THE LIBERATOR.

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TERMS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. VIII. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 7.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1838.

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That the legislatures of the several States, and that the Federal Congress never might have the plea of ignorance as an excuse for any legislative acts which might injure individuals, or any concerned body of citizens, or the people at large—the liberty to assemble, discuss any topics presented to the meeting, and to present their judgment, or wishes, or dissatisfaction, or injuries to the representative bodies, whenever, only by their own preference for that place over other, which they, in their service, if they chose to pay for the use of them.

Neither was the use of the Representatives' Chamber granted them on account of any 'sympathies in their favor.' When their application was brought forward, some of the members believed that their object was, not to get the use of the Hall, but to get a vote of the Assembly, by which would serve as a new topic of agitation. For the purpose of disappointing and disarming them, one of the members from Boston immediately moved that the request be granted, and for the same purpose, others voted for it, and it was carried with but one opposition.

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SOURCE OF ABOLITION AND THE MOBS.

FROM THE NATIONAL WHIG.

WASHINGTON CITY, DEC. 31st, 1837.

I fear might accidentally came in contact with the Richmond Whig. I need not tell you that I discovered, on its contents, (for you know that it always affords an intellectual and political banquet. In running over an article, written by one of your correspondents, I notice the remark in substance, that the people of the south had been lulled into security in relation to the spirit of abolition in the north, by the presses attached to the two contending political parties.

A remark more correct, more strictly in unison with the facts of the day, was never uttered, and your correspondent is entitled to credit for his sagacity.

No man in this country can be better acquainted with this subject than I am. My knowledge has been acquired in the too often costly school of experience, and I trust you will not suspect me of exaggeration, if I tell you that abolition and fanaticism predominate over any other feeling in New England—in all of the non-slaveholding states of the Union. I assert the fact, and I shall not be put down by any man's contradiction. On Tuesday last I heard the Hon. Henry Hubbard avow in the face of the Senate, that in his state, New-Hampshire, an abolitionist was a rarity, and he added, New Hampshire is sound and will stick to the last, in defending the constitutional right of the south to adhere to the institution of domestic slavery.

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I have said that no man in this country can be better acquainted with the state of the abolition question, than I am. I repeat it, and if you will indulge me a few moments, I will tell you how I acquired my information.

In the year 1831-2, when the subject of abolition was first seriously agitated at the north, I was the editor of a popular newspaper in one of the largest of the commercial cities of New-England. Foreseeing how susceptible the subject was of agitation, and believing it calculated to create great and useful sensation, I made it an early point to encourage and promote the strife of fanaticism. I made an assault on the abolitionists, and kept it up for a year and upwards, and though I did not silence them, or produce any salutary effect, I performed my duty, and was warmly and enthusiastically upheld and patronized by the public. At the end of two years, my subscribers began to grow weary of the discussion—more or less of them would call daily, to express their wishes, that I would, or my readers would one day see the folly of their course, and suspend it, they invariably stopped the paper, because of the hardness of the times. The English of all this circumlocution was, my subscribers became very numerous abolitionists. As I had resolved in my first connection with the press, that I would be independent, or not conduct a paper, I did not change my policy, but set the abolitionists down as fools. I continued hollo the close of the year 1832, when I was obliged either to drop my paper, or sell it to some one who would obey the stern commands of public opinion. I chose the latter evil. Thus I was deeply mortified, and was scarcely necessary to confess. I had been somewhat personally popular; my paper had had a very large circulation; it had paid me nobly, and at one time promised me a special competence. I was the nominee of Mr. Clay; my politics were popular, and were the politics of a vast majority of the people of New England; and to be driven out of existence under such circumstances, was galling to the extreme. But there was no alternative. I sold the paper, and for a year after was its editor *sub rosa*, and had nothing to do with the subject of abolition, except in the private circles of society.

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The abolition fiend has visited all parts of New England, has entered every church, every political conclave, every chapel, every college, every academy, every school, every private dwelling, every nursery. He is found in the pulpit, with the sacred volume, preaching and praying, and the youth; he presides at the piano of the boarding school miss—accompanies the factory girl to the loom and the spindle, and receives the countenance and support of legislatures, learned doctors, pedagogues, demagogues, presidents of universities, and the mistress of the infant school. The man of thousands contributes his hundreds to the treasury of the cause, and the widow's mite is cheerfully cast into the same vacuous repository.

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I do not intend to be rude, nor will I act, intentionally, discourteously toward our guests. Candor, however, compels me to say, that Mr. Hubbard either stated for a fact what he knew to be false, or he is most woefully, lamentably, shamefully, scandalously ignorant of the people of New Hampshire. For his information, and for yours, I now state, and challenge contradiction, that New Hampshire is an abolition state, and that if she were called on to-morrow to vote on the question of sustaining the constitutional right of the south to hold slaves, nineteen-twentieths of her electors would be found sustaining by their suffrages, anti-slavery or abolition doctrines. And let me add, that the time-serving, unstable, and inconsistent Henry Hubbard of the U. S. Senate, will be found in the front ranks of the party. His rule has always been, 'keep to the right,' not as the 'law directs,' but as self-interest and the love of office shall dictate.

I have said that no man in this country can be better acquainted with the state of the abolition question, than I am. I repeat it, and if you will indulge me a few moments, I will tell you how I acquired my information.

In the year 1831-2, when the subject of abolition was first seriously agitated at the north, I was the editor of a popular newspaper in one of the largest of the commercial cities of New-England. Foreseeing how susceptible the subject was of agitation, and believing it calculated to create great and useful sensation, I made it an early point to encourage and promote the strife of fanaticism. I made an assault on the abolitionists, and kept it up for a year and upwards, and though I did not silence them, or produce any salutary effect, I performed my duty, and was warmly and enthusiastically upheld and patronized by the public. At the end of two years, my subscribers began to grow weary of the discussion—more or less of them would call daily, to express their wishes, that I would, or my readers would one day see the folly of their course, and suspend it, they invariably stopped the paper, because of the hardness of the times. The English of all this circumlocution was, my subscribers became very numerous abolitionists. As I had resolved in my first connection with the press, that I would be independent, or not conduct a paper, I did not change my policy, but set the abolitionists down as fools. I continued hollo the close of the year 1832, when I was obliged either to drop my paper, or sell it to some one who would obey the stern commands of public opinion. I chose the latter evil. Thus I was deeply mortified, and was scarcely necessary to confess. I had been somewhat personally popular; my paper had had a very large circulation; it had paid me nobly, and at one time promised me a special competence. I was the nominee of Mr. Clay; my politics were popular, and were the politics of a vast majority of the people of New England; and to be driven out of existence under such circumstances, was galling to the extreme. But there was no alternative. I sold the paper, and for a year after was its editor *sub rosa*, and had nothing to do with the subject of abolition, except in the private circles of society.

In the year 1834, I accidentally became a stipendiary contributor to the columns of a very influential and able paper, published in a city adjacent to the one in which I had been conducting the paper above alluded to, and ardently and honestly opposed to abolition, and my connexion with it afforded me an opportunity to revenge myself. I was not idle. I assailed the foe on all sides, and gave them a deal of applause. The course of the paper was popular, and it gained friends and patronage with unexampled rapidity. The fire was steadily kept up till the commencement of the year 1836, when it was abandoned. Had it been continued, the publication would have been suspended for the want of patronage. Its supporters had turned abolitionists, or they were the *quasi* foes of slavery in the abstract. In either of the cases to which I allude, I could in the year 1835, have got up a mob to put down abolition, and I could have pelted the abolitionists with perfect impunity, so far as public opinion was concerned. Now I should be mobbed myself, if I presumed to offer them any act of incivility or discourtesy. The tables have been completely turned, and the abolitionists are triumphant.

In the year 1836, the friends of the present Gov. of Massachusetts, Mr. Edward Everett, found it necessary to procure evidence that he was *opposed* to abolition, to secure his election; in the year 1837, to attain the same end, they were obliged to publish proof of his devotion to abolition principles.

In the years 1833-4-5, the New York Courier and Enquirer, the New York Commercial Advertiser, the Boston Commercial Gazette, the Boston Daily Advertiser, the Philadelphia Inquirer, &c. &c. were all devoted to anti-abolition, and their columns, day after day, teemed with vigorous essays opposing fanatical abolition. Where are they now? Not devoted to abolition, it is true, but *silenced*—and let me tell you, that if they pursued the course they did three years ago, they would be forever silenced.

The abolition fiend has visited all parts of New England, has entered every church, every political conclave, every chapel, every college, every academy, every school, every private dwelling, every nursery. He is found in the pulpit, with the sacred volume, preaching and praying, and the youth; he presides at the piano of the boarding school miss—accompanies the factory girl to the loom and the spindle, and receives the countenance and support of legislatures, learned doctors, pedagogues, demagogues, presidents of universities, and the mistress of the infant school. The man of thousands contributes his hundreds to the treasury of the cause, and the widow's mite is cheerfully cast into the same vacuous repository.

Heretofore, the abolitionists have been courted and flattered, and fawned upon by both of the political parties of the day, and thus far they have been kept silent as a body. Hence it is, that their force has not been generally known, and the south has been basely deceived, if not betrayed. But, the state of things is not to last many months longer. The crusaders are preparing for the ballot-box; they direct their eyes

towards Palestine—their march will speedily be commenced.

Believe not those that tell you that they are few in number, and destitute of resources. They are almost innumerable, and their resources are unbounded. They command the pulpit and the press—the purse; and how long do you imagine it will be before they will seize the sword?

During the last summer, I travelled throughout New England, and I carefully noted their designs, and estimated their numbers. They possess strength almost unbounded—their zeal or madness, call it what you will, knows no limit. The man who shall avow in the Senate, if he be a northern man, that they do not exist in his state, is either criminally ignorant, or basely utters a falsehood to deceive. Believe not one word that is told you by Henry Hubbard of New Hampshire.

I am no alarmist; I would not alarm Virginia if I could. The south is safe, yet her safety must depend in her union for defence. Be not divided. Be on the alert; stand to your arms, and look to nothing but the common protection of the common south.

The north is not wholly recreant yet; she has a few sons left to die for the integrity of the Union; but let not the north lull you into false security.

'Trust not for justice to the Franks,
They have a *Chief who lays and sells!*
In native swords, and native ranks,
The only hope of valor dwells.'

Discharge your duty manfully; be not led astray by artful politicians, and the old dominion shall long flourish and be happy.

A SON OF THE PILGRIMS.

From the Quincy Patriot.

THE OLD COLONY AWAKE.

