—and make such a donation as so remarkable a case demands. Surely, he cannot have been aware of Mr. Moody's real situation.

☞ There are doubtless many generous-minded persons, who, on reading this account, and learning the true situation of Mr. Moody, will feel a desire to convey to him some token of their sympathy, and appreciation of his benevolent intrepidity. Any thing left for him at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, or addressed to him at that place, will be immediately put into his hands. Of course, he has no knowledge of any such intimation on our part; but a case like this presents itself not in the light of a favor or gratuity on the part of contributors, but as a debt of generous self-sacrifice which ought at once to be cancelled, with interest.

☞ We hope as many of the friends of Non-Resistance in Massachusetts, as are able to do so, will attend the following meeting, which we are confident will be a highly interesting one.

NON-RESISTANCE MEETING.

A Quarterly Meeting of New England Non-Resistance Society will be holden at Mechanics' Hall, Providence, R. I., on the 10th day of March, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. The friends of the cause, and all who desire to understand the principles of Christian Non-Resistance, are affectionately invited to attend. ADIN BALLOU.

LECTURES IN LEOMINSTER.

William Lloyd Garrison will lecture in the Town Hall in Leominster, on Sunday next, March 7th,—forenoon, afternoon and evening, at the usual hours, —on Slavery, and kindred topics of Reform.

CAPTURE OF C. M. CLAY AND OTHERS.

MOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE, February 3, 1847.

The fate of Col. May's rear guard and baggage train have already been published in England and reached this place, too painfully true and well authenticated, which proves that the enemy have pressed on us in earnest, and that their hatred is mortal.

On the 19th January, I met Lieut. Ritchie, of the 4th Infantry, then on the road to the 2d Dragoons, on his way from Saltillo, with ten dragoons, as Victoria, bearing important despatches to Gen. Taylor, from Gen. Scott and Santa Anna, and these despatches contained the whole plan of the operations in which we are about to engage. While on the road between Monterey and Victoria, at a place called place I cannot learn, the party was attacked, young Ritchie was lassooed and dragged across a cornfield, and the despatches carried off. The 2d Dragoons were taken prisoners. Lieut. Ritchie was one of the most distinguished and excellent young officers in the army. His conduct at Palo Alto and Resaca won the admiration of the army, and he was much esteemed for his talents and the excellence of his private worth.

A few days ago, an officer of the 2d Ohio Regiment, Lt. Miller is believed to be his name, was murdered at Victoria, and I understand, that the heart was cut out and hung upon a shrub, to show us, I suppose, how deeply seated was their hatred towards us.

The following letter reached General Worth last evening. Of course, there is no doubt about its correctness. It is from Capt. Scott, of the 2d Dragoons:

SALTILLO, Jan. 25, 1847.

I have only time to write a word. Major Borland, of the Arkansas cavalry, with 50 men, and Major Gaines and Cassius M. Clay, with 30 men, were surprised at Encarnacion, on Monday night, 45 miles beyond Saltillo) on the morning of the 23d, Gen. Minon, who he heard that Borland was there, and marched from Matamoras with 2000 cavalry, and took them without firing a gun. This is no *stampede*.

Yours, truly, W. W. CHAPMAN.

The ships Statesman, Prentice and Catharine were off the Balize, on the 16th of Feb. with 1500 fresh troops. The 2nd Regiment Mississippi Volunteers on board the Statesman were suffering terribly by sickness—they were sick and numbers daily.

Tampico dates of the 5th have been received at New Orleans, with intelligence of the loss of the Alvo Ondiaks, about thirty miles south of Tampico, having on board the Mississippi under Col. De-Russy. The troops and crew got safely on shore, and have since arrived at Tampico, except the Captain of the ship. It is not known that he left the ship at all.

Feb. 7. Lieut. Gibson, of the 2d Artillery, died last night, of fever. He had been sick but a few days.

Life in Washington.—A correspondent of the New York True Sun writes:—

Fifteen hundred young men are in Washington, soliciting commissions. The hotels are full and boarding rooms crowded: Nothing is talked of but nominations and appointments. All kinds of characters are attending and pressing their claims, especially young men of high qualifications; but the greater number are destitute of decent coats, money and manners. Hundreds are inevitably doomed to disappointment.

