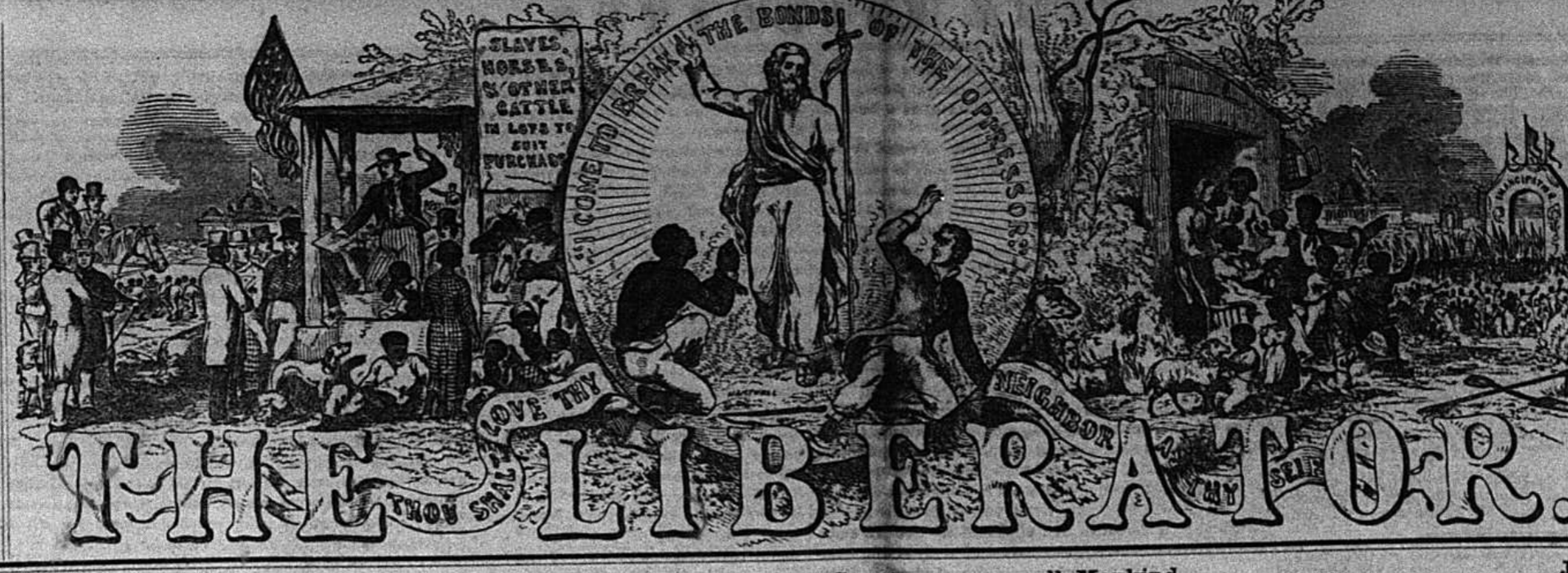


ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum in advance.



The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. VOL. XXVII. NO. 41.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1396.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Washington Union. THE TRACT SOCIETY TO BE ABOLISHED. New York, Sept. 20, 1857. The American Tract Society has been a great national society.

MANHATTAN.

DR. COX ON AGITATORS. In the Glasgow Evangelist, the Rev. Dr. Cox is speaking of the Abolition Agitators in the New York Convention.

SELECTIONS.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

A SPEECH BY GERRIT SMITH. In the National Compensation Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 25, 26 and 27, 1857.

Whether, in the eye of the Constitution, Slavery is national or sectional, or whether there is, as I hold there is, no authority for either, so it is that our slavery is actually national.

MANHATTAN.

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commend the motives themselves. For to believe that he reasons correctly, is a wide step toward believing that he reasons correctly.

When comes it that we are changed with admitting property in man? It comes from a confusion of ideas in those who charge it.

It is said, too, that the South will regard as indelicate and offensive any action we may take on this subject, and even an entertainment of the subject.

Mr. Watkins referred to my own labors in the cause of Freedom, and in terms quite too complimentary for me to repeat.

Mr. Pryne holds that our scheme violates the Constitution. I readily admit that it does violence to his and my views of both the Constitution and civil government.