A special meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society was held on Wednesday, 17th ult. at Abington, in the meeting-house of the First Parish, the house from which the eloquent Thompson was driven by a brutal mob on the evening of September 27th, 1835. The house was well filled with ladies and gentlemen, when the meeting was called to order by the president, H. G. Wood, Esq. Messrs. Hathaway of Bridgewater, and Briggs of Scituate, were appointed secretaries, pro tem.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Burlingame of Hingham.

The following gentlemen were chosen a committee on business,—Rev. S. J. May of Scituate, Rev. Daniel Thomas of Abington, and Rev. Mr. Seaver of Hanover; and were instructed to report at the opening of the afternoon session.

The rest of the forenoon was occupied by speeches from several gentlemen in support of the following resolution.

Resolved—That we view with high admiration the course pursued by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, our venerated representative in Congress, in defence of the right of petition, and the liberty of speech, which have been so fearfully assailed there. And we pledge ourselves to do all we may, to sustain him in his place there, so long as he continues faithful to the high trust committed to him.

This resolution was eloquently advocated by Rev. Mr. May of Scituate, Mr. Moreton of Plymouth, Mr. Sprague of Duxbury, Mr. Russell of Kingston, and Mr. Bond of Abington. When the president called for the sense of the meeting, the whole congregation rose.

At half past twelve, the meeting adjourned for one hour.

The services of the afternoon were commenced by singing J. G. Whittier's well known and soul-stirring lines,

'Is this the land our Fathers loved?
The freedom which they toiled to win?'

The committee on business then reported the following resolutions.

Resolved—That the course pursued by Congress, especially by the House of Representatives, respecting the petitions on slavery, is the most fearful assault upon the liberties of the people, and calls loudly for the determined resistance of the Representatives of those who mean to be Free.

Resolved—That we spare no pains to draw out from our fellow-citizens, male and female, a strong expression of their deep displeasure at the attempt of Congress to abridge the liberty of speech, and the right of petition, which the Constitution of the United States intended to secure by its most explicit and solemn guarantee.

Resolved—That little men, and little souls are all that in the cause of liberty and humanity, until the people shall be aroused to see and feel, that the contest now is for their own freedom not less than for the deliverance of the enslaved.

These resolutions drew forth from several gentlemen very animated and impressive appeals, from the Rev. Mr. May, Mr. N. H. Whiting of Marshfield, Mr. Russell of Kingston, Rev. Mr. Thayer of S. Marshfield, Hon. Mr. Sprague of Duxbury, and Rev. Mr. Holbrook of Scituate. We wish the members of Congress had been there, that they might have heard what the yeomanry of the Old Colony think of their necromancy and sacrilegious attempt to trample upon the rights of freemen, as well as the claims of humanity. It is almost needless to add, that the resolutions were adopted unanimously, and with emphasis.

The Chairman of the business committee then reported the following—

Resolved—That we deprecate with all our hearts a war with Mexico—overly recommended in the President's annual Message, indecently instigated by the Report of the Secretary of State, and to which the Committee on Foreign Relations, at the commencement of this session, seemed strongly inclined. We regard a war with Mexico as a measure designed to prepare the way for the admission of Texas into our Union—a measure that would be fearfully disgrace and ruin to our Republic. We will therefore oppose both the war and the annexation, to the extent of our power.

Mr. May gave a brief but clear exposition of the subject of the resolutions, showing how the difficulties between our government and the Mexican took their rise from the revolt of the Texians, and the desperate efforts we make our part to favor the rebels; showing also that a war with Mexico would probably involve us in a war with Great Britain; and that these foreign broils would lead to servile insurrections, and civil commotions. He concluded by commending to the attentive perusal of all, Mr. Adams's speech on the Texas Question, towards the close of the Congress of 1836. After a few remarks from other gentlemen, the resolution passed with great unanimity.

The committee then presented to the meeting the following resolutions, which elicited the most animated discussion.

Resolved—That the sentiment uttered from the pulpit by Rev. Mr. Winslow, a popular minister in Boston, and received by the Boston Courier with approbation—viz—That Republican Liberty is only [illegible] *the liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the majority shall allow and approve*—is a sentiment that deserves the execration of all who would maintain civil or religious freedom. For should it be disseminated, until it become the public opinion of our country, it would reduce the minority on any question to a condition little superior to that of the slaves.

Resolved—That it is the sacred right, the constitutional right of the minority, however small, aye, of the humblest individual in the community, to utter any sentiment he may see fit to express; being amenable to the law of libel, and to those higher laws of conscient and of God, which should restrain him from any abuse of so high a privilege.

A gentleman, whose name we did not hear, expressed his hearty approbation of the latter resolution, but objected to the former. He thought the former was embraced in the latter, and therefore unnecessary. Then again, he considered the personality used in the former very objectionable. It was holding up an individual to reproach, and May, Mr. Garrison and our cause, his ill will—and the ill will of his friends, and those who think with him. The gentleman therefore said he should oppose the former, but vote very heartily for the latter resolution.

Mr. May replied that there was nothing unfair, unkind or improper in the personality objected to. Mr. Winslow himself was not spoken of disrespectfully, but the sentiment, the sentiment alone was not only uttered from the pulpit, but published from the press, and doubtless was not ashamed to own it—and there were thousands about him who approved and applauded it. But it was monstrous to attribute republican sentiment, an unchristian sentiment, a base, dangerous, abominable sentiment. It ought to be branded as such, and the people roused to see its ominous dangerous tendency and tendency. It was a sentiment which would put a stop to all reforms, for they commence always with the few, often with a single mind. It would put up a bar against all improvement in government, in which it is now in a state of innovation, an unpopular opinion. He insisted it was proper and necessary to mention the names of those, who give utterance to such sentiments as the one reprobated in the resolution, so that the people may know by whose authority such sentiments are uttered. Especially is it important that the name should be given, if the person be influential in church or state. We ought to be more strict in our scrutiny of such men, and more severe in our censure of what they may do or say that is wrong, for the very reason that they are influential.

We wish we could give a further report of Mr. May's speech. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Seaver of Hanover, who insisted that the man or men who entertain and are willing to express such sentiments as that quoted from Rev. Mr. Winslow's Thanksgiving sermon, ought to be known to their fellow citizens. He said it was a sentiment, which, it seemed to him, (should it prevail) would silence all the faithful preachers of God's truth, for the majority of the brotherhood are not in favor of that truth.

Mr. N. H. Whiting of Marshfield advocated the resolution, with all its personality, in a very eloquent and impressive manner. Men of power, he ought to know, he said, how far such dangerous sentiments have come to prevail in our community, that we may be on our guard, and take timely measures to arrest their progress. The Rev. gentleman, after a fearful and abominable sentiment condemned in the resolution, cannot justly feel aggrieved by the mention of his name, for he has already given his name to the public in connection with this sentiment. He will not deem it a reproach to be announced as the author of that sentiment, for he doubtless thinks it a good sentiment. Alas! and many about him have thought it a good sentiment; for it has been repeated with commendation, and he has been applauded for uttering it. But it is an abominable sentiment, deserving execration. If we think so, we ought to say so.

Hon. Mr. Sprague of Duxbury, said he was willing the resolutions should be put separately to the meeting, if the objector to the former one so desired; but that he should vote for both of them. He deemed it not enough that we should condemn the sentiment in question indirectly; we ought to do it directly, explicitly, emphatically. It ought to be held up to the view of our fellow citizens, with the name of its author attached, that their censure may be fastened upon it, and they be led to pronounce its condemnation.

Several other gentlemen spoke, all in favor of both the resolutions. They were then put separately to the meeting. The former one passed with the dissent of three or four. The latter passed unanimously.

The business committee then brought forward the following resolutions.

Resolved—That we view the catastrophe at Alton, Illinois, with peculiar shame and alarm, because it is but one in the series of outrages upon the press, that have been committed in various parts of our country, especially in New England, and more especially in Boston,—outrages that have been as base and cowardly in principle as the last, although not indeed stained with blood.

Resolved—That while we gratefully remember the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy's faithful and fearless devotion to the cause of suffering humanity; his luminous expositions of the principles of freedom; his zeal for its success; his earnest advocacy of them in a situation of peculiar danger; and his long suffering of ill treatment and injury on their behalf; and while we mourn over the loss of his invaluable life—we deeply deplore his resort to physical violence, though under the sacred aegis of the civil magistrate, and confess with shame that he did not die as a christian martyr in our holy cause.

Resolved—That we earnestly urge on the friends of Anti-Slavery cause, we will ourselves use, and will countenance others in the use of moral means alone—the publication of facts, the mastery of arguments—the urgency of appeals to the conscience and to the heart.

Mr. Sprague said that when he first heard of the Alton tragedy, and the circumstances of the procedure of the mob, he rejoiced in the course pursued by Mr. Lovejoy and his friends, and only regretted that they had not been able to make a more effectual defence. But the more he had deliberated on the subject since, and had contemplated its probable influence upon the Anti-Slavery cause, the more reason had he seen to concur, as he now heartily did, in the sentiment of the resolution. He hoped they would pass. They certainly expressed high respect for Mr. Lovejoy—but he felt it to be very important that his resort to physical resistance in the last extremity, should not be misconstrued by the true friends of our great moral enterprise.

Mr. May said, although the resolutions expressed his own sentiments, he did not wish them to pass without some reflection. He did not wish any vote for them unless they sincerely thought the sentiment expressed in them was just and important. Nor would he then have them vote without due consideration of the circumstances in which Mr. Lovejoy was placed, and the inducements he had to act as he did. Mr. M. proceeded to give a sketch of Mr. Lovejoy's trials, the destruction of his press at St. Louis, his removal to Alton, the demolition of his office there, and the first and second fires. These repeated outrages called aloud, it was thought, for some determined measure. A council of the Abolitionists in the State was held, and the matter deliberated together, and with Mr. L. concurred in the advice, that another press should be procured, and means provided for its defence. In this course they were encouraged by many gentlemen of Alton and its neighborhood, though not all the gentlemen were filled with indignation and alarm at what had transpired, and had cause to feel that it was time to take a stand in defence of the liberty of the press. Application was made to the Mayor of the city for protection. He vowed his word, but his inability to give protection with the means then at his command, and encouraged them to form an additional body of police. They did so,—about seventy gentlemen there enrolled for this purpose, only three or four of whom were Abolitionists. Of this number, our ill-advised brother Lovejoy was one. I am persuaded he acted wrong—but I will not forget, and I hope I never shall forget, that he acted under the guidance of what he deemed the best advice he could obtain. I say he acted wrong, because I am unable to find in the teachings or practice of Christ, or any whose minister he was, any warrant for the course he pursued. On this point, however, he may have differed from me in opinion, and may have supposed that he could justify himself by some considerations which I not deem of any weight. I say, moreover, that he acted wrong, as a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, because the founders of that Society solemnly declared before their country, and the world, that they would prosecute their undertaking, only by moral means and instruments. Mr. May here read extracts from 'the Declaration' of the Convention, that met in Philadelphia, in December, 1833. Surely, obviously, Mr. Lovejoy's course was a violation of those solemn pledges. And if his example shall be followed, it will be a fatal blow to the existence of the Anti-Slavery Society. It is painful to find fault with the dead. But his last act was deserving of blame, and we must not withhold it. Let us honor his fidelity, his zeal, his sufferings, and his self-devotion. But let us earnestly condemn his resort to physical violence. It was contrary to the avowed principles of the Abolitionists. It was contrary to the precept and example of Jesus Christ. It was a fatal example, pernicious to others. If we would be strong in the Lord, and triumph in his might, let us repudiate all carnal weapons.