Asiatic Cholera.—The last accounts from our missionaries in India give the most painful intelligence of the ravages of the Cholera in Bombay. In the city of Tabreez alone, 6000 persons had died in the course of six months; 500 sometimes had perished in the course of a day. Ibid.

Freights.—The N. O. Bulletin estimates that the advance of a half a penny per pound freight on cotton, would make a difference on the entire crop, of $1,000,000 in favor of the ship owners. The rise in freight on corn meal and flour is a per centage than that on cotton.

U. S. Senator from Kentucky. The Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, Whig, was on the 12th ultimo, on the 12th balloting, elected to the Senate of the U. States for six years from the 4th of March instant. He succeeds Morehead, of the same politics.

Appropriations for the War.—The Army Appropriation Bill, as it finally passed the House of Representatives last week, appropriates $4,205,064 dollars for pay, subsistence, and clothing of the regular and volunteers, expenses of recruiting, transportation of troops, and of transports, &c. &c. Also appropriates $7,392,537 to supply deficiencies in appropriations before made.

Mortality on Shipboard. The ship Venice, from Liverpool for New Orleans, on Monday evening, had on board 170 steerage passengers, twenty-one, whom died at sea. Many of the survivors are represented as being in a deplorable condition.

Church Burnt.—The beautiful Congregational Church in Brimfield, was destroyed by fire on Sunday forenoon last.

Death in a Cab.—A young child died of the croup in a cab, on Monday, while being conveyed in a cab from the Lowell Railroad Depot, to attend the Worcester Rail Road Depot, a few days since.

Melancholy Suicide.—Capt. Samuel P. Bayley, a native of Newburyport, and South Boston, was found dead in his barn about noon, on Sunday.

Fast Day.—The Governor has appointed Thursday, the 8th day of April next, to be observed as a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer.

Grain-loaded Vessels. The New York Commercial Advertiser gives a list of forty-one vessels loaded with grain, which have been lost at sea, or compelled to throw part of their cargoes overboard to save vessel and cargo, between the 26th of October and the first of February. The main causes of these disasters have been severe weather and storms.

Famine in Germany.—Accounts from Prussia are almost as distressing as those from Ireland. In the manufacturing districts, the destitution is alarming. According to official reports, several thousand families are in danger of starvation before the spring.

National Ship for Ireland.—Forty-six petitions to Congress, by a respectable number of citizens of New York, were sent to Washington on Saturday evening, asking a national ship to carry donations to the famishing poor in Ireland.

Indian Corn, for which more than two dollars per bushel is paid in England, can be bought, or could have been lately, in Illinois, for *nine cents!*

RELIEF FOR IRELAND.

$500 were raised among the passengers of the Cambria, for the benefit of Ireland.

Concord has given $400 for Ireland's relief, in money, and about $100 worth of provisions. She has done honor to herself nobly, and we wish we could say as much of all the towns in the State.

The Catholic Society of Worcester have paid in $300, and promise to make up $1000 for Ireland.

Between three and four hundred dollars has been raised in Cabotville, for the relief of the poor in Ireland.

The Pope has given a thousand crowns towards the relief of the suffering British. He wears three crowns himself.

General Tom Thumb was one of the passengers by the Cambria. He has given, in all, about $500 for the relief of the Irish.

Wellington Farnum, Esq. of Blackstone, in Worcester county, has given $1000 for the relief of the Irish. A noble-hearted man.

An unknown lady has presented $1000 to the N. Irish Relief Committee.

Providence, R. I. has contributed $6000 for the assistance of the Irish.

Buffalo and Syracuse have raised $1700 for Ireland—the former $1100, and the latter $600.

The subscription in the Town Armory, at Springfield, have subscribed $400 for Ireland.

Bishop Fitzpatrick, in the Catholic Cathedral, in Franklin Street, Sunday, stated that the amount collected in the Catholic Churches of Boston, last Sunday for the relief of Ireland, exceeded some what sixteen thousand dollars.

The Boston Relief Committee sent two hundred barrels of flour and meal to Ireland, in the Cambria; $145,000, mostly in small sums, being the private subscriptions of individuals for the relief of their friends in the old country, sent through Handel & Co.; Ballard Vale, which contains 600 inhabitants, $200; Cabotville, $300; Chicopee, $300; Schenectady, N. Y., $1000.

