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

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Anti-Slavery Lecturer.

GOODELL'S ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

No. II.

It will be borne in mind that we have undertaken to try the merits of slavery *by its own code*. The system is precisely what its own law makers have made it. Abolitionists would have it considered to be *just what the South says it is*. The South shall tell her own story. She shall speak by her own *authorized representatives—her legislatures, her jurists, her civilians, her judges*.

In our first lecture, we embodied a part of the testimony. We found them, according to their own account, (I.) casting down immortal man, 'made a little lower than the angels,' to a level with brutes, and reducing him to 'goods and chattels'—to *things!*—(II.) Setting up the slave master in the place of God—nay—above God! and denying the slave's free moral agency! —(III.) Blotting out the family relation; repealing the seventh commandment, herding men and women together like beasts; making every slave parent childless—every slave child an orphan—every slave father wifeless, and every slave mother a widow.—(IV.) We found them 'using their neighbors' service without wages, and giving them not for their work.' Enforcing unpaid labor by the cart whip, for their own individual benefit. Doing the things that are universally called *robbery* and *theft*, when *other* men do them.

But the definition of slavery is not yet finished. Listen to the South, and hear the rest of her confession! Penetrate her inner chambers, and behold other abominations than these. What does slavery do next?

PROHIBITS EDUCATION.

V. American slavery prohibits education; bores out the eye of the soul it has chattelized; brutalizes the man, that it may sell him for money, and work him as a brute; blots out the mind, that the body may be made a profitable implement; annihilates the intellectual being of the slave, that he may become the convenient appendage of the master.

American slavery is a sleek skinned, pale faced, lily fingered, lazy, pampered, plotting pauper, who fattens upon the hard earnings of its innocent victim, whom it forces to unpaid toil with the cart whip, and forbids to read or write, or hold converse with a neighbor, lest he should find means of escaping from its clutches; and of laboring for somebody who will pay him.

The gentleman's excuse is, he shall become a bankrupt and starve, unless he thus forces the laborer to support him! He knows no other gentlemanly way of getting a living!

PROOF. (1.) The nature of the case—the facts already in evidence.—'Chattels personal' are not educated! Educated human nature can not be held in chattelship! The safety and harmony of the 'cardinal principle' forbids the education of the slave. The master's unlimited power enables him to prevent it. But lest this should fail, the slave code itself comes in, and forbids even the *master* to educate. 2. We cite the laws of the South.

S. Carolina. A. D. 1770.—'Whereas, the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with inconveniencies: Be it enacted, that all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach, or cause any slave to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the penalty of one hundred pounds, current money.'—2, *Brevard's Digest*, 243.

Mark! 'An inferior race.' Can't make any thing of them!' And yet, laws were needed, nearly a century ago, to prevent their becoming counting house clerks and 'scribes!' And now, 'their masters are only delaying their emancipation, because they are not *prepared* for it!'

The work was begun early. The *South* understood the 'peculiar institution' a century ago. It is high time the nation and the world understood it.

Georgia. Act of 1770. Same as S. Carolina, except the penalty is twenty pounds sterling.

Let us now look at the improvements of the 19th century. Let us notice the *revised* wisdom of Virginia.

Virginia. Revised code of 1819. 'That all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free negroes (!) or mulattoes mixing or associating with such slaves, at any meeting house or houses, or any other place, &c., in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them READING or writing,' [mark the object!] either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly.' The law provides that 'any justice' may issue a warrant authorizing 'any sworn officer or officers'——'to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c., may be for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to inflict corporal punishment on such offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes'—1, *Rev. Code*, 424—5.

Writing was prohibited in 1740; *reading* in 1819. This by way of gradual amelioration! And while the influence of the Colonization Society was undisturbed by the 'fanatics,'—But we cite further specimens:

S. Carolina, in 1800, not content with her old law, enacted the following:

'That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons met together for the purpose of MENTAL INSTRUCTION' [not insurrection!] 'in a confined or secret place &c. &c, are declared an unlawful meeting.' &c.—Magistrates *required* to enter to 'break doors,' &c., if resisted, and to 'disperse' &c——'And the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblages, may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free [!] negroes, &c., as they may think necessary for deterring them from the like unlawful assemblage in future.'—2, *Brev. Dig*, 254.

'In Virginia, should free negroes or their children assemble at a school, to learn reading or writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the school, with twenty stripes on the back of every pupil.'—*Jay's Inquiry* p. 23.

'In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a SUNDAY SCHOOL is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars, for the second offence, DEATH.' —*Ib. p*. 24.

'In N. Carolina, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him any book, [Bible not excepted,] or pamphlet, is punished with 39 lashes, or imprisonment, if the offender be a free negro; but if a white, then, with a fine of $200. The reason of this law assigned in the preamble, is that 'teaching slaves to read and write, tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and produce insurrection and rebellion.'—*Jay's Inq. p*. 136.

'In Georgia, if a white teach a free negro or slave to read or write, he is fined $500, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a colored man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped, at the discretion of the court. Of course, a father may be flogged for teaching his own child. This barbarous law was enacted in 1829.'—*Jay's Inq. p*. 136.

The above date, as in many other cases, shows that the law is not old and obsolete, on the one hand, nor provoked by modern abolition movements, on the other. The first of the modern anti-slavery societies was formed in 1832.

'In Louisiana, the penalty for teaching the slaves to read or write, is one year's imprisonment.'—*Jay's Inq.* p. 136.

Not only the state Legislatures, but cities and towns claim and exercise authority to pass *ordinances* prohibiting education.

'The city has passed an ordinance, by which any person that teaches any person of color, slave or free, to READ or write, or causes any such person to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars for each offence, and every person of color who shall keep a school to teach READING or writing, is subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and whipped *thirty-nine lashes!*—*Savannah Port Folio, April*, 1818.

'Of course,' as Jay observes, 'a father may not instruct his own children.'

We have more than proved the proposition we laid down. For we have proved that the slave laws prohibit the education of the free as well as of the enslaved.

FORBIDS THE FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION.

VII. Slavery prohibits the free exercise of religion. How can it be otherwise? In the outset, it forbids the slave to make God his Supreme Ruler! Is not this forbidding the free exercise of religion? He is 'ENTIRELY subject to the WILL of his master.' 'No man can serve two masters.' His master may be an infidel—a debauchee—a drunkard—a robber—a murderer—a highwayman. It makes no difference. All he has to do is to obey him. The law affords him no remedy—offers him no protection—allows him no will or conscience of his own. Whatever privileges—if any—of a religious nature he has, are such as his master—be he Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Christian, *pleases* to give him. *One* thing, and one only, in respect to religious matters, his master may *not* do respecting him. *He may not suffer him to read! No, not even the Bible!* The laws of republican and Christian America have forbidden it! In every *other* religious concernment, the slave is at the bidding of his master.

PROOF. The laws already cited, 'Entirely subject to the will' of a mortal! Marriage annulled—the Bible sealed! In addition, the following:

Georgia. 'No congregation or company of negroes shall, under any pretence of divine worship, assemble themselves contrary to the act regulating patrols.'—*Prince's Dig*. 342.

By act of May 10, 1770, 'Any assembly or meeting of slaves, which may disturb the peace,' &c. was prohibited, and the offenders, when taken before a justice, were 'to be corrected, without trial, by receiving on the bare back, twenty-five stripes with a whip.' &c.

S. Carolina, 1800. It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun, or after the going down of the same.'—2, *Brevard's Dig*. 254—5.

Three years after, on petition of certain religious societies, this act was so modified as to prohibit the breaking up of the meeting, 'provided a majority of them shall be white persons.' But how was the slave to know, before hand, how many, and what proportion of white persons would attend the meeting?

'*In N. Carolina*, the law prohibits a free colored man, whatever may be his attainments or ecclesiastical authority, to preach the gospel.'—*Jay's Inq. p*. 23.

'*In Georgia*, should a free negro presume to preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes; and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation.'—Ib. p. 23.

Such are the RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES of more than one sixth part of the people of Christian and republican America! Such is the condition of the LABORING POPULATION of one half of the states of our Union! And shall we be told that the Christians and the laboring people of the rest of the Union have no right to sympathize with them? We might as well be told that we, ourselves, have no rights!

But perhaps it will be said that these laws are, to a great extent, a dead letter. We shall be told of the religious privileges of the slaves. We shall be assured that not less than 70,000 slaves are already sufficiently instructed to be received into membership in the Methodist Episcopal church.

We answer [1.] Whatever may be the privileges or condition of the slaves, the laws settle the question as to their legal rights. And the religious privileges that are held by individual sufferance and caprice, are no evidences of religious liberty at all, but the contrary. [2.] Slaves are received into church membership, without being permitted to read the Bible, and this is adding spiritual despotism to domestic and civil. Protestants have always regarded it the climax of tyranny for the Romish clergy to withhold the Bible from the people. But southern Protestant divines defend this policy in respect to the colored people, and contend that oral instruction is sufficient. So that the slaves, who can not 'search the Scriptures' are obliged to take their religion, on trust, from their masters, and may not see for themselves 'whether these things are so.' [3.] If these slaves are really Christian brethren, as well as fellow men, then it is still more wicked, unfeeling, unchristian, and inexcusable to withhold from them the Bible. [4.] In our next Lecture we shall prove by southern testimony that the laws above quoted, are not a dead letter.

IS A SYSTEM OF CRUELTY AND BLOOD.

VII. American slavery is a system of cruelty, and stained with blood. Who that knows human nature, will not infer this from its 'cardinal principle of chattelship'? 'The slave is in the power of a master, to whom he belongs.' 'The slave is entirely subject to the will of his master.' He may order the slave to any place of secrecy or seclusion alone, where he may perpetrate upon him or her any outrage he pleases. What can prevent him?

Bloody persecutions, for religion.

Look at the laws already cited. Fines and *death* for teaching a Sunday school! Stripes and imprisonment for distributing Bibles! Fines and scourging for teaching one's own children to read the Scriptures! And this is claimed to be a Bible institution! Is it not rather an instituted persecution of Bible Christianity?

FURTHER PROOF. The civil law, except where modified by statutes or usages, 'is generally referred to, in the slaveholding states, as containing the true principles of the constitution.'—*Stroud*, p. 21. A part of that same code is, that 'the slave might be tortured for evidence, punished at the direction of his lord, or even put to death on his authority.'—Ib. p. 21.

Let us see then, how far the civil code has been modified by statutes. It is affirmed by Stroud, [p. 25,] that 'the master may, at his discretion, inflict any species of punishment upon the person of the slave.' He proceeds to show that all the laws ostensibly framed for the protection of the slave are powerless. No slave, or colored person can testify against a white man. Formerly, the murder of a slave was punished in the southern states, only by a fine. Subsequently, laws have been enacted for punishing the murderer with death; but provisos have been added which render them nugatory. For example, the act of N. Carolina, otherwise efficient, has the folllowing:

Death by moderate correction!

'Provided always, this act shall not extend to a person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of Assembly of this state, or to any one slain in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any slave dying under moderate correction.'!!

Look at that! A 'moderate correction' that may kill a man! Only whip him till he dies, and then you may plead that it was 'moderate correction.'! You must not shoot him in the presence of white people who can testify!*

Death for seeking freedom!

The 'outlawry' mentioned above is proclaimed against a slave 'whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and, to sustain life, kills a hog, or some animal of the cattle kind.'!!—*Stroud*. p. 38.

'These outlawries,' says Stroud, 'are not of unusual occurrence.'

'Any person may lawfully kill a slave, outlawed for running away, and lurking in swamps.'—*Heywood's Manual*, p. 521—2, act of 1741.

Cruelty authorized.

S. Carolina, act of 1740. 'In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, (other than by whipping, or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining and imprisoning such slave,) every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money.' —2. *Brev. Dig*. 241.

That is, in case any *white* person shall complain and testify! But notice the various kinds of punishments, described in the statute as 'CRUEL punishments, which are nevertheless, expressly excepted from the prohibitions of the act! Who has ever before heard of a law authorizing 'cruel punishments'? Notice especially the leislative testimony to the *fact* that cutting out the tongues and putting out the eyes of slaves, &c.; were such common occurrences in S. Carolina, as to require prohibition! 'No legislator ever yet slandered his country,' says the philosopher of history, 'by specific enactments against particular forms of crime not prevalent among the people. After all, what is the value of any act to protect the colored people, under regulations like the following?

Slaves cannot sue or testify.

'A slave can not be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.—He can not be a party in a civil suit.'—*Stroud*, p. 65.

Virginia. 'Any negro, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, and in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, and in no other cases whatsoever.'—1, *Rev. Code*, 4. 22.

Similar enactments exist in Missouri, Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Ohio! In other slave states the same rule obtains by custom.—*Vide Stroud*, p. 66.

The master, therefore, who should deliberately shoot down a slave in the presence of a hundred colored people would run no risk of punishment, if a white person were not present!

Slaves may not defend themselves.

Having taken care that the slave shall find no available protection in courts of law, the statute, in the next place, takes away from him the right of defending himself in person.

Georgia. 'If any slave shall *presume* to strike *any white* person, such slave shall, on trial and conviction, before the justice or justices, according to the direction of this act, for the first offence suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb, and, for the second offence, suffer *death*.'—*Prince's Digest*, 450.

In South Carolina, the law is the same, except that death is the punishment of the third, instead of the second offence. In both states, the act contains the following proviso:

'Provided always, that such striking &c. be not done by the command, and in the defence of the person or property of the OWNER, or other person having the care and government of such slave, in which case, the slave shall be wholly excused, and the owner or other person, &c. shall be answerable, as if the act had been committed by himself.'

A very significant confirmation of the doctrine that the slave must not lift a finger in his OWN defence!

'In Maryland, a justice of the peace, for this offence, may direct the offender's ears cropt, even though he be a *free* black.'—*Stroud, page* 97.

Kentucky. 'If any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall, at any time lift his or *her* hand, in opposition to *any* person, not being a negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she, so offending, shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, before a justice of the peace, where such offence shall be committed, receive thirty lashes on his or *her* bare back, well laid on, by order of such justice.'—2, *Litt. & Sui. Dig*. 1153.

What an infamous auxiliary to the violator of female chastity! 'No people were ever yet found who were better than their laws, though many have been known to be worse.'

Louisiana. '*Free* people of color ought never to insult or strike any *white* people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites, but, on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak, or answer them, but with respect, under penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence.'—1, *Martin's Digest*, 640—42.

Slaves subject to abuse from all white people.

And what can the laws do more? We have seen that the slave is legally incapable of bringing a suit. Is forbidden to enter a complaint, or to testify. Is not permitted to lift a finger in self defence. To whom then, is he amenable? And *from* whom is he subjected to receive abuse?

The answer has been intimated already. For not even the *free* (!) people of color may refuse submission to the will of '*any white* people.' But examine the laws further.

'Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to the will of all other white persons.'—*Stroud*, p. 96.

'All the power of the master over his slave may pe exercised not only by himself, in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.'—*Stroud*, p. 44.

Louisiana. 'The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and all who represent him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can encite the slave to the commission of crime,)* in such a manner that he owes to his master, and to all his family, a respect without bounds, and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them.'—1, *Martin's Dig*., 616.

'The slave is liable to be coerced or punished by the whip, and to be tormented by every species of personal ill treatement subject only to the exceptions already mentioned [in the deprivation of life or limb,] by the attorney, manager, overseer, driver, and every other person to whose government or control the owner may choose to subject him, as fully as by the owner himself. Nor is any special mandate or express general power necessary for this purpose: it is enough that the inflictor of the violence is set over the slave for the moment by the owner, or by any of his delegates, of whatever rank or character.'—*Stephens Slavery*, p.46.

This was written of West India slavery, but Judge Stroud says it acurately expresses the law and the practice in the American slave states.

No redress for the slave.

But has the slave no redress in case of abuse?—No! Absolutely none! Hear the laws again.

'A slave can not be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.'—*Stroud*, p. 57.

'Slaves can not redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.' The only apparent exception is in the state of Louisiana, and even there the law is such as to render redress next to impossible'—*See Stroud*, p. 58.

In S. Carolina, a white person charged with abusing a slave, may exculpate himself by oath.—*See Stroud*, p. 74 & 75.

The slave's only security.

From the most careful examination of the slave code, it does not appear that the slave enjoys any real protection under the laws, except that which arises from the fact that he is *property*, and can not be permanently injured in his capacity to labor, without subjecting his owner to a loss:

'Slaves being objects of property, if injured by third persons, their *owners* may bring suit and recover damages for the injury. It does not operate as a shield to the slave against corporal aggression, unless the violence used be so great as to deteriorate the *property* of the master.'!—*Stroud*, p. 59.

Maryland. 'There must be a loss of service, or, at least a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor, to warrant an action of the master.'—1, *Harris & Johnson's Reports*, 4 Cornfute vs Dale.

S. Carolina. 'If any negro, or other slave [?]† who shall be employed in the lawful business or service of his master, owner, overseer, &c. shall be beaten, &c. by any person or persons, not having sufficient cause or lawful authority for so doing, and shall be maimed or disabled by such beating, from performing his or her work, such person or persons so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the owner or owners of such slave, the sum of fifteen shillings, current money, per diem, for every day of his lost time, and also the charges of the cure of such slave.'—2, *Brevard's Dig*. 231—2.

And so it appears that any white man may whip or otherwise maltreat any slave he pleases, if he does not injure his capacity for labor, and the master can not bring any action against him. Whatever injuries the slave may suffer, he cannot himself bring an action, nor be a witness against an assailant.

North Carolina. 'Patrols are not liable to the master, for inflicting punishment on the slave, unless their conduct clearly manifests malice against the master.' —1, *Hawks's Reports*, 418. Tate vs. O'Neil.

A very plain implication that malice against the slave is not accounted criminal, or evidence of crime. It is equally evident that in no case, does the slave receive any satisfaction or remuneration for the abuse he may have received. Whatever damages may be recovered, go to the slave's master, and not to the slave. And here we perceive the principle of chattelship carried out—the principle that the slave is not a sentient being—not a person—but a mere thing! With what fearful and horrid consistency is the 'cardinal principle of the system' carried out into every minute detail of its operations. We have not been able to detect any departure from this principle, except where the departure operates to the disadvantage of the slave, and subjects him to additional cruelties.

Criminal code of slavery.

The slave, denied to be a person—declared to be a thing—ranked with the brute—protected in not one of his social or civil relations—forbidden the exercise of conscience—subjected entirely to the will of another—undignified with a single responsible trust—not even allowed to read one of the numerous and complex laws by which he is governed—this slave, who is himself robbed by law, robbed of himself, his wife, his children, his earnings, his all—this slave, against whom the grossest outrages and assaults may be committed with impunity, as though there were no laws for the promotion of justice and equity, is nevertheless, made the subject of penal law! He is punished with a severity from which all others are exempt. He is made an offender for acts which in others would be innocent—nay, meritorious. He is condemned to death for seeking to change, advantageously, his location, and find a more agreeable service, or a more merciful employer. He is punished with death for loving his neighbor as himself—for seeking liberty, or security from outrage for the wife of his bosom, the daughter of his affection, or the son of his hopes!

Shall we cite the chapter and section of the law, where all this is written? Shall we enumerate, with Stroud, the 71 crimes for which slaves are capitally punished, where whites would not be punished beyond imprisonment? Shall we describe the scores of acts for which slaves are punished, and for which others are not punished at all? Shall we show how unfairly the slave is tried, when accused? How the right of a trial by jury—nay, of a regular trial, at all, vanishes from his grasp? Shall we quote the barbarous modes of punishment recorded against him on the statute book?

All this, and more, we might do, would space permit. We might particularize the severe punishments provided, by law, for the slave who is found off from his master's plantation, [to visit perchance a wife or a child,] without a written pass; punishments for the slaves, 'if more than seven in number,' who may be seen together in the street, [though seeking, perhaps, or returning from the house of prayer;] punishment for the slave who shall unloose a boat, or carry a gun, a club, or other weapon; punishment for him, who without written licence from his master, shall offer to buy or to sell; punishment for him who shall be seen in company with a vagrant slave; punishment for him who shall be seen hunting with dogs, [even in company with his master;] punishment for him who shall be seen on horseback, or be found abroad in the night; for him who shall attempt to catch fish in the river or creek! We might shew how, for offences like some of these, any white man, drunk or sober, may lawfully assume to be judge and jury enough to inflict the summary penalty, without form of trial; and how, if the slave refuses to submit implicitly, he may 'be lawfully killed'! Having shown all this, we might proceed further, to show how the slave laws facilitate the kidnapping of free men into slavery; how, on frivolous pretences, freemen may be made slaves, and sold, with their posterity forever, to pay their jail fees, when wrongfully imprisoned! how every colored man is presumed to be a slave, and held as such, if unable to prove his freedom! how the colored man who undertakes to prove his freedom, is punished by whipping, and his friends and attorney by fines, if he is unsuccessful in his suit! how free white persons are punished for alleviating the sufferings of a tortured and chained slave! how the county prisons are at the service of the masters, for the confinement of their slaves, during their pleasure, without legal process! We might show that this slavery, unlike that of most other nations, is *perpetual*, as well as hereditary, the slave having no power to purchase his freedom;—that private emancipations are discouraged, and virtually, in most of the states, prohibited by law.