Other gentlemen expressed briefly their concurrence with what had been said.

Mr. Robbins of Scituate, said he could not give his assent to the resolutions. He could not agree to censure Mr. Lovejoy's course, so long as he continued to think, that civil government ought to be upheld; for he did not consider that Mr. Lovejoy acted as an abolitionist, but as one of the police of Alton.

Mr. Robbins said, that he felt neither time nor inclination to enter into the question respecting civil government. He thought the resolution did not necessarily involve it. He had endeavored to find out Mr. L's conduct was in violation of the avowed principle, on which the Anti-Slavery Society commenced, and had hitherto prosecuted its undertaking. To that point he wished to keep the attention of the meeting.

A gentleman, whose name was not announced, inquired whether the resolutions were intended to imply that abolitionists ought not, in any case, to assist in support of the public peace and order. He was sorry he had, there should be a mob here, or in Boston, and the civil authorities should call upon some abolitionists, to help in putting it down, would these resolutions condemn their compliance?

Mr. May rejoined, that the case supposed would not be parallel to the case at Alton. There the Abolitionists applied to the civil authorities for protection, and unanimously enrolled themselves to be the instruments of the Mayor for their own protection, that is, to fight in their own defence. The case would have been different if the object of the mob had been something else than an Anti-Slavery meeting; and the proceedings of this meeting for publication in a pamphlet; that one thousand copies be printed, and that a copy be presented to each Member of Congress, and to each representative in Congress from this State, and to each member of our State Legislature.

Resolved, That we rely on our reliance for success in this righteous cause is on God, it is earnestly recommended to all the friends of Anti-Slavery, to resort to more fervent and persevering prayer for their immediate and entire emancipation, and to observe the concert of prayer in their behalf the last Monday of every month.

DEBATE IN THE MAINE LEGISLATURE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JAN. 30.

MR. APPLETON presented an anti-slavery petition to the Maine State Anti-Slavery Society to occupy the Representatives' Hall for a public meeting to-morrow evening.

MR. NORTON moved that the order be laid upon the table.

MR. APPLETON hoped the order would not be thus disposed of. He knew of no reason why the same courtesy should not be extended to the Hall as it had been to any other. It would be recollected that leave had been granted to Mr. Ladd to deliver a lecture here on the subject of the Sabbath. For one, he hoped the gentleman would give his reasons for refusing *this* request. True, the subject of that lecture was an exciting one, but it should nevertheless be met

Intolerance never *was* and never *will* be a wise mode of proceeding. He hoped the order would be laid upon rather the house should deny the request altogether, than they should lay the order on the table.

Mr. Norton said he was not laying the order on the table. He considered that this society entertained opinions hostile to the best interests of the country. It was composed of persons, some of whom he was not acquainted, but for whom he had no respect, and who ought not to be admitted to hold their meetings within this Hall, for the purpose of promoting an excitement which had already become alarming to the country, and which threatened the dissolution even of the Union itself.

Mr. Vose said he was astonished at the motion to lay the order on the table. He had hoped that the gentleman would gain, of allowing the use of the Hall for meetings of various kinds, and he was aware of no reason for refusing the request of the petitioners in question. The gentleman from Bayleyville says, we ought not to admit that *class* of men into the Hall. I wish, sir, he had conversed with that class of men, with their high moral and intellectual character,—with their purity of purpose, and their zeal for the cause.

You have already granted the use of this Hall for this very evening for the discussion of a subject on which there is a great diversity of opinion. The object of the quest is refused it will look as if we were *afraid* to permit a full and free discussion of the subject of *slavery*, lest the cause should suffer by it. Let the fullest and ample scope be given to the cause of human rights, now he was regarded as the champion of those rights. He was sorry that the gentleman may think in this instance to arrest the progress of this society, by making the members of it the subjects of a vote of censure and reproach. He was believed the time would come when their high and noble purposes would be accomplished,—and he recommended the order to be laid upon the table.

Resolved, That we consider slavery be its character, and however it was established, receives no authority or approbation from, nor is it guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Resolved, That we consider slavery, as it exists in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the States, as clearly within the control of Congress, and that for northern Senators and Representatives to vote for the continuance of this system, is a monstrous sub service to the unreasonable demands of the slaveholder, a shameful indifference to the cause of human liberty, and a direct violation of our duties, as to make them unsafe depositaries of any of our rights.

Resolved, That we consider as utterly unworthy of our support for any station in our national councils, the politician, who denies the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Colombia and the slave trade between the States—and who denies, *in any way*, the right of our citizens to petition Congress, *on any subject*, and that we call on our Senators in Congress to act respectfully and intelligently on their petitions.

Resolved, That we consider the resolution offered by Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina in the House of Representatives in Congress, on the 21st of December last, and adopted by that body, as a gross outrage on the right of petition, and unworthy of the attention of any body but this land.

Resolved, That we view the conduct of such of the Representatives from the Free States as supported that resolution, as proof that—either from treachery or ignorance—they are unfit to represent a free people.

Resolved, That we look back on the Missouri Compromise, by which the extension of the nation was given to slavery, as a chief source of our present difficulties on the subject.

Resolved, That we believe, if the condemnation of slavery had been uttered by this nation in the repetition of our Revolutionary Fathers, when they inserted in the Constitution from the clause establishing slavery—that slavery now would be far on the way of extinction, or it would never have been established.

Resolved, That we should look on the annexation of Texas to the United States as a virtual dissolution of the Union, and that we call upon our Senators, who should lend themselves to such a project, as treacherous to Liberty and their country.

Resolved, That we consider all attempts to annex Texas—an independent State—to this Union, as utterly unconstitutional—and as the sinister purpose of those who advocate it, as base and dishonorable.

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State be requested to instruct our Senators, to present remonstrances with Congress against any and every scheme for the annexation of Texas to the Union—and that the Secretary of this society be requested to communicate this resolution to the presiding officer of each branch of the Legislature.

Resolved, That upon the accomplishment of the great work, in which the friends of equal and universal liberty are engaged, the truest happiness and the highest glory of our country.

Resolved, That the principles maintained by abolitionists include the genuine principles of republicanism, and that the prevalence of these principles is indispensable to the prevalence of our free institutions.

Resolved, That we deem it highly important, in enlightening our fellow-citizens, to speak the truth here; and that we recommend to our friends in discussing the subject of slavery and its abolition to avoid unnecessary severity of language and conscciousness of spirit—leaving, however, to each advocate of emancipation the free choice of his own words.

Resolved, That this society does not hold itself and its members responsible for the opinions, which may be entertained by individual abolitionists respecting civil government, the rights of women, the prerogatives of the clergy, the christian Sabbath, or any other subject not embraced by its constitution, nor immediately connected with the great subject, which immediately concerns the cause of human rights.

Resolved, That the practice of reputable christian men from the slaveholding States, in defending their apologies and their example to sustain the system of slavery, though it has proceeded from ignorance of its real character, has yet tended, in fact, to the most fatal supports.

Resolved, That the violent opposition of our brethren of the Slave States, to the discussion of that slaveholding & grievous sin against God and man, proves that this truth has reached home, and that they feel, in their hearts, that it is wrong to hold human beasts as articles of property, they would, *unadvisedly*, have not resorted to such violent measures and contempt, and treated them as unworthy of regard.

Resolved, That the slaveholding States, by their persistance in maintaining the system of slavery, by their resisting the rebukes, and disregarding the wisdom of enlightened nations, are bringing contempt on such nations governments, and alienating their hearts from the sympathies and communion of the christianized world.

Resolved, That we abolitionists, will pray, and labor for the overthrow and final triumph of our holy principles upon the invincible power of moral weapons; and that they will never discountenance any recourse to physical violence in promoting the Anti-Slavery cause.

Resolved, That the recent murder of our beloved and lamented brother Lovejoy, of Alton, is ominous of the spirit of slavery, and is what we all may be called upon to encounter in our enterprise.

Resolved, That while we contemplate the wrongs inflicted upon defenceless Africans, and their posterity, upon our country by slavery—we would not forget 'the poor slave,' who exhibits in the degradation of his person, and in the bereavement of his rights, what it is to be most of all, who is forced to drink this the bitterest cup of human sorrow and woe.

Resolved, That the brief success of our past efforts, is an assurance of the approbation of Heaven, and should inspire the most fervent gratitude, and fidelity and with the most unremitting purpose never to cease those efforts until our fair country shall be fully redeemed from the deep condemnation of slavery.

Resolved, That this society will make vigorous efforts the ensuing year to raise *five thousand* dollars, so much of it to be appropriated to the cause of Liberty, as shall be deemed expedient, and the surplus to be paid over to the American Society.

Resolved, That we recommend to Abolitionists in every town, to establish anti-slavery circulating libraries, and to put a copy of 'Human Rights' in every family, monthly, for one year.

Resolved, That we recommend to the friends of our cause, to hold a County Convention in each County in this State, for discussion, and efficient organization.

Resolved, That Rev. David Thurston and Prof. William Smyth be requested to publish an abstract of the proceedings of this meeting for publication in a pamphlet; that one thousand copies be printed, and that a copy be presented to each Member of Congress, and to each representative in Congress from this State, and to each member of our State Legislature.

Resolved, That we rely on our reliance for success in this righteous cause is on God, it is earnestly recommended to all the friends of Anti-Slavery, to resort to more fervent and persevering prayer for their immediate and entire emancipation, and to observe the concert of prayer in their behalf the last Monday of every month.

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Intolerance never *was* and never *will* be a wise mode of proceeding. He hoped the order would be laid upon rather the house should deny the request altogether, than they should lay the order on the table.

Mr. Norton said he was not laying the order on the table. He considered that this society entertained opinions hostile to the best interests of the country. It was composed of persons, some of whom he was not acquainted, but for whom he had no respect, and who ought not to be admitted to hold their meetings within this Hall, for the purpose of promoting an excitement which had already become alarming to the country, and which threatened the dissolution even of the Union itself.