DONATIONS FOR THE STARVING PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Amount acknowledged in last Liberator,	$620 00
Charles F. Hovey, Lynn, 25c; Leach & Co. 25c,	50
Wm. H. Channing 5, Samuel Hall, Jr. 5, John Rogers 6, Geo. M. Rogers 3, Boston,	42 00
W. B. Dana 5, G. W. Wood, Lincoln Centre, Me. 1,	6 00
Friends in Holliston, by Hiram A. Morse,	28 00
Mrs. Sophia Bradford, Cambridge,	5 00
F. and C. M. Field, Lowell, Mass.	2 00
Dr. Fifield and wife, Weymouth,	5 00
Susan C. Cabot, Cambridge,	3 00
Martin W. Bateman, 3, Charles Dwelly 50c. Benj. Josselyn 50c, George Macomber 25c, Mary Manning 2, Isabella Brisenham 2, Hannah Spencer 25c, Mary Ann Cushing, Cohoes, Mass.	4.85
Rev. Edwin Thompson, Dedham,	2 00
Thomas Bigwood, Manchester, Mass.,	2 00
Peter F. Spencer, Springfield, Vt.	2 00
Wm. H. & Almira B. Humphrey, Millbury, Ms.	5 00
James Soule 1 50, James L. Cortheil 1, Rufus Davy 1, Caleb Davy 1, Asa Cook, Jr. 25c, Allen Healy 25c, S. Vining 25c, Wm. Bonney, Jr. 25c, E. A. Robert 25c; Jacob Hersey 25c, Rev. Jos. M. Bates 25c, G. G. Dyer 25c, S. R. Smith 25c, A. F. 13c, B. Curtis 50c, A. Keen 25c, A. Alden 25c, L. Thompson 40c, Rev. D. Bowers, Warren Cortheil 1, Jno. Noyes, Jr. 50c; John Corthell 50c; E. Sharp 25c; Cyrus Gurney 25c; Samuel Dyer 1; Columbus Dyer 50c; Jos. Gurney 50c, Horace Reed 25c, W. L. Reed 50c, E. Bourne 25c, Oakes Reed 25c, T. Bourne 25c, John R. Reed 25c, Alfred Brown 50c; five friends 1 35, Mary Ramsdell 25c, Lydia Brown 25c, Asaph Whitmarsh 25c, Rufus Reed 25c, Sarah Whitmarsh 25, Mercy Ford 50, D. Cook 6, T. J. Cook 23, J. M. Pool 30, L. L. Pool 20, Jacob Pool 30, O. G. Bailey 25, Nathaniel Bailey 25, Sam'l Norton 25, S. Corthell 35c, Davis Gurney 50c, Wm F. Corthell 1, A. Holmes 50c, Nath'l Reed 50c, Isaac Reed 1—South Abington	26 00
Abington Sabbath School, Newburyport,	7 50
Amos Sargent, Danvers, 25; a friend, by letter, 12,	37 00
James Eddy, New York city, 30, in addition to $2 given before,	20 00
Wm. A. White, Watertown, 10, Horatio G. Wood, Middleboro', 3,	13 00
W. A. Gammon, Lynn, 27.50, John Cummings 5, North Dartmouth, Mass.	32 50
Stephen Potter 1, Patrick Potter 1, John W. Cook 1, Mary Ann Cook 1, Sarah Parkman 1, Walter Trumbull 1, D. W. Marfield 50c, W. Howland 1, ditto,	7 50
H. Sanborn, Sanborton, N. H. 1; Edward Ohleman, Milton, 8,	9 00
Parker Pillsbury and Sarah H. Pillsbury, Milford, N. H.	5 00
F. H. Drake, Leominster, 1 75; James N. Buffum, Lynn, 10,	11 75
Judson J. Hutchison 50, John { Hutchinson 50, Ass Hutchinson 50, Ass Hutchinson 50, Joseph Hutchinson 50, } for Ashby, Mass.	200 00
John Burbank, Ashby, Mass.	5 00
Gilchrist & Peabody, two poor shoemakers, McIndoes Falls, Vt.	3 00
	$1313 25

By the steamer Cambria, which sailed on the 1st instant, I sent two bills of exchange on London to Richard D. Webb, Richard Allen and James Haughton of Dublin, for the benefit of the starving People of Ireland, amounting to £200 (one hundred pounds) at 4.85 each, as per bill of exchange, $972 15—Total, 1314 15

Errors Excepted,

FRANCIS JACKSON.