We might occupy columns with these worse than codes of Draco—written in blood. But we forbear. Those who read southern newspapers know well enough, that the horrid burnings and lynchings of that region, form an instructive comment on the maxim, that 'No people were ever yet found to be better than their laws, though many have been known to be worse.' We drop the curtain. A cry seems to ascend—'How long, O Lord! holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?' Well might Jefferson exclaim, 'I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice can not sleep forever.'

IS BASED ON PIRACY AND MAN STEALING.

VIII. American slavery is founded on piracy and man stealing.

PROOF. The African slave trade must assuredly be man stealing, if there be, or can be any such crime. Our best divines, commentators and civilians have so regarded it. The laws of the civilized world, our own country included, so regard and treat it. By the laws of the United States, it is punished as piracy. Yet American slavery is founded on the African slave trade and the title of every American slaveholder is worth no more than that of the original slave-trader, from which it was derived. The southern slave laws define, with much care, *who* are to be held as slaves. And they always, and chiefly, include the persons imported by the slave traders from Africa; as for example:

Maryland, 1663. 'All negroes or other slaves within the province, and all negroes and slaves hereafter to be imported into the province shall serve *durante vita* [during life,] and all children born of any negro or other slave, shall be slaves, as their *fathers* were, for the term of their lives.'

After the process of amalgamation had commenced, it became convenient to alter the above test, and provide that the children should follow the condition of their MOTHERS, instead of their '*fathers*,' (as was at first enacted,) otherwise a very large proportion of the present race of slaves would have been free. 'This is a measure of cruelty and avarice,' says Stroud, 'which, to the reproach of our republic, there is much reason to believe, has no precedent in any other civilized country.'

The man who has the misfortune to buy a stolen horse, no matter how many hands it may have passed through, and however ignorant he may have been of the theft, relinquishes the property, if an honest man, as soon as he has discovered the right owner. But every slaveholder knows that every colored slave, or his ancestor, has been kidnapped in Africa. And he knows, or ought to know, that every man has a better right to himself than any man can have in him.

The planter who claims as his own property the infant slaves born on his plantation, must either claim them on the tenure by which he holds their parents, (a tenure derived from the African slave-trader and stained with his guilt,) or else he must claim them as made slaves by himself, which is the original act of kidnapping. And certainly, if 'all men are born equal,' then, he who kidnaps an American infant, is as guilty as he who kidnaps a full grown African. And this act is more mean, because the infant is defenceless, and no courage is required in order to subdue him.

Another historical incident may show the identity of American slaveholding and the African slave-trade. After the United States had abolished the foreign slave trade, the legislatures of Louisiana and Alabama, if not of other states made provisions to this effect, viz: that when any vessel engaged in the African slave trade *was seized* in those states, under the United States law prohibiting the piratical traffic, the slaves on board were, nevertheless, sold into perpetual slavery, and the avails paid into the *state treasury*!! In 1819, Congress repealed those unguarded provisions of the previous law, which opened the door for this nefarious abuse; and yet, after all this, in 1823, Alabama re-enacted, in substance, the same law, and, for aught we know, it remains in *force* to this day! [See Stroud's Sketch p. 164.]—Here, in this case, the *importers* of the slaves were liable to be hung up at the yard arm, under the United States law, as *pirates*, and yet, the poor kidnapped cargo of human beings, were *sold* as slaves, under the state laws, and *the money pocketed by the state!* Is it unreasonable to say with JOHN WESLEY, that 'men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers?' Do they not, by their own laws, *place themselves* on the same level?

The defenders of American slaveholding not unfrequently, and sometimes on the floor of Congress have been driven into a defence of the African slave-trade. A letter was written by Dr. Gobeen, dated at Monrovia, in Liberia, August 8, 1833, and published in the New York Commercial Advertiser and other papers, with high commendations, in which the slave-trade on the African coast was artfully defended, or at least, palliated, as the smaller of two evils.

THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH declared, in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832, that 'the state had been converted into one grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles.' After comparing the foreign with the domestic slave-trade, he adds—'The African trader receives the slave, a stranger in aspect, language, and manners, from the merchant who brought him from the interior. But here, sir, individuals whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look up to him for protection—he tears from the mother's arms, and sends into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters. In my opinion it is much worse.'

It might have been added to this picture, that many of these masters are the fathers and brothers of the slaves they sell to the traders.

The District of Columbia, in consequence of peculiar facilities granted by the Congress of the United States, has become the great central seat of this traffic.

In 1828, about 1100 citizens of the District of Columbia, including the Hon. Judge Cranch, and the principal clergy of the District, petitioned Congress for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District, and the suppression of the slave-trade carried on there. In their petition they say:

'While the laws of the United States denounce the *foreign* slave-trade as piracy, and punish with *death* those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the federal government, a domestic slave-trade, scarcely less disgraceful in its character, and even more demoralizing in its influence. The people are, without their consent, torn from their homes; husband and wife are frequently separated, and sold into distant parts; children are taken from their parents, without regard to the ties of nature; and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken forever. Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and *many* who have a limited time to serve, are sold into unconstitutional slavery, and owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District, before the necessary steps can be taken for their release.'——'The people of this District have within themselves, no means of legislative redress, and we appeal to your honorable body as the ONLY ONE vested by the American Constitution with the power to relieve us.'

Such is the testimony of southern men—of citizens of the slaveholding District—chiefly slaveholders themselves. Where then, we ask, is there a nation of kidnappers and man stealers, if the nation holding 'exclusive jurisdiction' over the District of Columbia, and authorizing the inter-state slave trade, be not that nation? 'Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?'

Reader! This is SLAVERY! Slavery in America! Slavery according to southern testimony!—SLAVERY AS DEFINED BY ITS OWN CODE! The definition has been furnished in this lecture, and in the one which preceded it. Consider that it is a DEFINITION rather than a DESCRIPTION or a BIOGRAPHY of the monster that we have given you. We have not yet begun the work of telling you what he is DOING.—We have only tried to make you understand what he IS. What do you think of him? Is he a legate of the skies, with a Bible commission in his hand? An incidental glimpse of some of his motions you may indeed have caught. You may have noticed one or two of his bloody foot prints. But the daily record of his ravages, we have not narrated. We have only surveyed his bars and castles. We have heard him tell for what purposes they were built. But we have not yet traversed the horrid interior, nor even looked through the grates to reconnoitre his victims. But yet we know what is in the inside, without looking. We know that two and a half millions of victims are confined there. We understand the outlines of their condition. That condition is prescribed by the very definition of slavery. Bear in mind the particulars which form that definition. To be a slave is to be degraded to a chattel—a thing. It is to be denied the attributes of free agency, yet subjected to rigorous punishments. It is to be denied a rank among human beings. It is to be denied the right of calling man, brother; and God, Father. It is to be denied the right of obeying his benevolent will, or of even learning what that will is. It is to be denied the right of family 'cognation and affinity'—the rights of husband and wife—of parent and child—of brother and sister. It is to be denied the rights of property—to be subjected to labor for another without wages. It is to be shut out from education, from religious instruction, and, as far as possible, from religious consolations. It is to be utterly defenceless, and undefended—without protection, and without the right of self-protection. It is to be the subject of traffic and speculation, like a brute beast.—Can any thing be added to this catalogue of oppressions? There is one thing!—What is it?—It is to be forbidden to complain—to ask for mercy—to petition for redress. May not the slave beg for relief? Alas! No. And here we are reminded of a ninth item in the definition of American slavery, which we had well nigh forgotten to mention.

SLAVERY FORBIDS THE SLAVE TO PETITION.

It is American slavery alone that does this. No other system of despotism on earth ever attempted to do it. The Congress of the United States, at the bidding of slaveholders, has solemnly decided, in the face of the civilized world, that *the American slave has no right to petition.*

Reader, have you read and pondered the slave laws of republican and Christian America? What do you think of them? Are they righteous, or are they unrighteous? Are they just, or are they unjust? Are they merciful, or are they unmerciful? Are they honest, or are they dishonest? Are they magnanimous, or are they mean and sordid? Are they benevolent, or are they selfish and malignant? Are they honorable, or are they dishonorable? Are they chivalrous, or are they dastardly? Are they republican, or are they despotic? Are they Christian, or are they anti-Christian?—What is your verdict?

You have heard much of oppression. But when or where did you ever hear of worse oppressions than these? You have a thousand times condemned tyranny; but can you sit down, and draw the outlines of a worse tyranny than this? What age or nation ever tolerated or endured a worse code? Turn over the page of history, and find, if you can an answer to the question. Tyrants have been dethroned by man, and nations have been blotted out, by God's judgments, for their oppressions and cruelties, but where, among them all, will you be able to discover and specify heavier oppressions than these? If the American slave code be not 'mischief framed by law,' where will you find such mischief? If these be not 'unrighteous decrees,' what tyrant ever decreed unrighteousness?

But what is the remedy? You will perhaps ask, —*What is the remedy for unjust and wicked laws?*

That is the problem before us, to solve.—Think of it. You are a republican and a Christian. *What is the proper remedy in a Christian republic, for unjust laws? And WHO are responsible for their existence?*

NO REFORMATION BY DEGREES. Dr. Johnson, in his Parliamentary Debates, has put the following anecdote into the mouth of Lord Bathurst, as illustrative of the only way by which effectual reformation from intemperance can be accomplished. It refers to a celebrated pedestrian of the last century, named Webb. This man was remarkable for vigor both of mind and body, and lived wholly on water for his drink, and chiefly on vegetables for his other sustenance. He was one day recommending his regimen to one of his friends accustomed to the use of wine and spirits, and urged him, with great earnestness, to quit a course of luxury by which his health and his intellect would be equally destroyed. The gentleman appeared convinced, and told him that he would conform to his counsel; he thought, however, that he could not change his course of life at once, but would leave off strong liquors by degrees. 'By degrees,' exclaimed Webb, with indignation, 'if you should unhappily fall into the fire, would you caution your servants to pull you out by degrees?' Webb was right; this reformation by degrees has precipitated many an unhappy being into everlasting perdition.

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* It has been stated, we believe on good authority, and without contradiction, for three or four years past, that though the murders of slaves in this country by white men, have been frequent, yet no white man had ever yet suffered capital punishment for the offence. While penning this lecture, the papers bring us the refusal of Gov. Butler, of S. Carolina, to grant a petition for the pardon of such a criminal, on the ground that the laws ought to protect the defenceless. We hail this bright evidence that abolition efforts have not made the condition of the slaves worse!

* Why this deceptive exception? In connection with the other slave laws, it most evidently can avail the slave nothing! Where and how shall he seek redress or protection, when required to commit crime, and when flogged for refusing?

† From this peculiar phraseology, it seems that the southern law makers do not suppose that negroes are to be the *only* slaves in this country!

A SENSIBLE ANSWER TO A VERY COMMON OBJECTION.

The following forms a chapter of a common-sense anti-slavery book, entitled 'American Liberties and American Slavery, Morally and Politically Illustrated. By S. B. Treadwell, Rochester, N. Y.' The work is a valuable one, on many accounts, and worthy of an honorable place in every anti-slavery library.

THE OBJECTION.

'I am an abolitionist, am opposed to slavery, and in favor of its immediate abolishment, but am opposed to the present leading abolitionists discussing it, because they sometimes intermingle in their discussions, some of their own 'peculiar sentiments' on religious subjects; and I believe their discussions are in danger of injuring, and perhaps overthrowing the Christian ministry and the Christian religion; and I believe I could discuss it 'far more orthodox.'

THE ANSWER.

There is a class of rather disguised opposers to abolitionists, who, to be sure, do not enter their protest exactly in so many words, but this is 'the plain English of it.' Now, I am prepared to say at once, that as much as I admire and love the Christian religion, and an upright Christian ministry, could I for a moment believe, that the most free and ample discussion of the authenticity and claims of this religion, would overthrow it, this very belief, of itself, would of course change my love and admiration into contempt.

But, so far from this, my most deliberate and settled opinion is, that the Christian religion, 'abolitionism,' and every other system founded in truth, is, like an army 'with banners,' always victorious, and ever increasing in brilliancy and splendor, whenever in ACTION, whether offensive or defensive. It does, to my mind, argue very little faith in the truth or justice of any institution or creed, for its friends to be '*horrified*' at the idea of having all its claims, openly and fairly canvassed before the whole world. *My* only fear is, that despotism, in the world, which ever desires silence and darkness, will continue too long to smother and obscure the truth, for the good of mankind, and that, by this means, it will not have '*free course, run and be glorified*.'

Whenever this disposition to rob men of that high gift of their Creator, 'the right of speech,' is manifested by the clergy, does it not savor of what the world too justly calls 'PRIESTCRAFT?' And would they not in this way, instead of disseminating truth and just principles, build up and establish ecclesiastical domination and spiritual DESPOTISM? I have yet to see a new revelation, to be convinced that oppression is the best way to promote 'pure and undefiled religion.'

One would very naturally think, if this class of objectors to the discussion of slavery were sincere, when they tell us they heartily approve of the sentiments and principles of the abolitionists, but cannot '*swallow*' some of the leading ones, (as the refined language of one is,) that if their appetites were very keen for such food as abolitionists relish, they would at least be willing to sit down to the same table with them, and should they eat more genteelly, the example of their modesty and delicacy would, no doubt, tend much to rebuke the 'greediness' of '*the whole* MAN,' or '*ultra abolitionists*.' But no! this they will not do, though they say their principles are the same. It must be, then, that what they fear is, that such a proximity to abolitionists would corrupt the purity and refinement of their manners. The conclusion then would be, that they think more of their manners than they do of their principles.

There has been much said about Mr. Garrison and the Misses Grimke. It is said their views are not orthodox respecting the Christian Sabbath, the Christian ministry, &c., and therefore some 'good abolitionists,' as they avow themselves to be, (to use their own dialect,) cannot 'swallow them,' and are therefore determined '*to pass by on the other side*.'

I cannot better portray the conduct of disguised enemies to the cause of the oppressed under the cloak of friendship, than to do it in the graphic language of Gerrit Smith, Esq., as seen in one of his late published letters. 'That one who is doing nothing for the poor slave, and *intending* to do nothing for him, should be occupied in pronouncing *criticisms* on the efforts which others are making for him, is about as unreasonable and impudent as it is for the cowardly traitor to be surveying from some place of security which he has chosen for the purpose of observing the wrong evolutions, and to be counting up the mistakes of his countrymen who are *periling their all in the thickest of the battle*.' In the same interesting letter we also find the following noble sentiments. 'But if these pastors, whilst desiring the Grimkes to quit the field, have no intention to take it themselves; if they would have *men* also as well as *women* to be *dumb* in the cause of the '*dumb*,' then I say, let not the Grimkes *only* continue their advocacy, but let all the *women* of New England, and all the *children* too,—yes, and the very *stones* of your streets, lift up their cry for the oppressed, and *keep it up*, until her *men* have quit their hiding places, and come up to the help of the Lord in this cause of crushed and perishing humanity.'

All now eagerly *claim* to be abolitionists, to take that 'hated name' upon them, which, a little while ago was but a hissing and a bye-word. Coming events begin to cast their shadows before them. But, to become a 'radical abolitionist' requires a sound conversion to great, and high, and nobly self-denying principles of freedom; such as induce us to feel in the first place that all mankind, regardless of color or condition, are 'of one blood,' of one family, 'the children of one common parent, and that, as such, they are bound by one common brotherhood to treat one another with all that kindness and regard which we all so much need, and mercifully receive, and still fondly hope to enjoy from our Heavenly Father. In the second place, they are converted to such principles, as to induce them to feel that if any portion of this common family become deprived by another portion of any of the inalienable gifts of our common Creator, they are as sacredly bound to do every thing in their power lawfully and peacefully to restore these rights, as they are to love, reverence, and obey their CREATOR, who commandeth all men to do unto others as they would that others should do unto you. They are also then unwilling to admit of any modifications of this high and holy principle on account of color, condition, prejudice, or 'expediency.'

No wonder then that the real opposition to these just and self-denying principles, in whatever plausible form it may be couched, is composed of heterogeneous materials, and shows itself in a vast variety of ways. The phrase has already become stale, and a mere cant, 'I am an abolitionist, but not a *hot headed one*.' I have come in contact with a number, who, by way of introduction, most unqualifiedly avowed themselves 'abolitionists,' but in the violence of their opposition to the 'measures' of the 'real abolitionists,' or the true friends of the oppressed and the dumb, ere they were aware of it, found themselves advocating '*colonization with all their might*.' I should think all this equivalent to saying 'I am an abolitionist, but on the whole care very little about the *niggers*!' Pretty abolitionists these!! I could wish they might be few and far between. 'Let every ship sail under its own colors.'

And we should certainly suppose that those who have so much to say about amalgamation would all be decidedly in favor of this. On the one hand we hear the cry, 'it is all political,' and on the other, 'I will not join you until you make it political.' From another quarter we hear the alarm, 'it is all infidelity, and will overthrow the Christian Sabbath, the Christian ministry, and finally the Christian religion; and from another it is all priestcraft, and will unite church and state. From another quarter we hear the complaint, that the abolitionists are 'denunciatory and intolerant;' and the very next breeze wafts us the alarming intelligence that abolitionists are dangerously tolerant; that they are aiming at the subversion of all government, state, family, and even '*patriarchal*.' But marvellous to know that in the very midst of all these alarms, from these various quarters, the cause of the oppressed has been for some time past, and is yet steadily and rapidly onward to ultimate victory and triumph, when the 'bands of wickedness shall be broken,' every yoke cast off, and the redeemed of the Lord made free indeed, and come to Mount Zion with crowns, and with songs of everlasting rejoicing.

Now if these objectors to the peculiar '*manner*' or '*measures*' of the 'abolitionists' are sincere in their approval of their *sentiments*, as they say they are, why do they not most cordially unite in promulgating these principles, and in the mean time do what they can to correct whatever they might deem erroneous in others in regard to *manner*, &c.? But what is this *wonderful manner*? Why, just what the manner of every sincere and honest anti-slavery man *should* be, that is, to be in good earnest to manifest his deep abhorrence to

all the dreadful oppressions of his nation!! What would these same objectors think, if all the members of Christian churches in the world should rise up at once, and say, 'I will no longer be a member of Christ's visible church on earth, because all the members are not *perfect!*' In short, who does not see, that people who are so very prone to proclaim aloud, and upon the house tops, all the faults (and in a magnified form,) of any body of men, and even to convert their very virtues into vices, cannot at heart be very friendly to the object which such men have in view? The *manner* never suits when the *matter* is offensive.

It might be well, however, for us to bear in mind, that the entire north, as well as most of the *south*, slaveholders and all, have always been *politely* and *very softly* saying, 'I am opposed to slavery, and think it a great evil,' (or in other words, sin.) And all that abolitionists are now doing is saying the same thing, but in sincerity and in good earnest, *meaning just what they say.* And is not this the only satisfactory reason that can be given, why slaveholders and their apologists are more vexed about it than they were when *they too* used the same language with an *unmeaning emphasis?*

From the Emancipator.

LETTER OF REV. D. S. INGRAHAM.

[*American Missionary.*]

Kingston, Jam., Jan. 17, 1839.

Dear Brother Benedict:—

As the packet is to sail to-morrow, I must drop you a word, though this is a very bad time to state any thing very definite in regard to the laboring population of the island. The holidays are but just over, during which time there is never any work done on the estates. No doubt you hear many horrid accounts of the bad conduct of the people here, but let me assure you that but very few accounts you get from the papers of this island can be relied on at all. I have been credibly informed, and I have no doubt of its truth, that many of the attorneys here are using all the means in their power to make the owners of properties, who reside in England, (as most do) believe that their estates are of little or no value, so that soon they will be for sale at so low a rate that they will be able to 'make a good job of it.' There is no doubt but many of the people are bad, but you know that when we see a person expert at any business, we are apt to ask 'how did he become so?' and when we see the poor negro unjust and slothful, we are only to ask 'who was his teacher?' 'how did he become so?' I have travelled about the island considerably, and I think I can say with truth that the people are generally at work where they are offered fair wages, I have never heard the people ask for more than what their masters used to hire them for. The people were often hired for 50 cts. generally 37 1-2 per day, and they now are generally satisfied with 25 cents per day, where no charge is made for their houses and grounds. But many of the proprietors, after receiving 37 1-2 cts. per day for their people, now turn round and offer them 12 1-2, and some even 9 cts. per day. After the first of August, a man came to his former master, and wanted to make a bargain and 'get on to work.' 'Well,' said Massa, 'how much do you ask?' 'O, I don't know,' replied Sam, 'how much will Massa give?' 'Ten-pence (12 1-2 cts.) per day,' was the reply of Massa. Sam replied, 'Massa, you don't 'member dat me wish to buy me free lass year, and you swear dat me wort four bits (37 1-2 cts.) a day, and now you offer me ten-pence! *Hi!! no*, me will go sit down fuss.' And so it has been in many cases, and the people have been *fooled with* till they will scarcely work for any price. Many of the masters charge the people such unreasonable rent for their houses and ground, that it will take all the labor of the people to pay rent. Some have charged the husband and wife 50 cts. each, and for each child 25, so that many are not able to pay rent alone without great exertions, and of course the people do not entirely forget that they have toiled for nought all their lives, and you see it would grind them tremendously. The people are called by every hard name, because they will not work for just what they are offered, and 'O, how ungrateful they are,' if they are not ready at Massa's call. O, what a murderer is slavery—it murders both *master* and *slave*, and puts both in hell while on earth.