According to this objection, if I see a field preparing to murder a whole family for the sake of money, and I know I can buy him off, I must not do so.

losses resulting from the abolition of slavery, still I never could refrain from believing it. They are just men. Honestly they differ from me, and hence I have no reproach for them.

Mr. Pryne holds that our scheme violates the Constitution. I readily admit that it does violence to his and my views of both the Constitution and civil government.

According to this objection, if I see a field preparing to murder a whole family for the sake of money, and I know I can buy him off, I must not do so.

yearly to support an army and navy, the main use of which is to keep down negro insurrections, carry back fugitive slaves, fight the battles for the conquest of slave territory, &c. &c.

DEACON COLONEL JOHN NETHERLAND. Deacon-Colonel John Netherland, of Tennessee, who figured more conspicuously than creditably in the flagellatory events which have given so much name to the before-mentioned town of Rogersville, in that State, has published a long statement of the affair.

Concerning the flogging administered to Anthony, for refusing to disclose Abe's place of concealment, we have the distinct admission of Netherland himself, that he did surrender Anthony to Blewins, the slave-trader, in order that the secret of Abe's concealment might be flogged out of him.



he was Mr. Blevins believing that he could induce Anthony to disclose Abe's place of concealment, by taking possession of him, and pretending to him that he had been freed, and he would take him South in Abe's place, unless he told him where Abe was. I consented to this arrangement.

And a very pretty 'arrangement' it was for a Deacon of the Presbyterian Church to enter into.—The *Journal of Commerce* yesterday gave Netherland a very thick coat of the purest orthodox whitewash. What do the immaculate conductors of that saintly sheet think of a Deacon who enters into an 'arrangement' with a trader in negroes, to tell lies to a simple old man, to induce him to betray the confidence which has been reposed in him? This little confession settles Netherland in our estimation. We should not feel obliged to believe him, although he made oath to the truth of his narrative.

In paying his personal compliments to the *Tribune*, near the close of his production, the Deacon says: 'I have never whipped a grown negro in my life, though I have owned them ever since I owned property.' Pray is it the custom of Southern gentlemen to do their own flogging? We thought that it was rather the practice to keep a skillful professional flogger in pay, or to detail one or two of the stoutest slaves for the purpose, so that the Deacon's brag that he never whipped a grown negro in his life does not, after all, seem to amount to much. He hires it done. He deputed wandering slave-traders to do it, as upon this occasion. He only exercises now and then upon the picanninies.

LETTER FROM THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

The undersigned have been requested by the Protestant Christians of France to lay before their brethren in the United States the following appeal. The original document is in our possession. A copy of the appeal was sent to every Protestant church in France. This, when signed by the officers of the Church, was returned to the Committee in Paris who had the matter in charge. When all the signatures had been obtained, the several copies of the address were bound in volumes, and these have been forwarded to the care of the subscribers. The signatures number five thousand four hundred and forty-three. They include the names of the Pastors, Elders, and Deacons of all the Reformed churches of France; the Pastors and Elders of all the Evangelical churches constituted upon the Augsburg Confession; and the Pastors and other officers of all the Independent Churches, i. e., those Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches that are independent of the State.

The undersigned have had no agency, not even by way of suggestion, in the preparation of this appeal, and are simply the selected agents of the Committee at Paris to bring it to the knowledge of American Christians. They respectfully request the editors of newspapers, both religious and secular, throughout the country, to aid in giving it the widest circulation.

ALBERT WOODRUFF, 44 Front St.  
JOSEPH P. THOMPSON,  
Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church,  
New York, Sept. 26, 1857.

The Protestant Christians of France to all their Brethren in the United States of America, Greeting and Peace through Jesus Christ:

BRETHREN.—We come to you with a few words which we have so long held back that they weigh heavily upon our consciences. Yes, for a long time past—and we ought to have told you of it—we have followed you through the great and solemn crisis to which your noble country is a prey—we make your griefs and prayers our own. Forgive a silence which, had it continued, would, in our view, have become a want of faithfulness.