Boston, March 4, 1847.

Extracts from some of the letters enclosing donations.

'I am a poor widow, with six young children, who are dependant on my efforts for their support; but I have a mite to spare, and I feel it my duty, in a time of such dreadful calamity.'—(From N. H.)

'May we lay aside all prejudice, be united in this labor of love, and make a mighty effort to save life.' (Co. of Plymouth.)

'Wife and I have been kept low indeed, for the slave's sake; but we never were reduced to the condition of starving Ireland.'—(From N. H.)

'My four little children, after hearing the account of the suffering Irish in the last Liberator, at their own request, send four half dimes. I feel bad, express my own feelings in the language of my little son, who was hardly able to speak, viz. say, 'Dear mother, send all my suppers to those poor Irish children, and I will go without, and be glad to, so they shall not be hungry.' (Co. of Plymouth.)

'O! how heart-rending are the accounts from Ireland! May America do her duty!'—(Co. of

POETRY.

From Burritt's Christian Citizen.

FAME.

My father says to me one day, 'I have enough to
Throw, or, rather the ministers' formal nothings, and
The younger ones to clothe and feed, without the
care of you, boy;
So here's a dollar for your purse; your head's not
over hollow!
See, yonder is the road to wealth, which you may
traverse by follow.'
The road to wealth lay duly East, and brought me to
a city,
In which I thought to stay awhile, and labor, more's
the pity;
For there, while strolling down the street, I met a
drum and fife, sir;
It was the finest tune they played, I'd heard in all
my life, sirs.

A sergeant came to me and said, 'You are a sturdy
youth, sir;
And such a brave and martial air, I never saw, in
truth, sir;
Now if you wish a merry life, and lots of fame and
glory,
Just sign this paper, and, my friend, the way is
straight before ye.'
I signed the paper; they began to drill me and to
train me,
And with a crowd of other fools, I marched to join
the army;
They dressed me in a uniform of red and blue and
white, sirs;
We were all day in heat and dust—slept on the
ground at night, sirs.
At length we met a host of men, who seemed much
such as we, sirs?
Folks said it was the 'enemy,' thinks I, 'What can
that be, sirs.
They drew us up upon level land, according to a plan,
sirs;
The enemy began to point their guns at every man,
sirs.
'Hallo!' cried I, 'don't fire this way, this field is full
of people!'
But fire they did, and smoke rose up high as a village
steeple!'
The bullets whistled past our ears, the small arms
made a rattle,
A cannon ball took off my leg, and left me here on
battle.
The infantry ran over me; behind, a pack of horsemen,
Who rolled me as they'd roll a log; I thought my
self a lost man;
But when enough of fame was made, they stopped
the agitation,
And sent me to the hospital, to suffer amputation.
Now, friend, if e'er the road to wealth lies straight
and free before ye,
Keep safe your legs to travel there, and shun the
way to glory;
This glory is a famous word for those who love to
tattle,
But quite another thing for those who're shot at in
a battle.

From Worcester Evening Budget.

WAR.

All those who have the power to kill,
Without a heart to fear,
Can bid adieu to home and friends,
And volunteer!

All those who love the wildest strokes
And dying groans to hear,
Can satisfy their fiendish thirst,
And volunteer!

All those who wish to die in youth,
With none but strangers near,
Can sever every kindred tie,
And volunteer!

Worcester, Feb. 8, 1847. HANNAH.

THE POOR MAN'S SUNDAY WALK.

BY CHARLES SWEAT.

The morning of our rest has come,
The sun is shining clear;
I rise on the steeple top;
Put on your shawl, my dear,
And let us leave the smoky town,
The dense and stagnant lane,
And take our children by the hand,
To see the fields again.

To see the fields again!
I've pined for air the live-long week;
For the smell of new-mown hay!
For a pleasant, quiet country walk,
On a sunny Sabbath day.

Our parish church is cold and damp;
I need the air and sun;
We'll sit together on the grass,
And see the children run.
We'll watch them gathering buttercups,
Or cowslips in the dell,
Or listen to the cheerful sounds
Of the far-off village bell;
And thank our God with grateful hearts,
Though in the fields we pray;
And bless the healthful breezes
On a sunny Sabbath day.