We see one glorious effect of freedom in this isle; it has created great, and I may say, universal desire for religious knowledge. Yesterday I had 90 scholars in my schools, and besides these, I have some 90 more in evening and Sabbath schools: some are very young and some very old. Not long since, a poor old man came to me from the mountains, and said he wanted to get a book of me and 'learn two words, if no more, before me die.' But a short time since, a man came more than twenty miles to beg me to send some one there to teach their children and tell them 'de good word.' I finally went to the place, and found hundreds almost as destitute as they could be, having no kind of school or any gospel nearer than 6 or 8 miles. They begged with eloquence, I assure you, and they seemed to see and feel their real condition; they offered to do any thing they could to get a minister, and at once bought six acres of land at $30 per acre, and said, 'now, minister, say de word and tell we what timber you want and we no stop till it all be ready.' They will bring it a great distance, and all on their *heads*. And again, but last Saturday, three men came to me from the mountains, about 16 or 18 miles distant, and plead for me to go and see their destitute condition, and I could not get rid of them till I had promised to go and see them. They said, 'We have a shingled chapel now, and if Massa wants, we will buy a new house which has just been built at our place.' I could give places to a dozen good teachers before night, and may the Lord speedily send them. The state of the island is peaceful and quiet, except the manners of some masters, who can be suited with nothing but slavery. This 'pay-system' is '*awful*' to such, and they are ready to cry out, 'The island is *ruined*,' 'Its brightest star is eclipsed,' 'The people are far worse off than when slaves,' &c. But I have not as yet found any who are willing to return to their former state.

We are about forming an A. S. Society, for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, and we are anxiously looking forward to the time when the last shackle shall fall, and earth shall hold a jubilee.

Please send us a few papers, not only the Emancipator, but any others you may have to spare.

From your brother in labors for the oppressed,

D. S. INGRAHAM.

P. S. There is one thing in regard to the people's not working, I forgot to mention. Many of the proprietors and overseers will not have *any* of the people to work unless *all* will turn out, and you will see that this would make great confusion, especially as the females do not choose to do much work out of doors. D. I.

LETTER FROM JAMAICA.

Jamaica, March 18th, 1839.

To John G. Whittier, Esq., editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman, Philadelphia.

Dear Sir:—I dare say (as a Christian) your heart was filled with joy at the announcement in the American papers, that slavery should exist no longer in Jamaica, after the first of August last. Oh! how much have we to rejoice in this country, that the iniquitous and villainous system of slavery is forever driven from Jamaica. Our hearts are filled with love and joy at the victory which the God of love and mercy has given us over the enemies of Freedom.

You have heard, I suppose, how quietly the first of August passed off; in so much joy, so much peace, and the prospect of so much happiness, and with so much credit to the behavior of our despised race. It was indeed a happy and a merry season.

The planters, to be sure, have tried to make as much bad news as possible, and some have gone so far as to refuse labor, on purpose that they might say that emancipation was working badly. First, they cried out about drunken excesses, then about the affair at Falmouth, then at the rates the laborers demanded, then at rents, then at small change, and insubordination, idleness, and other things too numerous to mention. Were I to attempt to give you an account of their croakings and misrepresentations, I might say, that all the books in the world would not contain them.

But they bring the charge of idleness against them, and why? Because they have refused to come to their overbearing and oppressive terms. But have they been idle since August? No, no. They have in very many cases purchased land for themselves, and have been working hard and cheerfully since they have purchased. And have the others been idle, who had not the money to purchase land? No. They worked their own grounds well and industriously; until they have at last come to terms with their employers, who appear to just begin to have a dawn of light coming upon them.

The planters still continue their croaking, through their organs, of the ruin of the island, the short crops, laziness of the laborers, scarcity of corn, scarcity of small change, Baptist missionaries, &c.

If, after all, Jamaica should be ruined, whose fault would it be? The negroes? No. They have not refused to work, where they have been treated kindly, fairly and honestly. Then whose fault will it be? I unhesitatingly say, and without the fear of contradiction, the planters' and the House of Assembly's fault.

I expect your papers will be filled with bad reports of the condition of the island and the *insubordination* of the laborers, &c. And how have they obtained their information? From captains of vessels from your Southern states, (who obtain all their information from prejudiced persons,) and who are doing a great business in lumber, flour, shingles, &c. They *will not carry home the truth!*

I am happy to say every thing is going on quietly in Jamaica. The properties are mostly at work throughout the island. The crops, I expect, will be very good, if the seasons are favorable. The planters have been holding meetings all over the island, and sending reports home to scare the proprietors and the government. But have they (the planters) reported any of the grievances of the laborers? No. They have kept that out of the case altogether. Every thing was right on the part of the planter, every thing wrong on the part of the negro.

Now, Jamaica is not ruined, nor do I think it will ever be. For why do rents keep rising so high? Why are parcels of land bought up as soon as advertised? and why are so few offered? The planters know their own interests too well to sell out. They have taken the opportunity of scandalizing the negroes at that particular time, the end of the year and the Christmas holidays. Trade was better during the Christmas holidays than it was ever known before. All the other islands made the same hue and cry.

Yours, dear sir, faithfully and truly,

H. K. BURKELL.

The planters took the opportunity of holding their meeting just after the Christmas holidays, when they knew the laborers wanted to form new and more permanent arrangements. The planters would not pay 2s. 6d. a day, and the laborers would not take 1s. 8d. But now, the planters have had to come to fair terms, or else blackee won't work for them. He prefers working his own grounds. H. K. B.

SLAVERY A SYSTEM OF MURDER.

Our Northern readers have hardly yet begun to see the nature of slavery, as it exists and is cherished in this Christian republic. We are indebted to the U. S. Congress now for a little light on the subject, gathered and diffused by the Secretary of the Treasury. When Alvan Stewart's Congressional Committee come to make their inquiries we shall have strange developments. The Xenia, Ohio, Free Press contains an interesting extract of a letter from David Lee Child, Esq. of Massachusetts, which we beg leave to premise with the remark of Mr. Clay, 'If I had been or were now a citizen of any of the planting States—the southern or southwestern States—I should have opposed, and would continue to oppose any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate.'

From the Free Press.

The following extract of a letter from David Lee Child, of Massachusetts, was handed us for publication by a friend. It needs no comment. Read it, and then say whether an institution that *murders* nine per cent. of the laboring population is a safe neighbor for the State whose citizens earn their bread by the sweat of their brow—whether, when such an institution, with its bloody hands, is tearing to fragments the charter of our liberties, and holding in servile silence representatives of free States, those States have no right to complain, or to attempt to arrest it in its despotic career.

'In 1831, the Secretary of the Treasury, a citizen of a free State, and a famous Republican, made a report to the House of Representatives, embracing the statements of a great number of sugar plantations of Louisiana, and other States concerning the expenses and profits of their business. There was a statement by the central committee of the sugar planters of Louisiana, one by a committee of the parish (county) plaquemine, containing an immense table of the expenditures and products of twenty plantations in that parish; one from the Agricultural Society of Baton Rouge; several from individuals, including the Hon. J. S. Johnson, then a Senator from Louisiana in the Congress of the United States. All these, with the exception of Baton Rouge Society, set down the annual loss of slave property, on the sugar plantations at 5 per cent. That Society says two and a half per cent.; but this answer in form, relates to 'slave property in general, and is not confined to sugar estates. On the other hand, I have been informed that some sugar planters have admitted that they 'use up' seven per cent. of their hands every year. The loss to which I refer is placed in the Secretary's report, and in the communications from Louisiana under the heads 'risk, decreased value, death, and deterioration.' The chasms thus made are to be filled up with new cargoes and coffles from Maryland, Virginia, North and S. Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, &c.—In order to appreciate and apply these admissions of the adversary, it is necessary to consider that the annual increase of the population of the United States, is about 4 per cent.—in other words, the vacancies caused by death are supplied, and four per cent nett gain is added; therefore on the sugar plantations of the South, a positive loss of five per cent. must be added to the negative loss of seven, making an outright waste of human life, or downright massacre of *nine slaves to every hundred* every year! The amount on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, to pass over those of Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, is 3150 per annum. These are just as much murdered, as if they were shot *en masse*, and indeed more inhumanly, inasmuch as death by torture is more terrible. In this single branch of slave employment, there is a greater destruction of human life every year, than there was in the whole French revolution, bloody as that has ever been deemed.'

☞ We find the following notice of Mr. Garrison's recent visit to New-Bedford, in the Register published in that place. *s.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Editor. Much have I heard within the last ten years of Mr. Garrison; but not until Monday evening have I ever enjoyed an opportunity of hearing him speak on his favorite subject—abolition. Naturally, after we have heard much of an individual, do we desire to see him, hear him speak, and converse. Of Mr. Garrison I expected much. I supposed by this time he had become a perfect master of his subject. Although not a member of any Abolition Society myself, yet I have long felt a strong and irrepressible sympathy for those who have untiringly 'labored and suffered reproach' because they have believed and preached that all nations of men are made of one blood—that all men are brethren—and that one impartial Parent hath created all men equal, and hath 'endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness.'

I was not disappointed when I heard Mr. Garrison. Indeed my expectations were more than realized. His address, which was listened to with deep and thrilling interest for the space of nearly two hours, was argumentative, eloquent, impressive; and was full of those stubborn things, with which many public speakers have little to do, viz., plain facts. It would seem to be impossible for an American, and especially an enlightened Christian, to resist his powerful arguments. Lectures of this high character must rapidly roll on the car of equal rights, and universal freedom.

EMANCIPATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The final emancipation of the slaves in the Cape Colony of South Africa, took place on the second of Twelfth month last. The Graham's town (S. A.) Journal of the 13th of the same month says:

'Most of the apprentices in the neighborhood of Graham's town assembled on the night of the 1st, in Wesleyan Chapel, and employed the last remaining hours of their servitude in religious exercises. As the hour of midnight approached they all went on their knees in prayer, and when the clock struck 12 arose and sung the hymn, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.'

'On the afternoon of the second day they again assembled at the chapel, where an abundant repast was prepared for them by their late masters, after partaking of which they were addressed by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, and by one of their own number.'

The Capetown Advertiser of the 26th of the First month, referring to the results of the slave emancipation, says:

'Perfect tranquillity has taught us that justice is politically safe—that there is no danger in doing right.'

Are all these glorious examples to be lost on America? No man possessing any claim to the reputation of sanity, can now doubt the safety of immediate and unconditional emancipation.—*Pa. Freeman.*

SLAVEHOLDING ARGUMENTS.

1. Slavery is right, because the colored people are by nature so indolent, that they will not work unless compelled by a state of servitude.

2. Slavery is right, because if the colored people were emancipated, they would do all the work and prevent white people from obtaining employment.

3. White men cannot work in a hot climate, but the people of color delight in heat and sunshine, hence it is right to keep them as slaves to work in hot climates.

4. If the people of color were free, they would leave the warm and sunny climes of the South, and emigrate to the bleak and frozen regions of the North.

5. Slavery is not an evil, for the slaves are attached to their masters, and contented with their condition; they would not accept freedom if it was offered to them.

6. If the slaves were liberated, their revengeful feelings for the wrongs they have suffered, would induce them to cut the throats of their former masters.

7. It is right to hold the colored people as slaves, because they are an inferior race, incapable of energy, learning, or intellectual improvement.

8. It is necessary to prohibit the slaves from being taught to read, or from holding religious meetings, because such is their capacity, energy, and enterprise, that they would acquire knowledge and power, and overthrow the dominion of their masters, if allowed the opportunity of improvement or of concert.

9. The North has nothing to do with slavery, and is in no way responsible for its continuance.

10. The North is morally bound by its compact to uphold and sustain slavery: it is its duty to do so, and if it should abolish slavery where it has the legal power to do so, it would, by the force of its example, indirectly abolish it where it has no legal authority for that purpose.

11. The blacks are naturally disposed to idleness, and the whites to industry, therefore the whites ought to live in idleness upon the forced labor of the blacks, thus correcting the errors of nature in reference to both parties.—*Penn. Freeman.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE NATIONAL AND STATE SOCIETIES.

Bro. Garrison:

The recent conduct of Henry B. Stanton, Corresponding Secretary of the American Society, in proclaiming, both in his individual character at Cambridgeport and other places, and in his character of delegate from the N. York Ex. Committee at the annual and the quarterly meetings, that William Lloyd Garrison was recreant to the cause, and that the Liberator had lowered the standard; also the conduct of James G. Birney, in saying at the quarterly meeting that he deemed it inconsistent with the constitution of the American Society for a man to abstain from voting; also the silence of Mr. Tappan when these sentiments were uttered; have produced in Massachusetts the effect such things are calculated to produce. They have produced a general impression that the Executive Committee at New-York are neither so quick-sighted or judicious, nor unbiassed by their own peculiar and private views on other subjects, as we hoped to find a body of men to whom we, as abolitionists, have entrusted so much as even to have made them our representatives, for the time being, to the slaveholder and the nation. I see by my Emancipator this morning, that Mr. Leavitt would have us forget the late extraordinary proceedings, because he does not participate in them, and because it is *his impression* that the Committee, *as a Committee*, will take no new ground hereafter. But, Sir, the Executive Committee are judged, by those who placed them where they are, by their *past conduct*, and not by Mr. Leavitt's conjectures of what their *future* course will be—by their omissions, as well as by their actions. The members of that Committee are severally judged by their *own* statements, and not each by the statement of his fellow. If they, either jointly or severally, would have us believe that they are yet on the ground of the original principle which formed the Constitution of the American Society, they must take a plainer way of showing where they stand. They have let the best time for declaring themselves, slip by. When they as individuals learned, man after man, as we have seen them do, the determination of abolitionists here that the cause shall be unstained by intolerance,—when they ought no longer to preserve their ominous silence, their organ, the Emancipator, comes out with the editor's individual opinion, and announces that the Committee——have had no meeting! The editor's individual opinion, clear and good when read irrespective of one sentence, does, by that one sentence, plunge us again into the fog of uncertainty. The following is the sentence alluded to.

'The right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and to suppress the domestic slave trade by its arm of power, is as much incorporated with the fundamentals of our organization as the duty of immediate emancipation, and no person denying either can rightfully exercise the functions of membership.

Three months of 'backing and filling,' as the sailors say, and we cannot yet tell whether the Committee's wind sets for 'domination and intolerance, and the thrusting in of other objects upon the anti-slavery car,' or not. Our Executive Committee, Sir, should have met, at least two months ago; and should have renounced, *as a committee*, (whatever their *individual* opinions may be,) all the 'domination and intolerance and thrusting in of other objects,' which their official silence and their individual speech have equally encouraged. But they seem not to have had vouchsafed to them that strong and steady hand, or that wisdom which is profitable to direct, which the most important crises of the cause imperatively demand. What has been the consequence? Division and distrust in every ramification of the cause. If our Executive Committee cannot openly declare that *they do not now* stand upon the ground that their actions so loudly proclaim they *have stood on*, of domineering over the abolitionists of Massachusetts—of being intolerant towards non-resistants,—and of endeavoring to make the support of a certain form of national government a part of the anti-slavery enterprise,—why, then, distrust and want of confidence are necessary; more so than any thing else at this juncture; for distrust of wrong conduct, implies faith in right conduct. Confidence? How can we feel it in such a course as our Executive Committee are now taking? It may not be known to all your readers, that the agents of that Committee have for months been systematically laboring, unknown to our Executive Board in Massachusetts, to effect a division of the Massachusetts Society if they should not finally be able to change its foundation, on the voting question. They have endeavored and are still endeavoring to get the County Societies to become directly auxiliary to the National Society; which process, if carried on through the counties, of course extinguishes the Massachusetts Society, and gives the abolitionists of the State the perplexity and trouble of re-lighting their State fire again, when they shall find how they have been duped with a snow back-log. The agents now in the field under the sanction of our N. Y. Committee divide every meeting on the voting question, (one which, though the discussion of it is good, even our strongest war-men think ought never to be pressed to a decision, as it is entirely beyond the scope of an anti-slavery society.) They labor to have money paid *directly* to the Executive Committee at N. York; and when compelled by necessity to give us a written promise to pay our contributions into the hands of the State treasurer, we find they send only their receipt for the same, while they pay the actual money, what of it remains over their own expenses, to the Committee at N. York—*which does not suit us:*—and yet after all this, our Executive Committee seem, like the ostrich, to suppose that because their head is partly hidden in the sand, they are therefore unseen of their constituents. Verily, their extremities betray them.

I would know what Mr. Leavitt means by *that paragraph.* We all acknowledge the *fact*, that Congress possesses power over slavery in the District, and the slave-trade. When Mr. Leavitt says this is incorporated among the fundamentals of our Constitution, does he mean that Congress has that power *rightfully*, or by assumption of the Constitution of the United States? Does he mean that it stands there as a *fact*, or as a truth? Does he mean to say that an acknowledgement of the *rightfulness* of Congressional efforts for the abolition of slavery by the strong arm of power, is as much a fundamental of the Constitution of our National Society as the principle of immediate emancipation? If he means *that*—why, that is the very question. Does he mean to say that, failing to acknowledge the rightfulness of the congressional 'arm of power,' one cannot rightfully exercise the functions of membership? If he does, does he say it as Joshua Leavitt, or as one 'knowing the general and fixed determination of the Committee?'

I would say to Mr. Leavitt, that we here in Massachusetts have seen and heard certain members of our Executive Committee for ourselves. We do not go upon 'surmise or rumor.' Is the expression of his *belief* about *their* belief, any thing better than surmise or rumor? We see James G. Birney's letter in the Liberator, and H. B. Stanton's intolerant resolution offered by him to the business committee of the annual meeting. They 'deny' not these, whatever else they may have denied. When they repent of these, when our Executive Committee, *as such*, disclaim participation in these, when they cease to employ agents for the purpose of distracting the state with broils and factions, then we shall love and honor and confide in them as once we did; never till then, for the CAUSE'S sake.

AN OLD, COUNTRY ABOLITIONIST.

PROCEEDS OF THE LYNN FAIR.

Lynn, April 10, 1839.

Information was requested in the Liberator of the 12th inst. respecting the statement of Mr. Torrey at the quarterly meeting, relative to the proceeds of the Lynn Fair. We know not on what grounds the gentleman could have had the expectation he expressed. In the advertisement of the Fair, the *object* was distinctly stated to be *the aid of the Liberator.* No application for funds, nor any appropriation of them by the Society, could have warranted the statement of Mr. Torrey. We therefore would refer to him for explanation. In behalf of the Lynn Women's A. S. Soc.

M. E. ROBBINS, Cor. Sec'ry.

BRISTOL COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The semi-annual meeting of the Bristol Co. A. S. Society was held, agreeably to appointment, in New-Bedford, on Tuesday, April 16th—Rodney French, President, in the chair. The meeting was organized and opened by prayer.

As several distinguished and able speakers were present, they were most cordially invited to participate in the deliberations of the Society.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather on the preceding day, delegates from other sections of the county were prevented from attending this important meeting: we, therefore, were deprived of many of our best speakers.

But the presence of William Lloyd Garrison, John A. Collins and Edwin Thompson, from the Massachusetts Society, roused the *slumbering friends;* gave the meeting a character; created an interest never before manifested, and by their stirring speeches produced an astonishing effect.

A committee on resolutions was chosen, and they having retired for consultation, the Rev. Daniel Wise offered the following resolution, which he sustained in a most eloquent and argumentative speech, and in his usual clear, forcible and convincing manner.

Resolved, That the bitter hostility of our Southern brethren to the discussion of Slavery, is a strong proof not only that their system is a work of darkness, but that they feel it to be so, or they would not tremble at the talismanic touch of free discussion; and it further proves the efficacy and fitness of the great measures of the Anti-Slavery organization.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions were introduced by the committee on business, and adopted:

Resolved, That inasmuch as we are auxiliary to the Mass. A. S. Society, we recommend to all friends of the cause of human rights to use all means in their power to raise the balance of $10,000 pledged by the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society to the American Society.

Resolved, That the Bristol County Society having given a pledge to pay into the Treasury of the State Society $1,000, it is their duty to fulfil what remains to be done of this without any further delay.