A question glowing with interest meets us whenever we turn our thoughts to the dark side of the Atlantic—a question upon which recent events have concentrated the attention of all Europe—a question, in fact, so nearly allied to the honor of Protestantism, that we may no longer pass it by unnoticed. SLAVERY, (is it necessary to name the word?)—this is the subject upon which we would now open our hearts to you.

Do we come before you as judges, as accusers?—By no means. Our only aim is to make known to you our thoughts, our unanimous conviction, so as to encourage some, charitably to warn others, and openly to refute the calumnies brought against our common faith.

Do you know what language daily greets our ears? 'Protestantism,' they say, 'and SLAVERY agree wonderfully well. In the United States this odious institution numbers many Christians amongst its advocates; they preach and pray in its behalf, they labor to extend its territory. And this slavery, for which they thus act, is the selling of families by retail; the breaking up of marriage; the yearly recruiting of the market with men, women, and children, picked up here and there from the plantations of Virginia and Kentucky; it is, in short, a monstrous thing, not merely revolting to pious minds, but at variance with the first elements of humanity. Nevertheless, the Protestants of America accept this state of things; they deem it in accordance with the Gospel, and the Protestants of Europe undoubtedly think as they do, or they would have vented their feelings in one strong outcry of grief and disapprobation!'

Brethren, we must not give our enemies occasion for such language. For us, we feel the necessity of proclaiming aloud, that there is not amongst us one single Christian who has been able to reconcile with the law of love and holiness, the right of possession in one man over another, the making merchandise of immortal beings, the barbarous breaking up of family ties, the suppression of marriage, the unavoidable increase of immoral relations.

We know that under the economy of the Old Testament—an economy which no longer exists—Slavery as well as Polygamy was tolerated; but tolerated with such restrictions that the law of Moses had almost suppressed it. We know that afterwards, at Rome and in Greece, the Apostles, brought face to face with Slavery, (and this Slavery was widely different from yours, since everything in the laws of those heathen nations favored emancipation.)—the Apostles, we say, faithful in this to their principle of never interfering with the civil law, did not and could not pronounce a decree of legal abolition, since such a proclamation on their part would have rendered impossible the spiritual revolution for which they labored, by transforming it into a social revolution. But we know that at the same time they spread throughout the whole world fruitful principles, whose development must everywhere overthrow that deplorable institution known under the name of Slavery.

Do not imagine that we fix our thoughts upon a few exceptional cases of cruelty, or that we deny the kindness and gentleness of many a slaveholder. We say that, independently of the cruelty of some and the kindness of very many masters, Slavery, such as it inevitably is, such as your laws and official declarations define it to be, is a most terrible calamity.

Do not think either that we pretend to exalt ourselves above you. Our own evils are great, and we may not be proud. Who knows whether, if situated as slaveholders are, we would not yield to the same influences?

Your difficulties are very great: not to make allowance for these would be unjust. Nothing short of Christian faith can triumph over them. But Faith will work miracles. Has it not, in spite of everything, already secured the abolition of English slavery? Will it not do the same for the more difficult; it will also do much more illustrious. It lies in your power to render to the cause of the Gospel, to the cause of Protestantism, the most signal service they have received for ages.

Believe us, we feel for you, for your honor, for your country, a Christian jealousy. Your trials are our trials, and your success will be our success. We need to see you great and honored. When we see the respect and admiration once commanded by the United States daily on the decrease when we see its enemies triumphing over its laws, and joyfully pointing to the rock upon which, in their opinion, America will wreck its fortunes, we are seized with bitter grief. And what? Shall so much of true liberty, so many noble examples, so many generous purposes, so many Christian deeds, disappear behind one monstrous scandal—the plans for the triumph of American Slavery?

Scandal is the word! Our age, you may rest assured, will not bear with it. One can easily understand that States in which slavery already exists cannot rid themselves of it in a day; but to spread the leprosy into other territories; systematically to plant the extension of the disease; to take the slavery of adjacent countries under one's protection; to affirm that the abolition of slavery in Cuba would be

equivalent to a declaration of war,—this is what no human conscience can reconcile itself to; this is what should be stigmatized without mercy.