I'm weary of the stifling room,
Where all the week we're pent;
Of the alley filled with wretched life,
And odors pestilent.
And long once more to see the fields,
And the grazing sheep and beeves;
To hear the lark amid the clouds,
And the wind among the leaves;
And all the sounds that glad the air
On green hills far away;—
The sounds that breathe of Peace and Love,
On a sunny Sabbath day.

For somehow, though they call it wrong,
In church I cannot kneel
With half the natural thankfulness
And piety I feel.
When out on such a day as this,
I lie upon the sod,
And think that every leaf and flower
Is grateful to its God?
That I who feel the blessing more,
Should thank him more than they,
That I can elevate my soul
On a sunny Sabbath day.

Put on your shawl, and let us go;
For one day let us shine
Of something else than daily care,
Of toil, and meat, and drink:
For one day let our children sport,
And feel their limbs their own;
For one day let us quite forget
The grief that we have known:
Let us forget that we are poor;
And basking in the ray,
Thank God that we can still enjoy
A sunny Sabbath day.

THE RECONCILIATION.

O, in a world all reconciled to God,
Nor din of arms, nor garments rolled in blood,
Shall shock the peaceful soul. The oppressor's rod
Shall be lay down; and where shattered he stood,
Loved shall he stand; for in fraternal mood
Shall he embrace the brother he oppressed,
Each find his joy in doing others good—
Man reckon him the greatest who is best,
And God be glorified when all on earth are blest.

REFORMATORY.

FAMINE IN IRELAND—WAR AND PEACE.

LONDON, January 20, 1847.

To the Editor of the Liberator:—

Yesterday, we had the Queen's speech from the throne, or, rather the ministers' formal nothings, and slightest possible indication of the prominent political or social exigencies of the day; it being customary to avoid, if possible, saying anything in the Queen's order an amendment upon the humble, dutiful and loyal address' to the throne, which it is usual to pass on these occasions,—being a formal echo back to the executive, of their intention to do as they are requested. I send you the speech. You will see, it draws attention to the starvation in Ireland, caused by the potato blight; which, mighty as we know the fact is, that Ireland had been so governed by her legislators and landlords,—who are, to a great extent, the same persons,—that her people had long been reduced to that cheap production, which Cobbett, (I) looking to the use which our land-owners were making of it as a minister food root, called the soul-degrading root. It is pigs' food, when used as the main sustenance of the people! The people of Ireland raise provisions of all kinds in abundance, and of the best sort, and the practical result of the system under which they exist, stands thus—that those who raise the abundance, are compelled to raise it for their landlords—for tax-eaters—for a standing army and a permanent navy, used to keep the producers quiet, and supply the rent for the landords and the commissions, and places and good quarters for younger branches of these legislators and landlords, and the tithes for the State priests, appointed by these same landlords.

Thereupon arises a talk; and a repeal forone year of the 4s. duty, still imposed upon the importation of corn, is proposed, and the consequences of these antiquitous laws now being palpable, all parties begin to discover them.

The Whigs, the present party in power, talk of repealing for one year this 4s. Sir Robert Peel tells them—' You know you supported the continuance of this 4s. to stop the mouths of the Protectionists' that is, the landlords who had refused to support Peel in repealing the Corn Laws,—and Lord George Bentinck and others, who now lead that section of the late Tory party, speak of the 4s. duty as a matter they no longer care about, and did not want. That is, they see they can no longer keep it, and affect to say the grapes are sour.

The marriage of the Infanta of Spain and the Duke of Montpensier, and the extinction of the free State of Cracow, are spoken of as a violation of the treaty of Vienna. It is stated, nevertheless, that the Queen—that is to say, the Ministers—have the fullest confidence in the maintenance of peace. As friends of peace, you and your friends will be glad of this. As to the marriage of the French boy and the Spanish girl, I had not any expectation that that would lead to a war. Dynastic wars are going out of fashion. Princes and their family politics are no longer of the same importance in men's minds, that they once were.

You know the saying, 'War is a game,' that if subjects were wise, kings would not be allowed to play at.

This is an instance, showing that the people at least are getting wiser than their were. As to Cracow, who but must regret the fate of this lately called free city? You will observe we have protested against the conduct of Russia, but we have little ground for doing so, after consenting, by the treaty of Vienna, to give the Duchy of Warsaw to the Russian empire, with authority to do with the people as the Czar pleased.