Mr. Vose said he was astonished at the motion to lay the order on the table. He had hoped that the gentleman would gain, of allowing the use of the Hall for meetings of various kinds, and he was aware of no reason for refusing the request of the petitioners in question. The gentleman from Bayleyville says, we ought not to admit that *class* of men into the Hall. I wish, sir, he had conversed with that class of men, with their high moral and intellectual character,—with their purity of purpose, and their zeal for the cause.

You have already granted the use of this Hall for this very evening for the discussion of a subject on which there is great diversity of opinion. The object of the quest is refused it will look as if we were *afraid* to permit a full and free discussion of the subject of *slavery*, lest the cause should suffer by it. Let the fullest and ample scope be given to the cause of human rights, now he was regarded as the champion of those rights. He was sorry that the gentleman may think in this instance to arrest the progress of this society, by making the members of it the subjects of a vote of censure and reproach. He was believed the time would come when their high and noble purposes would be accomplished,—and he recommended the order to be laid upon the table.

Resolved, That we consider slavery be its character, and however it was established, receives no authority or approbation from, nor is it guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

Resolved, That we consider slavery, as it exists in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the States, as clearly within the control of Congress, and that for northern Senators and Representatives to vote for the continuance of this system, is a monstrous sub service to the unreasonable demands of the slaveholder, a shameful indifference to the cause of human liberty, and a direct violation of our duties, as to make them unsafe depositaries of any of our rights.

Resolved, That we consider as utterly unworthy of our support for any station in our national councils, the politician, who denies the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Colombia and the slave trade between the States—and who denies, *in any way*, the right of our citizens to petition Congress, *on any subject*, and that we call on our Senators in Congress to act respectfully and intelligently on their petitions.

Resolved, That we consider the resolution offered by Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina in the House of Representatives in Congress, on the 21st of December last, and adopted by that body, as a gross outrage on the right of petition, and unworthy of the attention of any body but this land.

Resolved, That we view the conduct of such of the Representatives from the Free States as supported that resolution, as proof that—either from treachery or ignorance—they are unfit to represent a free people.

Resolved, That we look back on the Missouri Compromise, by which the extension of the nation was given to slavery, as a chief source of our present difficulties on the subject.

Resolved, That we believe, if the condemnation of slavery had been uttered by this nation in the repetition of our Revolutionary Fathers, when they inserted in the Constitution from the clause establishing slavery—that slavery now would be far on the way of extinction, or it would never have been established.

Resolved, That we should look on the annexation of Texas to the United States as a virtual dissolution of the Union, and that we call upon our Senators, who should lend themselves to such a project, as treacherous to Liberty and their country.

Resolved, That we consider all attempts to annex Texas—an independent State—to this Union, as utterly unconstitutional—and as the sinister purpose of those who advocate it, as base and dishonorable.

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State be requested to instruct our Senators, to present remonstrances with Congress against any and every scheme for the annexation of Texas to the Union—and that the Secretary of this society be requested to communicate this resolution to the presiding officer of each branch of the Legislature.

Resolved, That upon the accomplishment of the great work, in which the friends of equal and universal liberty are engaged, the truest happiness and the highest glory of our country.

Resolved, That the principles maintained by abolitionists include the genuine principles of republicanism, and that the prevalence of these principles is indispensable to the prevalence of our free institutions.

Resolved, That we deem it highly important, in enlightening our fellow-citizens, to speak the truth here; and that we recommend to our friends in discussing the subject of slavery and its abolition to avoid unnecessary severity of language and consciousness of spirit—leaving, however, to each advocate of emancipation the free choice of his own words.

Resolved, That this society does not hold itself and its members responsible for the opinions, which may be entertained by individual abolitionists respecting civil government, the rights of women, the prerogatives of the clergy, the christian Sabbath, or any other subject not embraced by its constitution, nor immediately connected with the great subject, which immediately concerns the cause of human rights.

Resolved, That the practice of reputable christian men from the slaveholding States, in defending their apologies and their example to sustain the system of slavery, though it has proceeded from ignorance of its real character, has yet tended, in fact, to the most fatal supports.

Resolved, That the violent opposition of our brethren of the Slave States, to the discussion of that slaveholding & grievous sin against God and man, proves that this truth has reached home, and that they feel, in their hearts, that it is wrong to hold human beasts as articles of property, they would, *unadvisedly*, have not resorted to such violent measures and contempt, and treated them as unworthy of regard.

Resolved, That the slaveholding States, by their persistance in maintaining the system of slavery, by their resisting the rebukes, and disregarding the wisdom of enlightened nations, are bringing contempt on such nations governments, and alienating their hearts from the sympathies and communion of the christianized world.

Resolved, That we abolitionists, will pray, and labor for the overthrow and final triumph of our holy principles upon the invincible power of moral weapons; and that they will never discountenance any recourse to physical violence in promoting the Anti-Slavery cause.

Resolved, That the recent murder of our beloved and lamented brother Lovejoy, of Alton, is indicative of the spirit of slavery, and is what we all may be called upon to encounter in our enterprise.

Resolved, That while we contemplate the wrongs inflicted upon defenceless Africans, and their posterity, upon our country by slavery—we would not forget 'the poor slave,' who exhibits in the degradation of his person, and in the bereavement of his rights, what it is to be most of all, who is forced to drink this the bitterest cup of human sorrow and woe.

Resolved, That the brief success of our past efforts, is an assurance of the approbation of Heaven, and should inspire the most fervent gratitude, and fidelity and with the most unremitting purpose never to cease those efforts until our fair country shall be fully redeemed from the deep condemnation of slavery.

Resolved, That this society will make vigorous efforts the ensuing year to raise *five thousand* dollars, so much of it to be appropriated to the cause of Liberty, as shall be deemed expedient, and the surplus to be paid over to the American Society.

Resolved, That we recommend to Abolitionists in every town, to establish anti-slavery circulating libraries, and to put a copy of 'Human Rights' in every family, monthly, for one year.

Resolved, That we recommend to the friends of our cause, to hold a County Convention in each County in this State, for discussion, and efficient organization.

Resolved, That Rev. David Thurston and Prof. William Smyth be requested to publish an abstract of the proceedings of this meeting for publication in a pamphlet; that one thousand copies be printed, and that a copy be presented to each Member of Congress, and to each representative in Congress from this State, and to each member of our State Legislature.

Resolved, That we rely on our reliance for success in this righteous cause is on God, it is earnestly recommended to all the friends of Anti-Slavery, to resort to more fervent and persevering prayer for their immediate and entire emancipation, and to observe the concert of prayer in their behalf the last Monday of every month.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE—Feb. 5.

Recision of Patton's Resolution.

One of these memorials, very numerously signed, presented by Mr. Lincoln, of Massachusetts, stated that the resolution of the 21st December last be repealed, gave rise to some debate.

Mr. Lincoln said he felt himself under the necessity, both from his own convictions of the merits of the memorial, as well as from the duty he owed to those of his constituents who had requested him to present it, to insist upon the consideration of the question of referring the memorial.

Mr. Boon of Indiana, moved to lay the question of consideration on the table, which was decided in the affirmative by the yeas and nays—Yeas 128, Nays 70.

After Mr. Adams had risen and presented a single petition,

The Chair announced the expiration of the morning hour, and stated the special order of the day.

Mr. Adams made an attempt to procure the suspension of the rule, in order to enable him to present other petitions, but did not succeed.

THE MOB TURNED GRAND JURORS.

By the annexed from the New York Evening Post, it will be seen that the Grand Jury for Madison County, Ill. at the last term, consisted in the industrious of the owners of the store, and several of his associates, in the shameful mockery of justice, if Judge Lawless, of Missouri, had been present, and given the charge to the Grand Jury, the prisoners might yet fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason!

'It has been announced in the public prints that the persons concerned in the outrageous affair at Alton, have been indicted by the grand jury of Madison County, Illinois. The intelligence has been, that it was the intention of the prosecuting officers to have it so dicted. On the contrary, it was those who resisted it. Bills were actually found by the grand jury against those who defended the press against those who were, and the effects it contained, while the actual rioters who attacked it have been, as we are informed, allowed to go free. The following is the exact tenor of the indictment has been placed in our hands

1st count. That Enoch Long, T. B. Hurlburt, R. Gerry, Royal Waldo, H. H. Ealsworth, H. Tanner, J. Morse, Jr. G. H. Whitley, A. B. Roff, Wm. Harned, and W. S. Gilman, on the night of the 18th of November, with force and arms, at the city of Alton, unlawfully, riotously, and in a violent and tumultuous manner did assemble and join with divers other persons, there being made by divers persons to the jurors unknown) *to break up and destroy a printing press*, then and there being found, the goods and chattels of one Elijah P. Lovejoy, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and against the dignity of the people of the State of Illinois.'

The second count is the same as the above) on the night of the 7th of November, with force and arms at the city of Alton, unlawfully, riotously, routously, and in a violent and tumultuous manner did assemble and join in an attempt (then and there being made by divers persons, to the jurors unknown) to *break open and enter the house* of Benjamin Godfrey and Winthrop S. Gilman, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, against the dignity of the people of the State of Illinois.'

'The absurdity of this indictment would provoke laughter, did not such a perversion of justice and principle of justice excite a graver feeling. The indictment speaks of unlawfully defending one's own property, of contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, an attempt to break open one's own dwelling house. We should be glad to see the statute of Illinois, which prescribes penalties for rioting robbery and burglary. According to this new code, self-defence is felony; the plea is *defence*, and the profession of guilt; if you clap your hand over your pocket to obstruct the operation of the fellow who is picking it, you commit felony; if you fire a pistol in the air, or lay sacrilegious hands on the thief in the act, you must be sent to the house of correction; if a ruffian offer to cut your throat, and you do not submit to have your throat cut, you are lost, and if two join in resisting him, you commit a riot.'

REVOLT OF SLAVES IN TRINIDAD.

FROM TRINIDAD DE CUBA. We copy from Toplitt's Books the following extract of a letter dated January 1st received by the brig Adelaide, Capt. M'Loon, from Trinidad:

'Some days since, we were in great consternation by the intelligence that there had to have set fire to two plantations, one J. W. Baker's, and killed several men—set fire to all his houses, which, being fire-proof, were but slightly injured, and killed all his mules, carts, and all the utensils. They are now concealed in the mountains, about one hundred in number, but are closely surrounded by the whites. Mr. Baker had a horse shot from under him, and succeeded in arresting several of them. The insurrection is now over, and most likely not to occur again.'