Resolved, That this Society fully accord in the opinion with the verdict of the State Anti-Slavery Society, given at its late quarterly meeting in Boston, heartily approving the course of its Board of Managers in protesting against the proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Parent Society respecting the management of the Anti-Slavery cause and the collection of funds in this Commonwealth.

The Rev. Daniel Wise proposed to amend the foregoing resolution, by striking out all after the word resolved, and inserting, 'That we do not attach any bad or dishonest motive to the action of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in its recent difficulties with the Massachusetts Board, but firmly believe that they acted in view of what they thought to be the best interests of the great Anti-Slavery cause in this Commonwealth and in the nation.' After some discussion on the amendment proposed, a motion was made by the Rev. Phineas Crandall to indefinitely postpone the consideration of the subject, which was seconded by the Rev. E. W. Robinson. Rev. E. W. Robinson urged the postponement, because the difference of opinion was so soon to be settled at the meeting of the American Society. He was followed by Messrs. Wise, Ward, Crandall and Durfee, in favor of the motion, with much power and with a conciliatory spirit—and by Mr. Garrison and others in opposition, but the motion was lost by an overwhelming majority.

The question being taken on the amendment, that was also lost and the original resolution adopted.

The business committee reported the following preamble and resolution, which, after a spirited discussion, were adopted.

Whereas, there have been published certain resolutions, purporting to have been passed by the Board of Managers of the Bristol Co. Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held in Taunton, Feb. 18th, 1839, and as we believe that they do not correctly express the sentiments of the majority of the abolitionists of said county, therefore

Resolved, That we disapprove of the resolutions passed as above.*

A committee of five was appointed by the chair to nominate a delegation to attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in New York next month. Subsequently, the committee, through their chairman, Hon. N. B. Borden, reported the names of the following gentlemen, which report was adopted. Jos. Congdon, Rodney French, Daniel Brewer, C. C. Nichols, Charles Simmons, N. B. Borden, Moses Wilmarth, Isaac Stearns, Jr., Jonathan Hodges, Warren Delano, Phineas Crandall, William Powell and Elijah Bird.

On motion of Wm. Powell,

Resolved, That 'United we stand, divided we fall.'

Voted, That the Secretary furnish a copy of the doings of this meeting for the Liberator and the Massachusetts Abolitionist.

Voted to adjourn to meet at Fall River, on the third Tuesday in October.

RODNEY FRENCH, President.

Curtis C. Nichols, Secretary.

* The resolutions here referred to were published in the Liberator soon after their passage. They embraced—

1. An assumption of the exclusive control of the cause within the county.

2. An invitation to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to *permit* Messrs. St. Clair and Durfee to act as agents.

3. Approbation of the course of the National Committee.

4. A recommendation of the Massachusetts Abolitionist.

The Society, it seems, disapproved of all of them.—J.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BARNSTABLE COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

On Thursday morning, April 4th, 1836, delegates from different parts of the County assembled at the Methodist meeting-house in Orleans, for the purpose of forming a County Anti-Slavery Society.

The Convention organized by the election of Rev. J. M. Bidwell, of Provincetown, as President, Elisha Crocker, of Brewster, and Oliver Smith, of Orleans, as Vice Presidents. Wm. P. Myrick, of Orleans, and Benjamin Drew, Jr. of Brewster, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion, Voted, That a committee on business be chosen to prepare business for the convention; upon which the following gentlemen were appointed to be said committee, viz: Rev. D. Wise of Quincy, Rev. J. Mash of Sandwich, Rev. D. Lothrop of Orleans, Rev. A. St. Clair of Boston, and Oliver Smith, of Orleans.

The Committee on Business reported the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we feel that the time has more than arrived in which it is imperatively binding on the Abolitionists of Old Barnstable to unite in the organization of an efficient County Anti-Slavery Society, and that the Business Committee be instructed to report a Constitution forthwith.

A Constitution was then reported, which, after discussion upon each article separately, was unanimously adopted.

On motion, Voted, that a Committee of nomination to report a board of officers, be appointed; whereupon Messrs. Mash, Drew, Bidwell, Smith, Howland, Lothrop and Litch, were chosen said committee. The committee reported the following gentlemen as a board of officers, and their report was unanimously adopted.

BENJAMIN DREW, Jr. of Brewster, President.

Vice Presidents, Rev. Davis Lothrop, of Orleans, Rev. Joseph Mash, of Sandwich, Reuben Nickerson, Jr. of Eastham, Freeman Marchant, Esq. of Barnstable, Henry Stephens, Esq. of Truro, Rev. James Barnaby, of Harwich, Rev. Philip Crandon, of Orleans.

Rev. Franklin Fisk, of Yarmouth, Secretary.

Dea. Elisha Crocker, of Brewster, Treasurer.

Counsellors, Rev. Samuel Williams, of Brewster, Rev. Thomas Conant, of Chatham, Mr. Oliver Smith, of Orleans, Rev. Josiah Litch, of Barnstable.

The Convention here dissolved, and the meeting was continued as the Barnstable County Anti-Slavery Society.

The following resolutions were adopted during the remainder of the meeting with great unanimity:

Resolved, That the stereotype objection, revised and published for the last time by Henry Clay, that the people of the free states have no right to interfere with slavery, because it is a Southern institution, guaranteed by the constitution or implied faith of the compact, is not only false in point of fact, but in that it cuts the very sinews of the constitution on which the union is based, by denying the rights of freemen.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this society, slaveholding is sinful in the sight of God, and ought to be so regarded by man: not sinful or not, according to *circumstances*, but sinful in all circumstances;—and to justify it in any particular circumstance, is to give the oppressor all the license he desires to hold slaves in all circumstances whatever.

Resolved, That if slavery be sinful, then it ought to be immediately and forever abolished; that this is both the duty of the master and the right of the slave; and that to contend for its perpetuity an hour, on any ground, whether of expediency, pecuniary advantage, safety or peace, is to say sin ought not to be repented of—in plain English, a subversion of the principles of virtue and vice, and a direct charge of moral obliquity on the providence of God.

Resolved, That the measures of the abolitionists are nothing more nor less than carrying out their principles as men, as citizens, and as christians; they are a discussion of our principles from the pulpit and the press—the organization and action of societies—the monthly concert of prayer, and the use of petition and the ballot box; that these measures are not only the natural result of our principles, but the only ones by which they can ever be rendered operative; that they are the proper measures to produce moral reform, and remove national sins; and that to ask or expect us to change or abandon these, is to ask us to leave the slave in his fetters and the master in his guilt, and this whole nation to the merited vengeance due to unpardonable cruelty and hypocrisy.

Resolved, That it is clear evidence of deep seated, wide spread and prevailing corruption and treachery to freedom in the politics of a nation, when an aspirant for the first office in its gift is tolerated in his attempts to acquire popularity, and gain votes, by offering up, in the manner Henry Clay has recently done, the liberty of one sixth part of all its inhabitants, a sacrifice on the bloody altar of slavery.

Resolved, That this lamentable state of political corruption in our nation, is chiefly owing to 'a delusion' cherished by 'some professedly good men,' that they ought not to meddle with politics. They have forsaken the polls, and abandoned the power and rights of the ballot box to the control and influence of political jockeys and gamblers, who have not hesitated to throw any stake which bids fair to elevate them to office. Hence the recent speech of Mr. Clay on anti-abolition petitions. Hence the threat of Mr. Van Buren to uphold slavery in the District of Columbia with his veto power. Hence the recent attempt to father Texas upon this Union with perpetual slavery in its Constitution. Hence the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, to furnish new territory for slavery, and prevent the escape of fugitives from the Southern prison house of innocence and freedom.—None of these dark deeds could have been perpetrated without the treachery of Northern Representatives—inasmuch as the free states have always had a majority in Congress; nor would any of these men have dared to perpetrate these deeds of treason to liberty, had good men, who feared God, and kept his commandments, gone to the polls and done their duty.

Resolved, That no man who has any regard for the rights of man, and the claims of suffering millions, will ever vote for Henry Clay, or Martin Van Buren, for President of the United States, till they repent of their present treachery to liberty, and 'bring forth fruits meet for repentance.'

Whereas, slavery is itself the creature of law, i. e. political action, and can only be destroyed by the same power that gave it being, therefore,

Resolved, That any man to whom, by the providence of God is committed the important and sacred right of using the elective franchise, does not steadfastly, firmly, and perseveringly refuse to give his vote to any candidate for Representative to Congress or for any other station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States—who is not a faithful, true and known friend of universal and immediate emancipation—is not true to the precious interests of humanity; he connives at the perpetuity of the foul system; slips the cable of the noble ship Abolition, and sends her adrift upon a wide and shoreless ocean.

Fifty persons gave in their names as members of the newly organized society, and having continued in session two days, after the passage of the following resolutions, the meeting adjourned.

Resolved, That two meetings of this society be held in a year.

Resolved, That our next meeting be on the second Wednesday of September.

D. WISE, F. FISK, J. LITCH, } Committee of Publication.

WEST GLOUCESTER A. S. SOCIETY.

At the annual meeting of the West Gloucester Anti-Slavery Society, held April 4th, 1839,

Voted, That a committee be chosen to report on the condition of said Society and to prepare resolutions expressive of its sentiments, to be offered for publication; and that said committee report at an adjourned meeting.

In compliance with the above vote, the committee submitted the following report and resolves:

That they feel unfeigned gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, for the present encouraging prospects of the Society; that now is the time to labor more diligently to impress the principles of peace and liberty upon the minds of our friends and neighbors: Therefore,

Resolved, That we will make use of all Christian means to impress those principles upon the public mind and to practice the same at home, so that we may preach to war-makers and slaveholders with greater effect.

Resolved That we view with regret the spirit manifested by some of our brethren, and hope they will in future content themselves to leave matters of conscience to an unerring power, lest they be found fighting against God.

Resolved, That we approve of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, and will make use of all suitable means in assisting them to redeem their pledge as soon as may be.

Resolved, That we will bear our testimony against all slavery, whether physical, moral or mental, and will make use of all proper means in our power to bring our fellow creatures into the knowledge of the truth, that they may be free indeed.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the noble, disinterested and fearless stand taken by the Editor of the Liberator in defence of universal emancipation and the equality of the sexes.

Resolved, That we will lend our aid to the support of the Liberator so long as it shall plead for immediate emancipation, peace, and free discussion.

Resolved, That we view with alarm the doctrine advanced by some that it is a christian duty to go to the polls and vote. We think those principles, carried out, would oblige us to equip ourselves and go to the South and fight until slavery should be abolished.

Voted, unanimously, that the above report and resolves be signed by the President and Secretary, and forwarded to the Liberator for publication.

THOMAS HASKELL, *Pres.*

Sarah C. Haskell, *Sec'ry.*

THE DORCHESTER PETITION.

Friend Garrison:

I find on reading the report of the Committee of which Minot Thayer was chairman, that in many particulars it is absolutely false. Much of the verbal evidence given in before the Committee in favor of the petitioners, is either misconstrued or wholly left out of the report. I will give, in a few paragraphs, a sample to prove it is a misconstrued and confused affair.

'Question to S. Baker by L. Metcalf, Esq. Did you put the name of Mrs. Sanford on the petition? Answer—I will admit I did put it on, and the names of Miss Pattey and the Kenney family were placed at first on the petition by Miss Pattey with the consent of the Patteys.

Amelia Baker was called. Question by Mr. Phillips—What did Sarah Baker say to Mr. Sanford at the time he asked whether or no she had put his wife's name to the petition? Answer—After he asked me so many times, I said that I had no recollection—no, I had no recollection—when she was asked to say yes or no, she refused to answer—the names of Miss Pattey and the Kenney family were first placed on the petition by Miss Pattey with the consent of the Kenneys in the factory—the second time the petition was brought to the house, not certain their names had been put down, one of the family wrote them a second time—Miss Sarah Baker is acquainted with about seventy of the signers and about sixty of them are professors of religion.'

The above quotation contains a part of the verbal evidence given in by three or four different persons, at different times and on different subjects. Furthermore, there is language attributed to me which I never used. Mr. T. read over some of it at the time he wrote it down, and I told him repeatedly it was not correct. There have also been some written statements of importance to some of the petitioners, which are excluded from the report.

I am not surprised at all that the House rejected it. If friend Bradburn had not said any thing against its being received, I should have supposed every member of the Legislature could have seen evident marks of unfairness on the part of its author. I will not, however, criminate his motives, but rather give him due credit for the fair construction he has put on the good motives of the petitioners. For this act he has saved for himself some respect, and I do hope it [illegible] be awarded to him.

Yours for the truth,

Dorchester, April 15, 1839. S. BAKER.

LETTER FROM A FUGITIVE.

A short time since, we had the pleasure of [illegible] towards a land of liberty a poor fugitive from [illegible] slavery. We have just received from him the following letter, which we take the liberty to publish, [illegible] only the name of him by whom it was dictated. [illegible] God, it is not yet considered a crime in Massachusetts to help a runaway slave to secure his freedom.

Stanstead, Lower Canada, March 29th, 1839.

Dear Sir:

I would inform you that I have arrived safe in Canada, though I had some sickness which caused [illegible] delay in my journey; but now my health is [illegible]. When I left Salem I was very much frightened. [illegible] Miss Dodge wrote me a letter, I thought I [illegible] most see Canada in my view. Almost every [illegible] saw, I thought it was —— —— from New Orleans; but thank God, I have arrived where I [illegible] joy freedom, and if I get a wife I shall not be [illegible] part with her and my children, except by the will of the Almighty, who can rule them and me too. [illegible] I was travelling one evening in the stage, there [illegible] gentleman in the company that knew Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and I thought he was after me, and I prayed to the Lord that he would enable me to arrive safe in Canada, and I would be more faithful to him than ever; and with his help I got safe through, as the children of Israel did through the land of Egypt.

I think that Mr. Garrison, Wm. B. Dodge, and Mr. Gerrit Smith deserve a great seat in Heaven. Give my love to Mr. Wm. Basset. I thank them for the [illegible] they gave me, and if I never pay them I hope God will [illegible]. I never expect to see you again on earth, but hope we shall meet in Heaven; and if we are faithful, I believe we shall meet there to part no more. Give my love to all inquiring friends. I found friends on my journey who assisted me like good christian folks, and have got me in a country where I can serve the Lord with all my heart without fear. Please show this to Wm. Basset and to Wm. Ford. I remain your friend and humble servant until death.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

A VOICE FROM MILLBURY.

At a special meeting of the Millbury Women's Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 16th inst., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, except the last, on which two members did not vote at all, though none voted in the negative; and the Secretary was instructed to send them to the Liberator for insertion.

Whereas, we have had cause to believe, both from the plain statements of the constitution of the A. A. S. Society, and from the oft repeated declarations of those abolitionists who have been most active in the cause, that the A. A. S. Society stood on so broad a basis that *all* persons, of whatever religious or political views, who held the sentiment that 'all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' and who would aid in the overthrow of slavery in *a* constitutional way, might become members of that society; therefore,

Resolved, That we have viewed with the deepest sorrow and alarm, a recent movement on the part of some esteemed members of the Ex. Com. of the A. A. S. S. and a few others, tending to divide the anti-slavery ranks, by cutting off some of its members, who hold opinions which prevent their exercising the political elective franchise.

Resolved, That, as we have full faith in the maxims, 'Union is strength,' and 'Divide and conquer,' we deprecate this movement, as fraught with joy to the *iron-hearted oppressor*, but *with sighs and tears and unutterable anguish to the slave.*

Resolved, That we acknowledge our remissness in neglecting to remonstrate against laws founded on color, but bid God speed to those who have attended to their duty in this matter; and we trust that the people of Massachusetts will speak out, with a decided voice, at the next session of their Legislature, so that her servants shall understand their duty, and shall repeal that *anti-republican, anti-human* and *anti-christian* law on our statute books, which has no other foundation than a difference of complexion.

PAMELIA ALLEN, *Vice Pres.*

Almira B. Humphrey, *Sec.*

WORCESTER FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

Friend Garrison:

The subjoined resolutions were passed at our last A. S. meeting, and it was directed that they should be forwarded to thee. Thy friend,

SARAH H. EARLE.

Worcester, 4th mo. 14th, 1839.

Whereas, we have read with painful sensations the proceedings of some of the professed friends of the slave—and those, too, of whom we had expected better things—at the meeting of the State Society, and since, which we think a detriment to the cause of the slave, inasmuch as they tend to create dissension in the anti-slavery ranks, break up the harmony which ever ought to prevail among those who are engaged in the high and holy work of emancipating millions of our fellow beings from bondage the most cruel—

Therefore, Resolved, That we are led from these circumstances to see the utter insufficiency and weakness of man to carry forward and effect this great and glorious work; and that we will, Christ strengthening us, look to, and trust in Almighty God, to bring about this great deliverance, and direct us in our paths of duty; who hath promised, 'that for the oppression of the poor, and the sighing of the needy, now will I arise; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.' And we do believe that what he hath promised he will faithfully perform.

Resolved, That we believe that God has raised up Wm. Lloyd Garrison as a pioneer to arouse this nation from its guilty slumbers; and that we highly approve of his faithfulness and devotion to the cause of the slave; and while he continues his straight-forward course, we will proffer him our sympathy, our prayers and our hearty co-operation in his labors of mercy.

PLYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The following resolutions were passed at a regular meeting of the Plymouth Anti-Slavery Society, April 2d, 1839:

Whereas, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have abruptly broken off the arrangement existing between the American and Mass. A. S. Societies, and notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Board of Managers of the State Society, have appointed agents to collect funds in this State without reference to the Mass. Society, as if no such Society existed, therefore

Resolved, That we believe the Mass. A. S. Society competent to manage all affairs relating to the cause of emancipation as far as this State is concerned.

Resolved, That in our opinion, the whole business of collecting funds, the general direction of the concerns of the Anti-Slavery cause in any State or section of country, where there exists efficient Anti-Slavery Societies, properly belong to those Societies.

Resolved, That we disapprove of the course of the American Board in this transaction.

Resolved, That we have entire confidence in the wisdom, integrity, and energy of the Board of Managers of our State Anti-Slavery Society, and in the great majority of Massachusetts Abolitionists.

TIMOTHY BERRY, *Sec'ry.*

Extract of a letter from a thorough going abolitionist, dated

Abington, April 16th, 1839.

'The calm and consistent course pursued by the Massachusetts Board in the late unhappy difference with the New York Committee must commend itself to every candid mind, every true abolitionist whose mind has not been swayed by sectarian influence, and downright indifference with regard to the perishing and down-trodden.

Our bro. Whiting is pleading for the slave, with the self-taught, soul-stirring eloquence of his noble soul, in the towns adjoining us. I think the Board have made a judicious selection in employing Mr. Whiting as a lecturer. He is just the man for the Old Colony.'

The Spoiled Child. 'Marm, may'nt I go and play horse to day?'

'No, child, you must stay in the house.'

'Now, look here, marm, if you don't let me, I'll go and catch the measles—I know a big boy that's got 'em prime!'—*The papers.*

Application. The *South* is the over indulged, spoiled child. 'May'nt I go and trample upon the right of petition, and tear the Constitution in tatters?' 'No! you must respect the Constitution and keep within proper bounds.' 'Now, look here, you northern fanatics, if you don't let me, I'll go and '*divide the Union*,' and prevent your helping me keep my slaves in subjection!'—*Friend of Man.*

BOSTON.

FRIDAY, APRIL 26, 1839.

TO READERS (?) OF THE LIBERATOR.

SHREWSBURY, April 15th, 1839.

The Liberator of April 12th contains the following statement:

'Rev. George Allen said—"It is avowed that the object of the resolution is to censure the Executive Committee a little. Such a little censure to some may be a severe blow. This would not penetrate the hide of a rhinoceros, but would pierce the skin of a man.' (2) The comparison was a good one, but what is the argument? Why, that a little censure must not be bestowed upon the New-York Committee, because they are very sensitive in their feelings! Mr. Allen spoke of them as individuals in character to be arraigned by such men as compose the State Society! The reply of Wendell Phillips to this remark was exceedingly spirited.' No part of it is reported in the Emancipator.

Once I might have wondered at the enormity (3) of such misstatements in the Liberator, but the possibility of such an emotion from such a cause has altogether passed away. The gross injustice which the Liberator so often does (4) to others is a pledge, whose redemption is sure, that I am to expect the same whenever it shall subserve the purpose of its Editor to perpetrate it. I claim no exemption from the lot of others. I only ask, of those who read the Liberator, that they will peruse the above extract, and then read the following statement of my remarks at the meeting in the Marlboro' Chapel on the 26th ult. to which the statement of the Liberator refers.