The first article of that treaty stipulates as follows—and pray pay attention to the italics:

ARTICLE 1. 'The Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which shall otherwise dispose of by the following Articles, is united to the Russian Empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by the fundamental act, to be possessed by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves the power to give to this State, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvement which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions. The Poles who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a REPRESENTATION AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, regulated according to the degree of political consideration, *that each of the Governments to which they belong, shall judge expedient and proper to grant them.*'

'This Polish, to quote the words of the most powerful advocate of the Polish cause, the late Mr. CUTLAR FERGUSSON, 'was to be bound to Russia, not by hereditary descent, not by conquest, not by right of any description on the part of Russia, but by its constitution secured to it by treaty. By the same article, the other Polish Provinces were to receive a representation and national institutions; thus stipulating, for the security of Europe, that the Duchy of Warsaw should form an independent kingdom under the Emperor of Russia, but protected and guarded by its constitution, and strengthened by a great number of nationality secured to the other Polish provinces, to whom a representation and national institutions were to be given.'

I have taken this extract from an address of the Literary Association of the friends of Poland to the people of Ireland, drawn up by Lord Dudley Stuart.

Now, what can we, as parties who consented to place different parts of Poland under Russia, Austria and Prussia, with a declaration that they should obtain only such a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration in the power to which they were assigned should judge expedient and proper to grant them—what could England, I ask, say against their seizing Cracow? England had sacrificed all the rest by contract, and said, do with them as you like.

Suppose that any power or party in your country should say to the slaveholders of the United States, when disposing of a conquered country—Mexico, for instance—that you shall give the people such a representation, and such domestic institutions, as you shall judge expedient and proper;—would you be surprised, and would you be entitled to complain, if they took yonder slice of the same country, without your leave, and did again the same thing—that is, make slaves of the people?

No, no—we must wait another twenty-five years of peace, and rail-roads and intercourse, that will do more to instruct, elevate and harmonize the people, and improve their princes and nobles, than any armed intervention can accomplish.

EDWARD SEARCH.

(1) The following is the remarkable prophecy of Cobbett, respecting Ireland and the mortality of the Potato, made in 1826, as communicated in the following letter to the editor of the London Economist, in December last, by a correspondent.—*Ed. Lib.*

'LEAMINGTON

MY DEAR SIR:

Last evening, I met at dinner, a Roman Catholic priest, a Dr. Smith from Connemara County, Galway, who related the following conversation he had with that extraordinary man, Cobbett, in 1826. While speaking of Ireland, Cobbett said, that the dirty weed, alluding to the potato, would be the CURSE of Ireland. 'How so?' replied Dr. Smith 'what must the people do without it? They live upon it. They have had it in cultivation 180 years.' Cobbett answered, 'they must go back to the same food they were accustomed to live upon previously to the general cultivation of the dirty weed; and that is to grain, as wheat, oats, rye, &c. You have four millions of souls in Ireland, and eight millions of uncultivated ground. This ground must be drained, and be brought into cultivation, and you must again grow wheat, oats, rye, &c. The potato will not last more than 30 years, when it will work itself out, and then you will see to what a state Ireland will be reduced. You MUST return to grain crops: and Ireland, instead of being the most degraded, will become one of the finest countries in the world. You may live to see my words prove true, but I never shall.'

Dr. Smith read a note of the above in 1826, and the same opinion and prophecy concerning the potato, occurs in one of Cobbett's books, Cottage Economy or Cottage Comforts, I forget which.

(2) A correspondent of the New-York Journal of Commerce says:—

Cobbett's prediction as to the state to which the Irish nation would be reduced when the potato crop failed, called to my mind what he had said in his little work on the advantages of bread and potatoes as food. After giving particular directions for making bread, he says:—

'And what is there worthy of the name of plague or trouble in all this? Here is no dirt, no filth, no rubbish, no litter, no slop. And pray what can be pleasanter to behold? Talk, indeed, of your pantomimes and gaudy shows, your processions and installations and coronations! Give me, for a beautiful sight, a neat and smart woman, heating her oven and setting in her bread; and if the hustle do put her in a little heat, give glisten on her brow, where is the man that would not kiss that off, rather than lick the plaster from the cheek of a duchess? And lo! is the result? Why, a good wholesome food, sufficient for a considerable family for a week, prepared in three or four hours. To get this quantity of food fit to be eaten, in the shape of potatoes, how many days, what a washing, what a boiling, what a peeling, what a slopping, and what a messing! The cottage everlastingly in a litter; the woman's hands never out of hot water; and dirty, the children grimmed up to their eyes with dust fired on by the potatoes' starch, and ragged as colts, the poor mother's time all being devoted to the business of boiling of the pot. Can any man who knows any thing of the laborer's life deny this? And will then, any body, except the old shuffle brewed in the Land of the Quakers, believe that they have all their lives been moving from garret to garret, who have seldom seen the sun, and never the dew, except in their hats; will, any body, except these men, say that the people ought to be taught the use of potatoes as a substitute for bread?