To persist in this line of conduct would be to rush into ruin, to give a legitimate subject for triumph to whoever arrives and deplores the gigantic prosperity of the United States, to whoever seeks for a pretext that will enable him to represent the advocates of their liberal and Protestant flag as a public misfortune.

You do not wish to give the enemies of the Gospel, the enemies of liberty, so ad a reason for rejoicing. You do not wish to grieve the Spirit of the Lord, nor abuse His forbearance.

God is aware of all the obstacles that lie in your path. He will not require of you more than you can give. Whatever He shall ask of you, He will give you strength to accomplish.

That the Christians of America should differ about the means, the time, and many other questions, nothing can be more warrantable. It is natural that those who are acquainted with all the difficulties of the case; who are involved in the questions themselves, their families, and their property,—that those who are called upon to make sacrifices, and who judge of the dangers, should be very cautious, and slow to decide. Upon this point alone do we entreat you to be unanimous—the desire to bring about the abolition of slavery, the inflexible resolution not to permit its extension.

It is to your Christian feelings that we appeal. We wish neither to provoke nor ferment revolt.—God forbid! This would be disregarding the spirit of the Gospel, that spirit which at the same time teaches the slaves obedience and the masters justice; that spirit which is gentleness and strength, perseverance and charity. God is witness that we love both masters and slaves. We desire the true relief of both. We know that slavery is a terrible evil for both. When hearts shall be gained over, we will rest satisfied. Great evangelical revolutions proceed from within outward; they move first upon the conscience; they convert souls in order to transform societies.

And now, brethren, will it be in vain that we have opened our hearts to you? God knows. He knows also that it is from the very inmost recesses of our conscience that this universal cry goes forth which now reaches you.

Doubly united to you as Christians and as Frenchmen, can we err in sending you this utterance, whose sincerity you cannot suspect? Have we presumed too far in believing that this unanimous appeal from sister churches would not in vain be cast into the scales where the destiny of American Christianity is now being weighed?

May the spirit of the God of Truth and of Love be with you in this fearful crisis, and rest upon you, your churches, and your country!

YOUR AFFECTIONATE BROTHERS IN JESUS CHRIST,  
JUNE 1, 1857.

(Here follow the Signatures.)

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 9, 1857.

GERRIT SMITH ON COMPENSATION.

On our first page we have placed the principal speech made by GERRIT SMITH at the National Compensation Convention held at Cleveland, as revised for the press by himself. It will, no doubt, receive a careful perusal on the part of our readers. We shall venture to offer a few remarks upon it, remembering that Mr. Smith is exceedingly sensitive in the matter of personal criticism, and therefore dealing with him and his speech as tenderly as possible.

He begins by designating the absurd and preposterous scheme of compensation to the Southern lords of the lash, as 'a great movement—one full of promise to the slave and the slaveholder.' But with that singular forgetfulness, or blind inconsistency, which so frequently characterises his rhetorical efforts, he subsequently says—'I do not deny my fears that the South will repel us, and reject every scheme and every idea of emancipation. . . . Few are less hopeful than myself of the peaceful abolition of slavery.' So, the movement, so 'full of promise,' really promises nothing at all but failure!

On the first day of the Convention, Mr. Smith expressed his astonishment that the Rev. John Rankin should deny 'the moral right of the slaveholder' to compensation, and declared—'It is his right, his moral right, to demand a fair, just and honorable equivalent for giving up his slaves, and it is our duty to pay him generously for setting his slaves free.' In this speech he sets up that declaration by saying—'Very gladly would I have all the money given to the poor plundered slave, if the slaveholder would still be willing to give him his liberty'—thus clearly recognising no moral right to any portion of the money on the part of the slaveholder, but submitting to his UNJUST EXACTION for the sake of liberating his victim. There is great incoherence in the ideas or the language of Mr. S. In one breath, he 'would have the slaveholder emancipate his slaves immediately and unconditionally, because it is the slave's right,' and slaveholding is 'the most guilty of all relations'—in the next, he 'admits the slaveholder's right to our money—yes, his moral right!' Now, he 'denies all right of property in man,' and denounces 'the guilty and horrible relation of slaveholder and slave'—anon, he talks of the duty of the North to give 'a fair, just and honorable equivalent' for such as shall have their fetters broken! In one sentence, he places his scheme entirely on the ground of policy, saying that 'to propose to give most of the money to the slave would be to defeat all hope of getting him free'—in the next, he advocates compensation on principle, as a matter of duty, justice and honesty! Now, he is 'willing to make the most direct appeal to the selfishness of the slaveholder; and thinks his moral sense would not be weakened thereby'—anon, he says 'we mean that the greater part of the loss of the slaveholder shall fall upon himself'—a very enticing proposition, certainly, and one that the tyrant will eagerly clutch at, provided it be uttered 'in love'! Let Mr. Smith go to Carolina, and make this proposition, and he will never have another opportunity to deliver a double-and-twisted speech on compensation. At one time, it is the Northern sentiment that must be consulted.—Our offer must be such as the North would approve and sustain.—at another, he replies to the objection, 'that such a sum as the slaveholders would accept would be much larger than the North would consent to share in paying,' by saying—'The North could well afford to pay'—&c., thus letting the slaveholders dictate the terms, and making it of no consequence how the North might regard the matter! The whole speech is a jumble, from beginning to end.