After having expressed my deep regret on account of the disagreement which existed between the Managers of the Massachusetts Society and the Executive Committee of the American Society, and my earnest hope that the unhappy division might be healed—that personal feelings should be merged in the cause of the slave and of man, in which we were all embarked—and that I had observed that where there was a mutual and strong disposition to heal a difficulty the attempt was crowned with success, I spoke of the impropriety and injustice of passing the resolution before us, to approve of the doings of its Managers, and thereby virtually to censure the Executive Committee of the American Society. (5) I remarked that the implied censure was the declared purpose of the resolution—that Mr. Garrison had given to it this construction, and had made the open avowal that it was intended as a *chastisement* (6) of the Executive Committee, and that as such it was defended and urged by him—that, in its purpose of reproof he was corroborated by the declaration of Mr. Loring, who, not ready to *chastise*, chose a mitigated term, substituting the word *censure*, and then, as if even this were too strong, qualified it by the epithet *little*, which slight censure he thought the Executive Committee deserved, and therefore advocated the Resolution.

I stated my belief in the injustice of passing any censure whatever on the Executive Committee, and that it was not the *degree* but the *fact* of censure which constituted the injury. The difference between *chastisement* and a *little censure*, in the case, I illustrated by a brief anecdote of a Revolutionary Captain, who, from conscientious scruples, denied permission to one of the soldiers in his company, whilst in winter quarters, to go out on the Sabbath and kill a fat buck for himself and his comrades, but who, after being much importuned, at last consented, saying he did not care if he went out and killed a *little* deer. I stated also that what one might think a slight censure, another might deem severe—that there was a great difference in the sensibility of different natures, as that which might not penetrate the *hide* of a *rhinoceros* might pierce the *heart* of a man—that some men 'felt a stain like a wound'—that the men whom it was proposed to chastise, or to censure, were men of honorable standing, whom we and others were accustomed to esteem, and that unjust censure of them would recoil on those who inflicted it. I further spoke of the injustice of passing a resolution which virtually and intentionally went to censure the Executive Committee, who, *if* they had erred, had, by the admission of one zealous to inflict chastisement, done no intentional wrong. I remarked, that if we passed a vote of censure, it would be for an honest mistake, since it was not alleged against the Executive Committee that they had deviated at all from moral rectitude in considering the contract between the two societies as void by the non fulfilment of its conditions, Mr. Garrison himself having expressly exonerated (7) them from any just charge of 'moral obliquity.'—I spoke of the courtesy that was due to the Delegation from the Executive Committee, whose honorable bearing (8) before the Society was conspicuous, and who, in their defence of the Executive Committee, had rested on a plain statement of the facts and principles which had impelled that Committee to take the course they had pursued, carefully abstaining from insinuations of blame on the part of the Managers of the Massachusetts Society. I further stated that the Executive Committee, in their published statement, had given, with clearness and simplicity, the reasons which governed them in the course they had taken, feeling that the naked statement of facts was their sufficient and full justification—that, on the contrary, the Managers of the Massachusetts Society, and conscious of the weakness of their cause, had interwoven their facts with a tissue of inuendoes (9) and appeals to State pride and local jealousy, and that even their call of the meeting, instead of being a simple invitation to attend it, and a notice of the main business to be transacted, was addressed to prejudices, and framed to bias the mind on a question that should be cautiously considered and conscientiously decided. I also remarked that the merits of the issue lay in a small compass, and might be easily understood—that, for the purpose of enlarging its operations and accelerating the work of emancipation, the American Society had agreed with the Massachusetts Society to change its mode of operation in this State, on condition of $10,000 being paid by the Massachusetts, to the American Society, by the first of May next, in installments, the several sums and times being definitely fixed—that the importance and validity of the agreement depended on the fulfilment of its conditions—that when the second installment became due, on the first of Nov. last, there was a large deficiency which is yet unpaid—that when the third installment became due on the first of February, instead of an approximation to the fulfilment of the conditions of the arrangement, there was a still wider receding from their fulfilment—that of this instalment, nothing was paid—that there was no clear prospect before the Executive Committee that the residue of the pledge would be seasonably redeemed—that, in the judgment of the Executive Committee, the arrangement had failed of its object—that, instead of the anticipated advancement, there was embarrassment, to the operations of the American Society—that the wheels which were to be oiled by the new arrangement, that they might run more glibly, were blocked by it—that the Executive Committee, regarding the contract as void by the non-fulfilment of its conditions, thought it necessary and decided to resume the mode in which they had safely depended previously to their arrangement with the Massachusetts Society. I added in conclusion, Can we honestly pass a Resolution which censures the Executive Committee for the course they have taken? Would it not be great injustice? Can we do it and look back with satisfaction on what we have done? Will not the voice of conscience be hallooing at our heels?

Such, in substance, and much in words, were the remarks made by me at the meeting to which the Editor of the Liberator refers, and yet he says that my 'argument' was 'that even a little censure must not be bestowed upon the New-York Committee, *though they may deserve rebuke*, because they are very sensitive in their feelings.' (10) Mr. Garrison, if no one else, should have known that I deemed no one above rebuke who deserved it. (11) It was on the ground that censure was unjust that I gave my vote against the resolution designed and avowed as a chastisement, or censure.—Mr. Garrison adds—'The reply of Wendell Phillips to the remark was exceedingly spirited.'—Mr. Phillips did indeed throw out a few earnest remarks against some creations of his own fancy, from which, however, he desisted when corrected as to the fact which he had assumed. (12) Mr. Garrison, if he chooses, can readily remember the correction.

It is matter of extreme regret that Mr. Garrison so often undertakes to distort and maim the best proportions, as if determined to cripple the influence of all who will not come under the yoke which he has bent for their necks. (13) If slavery is to be put low, let it be of the body and not of the mind. The cause of freedom is greatly dishonored by the course which he pursues towards some of its noblest advocates. It is, however, as desperate as it is dishonorable, and he will surely find, if he pursues it, but one alternative, either that he must (14) abandon the cause of freedom, or that it will abandon him.

GEORGE ALLEN.

NOTES.

It devolves upon us, in the absence of Mr. Garrison, to append a few notes to the foregoing communication.

(1) The readers of the Liberator will observe that Mr. Allen does not deign to address his communication in the usual form, to Mr. Garrison. That would not comport with his ideas of clerical dignity! Is this consistent with the meekness and simplicity of the Christian minister?

(2) The reader will bear in mind that this is an accurate quotation from Mr. Tappan's report of Mr. Allen's remarks, and not a statement made by Mr. Garrison from memory.

(3) A 'great swelling word,' applied to what, at the worst, was no more than a mere misapprehension of the speaker's remarks. A stranger would think, on seeing so huge an epithet, that the person referred to had committed some terrible crime, for which it was difficult to find a name! Mr. Allen, however, is not the first champion who has found it necessary to make up in sound what was lacking in *substance*.

(4) The 'gross injustice which the Liberator so often does' to its opponents consists in publishing whatever they may wish to say, whether by way of attack or defence, and then occupying, as a general thing, but very little space in reply. Could any thing be more ridiculous than such a charge as is here brought against the Liberator? Why, even Mr. Allen himself has given the fullest proof of his reliance, not only upon Mr. Garrison's sense of justice, but upon his magnanimity, in sending him the present communication,—a communication as insulting in its phraseology and as contemptuous in its spirit as clerical spite and prejudice could make it,—without the slightest suspicion that he would do otherwise than publish it!

(5) It was certainly very modest to claim that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should refrain from expressing its opinion in relation to the conduct of its own Board of Managers in a trying emergency, because that opinion might imply disapprobation of the conduct of the Parent Committee! Who does not see, that to have refused to express an opinion in such circumstances, would have been a virtual censure of the Board—a censure far more severe than that implied of the Executive Committee in the resolution referred to? The opponents of the resolution saw this clearly enough, and if they could have prevented its passage, we should never have heard the ridiculous statement that the meeting did not fairly represent the abolitionists of Massachusetts. Then the cry would have been raised, that the Society had refused to sanction the doings of its own Board, and thereby virtually admitted that the Executive Committee were to be justified in their course.

(6) Mr. Garrison authorizes us to say, positively, that he did not use the word 'chastisement' at all; and to his denial we add our own testimony to the same effect. And this denial is fortified by the report of Mr. Tappan, who represents him as having said, 'Our friends here from New York have not done right in this very thing. As to their general course, they have acted right. But so far as they have done wrong, let us rebuke them faithfully. In fact more than this should be done. We ought to pass a vote of censure, in love, but with all fidelity.' Was there any thing disrespectful in this? Could an honest opinion that the committee had done wrong, have been expressed in more unexceptionable terms? And is it claimed that such an opinion should have been withheld out of respect to the committee? The truth is, all that was said about censuring the committee was said in reply to the objection so strenuously urged, that such censure was *implied*, though not expressed, in the resolution. The resolution was not intended to censure the committee, but to approve the doings of the Board; and how was it possible for the Society to express its opinion in a less objectionable form? We say nothing about the 'enormity' of such a 'misstatement' of Mr. Garrison's language, because we suppose that it was unintentional on the part of Mr. Allen. He doubtless had the impression that Mr. G. used the word attributed to him.

(7) What is this but an admission that Mr. G. did ample justice to the committee?

(8) Not more 'honorable' than that of the Society towards them.

(9) It will be perceived that Mr. Allen, on his own confessions, had no hesitation in inflicting 'chastisement' upon the State Board—and that, too, in terms not the most respectful to them as individuals. It is a remarkable illustration of his inconsistency, that in the midst of an argument designed to show the injustice of the censure *implied* in the resolution, he should have spoken in such terms of the conduct of the State Board.

(10) This statement of the 'argument' was based upon Mr. Tappan's report. Was it not fully warranted by that report and by the nature of the comparison used by Mr. Allen?

(11) Mr. Allen alludes, we suppose, to a speech made by himself near the close of the quarterly meeting, in which he spoke of Mr. Garrison as 'a wolf,'* and said he would face him in his very 'den,' where he was 'howling over the bleeding victims that lay between his feet,' or words to this effect. Whether there was more of clerical dignity and moral courage than of cowardice and personal insult, in that speech, and whether the spirit in which it was uttered resembled more the meekness and humility of the Christian minister, than the blustering and bravado of the 'chivalrous' trader in human flesh, we are quite willing to leave to the decision of those who heard it.

(12) Mr. Phillips informs us that this statement is entirely erroneous, no correction having been made which at all affected the substance of his remarks. The error, however, is not so 'enormous' as to demand the application of any harsh epithets. Mr. Allen unquestionably states the matter as he understood it.

(13) A very amusing 'rhetorical flourish,' surely! Mr. Garrison bending a yoke for the necks of his brethren! It is not a *clerical* yoke, certainly; will Mr. Allen tell us what kind of a yoke it is? The readers of the Liberator would doubtless feel obliged to him for the information.

(14) It seems then that Mr. G. has not *yet* abandoned the cause! Time will determine whether Mr. A. is a true or a false prophet. J.

*Not a clerical 'wolf,' we trust.

NEW PAPER. The first number of the Christian Freeman and Family Visiter, the prospectus of which we published a short time since, has made its appearance. It is edited by Sylvanus Cobb, a Universalist clergyman, who has labored successfully for two years past as a temperance agent. The religious department will of course, be conducted in accordance with the views of the Universalist denomination, while a portion of the paper will be devoted to the discussion of the question of slavery. We hope it will receive a generous support from such of the denomination as profess attachment to the cause of human rights. It is published simultaneously at Boston and Waltham. Terms—$2,00 in advance.

NEWS! The editor of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce says that the Jamaica papers 'give very unfavorable accounts of the working of the *apprenticeship* system.' We had supposed that the apprenticeship system was abolished, but we stand corrected. There is no telling what intelligence we may next receive from that source. Perhaps it will be that the *slaves* in the West Indies are contented and happy, and determined not to take their liberty on any conditions! We 'wait for intelligence.' J.

CORRESPONDENCE.

☞ The following correspondence is published at the request of the Board of Managers of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society. The Secretary states, in a note to us, that it would have been forwarded at an earlier day, but for the fact the Society held no regular business meeting after the donation was transmitted, until the 5th inst. J.

LETTER TO MR. GARRISON.

SALEM, Jan. 5th, 1839.

MR. GARRISON:

At a meeting of the Salem Female A. S. Society, held Dec. 29, 1838, it was voted that the sum of $100 be presented to you. Enclosed is the amount, which you will receive as a token of respect from us, who, we trust, feel the same mutual interest in the sacred cause of emancipation so dear to you. Permit me, as Secretary of that Society to express to you some of the reasons which have induced us to appropriate so large a proportion of the avails of our late Fair to you for your own personal benefit.

The friends of emancipation in this, as well as in other places, cannot but feel under great obligations to you, for all that you have done and suffered in behalf of the oppressed and degraded millions who have long groaned beneath the oppressor's yoke. Others, we know, have done and are now doing much in this glorious cause; but we would remember the time, when with them our ears were deaf to the cry of those who had no helper, and while enjoying ourselves the rich blessing of civil and religious liberty, we forgot that within the borders of our boasted free republic, were heard the sighing of the prisoners, and the clanking of their chains.' It was then, when many who have now enlisted in the cause of the oppressed were slumbering, that you stood forth and boldly asserted the inalienable rights and privileges, of our long enslaved and neglected brethren, fearless of man, in the face of bold opposition, and in many instances at the hazard of your life. We have regarded you as a pioneer in the glorious cause of emancipation in this country. You have stood, as it were, in the 'forefront of the hottest battle,' while against you have been directed the deadly weapons of the enemy.

But we rejoice that you do not now stand alone, or with but few to help you; neither do you labor as 'those who have no hope.' The cries of the oppressed have 'entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth,' and we trust he has raised up many who have firmy resolved, that they will not hold their peace, till 'liberty is proclaimed to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound.'

I have thus briefly and imperfectly expressed the feelings of our Society with regard to you. However our opinions may differ on other subjects of equal importance, yet, we trust, in the cause of abolition, our interest is mutual, our hopes and desires, our end and aim, one. May you live to see that cause which you have so boldly espoused, and so ably vindicated, triumph, and the way prepared for the entire and peaceful abolition of slavery in the United States, and throughout the world.

In behalf of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society,

HARRIET FOSTER, *Cor. Sec'y.*

MR. GARRISON'S REPLY.

BOSTON, Jan. 14, 1839.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:

Your kind letter of the 5th inst., enclosing a donation of $100, from the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, was safely delivered. I shall find it difficult to express my feelings, in view of this generous token of regard for my humble, though successful endeavors to arouse my country to a lively apprehension of its guilt and danger, in trading, like Babylon accursed, in slaves and souls of men. If I had any property of my own, or if the subscriptions to the Liberator were sufficient to allow me an editorial stipend, I could not properly or willingly accept of this gift. Nor could I do so, if I thought the donors viewed it in the light of a personal favor, aside from the promotion of that sacred cause which lies so near all our hearts. I consent to receive it only as an anti-slavery steward, upon whom are resting the highest and most solemn obligations to be faithful to the cause of Humanity through evil as well as good report, in pecuniary matters as well as in the inculcation of fundamental principles, let what may happen to me or mine—faithful even unto death. For it is not in the power of any individual, or of any association, to make it appear, that my labors deserve any special remuneration. Poor I am, and poor I ever expect to be on earth, from principle; for my spirit yearns too strongly over a world involved in misery and ruin by its alienation from God, to be tied down to the gainful pursuits of a grovelling age. I trust that my career, thus far, witnesses that I am not to be seduced from the path of duty by favors, nor intimidated by frowns. My testimonies must be delivered in plain, unequivocal language, let who will be offended; so shall reformation advance, and my own soul obtain perfect satisfaction. The spirit of your letter is so excellent and catholic, as greatly to cheer my own. You allude to the time when I almost stood alone, in the conflict with the demon of slavery. That was the great trial hour of my regard for principle, of my faith in God, of my sincerity in espousing an odious and persecuted cause. No one can realize how great was the pressure that then rested upon me. O, to find all ears deaf, all eyes closed, all hearts obdurate—to be abandoned as a madman by near and dear friends—to be the object of universal reproach and hatred—to be ridiculed, despised, threatened, abused—to be contending single-handed, against the wise and mighty, the rulers in Church and State, the pretended lights of the age—yet not to flinch, nor waver, nor compromise, nor surrender at discretion—surely, to be placed in such a situation, and to be resolute and confident under all circumstances, furnishes at least some evidence of sincerity of purpose, and filial reliance upon that good Being who allows himself to be called by the endearing appellation of 'Father.' Many are the accusations brought against me; but no one has ever ventured to arraign me as at any time lacking in fidelity to the cause of my perishing countrymen.* I have the witness in my own bosom, that my course has been upright and consistent; and my enemies acknowledge that it is so. These things I write with humility: for whereof have *I* to glory? It is only through Christ strengthening me that I have been able to stand in the evil day. In him, therefore, will I glory, who is the Captain of my salvation.

You speak of the host now associated with me for the overthrow of slavery. Truly, they shake the earth as they march onward to the conflict, and the sound of their voices peals in the ear of affrighted tyranny like a burst of thunder. O, may they remain united in spirit, be lifted above all party and sectarian feelings, and give no opportunity to the enemy to divide and scatter them.

I am much pleased with the following sentence in your letter,—'However our opinions may differ on other subjects of equal importance, yet we trust in the cause of abolition our interest is mutual, our hopes and desires, our end and aim, one.' This is noble. If all in our ranks possessed so catholic a spirit, there could be no jealousies, no rivalries, no divisions, no plottings for supremacy, among us. We should be invincible in our strength. I trust that I have ever manifested this spirit, though it has not always been exhibited towards me. I have taken, with equal cordiality, all by the hand, who were willing to extend the right hand of fellowship to my colored brother, of whatever party or sect. The Lord is my witness, that I neither cherish nor feel any thing of an exclusive spirit in this common enterprise of mercy. When I see a man compassionating the condition of one who has fallen among thieves, pouring wine and oil into his wounds and lifting him up from his fallen state, I ask not, I care not, whether he is a Trinitarian or Unitarian, Baptist or Methodist, Whig or Democrat. Of one thing I am assured; he is acting the part of a good Samaritan, and the blessing of him that was ready to perish shall come upon his head. For the Priest and the Levite, who, in their selfishness, pride or pharisaical exclusiveness, coldly pass by on the other side, a holy scorn takes possession of my breast. They are abhorred by Jehovah of hosts.

May we be faithful, not only in this single work of mercy, but in all things. While we are striving to emancipate the slave from his galling fetters, let us see to it that our own souls are enfranchised by divine love—that iniquity may no longer hold dominion over us, but perfect redemption be found for us.

Yours in every holy enterprise,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

* This was true at the time when it was written, but it is true no longer. Mr. Garrison is now virtually charged with recreancy to the cause of the slave, because, from conscientious scruples, he abstains from voting at the polls. J.

☞ Whether the fact that the following communication comes from an opponent will be regarded by our readers as a sufficient apology for its publication, we cannot tell; but we are sure that they will all agree with us in saying, that its style and temper would have been a sufficient justification for throwing it into the fire. Nevertheless, we choose to let the writer speak from the abundance of his heart. J.

MISTAKE CORRECTED.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—An 'unhappy individual' whose signature is J., in some semi-editorial remarks preceding a communication from my pen, copied from Zion's Herald, has been guilty of an unfair and unmanly *attempt* to prove, that the publishing committee, of the Massachusetts Abolitionist, are responsible (1) for the sentiments therein contained. He calls it '*a semi-official bulletin, indicating, what we may expect from that paper when its managers come to consider it good policy to speak what is in their hearts.*'

Sir, I utterly deny that that article was either official, semi-official, or any thing like it. The committee had no more to do with it than your 'man Friday,' (2) if you have such an attendant. Mr. J. was, no doubt, fully aware of this fact: but supposing he had found ammunition, with which to shoot the 'Abolitionist,' he was willing to ride rough-shod over the truth, that he might obtain a gun. His article is a *still-born* effort to convert my communication into a dagger, with which to stab that popular and spirited paper, which he, no doubt, 'hates with a perfect hatred.' But, what has an article of mine to do with that paper or its publishing committee? (3) Are associations or committees responsible for what one of their members may choose to speak or write? Yet this is the doctrine of J. His *argument* (?) is,

Mr. W. has written an article on the doings of a public meeting:

But Mr. W. is a member of the publishing committee of the Massachusetts Abolitionist:

Therefore, The doctrine of that article, is the doctrine of that committee.

Profound and sapient conclusion! Most contemptible logic! equalled only by the littleness of soul that dictated the *wish* to stab that committee and injure their paper. What might not be proved by such mock reasoning as this! It needs only to be shown, that a man belongs to a committee or association, of any kind, and then forsooth, that committee or association must father every thing he chooses to write. How easy to prove by this most logical syllogism, that all the abolitionists have fallen into the same bog of error with yourself, on the theory of human politics, than which, a grosser libel could not be uttered concerning them. But it may be presumed that, as logic is a human (4) science, J. has repudiated it altogether and that he intends to reason as well as to govern without *human* rules.

But J., also charges that committee with hypocrisy—with '*affecting* great aversion to controversy'—with a '*policy*' that prevents them from 'speaking out what is in their hearts.' Is this generous? Is it Christian? Is it manly? How does J. know what is in their hearts? (5) Is he omniscient? He cannot consistently say that my article contains their sentiments, unless he can prove that they have endorsed it. This he cannot do. Why then the insinuation? Is J. accustomed to *affect* and to adopt hypocrisy as 'good policy?' and does he measure that committee by his own standard? If he does, I am inclined to think they will demur. They will feel too tall to get under it! It might make their shoulders ache!