Cobbett advocates the use of home-made bread. He says:—

'I have never quite liked baker's bread, since I saw a great heavy fellow, in a bake-house in France, kneading bread with his naked feet! He feet looked very white, to be sure; whether they were of cotton or linen, I did not ask for fear the trough, I could not tell. God forbid that I should suspect that this is ever done in England! It is labor; but what is exercise worth? Labor is health. Let a young woman bake a bushel once a week, and she will do very well without vials and gallipots.'

☞ The following letter from George Combe, Esq. the celebrated phrenologist and philanthropist of Edinburgh, is in reply to one requesting the author's opinion of the proposed Fourierite association, as expounded by Fourier and others, or what the laboring mass of mankind can do for their own elevation. It will, of course, be read with much interest.

LETTER FROM GEORGE COMBE, ESQ.

EDINBURGH, 25th November, 1846.

MR. EDSON AVERY,

South Reading, Mass., U. S. A.:

Dear Sir,—Your letter dated in July, reached me only in October, and I thank you for it. I have read the translation of Fourier's work which accompanied it.

I agree in your view of Fourier's system, so far as I understand it, and regard it as impracticable in the present state of society. You ask, 'What else can the laboring population do for their own elevation and improvement, and the renovation of the iron hoof which is at present grindathem into the earth?' In answering this question, I submit two views to your consideration.

1st, Independent of any change suddenly the condition of the society in which they live. Even Peter the Great of Russia, and Joseph the III. of Austria, although sovereigns armed with despotic power, and men of great energy of character, could not succeed in reforming the administration of their own governments, and emancipating their own people. And the reason of their failure was, that the individuals who composed these nations were rude, ignorant, and superstitious, and preferred habits of life and modes of thought which were in harmony with their own low mental condition, to higher habits which would have been at variance with it. The only way in which such a great social improvement can be by degrees to infuse new principles into the mass, and to teach them to the children. It requires three generations at least, to operate an important change.

This, you will say, presents a poor prospect to individuals who, like yourself, perceive the imperfection of the present state of things, and suffer from it. I acknowledge that it does so, and wish it were otherwise; but the cause of the evils which you endure lies in the ignorance and intellectual condition of the *class* to which you belong. The great majority of them are still low in their moral and intellectual attainments, and prefer their present condition to the trouble and pain of preparing themselves for a higher. There is only one insurmountable obstacle, for example, to all the operatives in a manufacturing district, forming themselves into a joint-stock company, performing all the work themselves, and dividing the profits,—and this one obstacle is the inferiority of their moral and intellectual faculties, which would render them incapable of a rational, moral, and efficient co-operation. Were such a scheme tried, it would soon be found that intrusting a widow's business to management, for their own gratification, irrespective of their real capacity to direct the work with advantage to the interests of the widow, is not, in ordinary minds, men aiming at some extra advantage to themselves, jealous of others, and discontented; the indolent men, idle; the prodigals, reckless. This occurred at Orbiston, where Mr. Owen's system was tried; and would probably happen again at Lowell, if now tried. I state this as the only unsurmountable obstacle to the success of the proposed scheme; because I am convinced that if the operatives had only full confidence in each other's intelligence, honesty, talents, and good aim, there is capital enough among themselves to set up and manage such an establishment. The sums in the savings' banks belonging chiefly to the laboring classes, are lying idle, and prefer a low rate of interest from one of these banks, to a higher rate from a joint-stock association of their own people, except that they have not confidence in their honesty and business habits. Moreover, I am satisfied that only the same want of confidence stands in the way of ordinary capitalists lending money to such associations.

Is there, then, any remedy for these deficiencies in the working classes? There is none that I know of, except moral and intellectual instruction and moral training. Your Board of Education, with the Hon. Horace Mann at its head, is using the most effectual means that can be devised to promote the moral education and improvement of the people of Massachusetts. The working-classes scarcely see the benefits tendered to them in education in a sufficiently strong light.