Capt. M'Loon states that when he left, all the American merchants had sent off their specie and their jewels and property on board the shipping. It was reported that Mr. Baker lost 2000 bbls. of molasses, and that all his standing cane was destroyed.—*Boston Journal.*

Gov. Lincoln's Letter.—We are yet unable to answer the many inquiries that are made, with reference to a rumor that Gov. Lincoln has written a letter to the Abolitionists, in which, it is reported, he expresses opinions and feelings in harmony with their purposes. The knowledge we have on the subject, leaves us little room to conjecture, if such a letter has been written.—*Worcester Palladium.*

REV. HERBERT WINSLOW. The Thanksgiving sermon of this champion of the *freedom of mobs*, which is substantially the same as Attorney General Austin's speech in Faneuil Hall, is denounced severely and justly handled by the editor of the Emancipator. The sermon is the vilest production, and any thing of the kind in print we ever read; that is, the part we have seen. We should be glad to copy these remarks, but they are too long—but we hope to copy one paper, and are not convinced. They cannot fail of mortifying Mr. Winslow, if he has any sense of shame within him.—*Lynn Record.*

The Kentucky papers are formally inviting the discussion of the subject of slavery in their columns.

From the Emancipator.

'BOSTON SCHISM.'

Brother Lovejoy,—I notice in the last Emancipator the following, as it seems to me, very strange news.

'THE BOSTON SCHISM.—We hear that the friends in the sections will now regard the significant hint given by the orator, and turn at length their whole and undivided attention to the affairs of their own section. Mr. Gerrison says of the projected new organization.

'The measure meets with no favor among practical abolitionists of any sort, in the country generally, and cannot succeed, if attempted. Indeed, we believe it will not be attempted. Of course, our friends abroad will not feel much anxiety about it, but will give their time and strength about it. It has been a big thing, while it was in the first.'

The editor would have saved 'our friends' abroad some trouble had he told them the same at an early age.

Now as the remarks upon which 'no so significant meeting' were inserted in the Liberator, as stated, first appeared in the Emancipator, it may be say in reply,

1. That the 'new organization' was not started—'a months ago.'

2. That the editor of the Liberator did in fact claim it as a 'fact' as soon as it was started.

3. That it was not known then that it was a 'failure' in the *end*, because the measure 'did not meet with favor among practical abolitionists,' and but for the exposure of its character and design, would have met with favor still.

4. That the 'Boston Schism' and the 'new organization' are not one and the same, in point of fact, as seems to represent, but that the one gave birth to the other; and

5. That the editor of the Emancipator has not done to enlighten the public on the subject, the 'Boston Schism' might or has been less the 'schism of the times,' and the 'new organization' less a thing but 'a failure.'

6. It is to be hoped the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery and its worthy editor will take the trouble, hereafter, when, by its agents or otherwise, it undertakes to give an account of its assinanes meetings, to help it out. Otherwise, silence will be understood as a tacit admission of the charge, that the reason that *some* the friends in other sections will not be the whole and united efforts to the advancement of the cause of humanity, though we confess, that in the 'significant hint' of the Emancipator, the Boston sects has neglected the 'common cause in sections to the 'Boston Schism.' I venture to challenge proof to the contrary, that she has sent petitions to the state and national legislatures, and raised more funds for the cause during the year, in addition to her numbers and the ability of her sister sects, than all the sections of the country whose quiet, unsectarianism New York so strongly commends.

The insertion of this in the next Emancipator will oblige

Boston, Feb. 3, 1838. A FRIEND.

Mexico. The following is an extract from the speech of President Bustamante, at the opening of the Congress:

'I regret to announce to you, that the government of the United States has not duly appreciated the rights of the republic in remaining with the power of the nation; in acknowledging with the utmost ease the instrument of war, which the Texas and dertaking the same frankness that of many years, I have neither on public right nor international law. Our claims have not been attended to, on the part of the cabinet; and I will not look upon that harmony should exist between two people for their mutual benefit, and perfectly reasonable, and if upon proofs, by a frank and friendly conduct, by the rigid observance of treaties, and by a due regard to principles and relations of mutual respect, I have to that this confidence will be speedily repudiated, the government will omit nothing to prevent a rupture which would be attended with consequences, the two most powerful states in America.'

STOW THEM AWAY!—The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. American says,

'During the last few days an incredible number of petitions in relation to the slave trade in the District have been presented from nearly every state in the Union. In the House of Representatives the last several days, they have been piled on the floor, and *are stowed away in the ante-chambers* by wagon loads. Very few have will be almost a suffic

COMMUNICATIONS.

DEBATE ON COLONIZATION.

PEAX'S GROVE, Chester Co. Pa. January 15th, 1838.

DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

I have been laboring for some weeks past, in this section of Chester County, and have had reason to believe our labor has not been utterly in vain.—Our meetings have been unanimously attended, and the attention generally given to the subject, very pleasing. Prejudice is not to be expected in a state as the friends of freedom are, there is in some places much to contend with, and among a numberous spirit of hostility, and in others a great indifference. The cause is gradually carrying its way, in spite of strong obstacles; and its triumph is sure, but slow, but alas! it may be too late for the relief of our beloved land.

Some days engaged in several debates upon the subject of slavery, and as your name was somewhat unceremoniously dragged into the last one, and charges preferred against you, I wish to give a full reply to the affair, for several reasons, first your account must have an authentic statement of the charges against you, if you intend to vindicate his charges against you, if you intend to vindicate the cause of the Liberator.

Last Monday evening, I attended a public debate between a Colonization and Abolitionist, at Oxford. Upon a general invitation being extended to participate in the discussion, I embraced the opportunity to expose the wickedness of the colonization scheme. The debate was adjourned from the evening of the 4th of the present month, to Monday evening, at which time I attended, and gave a speech of half an hour, proving the colonization document, that it was opposed to the cause of emancipation in this country, and was proceeding from the same principles, by which slavery was upheld. I was replied to by a Mr. Thompson, whose speech reminded me of Professor Longshore's dissertation of milk and water—that it was a harmless beverage. Mr. Alexander's speech was of a different sense—in another, it was as bitter as wormwood, and as wicked enough, but the man of profession of his harangue incontinently contradicted the other. I replied—and was followed by Mr. Bell, the chairman of the colonization society of Elliott Cresson. He told us the institution of slavery, yet he considered it, when compared with evil, far inferior in criminality to the sin of the Abolitionists, among which he enumerated intemperance, the sin of the world, commandment breaking, the sabbath, and several others which I cannot remember. In fact, he seemed to look upon intemperance a trivial sin, and one, which, in us, was as harmless as slavery, affected the South, and was the cause of the Abolitionists, that the colonization society was opposed by the people of the south, and knew there were many among the slaves. He assured the people of the south, that the Abolitionists was publishing the abuse of masters, and the patriots of Virginia were about to offer a bill, and that numerous petitions to that effect had been sent to the seat of Government, that they had not a right to touch the institution of the south—and that to interfere with slavery, was to violate the constitution of the United States. He told the people of the south, at the south, lest the slaves should know their rights, and of the property which he had of in the right colonies on the western shore, to consent. A Mr. Wm. McCombs, a Methodist preacher, but whether of a traveling I cannot tell, next occupied the floor and opposed the colonization society for three reasons. Because the abolition society ran to never remove the evil, that exists among the colored people. 2 Because the friends of the colonization society are more in their operation than those of the anti-slavery society. 3 Because the society acts upon the principle, that God has laid down in his deliverance of the people of Israel, that the Israelites should spoil the Egyptians, and with great vehemence, that God would be on the anti-slavery side with his plagues, because it would not let some people go! His whole speech was full of such nonsense, and bogs, and a very low conception of colonization love. He declared, with great emphasis, that the colored people should be entitled to all rights here with those whose ancestors had sold and died for liberty—that a man should not be allowed to enjoy the wishes to counteract the colonization society were to be pitied, and that he hoped they would pray, that we may make a place in Africa—that I, in my lectures, held out hopes to the people of conversion—and other things too numerous to mention. And, to conclude, and show the audience how very benevolent he was, he declared that he would pledge himself, poor man as he was, *all the colored people would consent to go, if the abolitionists would only contribute their money, to pay the fifteen dollars*[1] for that purpose—and that was necessary any abolitionist would give to procure their passage. I found but little difficulty in disposing of his three reasons,[2] and the *attention* he used to answer them. A man present then read the resolutions of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Society on the member of Lovejoy, commenting as he went along, and attempting to excite not only the indignation, but the wrath of the audience against the slaves to counteract the colonization society were to be pitied, and that we

LITERARY.

For the Liberator.

I'D HAVE NO SLAVE.

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To fan me when I sleep, and tremble when I wake."—*Cowper.*

I'd have no slave to till my ground,
To fan me while I sleep,
To walk my humble dwelling round,
With midnight foes to keep.

No, not for all the gold that grows
In deep Peruvian mines—
Nor all the ample wealth that flows
Through India's coral climes.

I'd have no slave to toil for me,
To earn my food and clothe—
His only recompense to be
Curses, and threats, and blows.

I'd hold no man in slavery—
It is a dreadful wrong;
The rights of life and liberty
To all mankind belong.

My soul abhors despotic power,
Which takes those rights away;
They make the slave is tyrant's cower,
Their mandates to obey.

I'd see her spend my days within
Some dark and dismal cave,
Than to be guilty of the sin
Of holding one poor slave.

A. R.

DANVERS.

For the Liberator.

HYPOCRITICAL OPPRESSORS.

ISAIAH 58.

'Cry, cry, aloud,' cease not, the prophet saith;
Lift, trumpet like, thy voice, nor spare thy breath!
'Show, show my people, their transgressions' and
Their sins, which so pollute the guilty land.

Daily they seek me, and delight to know
My ways: as if they righteousness would do;
They ask me justice—and approach to God,
With strong *pretensions* of their high regard.

Why have we fasted, and thou cast it off?
Why afflict our souls, yet be forgot?
Behold ye fast for strife, and for debate,
And with the fist of violence and deceit.

Is such the fast I've chosen? to afflict
The soul? to bow the head like bulrush thick?
Sackcloth and ashes under these to spread;
While in the paths of wickedness ye tread?

No, this is not the fast that pleaseth me—
'Tis rather this, to let the oppress'd go free:
To loose your wicked bands, and to undo
The heavy burdens—break the fetters too.

Then shall thy light break forth, as morning clear,
Thy health be firm—and blessings crown the year,
Thy righteousness shall go before thee, then,
Thy God shall guide thee and thy path defend.

R.

☞ The following spirit-stirring appeal to Massachusetts is copied from the Emancipator. The name of its author is not given—but, if we think, it would be just as easy for us to conjecture as for our readers as it would be to say John G. Whittier.—*Ed. Lib.*

MASSACHUSETTS.

Written on hearing the Resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts on the subject of Slavery, presented by Hon. C. Cushing to the House of Representatives of the U. S. have been laid on the table unread, and unreferred, under the 21st rule of 'Patton's Resolution.'