As J. is one who professes to go with a party, that make high pretensions to zeal for *all* the principles of the gospel, I beg leave to present the following clauses for his consideration, the next time he aims a blow at the publishing committee of the 'Massachusetts Abolitionist.'

'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not *charity*, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.'

'Charity ENVIETH not—seeketh not her own—THINKETH no evil—*hopeth* all things.'

Very respectfully yours,

DANIEL WISE.

QUINCY, April 13, 1839.

(1) If the reader will turn to the article here referred to, he will perceive that we made no such 'attempt' as is here attributed to us. We simply stated the fact that Mr. Wise was one of the publishing committee of the Abolitionist, and then drew what seemed to us to be a very natural inference from that and certain other facts, which are well known to all who are at all acquainted with the grounds of the present difficulties in this State. If the inference was not warranted by the facts, our readers were furnished with ample means of correcting the error, for we published the whole of Mr. Wise's article.

(2) This was doubtless intended as a clerical sneer at somebody. It should be read in connection with the texts of Scripture which the Rev. gentleman has quoted at the close of his communication.

(3) Just what the weather-cock has to do in pointing out the direction of the wind.

(4) No one could doubt the *earthly* nature of logic, who should regard Mr. Wise's remarks as furnishing a test of its quality.

(5) 'By their fruits.'

RARE EXAMPLE OF MORAL COURAGE.

If, to stand up boldly for Truth and Right, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, be a proof of moral courage; and if it should be

'Accounted bravery to bear reproach and shame'

in the sacred cause of virtue and humanity; then has the signer of the following petition furnished the most indubitable proof that she possesses these ennobling qualities in a high degree. Few names are more endeared to the friends of liberty and equality than that of LYDIA MARIA CHILD. She has now performed an act which challenges afresh the admiration of all who regard the brotherhood of the human race. The proud and vulgar slaves of caste and prejudice may curl the lip in scorn; and

'Fools may hiss with serpent tongue,
And pour contempt upon her honored name;'

but posterity will regard this act as the noblest of a life spent in doing good.

We must ask pardon of our readers for so long neglecting to publish this petition. It was presented to the Legislature by Mr. Bradburn more than a month ago, and read to the House by the Speaker; but the copy was mislaid by us at the time, and not until now have we been able to publish it. J.

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS:

The undersigned believes that the law barring intermarriages between people of different complexions has no tendency whatever to restrain vice; that its uselessness is virtually acknowledged by your Report, which declares, 'if no such regulation had been placed on the statute book, it might be doubtful, at least, whether its pages should be *encumbered* with any provision on the subject;' that it is an unjustifiable interference with domestic institutions—inasmuch as it attempts to control by legislative action a connexion which, above all others, ought to be left to private conscience and individual choice; that its influence on the rights and good name of innocent children may be most cruel; that it is as obviously a violation of the great principles of freedom, on which our institutions rest, as a law prohibiting marriages between Catholics and Protestants—and more absurd—inasmuch as religious opinions have a more important bearing on character and happiness, than gradations of complexion; that it is strongly tinged with the vile system of slavery, in which it originated; that this legalized contempt of color in Massachusetts has a direct tendency to sustain slavery at the South, and is publicly quoted for that purpose; that posterity will look back with as much wonder to the excited discussions on this subject, as we now do to the proceedings of learned lawyers and judges, who hung witches for raising a storm; and finally, that it is in all respects a disgrace to the statute book of a free and intelligent Commonwealth. Therefore, your petitioner prays that it may be immediately repealed; and that her name may be publicly recorded with the honorable women of Lynn, as protesting against said law.

Your petitioner can offer no certificate that she *understands* her own petition; but she begs respectfully to offer her sincere assurance that she fully comprehends the origin of the law, its bearings past and present, the strong prejudice by which it is sustained, and the consequent unpopularity of her proceeding. That she is not made the ignorant tool of evil-designing persons, during the recent excitement, is evident from the fact that she six years ago published a book, in which she mentioned this very law, as a violation of the principles of justice and freedom.

Lastly, your petitioner, as a free-born woman, sharing moral and intellectual advantages with all the sons and daughters of this intelligent Commonwealth, begs leave, dispassionately and respectfully, to protest against the contemptuous treatment offered to her sisters in Lynn. To sustain this protest she appeals to no law of 'chivalry,' which had its use in a barbarous age, and should pass away with barbarism. As far better suited to the age and country in which she lives, she prefers a plain appeal to the respect due from the representatives of a free and enlightened people to the decorous expression of any conscientious views and opinions from any member of the community.

LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

Northampton, March 20, 1839.

☞ THE LIST OF DELEGATES to the anniversary of the national society, published last week, did not embrace all who have been appointed. The whole subject was referred by the Board to a sub-committee, and that committee has sent credentials to various persons without preserving a record of their names. We are able only to supply the deficiency in the delegation from Lynn: James N. Buffum, James P. Boyce, Wm. B. Oliver, Daniel Henshaw, Mercy T. Buffum. Let all who have received credentials, ☞ whether their names have been published or not, attend the meeting. Yea, more—let every abolitionist attend, who can do so, ☞ whether he or she has received an appointment or not. The local societies are all entitled to send delegates, and every individual who consents to the principles of the Constitution and contributes to the funds of the Society, (no matter how small a sum,) is entitled to a voice in the meeting. LET ALL GO WHO CAN. J.

AGENTS.

For the information of our Anti-Slavery friends, we give below a list of the agents employed by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, with the counties in which each, for the present, is to labor, and we earnestly hope that the friends of the cause will render them every assistance in raising funds, that the exigency of the cause now demands, that the Board may be enabled to redeem the pledge, before the 7th of May, made last June to the Parent Society.

PARKER H. PILLSBURY, lecturinng and financial agent, Worcester Co.

P. C. PETTIBONE, lecturing and financial agent, Hampshire Co.

J. D. HERRICK, financial agent, Hampshire Co.

WM. H. CHAPMAN, lecturing and financial agent, Franklin Co.

T. P. RYDER, lecturing and financial agent, Hampden Co.

N. H. WHITING, lecturing and financial agent, Essex and Middlesex Counties.

JOHN JONES, financial agent, Norfolk Co.

MOVEMENTS IN NEW-YORK. The Executive Committee of the N. Y. State Anti-Slavery Society have given notice that they intend to call six local Conventions between this and next November. The first of these Conventions is to be held at Auburn on the 19th of June.

DIED—In Springfield, Vt., on the 9th of March, Abby Leverett, only daughter of James and Sabrina Whipple, aged 15 years. The death of this youth is a subject of deep regret to all who knew her. Fond and doting parents, whose hearts were intertwined with hers, at the mandate of death have been called to give up this dear object of their affection. Friends and associates, whose affections she had won by her correct and unassuming deportment, deeply mourn her loss. She was respectful to all. In her parents she always confided, and for their wishes entertained a most scrupulous regard—a trait, which, wherever seen, brightens and adorns the youthful character. From her early childhood, she was a constant attendant upon the Sabbath School, which she ardently loved. In this youth was found the advocate of the principles of peace and the friend of the poor and down-trodden slaves. At the recital of their wrongs and sufferings, the sympathies of her tender and benevolent heart were moved, which led her to pray to the God of the oppressed and the Judge of the oppressor for the speedy deliverance of that injured race. During the protracted illness of this youth, whose trust for salvation was in a crucified Redeemer, was seen a practical demonstration of the worth and power of religion to smooth the path to the grave, to disarm death of its terrors, and give the soul a happy entrance into eternity. While this is the highest solace to the Christian parent's heart, it is a voice addressed to all, that childhood and youth is the time to prepare for death.—*Communicated.*

Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Soc. from the 14th, to the 22d of April.

Mrs. John Parkman,	10 00
Miss Ann Augusta Parkman,	10 00
Andover Female A. S. Soc. qr. by C. Avery, Tr.	7 00
Reading A. S. Soc. by Nancy A. Gleason, Tr.	20 00
Collections in Dedham by John Jones.—Erastus Worthington, 3 00; Dr. S. B. Carpenter, 5 00; a friend, 1 00; E. G. Robinson, 1 00; Oliver Morse, 1 00; Addison Boyden, 1 00; Robert Thompson, 3 00, Ezra Morse, 1 00; Curtis G. Morse, 2 00; Jos. A. Cushion, 50 cts.; T. Colburn, 50 cts.; Abner Guild, 1 00; Edward Mann, 1 00; Levi Reed, 50 cts.; Mr. Enos Ford's collection, 8 41; Cent-a-week Soc. and ladies in Dedham, 8 59.	38 50
Collections in Dorchester by John Jones.—Rev. N. S. Spaulding, $1; John Warren, 2; Loing W. Reed, quarterly collections, 15 75.	18 75
Collections by O. Scott.—From several friends in Winchendon,	26 67
In Athol, by O. Scott.—Asa Hill, $5; Dr. Hoyt, 2; Lewis Thorp, 2; Lysander Fay, 2; S. R. Morse, 2; Calvin Bliss, 1; Esther Humphry, 1; Eben Stratton, 1; Eben Chaplin, 1; Mrs. Hill, 2; Henry Humphrey, 1; Ak Spooner, 2; Menitable Goddard, 1; L. C. Spooner, 1; M. T. Stratton, 1; Levina Bond, 1; Asa Spooner, 1; Maria Goddard, 1; Chs. Bancroft, 1; Edward Ballard, 1; several friends, 3 86, A. Chaplin, 1 60.	34 86
Collections by Mr. Hall in Fall River,	65 75
" by John A. Collins in Lynn, (Particulars of above hereafter.)	75 50
N. Bedford Female A. S. S. by M. T. Congdon,	50 50
Cent-a-week Soc. in Haverhill by Mrs. Hewes,	12 00
Collections in Haverhill by Miss Harriet Minot and Mrs. J. H. Hewes.—H. Minot, $1; J. H. Hewes, 1; E. Hale, 1; S. A. Dow, 1; Miss Clement, 50 cts.; Mrs. Page, 1; A. Gage, 1; B. Emerson, 1; Miss Langley 50 c.; J. Marsh 50, J. Plummer 50, S. Holt 50, a friend 50, Mrs. Savoy 50, A. Hammond 50, R. S. Hale 50, N. Webster 25, Mrs. Hutchinson 25, Lois Bachelor 25, B. Bradley 25, L. Kelly 25, M. Sunley 25, Mrs. Lancaster 25, N. Hasmon 50, a friend, 25.	14 00
Collections in Scituate by N. H. Whiting,	48 50
" in Hanover by " John Curtis, $1; Sybil Soule, 1; Nancy Binney, 25 cts.; Lydia Stockbridge, 25 cts.; J. Quinby, 50 cts.; Lemuel Dwelly, 1; L. D. Jones, 50 cts.; E. Young, 12 cts.; other donors in Hanover, 6 50; T. J. Gardner, 2.	13 12
Abington A. S. Soc. by N. H. Whiting,	4 00
Caroline Weston, pledge 1 August,	5 00
Friends of the cause in Nantucket, by T. P. Ryder,	36 55
" in Reading, qr. payments, by C. Temple,	20 50
F. Wakefield, Reading, pledge at Worcester,	2 00
D. Chute, " life member,	15 00
New Worcester, quarterly, by L. Capron,	8 50
Worcester A. S. Soc. by J. A. Collins,	111 91
" Ladies' A. S. Soc. towards redeeming pledge,	25 00
Collections by Parker H. Pillsbury.—Ashburnham, $15 25; Westminster, 46 50; Royalton, 15 00; Fitchburg, 27 50; Leominster, 8 00; Princeton, 45 50; Holden, 15 00.	172 75
Millbury Women's A. S. S. by E. A. Leonard,	25 00
	$879 36

HENRY G. CHAPMAN,
Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society.

DELEGATES TO THE A. A. S. SOCIETY, FROM RHODE ISLAND.

ANTI-SLAVERY ROOMS,
PROVIDENCE, April 18, 1839.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the R. I. A. S. Society this evening, the following gentlemen were appointed delegates to the approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in the city of New York, on the 7th of May ensuing.

Providence—Thomas Davis, A. C. Barstow, G. L. Clarke, T. W. Dorr, Esq., Martin Robinson, James Eames, A. R. Janes, Wm. Chace, Wm. M. Chace, E. Smith, John Waugh, Wm. C. Chapin, Wm. Esten, Josiah Cady, Gilbert Richmond, Abram H. Stillwell.

Pawtucket—Wm Adams, Jos. Sisson, Jr., Orin Lindsey, Daniel Mitchell.

Valley Falls—Henry Marchant, Benjamin Fessenden.

Coventry—Peleg Clarke, Jos. Sisson, Asa Sisson, Caleb Kelton, J. Whipple, Orin Spencer, Charles Anthony.

Smithfield—Samuel B. Harris, Jeremiah Smith, C. C Dexter, Amos D. Lockwood, Benjamin Taber. Asa Winsor, Charles Slocum, Wm. Booth, Aaron White, Jr., Eli Pond.

Cumberland—Elisha Balcom.

Scituate—Geo. Jas. Adams, Otis Potter, C. F. Grosvenor, A K. Brayton.

North Providence—H. B. Drown, J. G. Manchester.

Bristol—Thos. P. Richmond, Clarke Vaughan.

Warren—S. Davoll, B. Bosworth.

Barrington—B. R. Allen.

E. Greenwich—John Brown, Moses Pierce, D. K. Bannister, Calvin Philbrick.

Warwick—S. A. Tillinghast, Wm. Brayton, Abel Tanner, Wm. Tanner.

Hopkington—J. D. Babcock, H. M. Wells.

Burrillville—Smith Battey.

Chepatchet—J Armstrong.

Wickford—John Hall, J. W. Allen.

South Kingston—Thos. P. Wells, J. G. Clark, Wm. French.

Newport—Wm. B. Swan, Edward Lawton, John Remond, John Mowatt.

Portsmouth—John B. Cook, Jon. Cady.

Little Compton—Junia S. Mowry, Nath. Gifford.

NOTICES.

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE N. ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will hold its sixth annual meeting, in the city of Boston, on TUESDAY, the 28th of May next, and will continue, probably, three days. The objects of this Convention, and its advantages in giving an impulse to the cause of emancipation, are well known. Distinguished advocates of the cause, from other sections of the country, are expected to be present, to aid in the deliberations. And as it was never more desirable or important than now, that the Convention should be well attended, it is earnestly hoped that local societies throughout New England will see that they are represented on the occasion by large delegations.

Signed in behalf of their respective societies:

MAINE.
WILLIAM SMYTH, *Cor. Secretary.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
E. E. CUMMINGS, *President.*
N. P. ROGERS, *Cor. Secretary.*

VERMONT.
E. D. BARBER, *Cor. Secretary.*

MASSACHUSETTS.
FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*
WM. L. GARRISON, *Cor. Secretary.*

RHODE ISLAND.
PELEG CLARKE, *President.*
ELIAS SMITH, *Rec. Secretary.*

CONNECTICUT.
JOHN T. NORTON, *President.*
P. CANFIELD, *Cor. Secretary.*

☞ Editors of anti-slavery papers, and others friendly to the cause, are requested to give the above an insertion in their columns.

No answers have been received from the President of the Maine and Vermont Anti-Slavery Societies, as yet, but we shall insert them as soon as permission is given.

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The sixth anniversary will be held, with Divine permission, in the city of New York, on Tuesday, the 7th day of May next. The public exercises will be in BROADWAY TABERNACLE, and commence at ten o'clock, A. M. An abstract of the Annual Report will be read, and several addresses delivered by brethren from different parts of the Union. A meeting for business will be held in the Lecture Room of the Tabernacle, in the afternoon, after the public meeting, and be continued, probably, for one or two subsequent days.

All the auxiliaries are requested to send delegates, and members of Anti Slavery Societies, throughout the country, are invited to attend the anniversary.

JOSHUA LEAVITT,
LEWIS TAPPAN, } *Committee of Arrangements.*
LA ROY SUNDERLAND,

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, respectfully announces to the Female Anti-Slavery Societies of the United States, that, having ascertained that the time appointed for the Anti-Slavery Convention of American women, was unfortunately chosen, as it occurs during the week of the anniversaries of the American Anti-Slavery and other national Societies, they have changed the time for the opening of the Convention, from Wednesday the 8th, to *Wednesday the 1st day of May.* At that time we shall hope to welcome to Philadelphia, large delegations from all our sister associations.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

SARAH PUGH, *President.*
MARY GREW, *Cor. Sec.*

Philadelphia, March 5, 1839.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF BOSTON.

The Boston Anti-Slavery Society will meet in Marlboro' Chapel, on TUESDAY EVENING next, at half past 7 o'clock, at which time an address will be delivered by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and ☞ a collection taken to aid in paying the balance of the pledge due from the Massachusetts to the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is hoped that there will be a general rallying of the friends of the cause.

C. P. BOSSON, *Rec. Sec.*

April 25th, 1839.

FAIR FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SAMARITAN ASYLUM.

The ladies, of the Samaritan Asylum for indigent colored children intend holding a Fair, to increase the funds of the treasury, during the week of the anniversaries in May. All who are interested in the success of that institution, are invited to assist us by donations of articles. They may be left at Miss Parker's, No. 5 Hawyard Place, at Mrs. Campbell's, No. 23 Brattle St., or at the office of the Moral Reform Society, No. 2, Chapel Place.

As we expect a ready sale of refreshments to friends attending the meetings, contributions of fruit and other articles for furnishing refreshment tables, will be particularly acceptable.

L. M. BALL,
E. K. DAVIS, } Committee.
L. GOULD.

MARRIED—In this city, on the 18th inst. by Rev. George H. Black, Mr. Henry Thomas to Miss Margaret Ann Webb. Also, Mr. William H. Copman to Miss Mary Saunders.

On Sunday last, by the Rev. Mr. Gray, Mr. Caleb S. Swain, of South Reading, to Miss Mary W. Fulton, of this city.

DIED—At Philadelphia, 12th inst., Mr. Mark Venning of Charleston, South Carolina, aged 22 years.

REMOVAL. JAMES G. BARBADOES, respectfully informs his friends and the public generally that he has removed from Elm street, and has taken a neat and commodious Shop, No. 62 Court and Tremont streets, opposite the head of Brattle street, which he has fitted up with a good supply of soft water to wash after the use of a sharp Razor.

Hair cut in superior style at the low price of 12 1-2 cents; Curling 12 1-12 cents.

Customers will be furnished with private Mugs and Brushes and Soap at 50 cents per year.

LADIES' HAIR DRESSING ROOM.

J. G. B also informs the ladies and children that he has a neat and convenient room, entrance on Court st. No. 62, separate from his shop, fitted up in good style, expressly for their accommodation for cutting and curling their hair.

Price for cutting misses and children's hair, 12 1-2 cents; Ladies hair, 25 cents. To give children's hair proper growth, it should be cut by a skilful hand. Particular attention will be paid to it by myself, at the low price of 12 1-2 cents.

No lady will risk spoiling her children's hair for a mere trifle; and as my style of hair cutting is not second to any one in this city, I trust that the ladies will give me liberal patronage.

LITERARY.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

I found the following lines in a political paper.—Though not so intended, they seem to be very appropriate in the present state of the slavery question; and might be read with profit by Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, and other political aspirants, who, if they can obtain the loaves of office, seem to care very little what becomes of vessel or crew.

Our barque was on the ocean wild,
When storms beset the sea;
Our sail unfurled, our skipper mild
Cried—'*Better let it be!*'

Upon the rocks, with fury surged—
A leak most huge had we;
But still the skipper calmly urged—
You'd '*Better let it be!*'

The craft in twain is parting—gone—
And on a plank at sea
The skipper cries with look forlorn,
You'd '*Better let it be!*'

I'm skipper here; but on the shore
Such honors greet not *me*—
Therefore, my lads, I say once more—
You'd '*Better let it be!*'

The respective political parties take up the chorus of their skipper, and with loud huzzas, sing:

You'd 'Better let it be!'
You'd 'Better let it be!'
The *Loaves* he spies,
And the skipper cries—
You'd 'BETTER LET IT BE!'

From the Montrose, Pa., Spectator.

LINES

Written on hearing of a disgraceful riot and mob (in open day) in Wilkesbarre, in Wyoming valley, on the occasion of an anti-slavery lecture by C. C. Burleigh, an able and eloquent advocate of the rights of man.

'On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!'—
Vale pure and sweet as human foot hath trod,
Where fragrance-breathing flowers and waters spring,
Fresh from the hand of Nature's bounteous God,
From out the bosom of her bloody sod—
How many tales of fear, of hope, of joy,
Wake in the mem'ry when that name is heard!
How rouse the fancy of the dreaming boy!—
Wild and fierce strife that quiet vale has stirred.