For my own part, I can discover no cause why capital and its advantages are found so exclusively in the hands of the higher classes, except their superior intelligence, business talents and good faith. Wherever these qualities have been wanting in the lower classes, they have, just as it has we overwhelmed associations of the operatives. In this country, the benefit societies, for providing against sickness and death, too often fall into the hands of the operatives, while those in the middle classes, under the name of Life and Annuity offices, they accumulate enormous wealth. The causes of this difference are easily traced. The owner man's club is founded in a tavern; the landlord is often the treasurer; the rates adopted are not calculated on any accurate data in property, sickness, life and the whole scheme is too often managed by ambitious busy-bodies, whose vanity far exceeds their intelligence; and so the upshot is, that the life associations of the middle classes have no connection with the tavern; they are managed by men of the highest intelligence in that department, who can be found, and who are adequately paid in proportion to their skill; their rates are founded on data scientifically ascertained; the funds are scrupulously invested in good securities; and the managers conduct the whole concern in good faith for the benefit of all the members; and hence their success.

I may take another example. In some of your States, joint stock Banks were instituted in great numbers. In many instances, the cashiers and directors applied to them, to induce them to lend money to them, and the Banks failed. Want of *intelligence* and *honesty* was the cause of their ruin. On the other hand, Banks prospered. In Massachusetts, you had fewer Bank failures than in other States, and why? Solely because better and intellectual candidates were further advanced there among the class who make and manage Banks, than in the other States. In Scotland, only four or five joint stock Banks failed since 1800, and I give you credit for the history of every one of them. They were small provincial establishments, and the managers of them applied the principles of business, and had their reward. In short, all these Banks perished *through dishonesty.*

In the course of my experience during thirty years in the profession of the law, in connection chiefly with the middle class of society, I had abundant proofs that those who prospered were active, intelligent, and honest; and that those who failed were deficient in these qualities, or in one or other of them.

There is, therefore, in my view, no system, theory, or combination of circumstances that will confer on the operative classes, while they continue ill-educated, unskilled in the business habits, and deficient in intellectual and moral energy—and deficient in systematic honesty,—the advantages which the middle classes derive from a higher moral and intellectual cultivation. Apply, in the same way, the reasoning of yours to the tie in a higher education of the people. Place them on a level in point of moral and intellectual attainments with the higher classes, and the disparity in the fortunes of the two will be greatly lessened, or altogether disappear.

Secondly. While this change is in progress, the only remedy for the ill-paid and ill-used member of the lower class, is to endeavor to enter into the middle order. There is no unwillingness in the latter to receive and assist such persons, wherever they can find the necessary qualifications possessed. Among my friends and acquaintances there are, at least, half-a-dozen who, from the lowest rises from poverty to affluence and wealth, before my own eyes, by the sheer force of their talents and honesty.

What some operatives desire, is to enjoy the advantages of high qualities without taking the trouble to acquire them; but this is as much adverse to nature, as it would be to expect to reap a rich harvest without sowing and tilling in spring. Another error into which they are apt to fall, is to imagine that, if the entire profits of their labor were divided among them,—say among the operatives of a Lowell Mill, they would receive wealth, or at least, a competence, which they now receive above $100 each of extra gain, supposing the capital all their own; and this would not essentially change their condition.

You ask, whether I anticipate the realization of a higher state of society than that which now exists? I do! because the present condition of things does not satisfy man's highest faculties. You may wish to see the change, and to point out how it may be attained. Here, however, I become painfully conscious of the imperfection of my own knowledge, and of the feebleness of the voice of a Lowell Mill, that is, of a single individual to whom it belongs. This is obviously a mistake. It is probable that they would receive above $100 each of extra gain, supposing the capital all their own; and this would not essentially change their condition.

You ask, whether I anticipate the realization of a higher state of society than that which now exists? I do! because the present condition of things does not satisfy man's highest faculties. You may wish to see the change, and to point out how it may be attained. Here, however, I become painfully conscious of the imperfection of my own knowledge, and of the feebleness of the voice of a Lowell Mill, that is, of a single individual to whom it belongs. This is obviously a mistake. It is probable that they would receive above $100 each of extra gain, supposing the capital all their own; and this would not essentially change their condition.

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