And have they spurned thy word,
Thou of the old THIRTEEN!
Whose soil, where Freedom's blood first poured,
Hath yet a darker green!
Tread on weak Southron's pride and lust
Thy name and councils in the dust!

And have they closed thy Mouth,
And fix'd the pad-lock fast—
Slave of the mean and tyrant South—
Is this thy last lot!
Old Massachusetts! can it be
That thou thy sons must speak of thee!

Call from the Capitol
Thy chosen one again,
Unmeet for thee the base control!
Ofalavery's curbing rein!—
Unmeet for necks like theirs to feel
The clanking of the despot's heel!

Call back to Quincy's shade
That steadfast son of thine:
Go—if thy homage must be paid
To Slavery's pagod-shrine,
Seek out the meanest offering than
The free-born soul of that old man!

Call that true spirit back,
So eloquent and young—
In his own vale of Merrimack
He chains are on his tongue!
Better to breathe its cold, keen air,
Than wear the Southron's shackle there.

Ay, let them hasten home,
And render up their trust—
Through them the Pilgrim-state is dumb—
Her proud lip in the dust!
Her counsels and her gentlest word
Of warning spurned aside, unheard.

Let them come back, and shake
The base dust from their feet;
And with their tale of outrage wake
The free human conscience where they meet:
And show before indignant men
The scars, where Slavery's chain hath been.

Back from the Capitol—
"It is no place for thee!
Beneath the arch of Freedom's blue wall,
Thy voice may still be free!
What power shall chain thy spirit there,
In God's free sun and freer air?

A voice is calling thee,
From all the century-graves
Of those stern men, in death made free,
Who could not live as slaves.
The slumbering of thy honored dead
Are by thee disgraced!

The curse of Slavery comes
Still nearer, day by day;
Shall thy pure altars and thy homes
Become its spoiler's prey?
Shall the dull tread of fettered slaves
Sound o'er thy old and holy graves?

Pride of the old THIRTEEN!
That curse may yet be stayed—
Southron, if Freedom's strength, between
The living and the dead—
Stand forth, for God and Liberty—
Is one strong effort worthy thee!

Once more let Faneuil Hall
By freemen's feet be trod,
And give the echoes of its wall
Once more to Freedom's God!
And in the mild essence shall stand
The mighty fathers of thy land.

Thy gathered sons shall feel
The soul of Adams near,
And Otis with his fiery zeal,
And Warren's onward cheer!—
And heart to heart shall thrill as when
They moved and spake as living men.

Fling from thy Capitol,
Thy banner to the light,
And, ye Sky Charmers! sacred scroll,
For Freedom and the Right,
Breathe once again thy vows, unbroken—
Speak once again as then thou spoke!

On dry bleak hills speak out!
A world thy words shall hear;
And they who listen round about,
In friendship, or in fear,
Shall know that still, where never tried,
Unshaken and unterrified."

* Massachusetts has held her way right onward, unshaken by the threats of Southern power.—*C. Cushing in the House of Rep. of the U. S. 1836.*

BE OF GOOD COURAGE.

O ye who have found affliction's strong power,
Remember who governs the desolate hour;
And with faith's steady vision keep strong on your way,
Assured that your strength shall be still as your day.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

LETTER XV.

MAN EQUALLY GUILTY WITH WOMAN IN THE FALL.

Uxbridge, 10th Mo. 20th, 1837.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is said that 'modern Jewish women light a lamp every Friday evening, half an hour before sunset, which is the beginning of their Sabbath, in remembrance of their original mother, who first extinguished the lamp of righteousness,—to remind them of their obligation to rekindle it.' I am one of those who always admit, to its fullest extent, the popular charge, that woman brought sin into the world. Admit it as a powerful reason why woman is bound to labor with double diligence, for the regeneration of that world she has been instrumental in ruining.

But, although I do not repel the imputation, I shall notice some passages in the sacred Scriptures, where this transaction is mentioned, which prove, I think, the identity and equality of man and woman, and that there is no difference in their guilt in the view of that God who searcheth the heart and trieth the reins of the children of men. In Is. 43: 27, we find the following passage.—'Thy first father hath sinned, and thy teachers have transgressed against me'—which is synonymous with Rom. 5: 12. 'Wherefore, as by ONE MAN sin entered into the world. and death by sin, &c.' Here man and woman are included under one term, and no distinction is made in their criminality. The circumstances of the fall are again referred to in 2 Cor. 11: 3—'But I fear lest, by any means, as the serpent *beguiled* Eve through his subtility, so your mind should be beguiled from the simplicity that is in Christ.' Again—1st Tim. 2: 14—'Adam *was not deceived*; but the woman being *deceived*, was in the transgression.' Now, whether the fact, that Eve was beguiled and deceived, is a proof that her crime was of deeper dye than Adam's, who was not deceived, but was fully aware of the consequences of sharing in her transgression, I shall leave the candid reader to determine.

My present object is to show, that, as woman is charged with all the sin that exists in the world, it is her solemn duty to labor for its extinction; and that this she can never do effectually and extensively, until her mind is disenthralled of those shackles which have been imposed upon her by a '*corrupt public opinion, and a perverted interpretation of the holy Scriptures.*' Woman must feel that she is the equal, and is designed to be the fellow labourer of her brother, or she will be studying to find out the *imaginary* line which separates the sexes, and divides the duties of men and women into two distinct classes, a separation not even hinted at in the Bible, where we are expressly told 'there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'

My views on this subject are so much better embodied in the language of a living author than I can express them, that I quote the passage entire: 'Woman's rights and man's rights are *both* contained in the *same* charter, and held by the *same* tenure. *All rights* spring out of the *moral* nature: they are bain into root and the offspring of *responsibilities.* The physical constitution is the mere *instrument* of the *moral* nature; sex is a mere *incident* of this constitution, a provision necessary to the end of existence; it *only* design, not to give, nor to take away, nor in any respect to modify or even *touch* rights or responsibilities in any sense, except so far as the peculiar offices of each sex may afford less or more *opportunity* and ability for the exercise of rights, and the discharge of responsibilities; but merely to continue and enlarge the human department of God's government. Consequently, I know nothing of *man's* rights, or *woman's rights*; *human* rights are all that I recognise. The doctrine, that the *sex of the body* presides over and administers upon the rights and responsibilities of the moral, immortal nature, is to my mind a doctrine kindred in blasphemy, *where sex is its intrinsic nature.* It breaks up utterly the *relations* of the two natures, and reverses their functions; exalting the animal nature into a monarch, and humbling the moral into a slave; making the former a proprietor, and the latter its property.'

To perform our duties, we must comprehend our rights and responsibilities; and it is because we do not understand, that we now fall so far short in the discharge of our obligations. Unaccustomed to think for ourselves, and to search the sacred volume, to see how far we are living up to the design of Jehovah in our creation, we have rested satisfied with the sphere marked out for us by man, never detecting the fallacy of that reasoning which forbids woman to exercise some of her noblest faculties, and stamps with the reproach of impiety those actions by which women were formerly dignified and exalted in the church.

I should not mention this subject again, if it were not to point out to my sisters what seems to me an irresistable conclusion from the false interpretation of St. Paul, without reference to the context, and the peculiar circumstances and abuses which drew forth the expressions, 'I suffer not a woman to teach'—'Let your women keep silence in the church,' i. e. congregation. It is manifest, that if the apostle meant what his words imply, when taken in the strictest sense, then women have no right to *teach* Sabbath or day schools, or open their lips in singing in the assemblies of the people; yet young and delicate women are engaged in all these offices; they are expressly trained to exhibit themselves, and raise their voices to a high pitch in the choirs of our places of worship. I do not intend to sit in judgment on my sisters for doing these things; I only want them to see, that they are as really infringing a *supposed divine* command, by instructing their pupils in the Sabbath or day schools, and by singing in the congregation, as if they were engaged in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ to a lost and perishing world. Why, then, are we permitted to break this injunction in some points, and so sedulously warned not to overstep the bounds set for us by our *brethren* in another? Simply, as I believe, because in the one case we subserve *their* views and *their* interests, and act in *subordination to them*; whilst in the other, we come in contact with their interests, and claim to be on an equality with them in the highest and most important trust ever committed to man, namely, the ministry of the word. It is manifest, that if women were permitted to be ministers of the gospel, as they unquestionably were in the primitive ages of the Christian church, it would interfere materially with the present organization of spiritual power and ecclesiastical authority, which is now vested solely in the hands of men. It would either show that all the paraphernalia of theological seminaries, &c. &c. to prepare men to become evangelists, is wholly unnecessary, it would create a necessity for similar institutions in order to prepare women for the same office; and this would be an encroachment on that learning, which our lord brethren have so emphatically monopolized. I do not ask any one to believe my statements, or adopt my conclusions, because they are mine; but I do earnestly entreat my sisters to lay aside their prejudices, and examine these subjects *for themselves*, regardless of the 'traditions of men,' because they are intimately connected with their duty and their usefulness in the present important crisis.

All the light known any thing of the present system of benevolent and religious operations, know that women are performing an important part in them, in *subserviency to men*, who guide our labors, and are often the recipients of those benefits of education we toil to confer, and which we rejoice in their enjoyment, although it their mandate which deprives us of the same advantages. Now, whether our brethren have defrauded us intentionally, or unintentionally, the wrong we suffer is equally the same. For years, they have been pourring us up in the performance of our duties. The immense usefulness and the vast influence of woman have been eulogized and called into exercise, and many a benighted heathen has been upon us, and many a prayer put up for us, because we have labored by day and by night to clothe and feed and educate young men, whilst our own bodies remained naked, for want of comfortable garments, and our minds are left in almost utter destitution of that improvement which we are toiling to bestow upon the brethren.

'Blest many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.'

If the sewing societies, the avails of whose industry are now expended in supporting and educating young men for the ministry, were to withdraw their contributions to these objects, and give them where *more needed*, to the advancement of their *own sex* in useful learning, the next generation might furnish sufficient proof, that in intelligence and ability to master the whole circle of sciences, woman is not inferior to man; and instead of a woman being regarded as she now is, as a lusses nature, they would be quite as common as sensible men. I confess, considering the high claim we have in this country to great politeness and deference to women, it does seem a little extraordinary that we should be urged to work for the brethren. I should suppose it would be a little more in character with the generous promptings of chivalry, and the poetry of romantic gallantry,' for which Catherine E. Beecher gives them credit, for them to form societies to educate their sisters, seeing our inferior opportunities for cultivation to bring them into use, and qualify us to be helps meet for them. However, though I think this would be but a just return for all our past kindnesses in this way, I shall be willing to balance our accounts, and begin a new course. Henceforth, let the benefit be reciprocated, or else let each sex provide for the education of their own poor, whose talents ought to be rescued from the oblivion of ignorance. Since I am the person who are now benefitted by the handy work of their sisters, will not be less honorable if they occupy half their time in earning enough to pay for their own education, instead of depending on the industry of women, who not unfrequently deprive themselves of the means of purchasing valuable books which might enlarge their stock of useful knowledge, and perhaps prove a blessing to the family by furnishing them with instructive reading. If the minds of women were enlightened and improved, the domestic circle would be more frequently refreshed by intelligent conversation, a means of edification now depletely neglected for want of that cultivation which these intellectual advantages would confer.