It was a holy* fight your fathers fought,
Men of Wyoming! when that stream ran blood;
They deemed not liberty too dearly bought,
Though coined each life-drop of their heart's warm flood,
When by your homes the dark-browed savage stood;
They struggled madly, mightily, and—fell—
A manly conflict to be free or die;
They died—and Freedom came with you to dwell;
Pure was her robe, though tears were in her eye.

Proud men, and high, those men of other days!
They sought not freedom for themselves alone,
But for their country and the human race:
They scorned alike the tyrant and the throne.
Their place is now Golgotha—where are strewn
The skulls of heroes; but from them have sprung
None like those sires—but into life were sent
Some as like noble men—such sires among—
As is yon pile† to a proud monument.

Else why such scenes of shame as ye have spread
Forth to the world! Is Freedom with you still?
Shame for the spirit of your fathers, dead
Within your bosoms! have ye then the will
The precious drops of Freedom's cup to spill—
Drops ye can never gather up again?
Shame that those glorious, golden drops, should be
Like pearls before ye cast, and all in vain!
When will ye learn the worth of liberty?

The blood-bought legacy your fathers won,
But not alone, ye have denied to men
Whose sires, too, fought as nobly as your own—
The God-given boon of speech, which tells the ken
Of the free spirit. Shame upon you, then!
Is it a crime to plead for freedom now
Within your once proud vale? So was it when
Those choice ones struggled with unquailing brow,
Who soundly slumber now beneath your plain.

Turn from the error of your evil ways;
And if ye will not that the slave be free,
Strive that it still may be your nation's praise
That *your own freedom* is not mockery.
Tell not your fellow freeman he shall be
Dumb, though his country's voice hath bade him speak;
Turn not the axe against fair Freedom's tree,
Or Anarchy will vengeance on you wreak;
Sow *wind*, the whirlwind shall your harvest be!

Montrose, March 18, 1839.

*No.—*Ed. Lib.*

†The half-built and crumbling masonry, the beginning of a monument to the brave who fell at the battle of Wyoming, and who were buried in a common grave.

From the Knickerbocker.

THOUGHTS ON EARLY SPRING.

By the deep forest yet unwaken'd green,
To tread on wither'd leaves and herbage new,
And trace the first young buddin's tender sheen;
The downy liverwort's sweet eye of blue,
And pale anemone, on amber stem,
Faint—blushing delicate—the woods first gem.

Where the fresh fountain bubbles into light,
Amidst the ferns that fringe her mossy brink,
Inlaid with scarlet berry, gleaming bright,
Invite the wanderer to stoop and drink:
O! give me one sweet day amidst the woods,
The vernal, stirring breeze, and rous'd up floods!

The fitful spirit of the wilderness
Raiseth the heart, and the adoring eye,
To Him who doth with early beauty bless
The slender service-tree that waves so high,
Her snow-white wreathes amid the unclad wild;
And owns the sparrow for His mercy's child.

I love all blossoms of the early spring;
All living things the winter storm has left:
The red-cup moss, the myrtle—fragrant thing!
Each tinge of life within the rock's dark cleft:
And when the blue-bird warbles sweet and clear,
To rest in some charm'd spot, the hymn to hear.

Where the sweet water-fall is chiming low,
Amidst the shrub-roots and the old grey stone,
Catching the sun-beams in the sparkling flow,
And shadows of the forest branches, lone,
Yet leafless, rustling tuneful over-head,
With thwarted twigs beneath the blue sky spread.

There flow to Him my soul, my joyful soul,
Upward with the elastic air, and scent
Of early buds; and gentle sounds that roll
Amidst the boughs; and song of waters, blent
With hum of new waked insect, on the wing,
And all the breathing harmonies of spring.

He who has form'd us for devotion, He
Hath worn our nature; and hath lov'd to pray
Where the wild woods, his temple's canopy,
Gave a religious color to the day;
Here let us gather strength, e'er we depart
Where the world calls. God keeps the pure in heart.

W.

SONNET TO MILTON.

BY WORDSWORTH.

Milton! Thou should'st be living at this hour.
England has need of thee: She is a fen
Of stagnant waters; altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the hoarded wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
O raise us up, return to us again,
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

NON-RESISTANCE.

NON-ALLEGIANCE TO HUMAN GOVERNMENTS.

Nec Temere—Nec Timide.

My Brother:

Who would have thought that the principle of non-allegiance and non-resistance to human governments could have produced such an excitement among those who profess to have received Christ as their Ruler, and to have submitted to his government? 'The Lord is our Judge—the Lord is our Lawgiver—the Lord is our King—He will save us.' To give utterance to this great truth—openly to acknowledge our allegiance to the King of kings, and disclaim allegiance to any other—openly to disclaim all right in ourselves to hold dominion over the consciences, thoughts, words or actions of others, and in others to hold dominion over us, and to put ourselves, soul and body, under the dominion of Him who is confessedly the only supreme Legislator and Ruler of this world—whose will is the only acknowledged standard of moral duty—to whom alone we are responsible for our opinions and acts—who is soon to come to be our Judge, and on whose decisions hang our final destiny—seems thoroughly to convulse what is called a Christian community! I am amazed at it! Surely. Jehovah is our King, and if Christians, we are bound by the laws of his kingdom, and by those of none other. We cannot serve two masters. We may not be called masters, for one is our master, even Christ. We are all brethren. Why should this truth startle and astound the *real* Christian?

Human, or civil government, as commonly understood, is the embodied will of any number of human beings calling themselves a state, nation or kingdom—the desire or will of a multitude, calling themselves the People, the Republic, expressed in a written Constitution and code of laws; or in the words and actions of one man, or more, without any written code. To acknowledge allegiance to such a government is to acknowledge allegiance to the *will of man*—to promise to regulate our thoughts, words and acts by the will of man—to obey the will of man as the supreme law of life.

We cannot obey God and man. We cannot hold the supremacy of the Divine law and of human laws. We cannot acknowledge allegiance to the Divine government and to the human government. We must reject the Lord that he should not reign over us, or we must reject man that he should not rule over us. As professed subjects of Christ's Kingdom, we cannot choose another king to rule over us, when the Lord is our King. To acknowledge allegiance to the will of man, whether embodied in civil or ecclesiastical governments, is treason against God. Jehovah is our King. If we trust in him, he will rule us, and protect us, guard our rights, restrain evil-doers from injuring us, avenge our wrongs, and save us, not 'by the bow, the sword, the battle, by horses, by horsemen, nor by might nor by power, but by his Spirit—by a faith that gives the victory over the world—by those spiritual weapons that are mighty through God to pull down strong holds—by love, by forgiveness, by forbearance, by long-suffering, by submission to injury, by *non-resistance*. These are the coals-of-fire weapons, that penetrate the heart and burn up the wood, hay and stubble of human nature within—the quick and powerful weapons, sharper than a two-edged-sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Ye cannot serve two masters. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve. If the Lord be King, serve him; if man, serve him. How long halt ye between two opinions? If we have the spirit of Christ, 'we can recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind.'

To acknowledge allegiance to human government—what is it but to admit that man may impose upon us his will as a rule of moral action, and set up his authority over us? The Christian has a code of laws. It came down from heaven—is sanctioned by the authority of heaven's eternal King. Whoever obeys this code needs none other; and all are bound to obey it. No human legislation can increase or diminish our obligations to obey this code. It is sanctioned by the highest authority and by the highest penalties in the universe. Every human being owes allegiance to this government, and if we acknowledge allegiance to this, it is enough.

Just so far as, in obeying this Christian government, we obey human governments, it is well. Just so far as states or nations incorporate the spirit and precepts of Christ's kingdom into their governments, we are bound to obey them. 'Love your enemies. Resist not evil. Forgive men their trespasses. Return to no man evil for evil. Overcome evil with good. Leave vengeance to God. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not kill.' If these and other laws of Christ be adopted by the state as civil laws, we must obey them—not, however, because they are enacted by men; this makes them no more obligatory; but purely and solely because they are enjoined by our supreme Lawgiver.

On the contrary, if the state or nation imposes laws requiring us to do that which Christ forbids, and which cannot be done in the exercise of His spirit, or if they forbid us to do what Christ requires—all such laws are null and void. We are bound by our allegiance to Christ to disobey them. No law of the state or nation can be of the least authority, which requires us to do that which cannot be done in the spirit of Christ. A law of the state requiring us to scourge, chain, imprison, stab, shoot or hang evil-doers, domestic or foreign, can be of no force, for the spirit, precepts and example of Christ forbid such treatment. Laws requiring us to supply ourselves with swords, guns, powder and ball, and to train in the militia, 'to encounter, repel, resist, expel, pursue, kill, slay and destroy by force of arms,' our enemies, and forbidding us to give aid and comfort to our enemies; can never be of any force, because they are contrary to the laws of that King to whom alone we owe allegiance. It would be treason to the King of kings, to obey such laws. So, to obey those laws requiring us to give up runaway slaves, prohibiting immediate emancipation of slaves, or requiring us to aid in putting down the slaves, and to fight against them for attempting to get their liberty, to help plunder the Cherokees or to butcher the Seminoles, would be treason against Heaven, though sanctioned by all the states and kingdoms of the earth; because they violate the fundamental principles of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Nec Temere—Nec Timide. Not rashly, nor timidly, do I speak. 'The will of God, the law of nature, being dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation, to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times. NO HUMAN LAWS ARE OF ANY VALIDITY, IF CONTRARY TO THIS. If any human law should allow or enjoin us to violate this law, WE ARE BOUND TO TRANSGRESS THAT HUMAN LAW.' (Blackstone.) What then becomes of our allegiance to *human governments?* We are already under allegiance to a government that covers the whole field of domestic, social and civil duties—of duties to God and to men; and no authority or government can supercede this. If existing rulers, or the powers that be, are, as they pretend to be, God's ministers to carry out and enforce, by sword, pike and gun, by blood and carnage, his laws of love, forgiveness and long-suffering, we owe no allegiance to them, but our allegiance is due only to that power from whom they derived their commission, whose ministers they profess to be, and whose laws they profess to execute. If human governments are God's ministers, agents, or instruments, to explain and enforce his laws and execute his penalties, they have no right to require of us allegiance to them; they would commit treason against him whose agents they are, and against his government, if they did. Their sole business is to require of us allegiance to Him that sent them.

A human ruler or government comes to me, professing to be a minister of God, sent by him to explain and to administer the laws of his kingdom—to establish his dominion over the world—to set up his kingdom in every heart—to get the whole world to submit to him as King of kings. For if they are his ministers, this, I take it, is their sole business. But in executing their ministry, the first thing required by these governments is, not allegiance to him whose authority they come to establish, and submission to that divine government whose laws they come to administer, but allegiance to themselves, a recognition of their authority, and subjection to their dominion. They are treacherous to him that sent them, and instead of trying to enthrone Him as Supreme Ruler, they aim to establish their own power. If human governments were really, as they pretend, ministers of God, approved by him, they would never ask us to pay allegiance to them, but to Him whose agents they are. In asking us to swear allegiance to them, they prove themselves, in fact, the ministers of satan. As if a preacher should come to preach Christ, and should begin by requiring us to accept him as their Saviour; and instead of holding up Christ as King and Lawgiver, should hold up himself as the great pattern and guide of the world. We should say to such a preacher, 'How can you be a minister of Christ, who preach yourself?' So we say to a government requiring us to swear allegiance to itself—'How can you be an approved minister or agent of God to establish his authority, and procure obedience to his laws, while you are aiming to establish your own authority and dominion?' We wot not that he is an High Priest.

The oath of allegiance to human governments is most hurtful in its effects on society. It leads to a practical rejection of the divine government, of the authority of our only sovereign Lord and Master, and sets up the authority of man. It leads to practical Atheism. 'There is and must be in all governments a *supreme, absolute*, irresistible authority, in which the rights of sovereignty reside. Our obedience to the law depends not on *our* approbation but on the *Maker's will*.' (Blackstone.) This monstrous doctrine, monstrous when applied to human governments and laws, as the learned commentator intended, should be rejected with horror by every loyal subject of Christ's kingdom. But it is a legitimate inference from the idea that allegiance is due to human governments. Obedience to Christ's law depends on the Maker's will, and there is a supreme, absolute, irresistible authority in the *divine governments*, but no where else. We are bound to obey all human laws, so far as they comport with the spirit, precepts and example of Christ, simply because they comport with these; and when human laws are contrary to these, we are as much bound to disobey them, and submit, *non-resisting*, to the penalty.

'The Constitution and laws must be observed,' says one, 'right or wrong, till the same power that made them reforms them.' 'My country, may she always be right,' said Decatur, 'but, *right* or *wrong*, may she always be victorious.' Said a distinguished man, 'If the government calls me to plunder the Cherokees, to butcher the Seminoles, or to put down the slaves, I am bound to obey, without asking whether it be right or wrong.' 'Sir,' said Wellington to an officer that demurred as to the propriety of his commands—'Sir, I did not ask your opinion; I gave you my orders and expect them to be obeyed.' Thus obedience to civil and military laws, according to the prevailing doctrine, must be implicit and unreasoning. Such are the results of sworn allegiance to human governments. We are gravely told by a distinguished Jurist and Professor of Law, that, if the Sovereign power 'should pass an act requiring all the children to be slain under a certain age, it could only be declared void by the same legislative power by which it was ordained.' Every individual has the right to declare such a law null and void. Every individual has a right to declare null and void every law, that requires him to give up runaway slaves, to 'kill, slay and destroy,' or to prepare to 'kill, slay and destroy' our fellow beings for any cause; or that requires us to return evil for evil, or to take vengeance into human hands, and any other *human* law that is contrary to the spirit and laws of Christ.

Who shall decide what human laws are contrary to the divine laws? Each one must judge for himself, on his own responsibility; for 'each one must give account of himself to God.' 'When a question arises, whether death may be lawfully inflicted for this or that transgression, the wisdom of the laws must decide it; and *to this public judgment or decision, all private judgments must submit*.' (Blackstone.) So if the laws make it death to run away from slavery—to harbor a runaway slave—to teach a slave to read the Bible—to refuse to fight—to desert or encourage desertion—to break the Sabbath—to get drunk—to refuse to train—to refuse to aid in inflicting suffering and death on evil-doers—must I admit the justice of the decision? Never, till I can transfer my personal responsibility to that thing called a government, and send it off laden with my sins and all the sins of the nation to answer at the tribunal of Heaven. And here the learned commentator would help us out. 'The guilt of blood, if any, must lie at their doors who misinterpret the extent of their warrant; and not at the doors of the subject, *who is bound to receive the interpretations that are given by the Sovereign power*.' How much this sounds like each one giving account of himself!! The Rev. H. B. of South Carolina says to his hundred human chattels, 'your duty is to do just as I tell you, and I will be answerable for all the sins you commit in obeying me.' So, according to Blackstone, human governments say to us, 'Do just as we say; lie and cheat, when we tell you; steal, rob, plunder the Indians; burn cities and towns, desolate nations, imprison, whip, stab, shoot, butcher and hang men, women and children; shoot down runaway slaves, send them back to whips and chains, if they come to you; all just as we say, without question, and we will answer for all your sins committed in executing our commands.' 'The guilt of blood, if any, must lie at our doors' who issue such commands, and not at the doors of you, our subjects, who yield such an implicit and unreasoning obedience.' Thus governments address their hired and trained robbers and murderers, and these think they are guiltless, for they only execute that will—the decrees of that power to which they have sworn allegiance.

As generally understood, I believe the oath of allegiance to human governments does, in the minds of many, transfer the responsibility of all the theft, robbery, plunder, piracy, murder, blood and carnage, committed in obedience to their commands, to the governments themselves. Who feels responsible for all the wickedness committed, the pain and anguish occasioned to the innocent, in carrying out the penal codes of nations? Who feels responsible for the blood and carnage of the revolution? For the atrocities of this nation towards the Indians? For the spirit of murder sustained in this nation by the militia system and standing army? For the piracy of the foreign slave-trade, and for the more horrible land-piracy of the domestic slave-trade? Who feels responsible for the sins which now encompass this republic like a garment of infamy, and make her contemptible, loathsome and hideous before all the world? Not one of those who have been actively engaged in them as legislators, rulers, magistrates, warriors or agents of any kind—for they only received the commands of the sovereign power to which they had sworn allegiance, and 'the guilt of blood, if any, must lie at the door' of that sovereign power.

But such reasoning can never stand. Man can never throw off personal responsibility. If he does any thing, no matter how many human governments command it, he must do it on his own responsibility to God. He is the only being to whom allegiance is due. I would then repeat it—I cannot and I will not acknowledge allegiance to any human government. THE LORD IS OUR JUDGE—THE LORD IS OUR LAWGIVER. THE LORD IS OUR KING. To Him alone we owe allegiance.

H. C. WRIGHT.

Pacific Prospects. The news by the Great Western may be considered as settling the question of Peace or War with Great Britain. We are assured that England does not wish for war with this country. Our readers will not have forgotten, that, some weeks ago, we expressed much confidence in the Peace-men in England, whose influence there is quite strong upon the government and the people. It will be perceived now, that the occurrences on the frontiers of Maine and New-Brunswick have not created a great sensation in England. The prime minister expresses his hope and belief that both nations desire an amicable and fair adjustment of the disputed boundary;—and treats the subject very coolly in his remarks in Parliament. And when the matter comes to be more fully discussed in the nation, there is every reason to believe that pacific counsels will prevail. There is certainly now no reason to apprehend war from that quarter.—The point in dispute *would not be settled by war*, if we had one, and this the more intelligent people of England and this country know very well. They know that the war of 1812, and the peace of 1815 left it unsettled,—and they have no confidence that a war in 1839 would produce any better effect. *Portsmouth Journal.*

☞ The following is the reply of the editor of the Herald of Freedom to the communication of Orange Scott, published in this department last week.

ORANGE SCOTT.

This anti-slavery champion takes us, in our last, by the editorial collar without mittens, for our not coming out, *characteristically*, against Garrison's 'no human government theory,' in the Herald of Freedom. Brother Scott has a rough hand of his own, but its grip is friendly. It has no claws at the extremities. We like the unceremonious but good hearted encounters of the sturdy abolitionist. It is not bitterness and persecution, clothed in candid words and honied phrase, but honest and friendly spirit in rough, frank language. To all such combatants for the truth, we cry welcome, and 'lay on McDuff.'

To brother Scott's call, however, we do not think we shall respond, *in the Herald*. We have opinions—rather crude ones we admit—on the theory he speaks of—which we do not decline broaching here, from fear, (as we are aware of) of either brother Garrison, on one hand, or stout brother Scott on the other—though we should stand 'second best' chance with either of them in any conflict and with truth on our side to boot. We don't discuss that theory in the Herald, at all. We have not hitherto regarded it as involved in the anti-slavery enterprise—though this enterprise may be embraced in that. We were not discussing it when we made the 'tame' remark alluded to by brother Scott. This circumstance he overlooks. Had we been discussing it, we should have probably remarked *less tamely* about it,—or he would have some cause for his complaint.

The only anti-abolitionism of Mr. Garrison, alluded to by brother Scott, is his abstaining from *political* action. This is enjoined in the declaration of sentiments at Philadelphia. But there, if we remember right, nothing is said which necessarily demands any thing more of political action than petitioning Congress and other legislative bodies. That is *political action* and probably all that was then contemplated. It was not then expected that Congress would treat the petitions and the petitioners unconstitutionally. It could not have been anticipated that Athertonism would have gone with a northern hand and 'clapped the torch to freedom's temple.' Mr. Garrison still favors *petitioning*, we believe. He has, it appears, since that declaration, favored *voting*, and has actually *cast his vote* against pro-slavery Congress candidates,—which voting he now repudiates. Yet he says to all voters, carry out your anti-slavery principles at the polls. Mine *now* don't lead me there—if they did, I would carry my abolitionism with me, and *vote it*, independently of party. Now we do not regard brother Garrison's scruples about voting as of any *anti-slavery importance*. They can't hurt the cause essentially, even if erroneous. He says I won't vote *at all*. This he says as a non-resistant, not as an abolitionist. He does not contend that as *abolitionists* any body ought to accord with him in this. On the contrary, he says to all *voting* abolitionists (and they are the mass) go and vote for the slave, and he says it with quite as much effect, as if he went himself—we think with more. And the mischief with voters is not that abolitionists *stay away*, like Garrison, from the polls, but that going there, they do not regard his doctrine that they should vote for the slave, and not for party. Garrison's doctrine of not voting is that of a non-resistant not of an abolitionist. If the constitution of the national society requires voting, it must be taken as requiring it of those who *hold to voting at all*,—as all were then supposed to hold—and requiring it, so long as they do so hold. And not that any one should continue this after he should become conscientiously opposed to voting at all. It demands that *party* give way to *anti-slavery*, in the matter of voting. This Garrison still enjoins. We yield him the right to abstain from *all* voting and so from anti-slavery voting—and should conscience dictate it to him, to abstain from even *petitioning*,—if he should come to think all petitioning to Congress and Legislatures unwarrantable. Why not? We should oppose his *opinions* should he come to this, and his opinions prove influential at all on abolitionists—to prevent petitioning, or to prevent voting. And we shall oppose him as an anti-abolitionist, when he opposes voting as a mere measure of policy. We think, as an abolitionist, that all men, who hold to voting at all, ought to vote independently of party, and that all persons who can sign and understand a simple petition, ought to petition Congress and the Legislatures against slavery. Whether we hold to voting or not, whether we incline to believe the doctrine of non-resistance or not, we shan't tell brother Scott, *in the Herald*—and we don't think, if he should write an able article for the Herald against non-resistance, or Mr. Garrison one in favor of it, that we should publish either of them unless they could satisfy us that the anti-slavery cause could be advanced by one side or the other of that question.