This scheme necessarily pre-supposes repentance on the part of the slaveholders; for, otherwise, why should they emancipate their slaves for one fourth their market value—all that Mr. Smith proposes to offer them? Yet he ridicules the idea of their ever repenting, and stultifies himself by asking—'Will the slaveholders ever take it upon themselves to repent?' It is hardly probable that the mass of them will. . . . If we wait for the slaveholders to repent, many more generations of our ill-starred brethren may have to pass through the torments of slavery.' In the name of common sense, then, what incentives can they have to relinquish their claim to their slave property? Are they to be found in Mr. Smith's ingenious avowal? We mean that the greater part of the loss shall fall upon themselves? Or, most chimerical of projects! Nevertheless, oblivious to what he has been saying a moment before, of the absurdity of expecting that the slaveholders will repent, (when the sky falls, we shall catch larks—but will it ever be so concerning?) Mr. Smith proceeds exultingly to exclaim, 'Long have I looked forward to this day'—hopefully adding, 'The work on which we are now entering will be mighty and EFFECTUAL'—i. e., the sky will fall, and we shall catch larks, in due time,—if we shall make it a work of love!

Mr. Watkins thinks that the undertaking will administer to the self-clampency and triumphant air of the slaveholders, and that they will say to us, 'Gentlemen, you have given up your principles, for you now wish to buy our slaves.' But what they would call buying, and which is not buying, would be, not the abandonment, but the natural progress and legitimate effect of our principles. When the anti-slavery man has travelled quite across the low grounds of profession, and has ascended to the higher plane where not only words are spoken, but deeds are done, and heavy and self-denying pecuniary sacrifices in the cause of the slave are welcomed, then his attachment to them—not their worthlessness and his impotence, but their great preciousness, and his power to carry him forward in the work of humanity and heaven!

This we understand to mean, in its connection, that the real proof of anti-slavery philanthropy is to be found in giving to the slaveholder \$250, and to his plundered and homeless slave \$25, in case of emancipation. We respectfully object to this.

Here is an intimation that the abolitionists are lacking both in heart and in love.—'The abolitionists must infuse more love into their efforts. Vigorous and clear are our apprehensions of slavery—just and impressive are our descriptions of it—that is not enough. They must have more heart; and they must have it not for the slave only, but for the slaveholder also.' The chief reason why the Southern conscience yields so slowly under the labor of the abolitionists is, that it does not feel it to be a labor of love. I would that all the abolitionists lay hold of this measure, which we are now laying hold of. I do not say that they in this wise would give all needed proof; but I do say they would give one strong proof that the truth, which they speak to slaveholders, is spoken in love.

A general impachment like this can be met only by a general plea of 'not guilty.' It is instructive and significant that it should have been made in such a Convention—made up of timid conservatives and inflexible opponents of the anti-slavery cause, among whom Mr. Smith should have been found only to prove them, if found at all. Who has denounced slaveholders in stronger terms than Gerrit Smith? Has he not repeatedly branded them as 'pre-eminent plagues'? And, hitherto, has he been deficient in 'love'? If so, it is very proper for him to make confession for himself. But—much as he has done in the cause of bleeding humanity—we know of no reason why he should impudently his co-laborers.

a very pretty homily upon the power of love.—'Love is the remedy for human wrongs, provided, of course, it 'plucks the cock,' and offers a bribe to thieves to quit stealing!'