DUTIES OF WOMEN.

One of the duties which devolve upon women in the present interesting crisis, is to prepare themselves for more extensive usefulness, by making use of those religious and literary privileges and advantages that are within their reach, if they will only stretch out their hands and possess them. By doing this, they will become better acquainted with their rights as moral beings, and with their responsibilities growing out of those rights: they will regard themselves as they really are, FREE AGENTS, immortal beings responsible to a tribunal but that of Jehovah, and bound not to submit to any restriction imposed for selfish purposes, or to gratify that love of power which has reigned in the heart of man from Adam down to the present time. In contemplating the great moral reformations of the day, and the part which they are bound to take in them, instead of puzzling themselves with the harassing, because unnecessary inquiry, 'Have we, for they sisters, overstepped the bounds of propriety, which separate male and female duties, they will only inquire, 'Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?' They will be enabled to see the simple truth, that God has made no distinction between men and women as moral beings; that the distinction now so much insisted upon between male and female virtues is as absurd as it is unscriptural, and has been the fruitful source of much mischief—granting to man a license for the exhibition of brute force and conflict on the battle field; fost ermess, selfishness, and the exercise of irresponsible power in the circle of home—and to woman a license to rest on an arm of flesh, and to regard modesty and delicacy, and all the kindred virtues, as peculiarly appropriate to her. Now to me it is perfectly clear, that WHATSOEVER IT IS MORALLY RIGHT FOR A MAN TO DO, IT IS MORALLY RIGHT FOR A WOMAN TO DO; and that confusion must exist in the moral world, until women takes her stand on the same platform with man, and feels that she is clothed by her Maker with the *same rights*, and, of course, that upon her devolve the *same duties.*

It is not my intention, nor indeed do I think it is in my power, to point out the precise duties of women. To him who still teacheth by his Holy Spirit, as man has been taught, I refer my beloved sisters. There is a vast field of usefulness before them. The signs of the times give portentous evidence, that a day of deep trial is approaching; and I urge them, by considerations of a Savior's dying love, by the millions of heathen in our midst, by the sufferings of woman in almost every portion of the world, by the fearful ravages which slavery, intemperance, licentiousness and other iniquities are making of the happiness of our fellow creatures, to come to the rescue of a ruined world, and to be found co-workers with Jesus Christ.

'He! to the rescue, ho!
Up every one that feels—
'Tis a cold and fearful day of woe
From a guilty world that reels.
Hark! hark! how the horror rolls,
Where one shrieks, ten sigh!
'Tis the groan of a trusmmel'd people's souls,
Now berdin to be free!'

And now, while all due deference for the office of the ministry, which I believe was established by Jehovah himself, and designed by Him to be the means of spreading light and salvation through a crucified Savior to all nations of the world, I would entreat my sisters not to *compel* the ministers of the present day to give their names to great moral reformations. The practice of making ministers life members, or officers of societies, of which they have not been consulted with a live coal from the altar, and animated with love for the work we are engaged in, is highly injurious to them, as well as to the cause. They often satisfy their conscences by saying, they without doing anything to promote the anti-slavery, or temperance, or other reformations; and we please ourselves with the idea, that we have done something to forward the cause of Christ, when, in effect, we have been sewing pillows like the false prophetesses of old under the arm-holes of our clerical brethren. Let us treat the ministers with all tenderness and respect, but let us be careful how we cherish in their hearts the idea that they are of more importance to a cause than other men. I rejoice when they take hold heartily. I love and honor some ministers with whom I have been associated in the anti-slavery ranks, but I do deeply deplore, for the sake of the cause, the prevalent notion, that the clergy must be had, either by persuasion or by bribery. They will not need persuasion or bribery, if their hearts are with us; if they are not, we had better without them. It is little to suppose that the kingdom of heaven cannot come on earth, without their co-operation. It is the Lord's work, and it must go forward with or without their aid. I have been deeply the contrition of Jews have despaired of the spread of Christianity, without the co-operation of Scribes and Pharisees.

Let us keep in mind, that no abolitionism is of any value, which is not accompanied with deep, heartfelt repentance; and that, whenever a minister sincerely repents of having, either by his apathy or his efforts, countenanced the fearful sin of slavery, he will need no inducement to come into our ranks; so far from it, he will abhor himself in dust and ashes, for his past blindness and indifference to the cause of God's poor and oppressed; and he will regard it as a privilege to be enabled to do something in the cause of human rights. I know the ministry exercise vast power; but I rejoice in the belief, that the spell is broken which encircled them, and rendered it all but blasphemy to oppose their errors and their sins. We are beginning to understand that they are but men, and that their station should not shield them from merited reproof.

I have labored for my sex when I have heard of their entreating ministers to attend their associations, and open them with prayer. The idea is inconceivable to me, that Christian women can be engaged in doing God's work, and yet cannot ask his blessing on their efforts, except through the lips of a man. I have known a whole town scoured to obtain a minister to open a female department, and yet I had to do so spoken of as quite a misfortune. Now, I am not glad that the ministers do wrong; but I am glad that my sisters have been sometimes compelled to act for themselves: it is rarely when they need to strengthen them, and prepare them to act independently. And to say the truth, there is something really ludicrous in seeing a minister enter the meeting, open it with prayer, and then take his seat, and do nothing. However, I only mention these hints for the consideration of women. I believe there are solemn responsibilities resting upon us, and that in this day of light and knowledge, we cannot plead ignorance of duty. The eyes of the world are now upon us, on the wheel are only practical Christianity; and if the ministry is not prepared to labor with us in these righteous causes, let us press forward, and they will follow on to know the Lord.

CONCLUSION.

I have now, my dear sister, completed my series of letters. I am aware, they contain some new views; but I believe they are based on the immutable rights of the Bible. All I ask for them is, the candid and prayerful consideration of Christians. If they strike at some of our bosom sins, our deep-rooted prejudices, our long cherished opinions, let us not condemn them on that account, but investigate them fearlessly and prayerfully, and not shrink from the examination; because, if they are true, they place heavy responsibilities upon women. In throwing them before the public, I have been actuated solely by the belief, that if they are acted upon, they will exalt the character and enlarge the usefulness of my own sex, and contribute greatly to the happiness and virtue of the other. That there will be a great commotion continually springing up in families and troubling the repose of both men and women, must be manifest to even a superficial observer; and I believe it is the mistaken notion of the inequality of the sexes, as there is an assumption of superiority on the one part, which is not sanctioned by Jehovah, there is an incessant struggle on the other to rise to that degree of dignity, which God designed women should occupy, in common with man, and to maintain those rights and exercise those privileges which every woman's common sense, apart from the prejudices of education, tells her are inalienable; they are a part of her moral nature, and she will only cease when her immortal mind is extinguished.

We need union. I feel that I am calling upon my sexto sacrifice what has been, while still dear to them, the idol of their hearts, idolatry, the attentions of trifling men. I am asking them to repel these insidious enemies whenever they approach them; to manifest by their conduct, that, although they value highly the society of intelligent and virtuous men, they have no taste for idle conversation, and for that silly preference which is manifested for their personal accommodation, often at the expense of great inconvenience to their male companions. As an illustration of what I mean, I will state a fact.

I was traveling lately in a stage coach. A gentleman, who was also a passenger, was kindly asked by a female to hold her horses. I offered to exchange seats, assuring him it did not affect me at all unplesantly; but he was too polite to permit a lady to run the risk of being discommoded. I am sure he meant to be very civil, but I really thought it was a foolish piece of civility. This kind of attention encourages selfishness in woman, and is only accorded as a sort of quietus, in exchange for those rights of which we are deprived. Men and women should be taught to cultivate a spirit of accommodation; but I exceedingly deprecate her being treated like a spoiled child; and sacrifices made to her selfishness and vanity. In the world, she meets with no such attentions, yielded to her as an inferior, as a mark of benevolence and courtesy. I want my sex to claim nothing from their brethren but what their brethren may justly claim from them, in their intercourse as Christians. I am persuaded woman can do much in this way to elevate her own character. And that we may become duly sensible of the dignity of our nature, only a little higher than the angels, and bring forth fruit to the glory and honor of Emanuel's name, is the fervent prayer of

Thine in the bonds of womanhood.

SARAH M. GRIMKE.

From the Upper Canada Herald.

A CUTTING REBUKE.

Some of the American papers are expressing great sympathy for the fugitive rebels, and are publishing the most false and ridiculous accounts of the various outrages and tortures that have occurred. If these editors are really as desirous of extending liberty to the oppressed as their writings would imply, why do not some of them commence the efforts for the two millions and a half of slaves in the United States. These slaves are oppressed in every way, and are exposed to every kind of cruelty, outrages all the charities and virtues of public and private life, and crushes every power and faculty of human nature, in the victims that have not been oppressed either in person, property or character, yet over them these editors can whine and sign, like boarding school girls, as if the oppression of which they complain was anything but imaginary. Look at home, ye false friends of a spurious liberality, and when you have given freedom to your slaves, we may then listen with some degree of patience to your complaints. I am persuaded woman can do much in this way to elevate her own character. And that we may become duly sensible of the dignity of our nature, only a little higher than the angels, and bring forth fruit to the glory and honor of Emanuel's name, is the fervent prayer of

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MASSACHUSETTS.

Written on hearing the Resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts on the subject of Slavery, presented by Hon. C. Cushing to the House of Representatives of the U. S. have been laid on the table unread, and unreferred, under the 21st rule of 'Patton's Resolution.'

And have they spurned thy word,
Thou of the old THIRTEEN!
Whose soil, where Freedom's blood first poured,
Hath yet a darker green!
Tread on weak Southron's pride and lust
Thy name and councils in the dust!

And have they closed thy Mouth,
And fix'd the pad-lock fast—
Slave of the mean and tyrant South—
Is this thy last lot!
Old Massachusetts! can it be
That thou thy sons must speak of thee!

Call from the Capitol
Thy chosen one again,
Unmeet for thee the base control!
Ofalavery's curbing rein!—
Unmeet for necks like theirs to feel
The clanking of the despot's heel!

Call back to Quincy's shade
That steadfast son of thine:
Go—if thy homage must be paid
To Slavery's pagod-shrine,
Seek out the meanest offering than
The free-born soul of that old man!