It may be that we shall come to the conclusion that human violence is unlawful in any form—either by the strong hand of personal retaliation *direct*, or in any of the *roundabout* ways—through the bailiff or the turnkey. If we should we shall be non-resistant; but we shall not enlist the Herald in the cause of non-resistance therefore. Will brother Scott accept this reply to his challenge? This is not the arena for the discussion of any thing but anti-slavery proper—and of that freedom of thought, speech and press, necessary to the prosecution of that enterprise. The temperance cause we incidentally and even directly advocate, as an anti-slavery preliminary. It must precede abolitionism. The people must be *sober*, or we can't expect them to listen to the trying doctrines of anti-slavery. To advocate total abstinence then is to advocate anti-slavery.

This abolitionizing has a prodigious influence on the moral vision. It not only clears the eye and gives it singleness, but it seems to enlarge the moral horizon. There may be 'things in' anti-slavery, 'more than were dreamed of in our' early 'philosophy.' We were disappointed when brother Garrison broached his no human government theory. Not that he advanced it as an abolitionist, for he did not. But he was so identified, in the eye of the community, with the anti-slavery movement, that whatever opinion he espoused was charged to the cause,—and if we were abolitionists we were called on to account for every thing about him. We were worried by this new theory. Anti-slavery had just got to sailing in *smoothish* sort of water—at least, had passed the great rapids—the Niagaras and the Cohoeses;—the mobbing and the threatening with death at the North. It had got to be tolerably *comfortable* to be an abolitionist and no decided sign of mental derangement, when up comes this other innovation, to set community boiling like a pot. This and the Sabbath heresy, and the woman mania, and the duty of christians to be sinless, and their actual ability, in Christ, to become so and keep so, all in their turn came and added to the camel's load. But we disposed of them all by saying they were extrinsic to our anti-slavery enterprise, and we vindicated Mr. Garrison, as an abolitionist, because he advanced none of these theories as part and parcel of his abolitionism, but on the contrary fellowshipped people of all sorts of opinions on these subjects, if they were for immediate emancipation. So we fellowshiped him. Brother Scott is a Methodist. We are a Congregationalist—so educated and so disposed. If brother Scott is assailed as an abolitionist because of his Wesleyanism—and we in defending him as a sturdy anti-slavery man, should say, to be sure brother Scott's Methodist notions are a little different from those we had been educated to, would some robust Congregational or Baptist brother come out upon us for not being more decided and explicit on the subject of Methodism, and bid us take sides for or against our brother Scott. Just as properly we conceive as he can call us to account for our tameness in relation to non-resistance. We are neither tame nor wild on that subject as editor of the Herald—for we have said nothing of it pro or con.

Brother Scott thinks political action absolutely essential to anti-slavery triumph. We do not agree with him to that extent. We are for petitioning Congress and the State Legislatures. Not because we think any law will ever be passed by Congress to abolish slavery any where—or that any need be passed. If we have not law enough *now* against human slavery we never can have. Congress can't give us one. If the constitution of the United States is not anti-slavery law—human language cannot express anti-slavery law. If the constitutions of Virginia and Maryland, the states which gave law to the district of Columbia are not anti-slavery, then the constitution of New-Hampshire is not—and every body knows that the constitution of a state is its paramount law. We petition Congress as a mode of discussion—of moral agitation. It is mighty potency to reveal to us the extent of the slave system over white rights as well as colored ones. By petitioning we have learned that the slave system can't tolerate us in the exercise of the right of petition. It has taught us that slavery does not allow people that right. That is a valuable lesson. It shows us that color cannot bound slavery in a republic. That it necessarily overleaps that distinction. Now voting is not necessary to show this. The election of such representatives as Atherton and Burke, will perhaps tend to reveal more rapidly than any other class of men would do, the vassalage slavery has brought over the land. We may have to vote in order to maintain the right of petition—to elect men who will respect it. However, the violation of it—open gross and slavish, *may* do more to overthrow what conflicts with that right, than all the voting we can do.

Brother Scott says, 'Mr. Garrison may not be a safe *leader*.' We should say rather it would not be safe to *have a leader*. We are a band of volunteers, and the principle of our embodying is that men can properly *have no earthly leaders*. We don't mean here no presidents, governors, and the like of that. That is not the question—mental leaders, spiritual leaders.

We beg leave to question the good temper of brother Scott's remark about Henry C. Wright. Brother S. speaks a little too much in the Watson Webb style, when he speaks of having 'no disposition to notice him.' That is unkind, and if brother Wright is not an ultra non-resistant it will try his patience unless he resorts to the same spirit, and scorns to notice brother Scott. But enough for this time.

MISCELLANEOUS.

'Nigger!' 'Nigger!' The hideous epithet is glorious to us. We wear it as a plumage in our crest. We glory in the badge. We have forsaken home for it—the home of nativity and boyhood—'sweet home.' And what imports that strange term, that so fills the common ear with all that is hateful and ludicrous, loathsome and contemptible, risible and abhorrent,—that idea with which no man stoops to have sympathy, however degraded, despised and forsaken—that finds no place at the fireside of hospitality, or at its generous board—none in the house of God or the mansions of the dead—the church or the church yard—above ground or under ground, and which piety hardly dreams of communing with in the deathless world of spirits! What is it! what means this 'nigger!' Why, hidden, smothered, unacknowledged humanity. The image of the eternal God enshrouded in the semblance of brutality, and made by its kindred, to undergo the brute's condition and fate—and then they call it 'Nigger!'

That image, by the blessing of God, we unshroud and restore its effacings. That immortality, long buried, we disinhume to the blessed light of heaven and the sweet air. That moral Herculaneum we upheave to the sun, hidden in the dungeon of ages as it has lain, under the lava of a fiendish and inhuman prejudice. Go on, then, to call us 'nigger.' We covet the appellation. It is full of deathless honor to abolitionists, but of infamy and condemnation to this land. It is the designation of a people whom God is delivering, and whom He will place on high. *Herald of Freedom.*

A Kentucky Chattel. A specimen of Kentucky 'goods and chattels,' in the compact form of a robust, good sized man, passed this way a few days since, having business of importance in the neighborhood of Queen Victoria's dominions. Poor fellow! The stern sorrow of his heart was depicted on his stern visage as at our home he beheld us dandling our little ones, and we inquired, 'have you a family?' It touched a chord that proved he had a heart. No glad beam of sweet anticipation lighted up his eyes, and yet no tear-drop glittered there, for grief like his was too deep for tears. But his eye, his brow, his look, all betokened a deep-rooted agony of soul that man may feel but not describe. He had left in slavery a mother, a wife, and two children. His father had been sold down the river some seven months ago, since which time he had not been heard from. The immediate cause of his flight from his family, as well as his master, was his fear of being sold to the drovers of the Mississippi or Texas market, to pay his master's debts to the Lexington Bank. In such a case a separation from his family must have ensued, without any benefit to him or them, and he wisely chose a voluntary to a compulsory separation. He had been taken up once in a free state but escaped through the (doubtless kindly intended) negligence of the officers. The letters given him by our friends were safely delivered, and by this time we trust he is beyond the reach of his pursuers.—*Am. Citizen.*

The Hoe and the Slate. As I was riding in the stage, looking to see what could be seen, as all passengers do, my eye was attracted by a lad bearing on his shoulder a bright new hoe with a neat handle attached to it, and on his hoe-handle there was suspended a slate. 'Noble representative of a northern laborer!' I exclaimed. 'March on, brave boy! march on! Keep thy grasp on both the hoe and slate, and thy country will be grateful for the day that gave thee birth. Let manual labor and intellectual effort go hand in hand, and, heeding the God of our fathers, we are safe.'

The day on which I wrote down this little incident prompts me to propose this question;—Are the prospects of that boy no better than those of a southern slave? That youthful influence is now in the Legislature of this empire State. His voice may soon be heard in Congress. Where is there a fairer candidate than himself to fill the Presidential chair in the year 1875?—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

St. Croix.—This island belongs to the Danes. A letter received not long since by a gentleman in this city from a 'Friend' now in that island, states that the Governor of the island had gone home to Denmark, by the request of the inhabitants, to make arrangements for the universal emancipation of the slaves. Another letter has just been received, from another 'Friend,' which says that the inhabitants are now preparing for the consummation, and among other things, are building eight large school houses for the instruction of the slaves. A deputation was sent, some years since, to visit the island of Antigua and learn the effects of emancipation. Their report was highly favorable. When will our own citizens manifest equal good sense in inquiring after the truth in this great matter?—*Emancipator.*

Direct Trade with the South.—The labors of the conventions of southern merchants have hitherto proved so fruitless, that the more intelligent men at the South are beginning to grow rather impatient at their movements. A writer in the Southern Literary Messenger says—'We have watched these conventions with much interest; but we have ever laid down the reports of their proceedings in disappointment. The resolutions passed in convention not to buy northern goods when they can get southern, unless the northern are the cheapest; not to freight northern vessels when they can freight southern, unless the northern freight for less, and many others, remind us of the oath which Neptune and his crew required of us, when we first crossed the equator, viz. 'never to eat brown bread when we could get white, unless we preferred brown; and never to kiss the maid if we could kiss the mistress, unless we liked the maid best.'

The Awful Plunge!—The St. Cathrine's, U.C. Journal of the 6th, states that five men went over Niagara Falls on the previous Thursday. The Journal says, 'The only particulars which we have been able to learn, are, that just before sunrise on Thursday morning last, a boat with two men in it, was discovered in the middle of the river, above the falls, vainly endeavoring to make their way through the ice, with which they were enclosed, to the Canada shore. Their utmost exertions proved unavailing, and in a short time they were seen to enter the cascades, when they disappeared. In half an hour after, another boat, with three men in it, was discovered in the same awful situation, and trying, too, to gain the Canada side; but in a few moments shared the melancholy fate of the other. Yesterday the body of a man was picked up in the Whirlpool, supposed to be one of those unfortunate men, having about his person two hundred dollars and a valuable gold watch. We have no other particulars.'

Maine Legislature.—This body has adjourned without any definite action on the subject of slavery. The report of the majority of the committee on the numerous petitions presented during the session, is adverse to their prayers, although it admits slavery to be 'a lamentable evil,' &c. Our excellent and true-hearted anti-slavery friend, Gen. Appleton, member from Portland, drew up a long counter-report, but which the majority refused to publish, probably fearing the effect its powerful arguments might produce upon the community.—*Pa. Freeman.*

A slave in Memphis, Ten. had so strong an *affection* for her master, that she attempted to poison him and his family, but did not quite kill them. This caused such a terror in the city, lest there was a conspiracy afoot to destroy the whole population, that a town meeting was held, many slaves arrested, &c.; but it was all smoke. The people became quieted, and the unlucky prisoners were again at *liberty* to return to *slavery*. This is one of the few beautiful illustrations of the *affection*, which we are told slaves entertain for their masters.—*Greenfield Gazette.*

The Western Colonizationist, and Literary Journal. This is the revivification of the Colonizationist, that died a few weeks since in Augusta. It comes to us from Covington, Kentucky. It is a paper of about the size of our own, filled with advertisements, sickly love tales, bad jokes, and stale news. About three columns of the twenty are filled with Colonization matters. These probably entitle it to the name of Colonizationist; while the flash literature (!) with which its pages are graced, give a claim to its additional cognomen, '*Literary Journal*.' Its editorials are for the most part seem to have been remorselessly *kidnapped* from other papers. 'Habit is second nature,' however, and we are willing to make all due allowance for the influence of a wrong education. *Christian Witness.*

From Florida.—General Macomb arrived at Black Creek on the 6th inst. It is said, he has gone there for the purpose of buying out the Indians. The general impression was, that the Indians would not come to a talk, and it was reported, that Sam Jones and Wild Cat had declared their determination to kill any one who came near them, with even a proposal to talk with the whites.

We learn by a private letter that Marcus Desha, a son of Gov. Desha, was killed at the Post of Arkansas on the 2d inst. by Eugene Notribe. Desha rushed on Notribe with a Bowie knife, when Notribe shot at him with a pistol but missed him. Notribe's brother then handed him a second pistol, with which he shot Desha down upon the spot. N. has been held to bail in the sum of $10,000.—*Louisville Journal.*

White Negroes.—The Democrat, published in Lower Sandusky, Ohio, states that there is now in that village a white Negro Woman, whose features are those of the African, but her skin and hair are white, the latter curly and resembling lamb's wool. Her parents are black, and reside at Mansfield, in that State. She has every appearance of the African, except in the color of the skin and hair.

The following is an extract of a letter from E. C. Delevan of Albany, to the Secretary of the American Temperance Union, dated Rome, (Italy) Jan. 29:

'I have this day had an audience with Cardinal Mezzofante, being the most extraordinary man living in his particular department—he speaks 45 languages;—he gave me the names of several distinguished persons whom I am to see. I am also to have a private audience with the Pope, relative to my mission, in a few days.'

Pro-slavery mercy. The editor of the New York Telegraph says he has learned from a source entitled to credit, that a student of the Theological Seminary, at Hamilton, New York, has recently been expelled from the Institution, for expressing himself to a friend as follows: 'I am sorry to say that the faculty *are more bitter than ever against abolitionists*.' How great a share of Christian forbearance do these lordly ecclesiastics possess!

Population of Brazil, estimated by the number of houses, as furnished by the returns of the electors and deputies in 1838, to the national Legislature, allowing each habitation to contain five free people. Free people, 3,130,000; slaves, 2,086,666; total, [illegible]

The Thompson Testimonial Fund. A writer in the London Emancipator proposes that the Testimonial Fund now raising for George Thompson, should be invested in India Stock in his name, to give him a voice in the 'Court of Proprietors,' and enable him not only to vote himself, but to serve as the proxy of hundreds of shares now held by humane persons.

The Church Case.—We understand that the petition of the Old School party for a new trial, will be argued before the Bench of Judges, sitting at Philadelphia, on the 17th inst. It is presumed that Messrs. Sergeant and Ingersoll will appear on behalf of the petitioners, and Messrs. Randall and Meredith for the New School party.

A Slaver. A letter of March 24th, from Guayama, Porto Rico, published in the Norfolk Beacon, says, 'A Guineaman arrived here a few days since, having on board 280 blacks. Her arrival excited much sensation, the risk being so great.'

Generosity. A man in Georgia who was in the habit of buying stolen corn of negroes, was lately caught by some of his neighbors, who tied him and gave him a hundred lashes, and then generously told him he might go without *further punishment*.—*Papers.*

If 'a hundred lashes' be *quantum sufficit* punishment for 'buying stolen *corn*, what should be the punishment for buying stolen MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN?—*Vt. Tel.*

Mexico.—*Treaty Ratified.* Private letters from the most respectable houses in Mexico, announce in positive terms that the treaty of peace concluded by Admiral Baudin and the Mexican plenipotentiaries, has been ratified by the Mexican government.

Refinement. One of the Ohio papers, in speaking of the splendid entertainment given by the members of the Ohio Legislature to the Kentucky Commissioners, after the passage of the *Servile* Acts, calls it 'kissing the poker.' Great Britain in Franklin's day only wanted us to pay for heating it. Thus slavery redeems upon monarchy.—*Emancipator.*

Women's Rights.—At the court-leet of the Crown Manor of Presteign, the neice of the late bellman and crier proposed to become a candidate for the office. The steward of the manor objected to her because she was a woman; to which she replied, 'God bless you, sir, that's no reason; haven't we a woman for a king?' The simplicity and readiness of this reply induced the steward to admit her as a candidate; and, in a show of hands she was unanimously elected.—*Worcester (Eng.) Journal.*

Civilization. Thirteen pistol and bowie knife fights have occurred in Tuscaloosa, within sight of the capitol, since the commencement of the present session of the Alabama legislature.—*Weekly Review.*

Death of Ex-Governor Pierce.—Died, at Hillsborough, in this County, April 1st, in the 81st year of his age, Hon. BENJAMIN PIERCE, formerly Governor of New Hampshire.

To attack vices in the abstract without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows.

New Orleans, April 3d.—A duel was fought yesterday at noon, near the city, between two young Frenchmen, which terminated fatally to one of the parties.—*N. O. Sun.*

COMBS, FANCY GOODS AND PERFUMERY.

A. S. JORDAN, wholesale and retail Store, sign of the original Golden Comb, No. 2 Milk street, two doors from Washington street, would invite attention to more than two hundred different patterns of wrought and plain Combs, of the latest and most fashionable sizes, among which are the Victoria Comb of 40 different patterns, including the new star or lace pattern, that cannot be imitated in beauty, highly rich and ornamental—Crescent Combs, of original and beautiful patterns—wrought and plain back Combs—do do side or twist Combs—do do puff or tuck Combs—do do side and neck Combs—do do round Combs—Shell, Ivory, Horn and Wood dressing and pocket Combs—Turtle Shell Hair Bands—Pearl do do do—constantly on hand. Horn and Metallic Combs of every description—fine Ivory Combs.

Also, a large assortment of Fancy Goods and Perfumery—Toilet Soaps and Brushes. Purchasers will find it for their interest to call before purchasing elsewhere.

☞ Combs made to order and repaired. Highest price paid for Shell.

April 19. 2m.

GENTLEMEN'S REFECTORY AND SOCIAL RESORT.

No 5, Wilson's Lane, near State Street.

The undersigned informs the public, that he has taken the above establishment, formerly kept by Bowell Goss, and that he keeps on hand a constant supply of

REFRESHMENTS

Of all kinds. Also, FRUITS and DELICACIES of all sorts during their season. Every thing furnished in his establishment is the product of free labor. He keeps no kind of intoxicating liquor. A share of the public patronage is solicited.

tf WM. A. BURLEY.

LOST.

Some time since, the undersigned borrowed a manuscript address of the Rev. S. J. May, on the subject of Peace. Subsequently it was done up in a parcel, directed to 'Rev. S. J. May, South Scituate' and, as was supposed, sent to him. By some mistake, it has never been received. Any person having knowledge of such parcel, will confer a favor and be suitably rewarded on forwarding it to the subscriber, South Scituate, or to

A. A. Phelps, 32 Washington st. Boston.

WANTED,

In a family in Concord, Mass., an intelligent and trusty colored girl, 14 or 15 years old, to do house work. Any one who can come well recommended, or parent in want is disposed to bring up and give proper suitable advantage. For further information, apply at the office of the Liberator.

March 21st. 3w.

MALCOM'S TRAVELS.

GOULD, KENDALL & LINCOLN, have in press and will publish about the first of March, Malcom's Travels in Burmah, Hindostan, Malaya, Siam and China, in 1 vol. 8 vo. and 2 vols. 12 mo.—with a superb original map of South-eastern Asia—five steel plate engravings and about 100 wood cuts.

FREE LABOR MOLASSES.

FREE LABOR MOLASSES from the Sandwich Islands, of superior quality, for sale by

BISHOP & WITHINGTON,
Corner of Salem & Hanover Streets.

March 15. 4tis.

CHARLES WISE'S

FREE LABOR DRY GOODS STORE,

No. 50 North Fifth st. one door above Arch st. Philadelphia.

Orders from a distance punctually attended to.

Sept. 28. cop 6mos.

MAHAN ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, with other kindred subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a series of Discourses designed to throw light on the way of holiness. By Rev. Asa Mahan, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Price 62 1-2 cents.

For sale at 25 Cornhill.

REPORT OF THE HOLDEN SLAVE CASE.

Trial at the January term of the court of Common Pleas, for the County of Worcester, A. D. 1839. Published by the Board of Directors of the Holden Anti-Slavery Society. An interesting pamphlet of 32 pages. For sale at 25, Cornhill. Price 12 1-2 cents.

VICTORIA COMBS.

TWENTY-FIVE new pattern Shell Victoria Combs, with and without ornaments, for sale, wholesale and retail, at JORDAN'S Comb Store, No. 2 Milk St., 2 doors from Washington street.

MISS MARTINEAU ON ABOLITION.

JUST published, and for sale at 25, Cornhill, Martyr Age of the United States, by Harriet Martineau; containing Notices of the prominent Abolitionists, Arthur Tappan, Garrison, Miss Grimke, May, Tappan, Amos Dresser, Mrs. Chapman, Lovejoy, Adams, &c. Price 25 cents.