Call that true spirit back,
So eloquent and young—
In his own vale of Merrimack
He chains are on his tongue!
Better to breathe its cold, keen air,
Than wear the Southron's shackle there.

Ay, let them hasten home,
And render up their trust—
Through them the Pilgrim-state is dumb—
Her proud lip in the dust!
Her counsels and her gentlest word
Of warning spurned aside, unheard.

Let them come back, and shake
The base dust from their feet;
And with their tale of outrage wake
The free human conscience where they meet:
And show before indignant men
The scars, where Slavery's chain hath been.

Back from the Capitol—
"It is no place for thee!
Beneath the arch of Freedom's blue wall,
Thy voice may still be free!
What power shall chain thy spirit there,
In God's free sun and freer air?

A voice is calling thee,
From all the century-graves
Of those stern men, in death made free,
Who could not live as slaves.
The slumbering of thy honored dead
Are by thee disgraced!

The curse of Slavery comes
Still nearer, day by day;
Shall thy pure altars and thy homes
Become its spoiler's prey?
Shall the dull tread of fettered slaves
Sound o'er thy old and holy graves?

Pride of the old THIRTEEN!
That curse may yet be stayed—
Southron, if Freedom's strength, between
The living and the dead—
Stand forth, for God and Liberty—
Is one strong effort worthy thee!

Once more let Faneuil Hall
By freemen's feet be trod,
And give the echoes of its wall
Once more to Freedom's God!
And in the mild essence shall stand
The mighty fathers of thy land.

Thy gathered sons shall feel
The soul of Adams near,
And Otis with his fiery zeal,
And Warren's onward cheer!—
And heart to heart shall thrill as when
They moved and spake as living men.

Fling from thy Capitol,
Thy banner to the light,
And, ye Sky Charmers! sacred scroll,
For Freedom and the Right,
Breathe once again thy vows, unbroken—
Speak once again as then thou spoke!

On dry bleak hills speak out!
A world thy words shall hear;
And they who listen round about,
In friendship, or in fear,
Shall know that still, where never tried,
Unshaken and unterrified."

* Massachusetts has held her way right onward, unshaken by the threats of Southern power.—*C. Cushing in the House of Rep. of the U. S. 1836.*

BE OF GOOD COURAGE.

O ye who have found affliction's strong power,
Remember who governs the desolate hour;
And with faith's steady vision keep strong on your way,
Assured that your strength shall be still as your day.

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LITERARY, MISCELLANEOUS AND MORAL.

DEFERRED ARTICLES.

☞ The speech of Gov. Kent to the Legislature of Maine contains the following nearly sentiments in regard to the right of Trial by Jury, to the Liberty of Speech, and to the cause of Temperance.

It is provided in the Constitution of the United States, (Article 6, sec. 2) 'no person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

However strongly we may disapprove the system here alluded to, and desire to see it abolished, by legal and constitutional means, we are bound to observe the provision into full effect, in perfect good faith, and with sincere desire to maintain and observe the provision of the compact. But the person claiming the service or removal of innate property by legal authority; and surely the most friendless of human beings has a right to legal trial before his personal freedom is impaired by the operation of law. Some provision by which a speedy trial in such cases could be had before a jury of the country, would tend to the rights of claimants promptly and legally settled, seems to be called for by the exigency of the times, and I submit the matter to your consideration.

The many recent examples of the assumption of power to punish or prevent assumed evils, by lawless and unrestrained bodies of men, self-constituted and self-authorized, have given fearful evidence of a spirit gaining strength in the community, at war with the elementary principles and only safeguards of our institutions.

The will of the people is the supreme law, but it is that will constitutionally expressed and lawfully ascertained. The majority must govern, the minority must govern by standing laws, equal in their operation, and general in their exactions, and enacted by a majority of the people, and not by the throw out these hints for the consideration of women. I believe there are solemn responsibilities resting upon us, and that in this day of light and knowledge, we cannot plead ignorance of duty. The eyes of the world are now upon us, on the wheel are only practical Christianity; and if the ministry is not prepared to labor with us in these righteous causes, let us press forward, and they will follow on to know the Lord.

CONCLUSION.

I have now, my dear sister, completed my series of letters. I am aware, they contain some new views; but I believe they are based on the immutable rights of the Bible. All I ask for them is, the candid and prayerful consideration of Christians. If they strike at some of our bosom sins, our deep-rooted prejudices, our long cherished opinions, let us not condemn them on that account, but investigate them fearlessly and prayerfully, and not shrink from the examination; because, if they are true, they place heavy responsibilities upon women. In throwing them before the public, I have been actuated solely by the belief, that if they are acted upon, they will exalt the character and enlarge the usefulness of my own sex, and contribute greatly to the happiness and virtue of the other. That there will be a great commotion continually springing up in families and troubling the repose of both men and women, must be manifest to even a superficial observer; and I believe it is the mistaken notion of the inequality of the sexes, as there is an assumption of superiority on the one part, which is not sanctioned by Jehovah, there is an incessant struggle on the other to rise to that degree of dignity, which God designed women should occupy, in common with man, and to maintain those rights and exercise those privileges which every woman's common sense, apart from the prejudices of education, tells her are inalienable; they are a part of her moral nature, and she will only cease when her immortal mind is extinguished.

We need union. I feel that I am calling upon my sexto sacrifice what has been, while still dear to them, the idol of their hearts, idolatry, the attentions of trifling men. I am asking them to repel these insidious enemies whenever they approach them; to manifest by their conduct, that, although they value highly the society of intelligent and virtuous men, they have no taste for idle conversation, and for that silly preference which is manifested for their personal accommodation, often at the expense of great inconvenience to their male companions. As an illustration of what I mean, I will state a fact.

I was traveling lately in a stage coach. A gentleman, who was also a passenger, was kindly asked by a female to hold her horses. I offered to exchange seats, assuring him it did not affect me at all unplesantly; but he was too polite to permit a lady to run the risk of being discommoded. I am sure he meant to be very civil, but I really thought it was a foolish piece of civility. This kind of attention encourages selfishness in woman, and is only accorded as a sort of quietus, in exchange for those rights of which we are deprived. Men and women should be taught to cultivate a spirit of accommodation; but I exceedingly deprecate her being treated like a spoiled child; and sacrifices made to her selfishness and vanity. In the world, she meets with no such attentions, yielded to her as an inferior, as a mark of benevolence and courtesy. I want my sex to claim nothing from their brethren but what their brethren may justly claim from them, in their intercourse as Christians. I am persuaded woman can do much in this way to elevate her own character. And that we may become duly sensible of the dignity of our nature, only a little higher than the angels, and bring forth fruit to the glory and honor of Emanuel's name, is the fervent prayer of

Thine in the bonds of womanhood.

SARAH M. GRIMKE.

MR. NAYLOR'S SPEECH IN REPLY TO MR. CALHOUN.

Copious extracts are made from the speech of Mr. Naylor, and published in the Ann Arbor (Michigan) paper, and the Editor thus notices the conduct of the representative of our Third District:—Mr. Naylor, in the speech referred to, 'It breathed throughout the spirit of a patriot, and a man, who knew the true ground of our institutions, and who, when upon the gentlemen from South Carolina, with tremendous force, the character of the man he would meet with, should he attempt to put his hand to a proscribing of 'preaching insurrection to servants.'

We like to see the assaults of southern men on our institutions, and the character of our people, repelled with the spirit, force and justice, and the Mr. Naylor has done fearlessly and admirably. The gentleman, it will be recollected by our readers, stood elected to Congress, recently, over Mr. Ingersoll, the great loco foco candidate, and we think he will prove not only an honor to himself and his constituents, but a blessing to the whole country. We want more such men in Congress, and we will have them. Partisan delts have ruled too long enough. Give us men like Naylor, and all would soon be well.—*Philad. paper.*

PATTON'S RESOLUTION.

The following spirited and patriotic resolutions adopted at a public meeting of the Young Men of New-York, on recently held in Clinton Hall.

Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 21st of May, by Mr. Patton, offered and passed on the 21st Dec. 1836, declaring that certain petitions '*be laid on the table without being read, or referred, and that a further action whatever shall be had thereon*,' is a palpable violation of the rights of petitioners, and exhibits an unjustifiable and indecorous contempt of the sentiments and feelings of our fellow citizens, dangerous as a precedent for innovations upon rights of a similar nature, unconstitutional, and subversive of the great principles upon which our government is founded.

Resolved, That the extraordinary means employed to procure the adoption of the resolution, and calling upon a portion of his fellow members to withdraw their signatures, to secede from the house—their withdrawal and formation of themselves into a convention for purposes unknown to the constitution and the laws of the land—the decision by this convention of the resolution to Congress—and the resort to a call for the previous question, justify the adoption, at a free expression of opinion, and to bestow on the resolution, affording an opportunity to consider its effects, are a duty, which we scarcely less to be reprehended than the resolution itself.

J. T. AUSTIN AND HUBBARD WINSLOW.

At a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Boston, held in Faneuil Hall, on a call signed by more than one hundred persons, Dec. 15, with reference to the murder of Lovejoy, (Gen. Appleton House in the chair,) the following among other resolutions were adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That we have seen with pain, with the heart-felt sorrow and regret, the sentiments expressed by the Attorney General of this Commonwealth, at a late meeting of the citizens of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, evidently disposed, and intentionally fostering to a riot and breach of the peace, and so utterly regardless of the duties of his office as to intimate that a mob was justifiable, if the law and impartial discharge of its duties; and in our opinion calls for the interposition of the constituted authorities of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the definition of liberty given by the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, in a sermon preached before the Legislature, viz. 'liberty is not the power to do what we will of the brotherhood (slaves not *allow and protect*,' is a doctrine hostile to, and totally destructive of, Republican liberty, and in our most lively indignation, we express our most lively unqualified condemnation of all good citizens, only of this but of all future time.

RIGHT OF PETITION.

What would be thought of the despotism of Czar of Russia, who should say to a large proportion of his subjects, 'I have your petitions, and I can please, and I will graciously consider of your petitions upon the table, until the long or large that it will be burdensome to me, and I will throw them into the fire?' Yet this is what Representatives of the *free* and *independent* states of the Union have done with their constituents. It is a case so grossly absurd and ridiculous in all argument upon it it mere waste of words to deal with pride and gratification that we find in Representatives from the state of Adams, on the motion of Mr. Adams, who would not vote against the resolution because it was unconstitutional according to his notions in the negative, voted for from the 'democratic' State of New Hampshire, went in the affirmative. Vermont, too, and Rhode Island, seem to be the only states that have kept the right of petition. We hope the vote will be taken at every session until the right of petition is established in practice, and we