We complain of the gross misuse of terms by Mr. Smith. No 'moral right' can possibly be connected with an immorality. 'So guilty and horrible is the relation of slaveholder and slave,' to quote his own words, that it is a mockery to couple it with a moral claim for pecuniary recompense in any direction. The only 'compensation' awarded to man-stealing, under the Mosaic code, was capital punishment.—'He that stealeth a man, [not a Jew,] and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' That is the only 'compensation' decreed by the law of Congress to those who seek to enslave any of the natives of Africa; and the only 'compensation' that should be meted out to every slaveholder, provided capital punishment be in any case a justifiable act.

The term compensation implies the relinquishment of a claim, or right, or the possession of property, founded in equity. To use it in the sense of aiding one who is suffering for his love of justice or humanity, is deceptive and unjustifiable. Yet Mr. Smith takes this liberty, and plays with words as with counters. He speaks of 'a confusion of ideas' in others—it is plainly in himself. First, he argues the 'moral right' of the man-stealer to 'a fair, just and honorable EQUIVALENT'—to 'compensation.' Next, he makes it analogous to telling his drunken neighbor, that, in the event of his forsaking the intoxicating cup, he will bless him and his hungry family with the gift of a cow—making it a charitable act. Then, again, he speaks of it as a ransom, extorted under the most harrowing circumstances, and not as a voluntary act or a rightful claim—thus—'If I buy my friend out from under the uplifted dagger of the murderer, I do not therein acknowledge the murderer's right to strike the blow. Now, what agreement is there in these particulars? Coercion is not a moral right or duty—to ransom is not to recognize the right of the enslaver to compensation. A *quid pro quo* is equivalent for equivalent—to pity and relieve the suffering is a very different matter.

We are surprised at the reiterated assertion of Mr. Smith, that emancipation will greatly impoverish the slaveholders, though 'the emancipating States' he concedes will be the richer for the act. Surely, this is to beg the question. We believe no such impoverishment will ensue; on the contrary, we maintain that the highest pecuniary as well as moral interest of the slaveholders calls for the immediate abolition of slavery. Do they not own all the lands! and with free laborers, instead of slaves, to cultivate those lands, will they not greatly increase their wealth, after the manner of the North? Every class at the South will be benefitted by emancipation—not one will be the loser, in any just sense. What that act will bring forth, in case every yoke be broken, is most cheerfully and truthfully set forth in the 68th chapter of Isaiah. Even if it should happen to be some 'temporary losses' in a few cases, this is what occurs in every change of policy—in the introduction of steam for horse power, railroads for turnpikes, and similar public benefits. They are too trivial for a moment's grave deliberation, or any public outcry.

'Let us hasten,' says Mr. Smith, 'to cast away the foolish and wicked prejudice (!) which stands in the way of our helping the slaveholder.' If this means any thing, it is an imputation upon the kindness and generosity of the North in general, and of the abolitionists in special, in case of positive distress assumed (falsely assumed) to be the consequence of universal emancipation—representing them to be mean, cloistered, and unwilling to extend a helping hand in a time of adversity! But as there is no ground whatever for it, this imputation is equally gratuitous and slanderous. There is no such 'foolish or wicked prejudice' existing any where at the North against relieving the poor and needy in any part of the country. In all cases of suffering at the South,—as illustrated again and again when she has been visited with pestilence, or extensive conflagrations, or any other public calamity,—the people of the North have ever been prompt to contribute most generously to her relief; and should the monstrous and incredible assumption of Mr. Smith prove true, that emancipation will be followed by disastrous consequences, they will not be backward in rendering whatever assistance may be necessary. But what has this to do with the question of compensation? Moreover, 'sufficient unto the day will be the evil thereof.' Let the suffering first be seen to be a reality, instead of a supposition, before demanding assistance. To assume that every slaveholder will suffer precisely to the extent indicated by the sum of \$250 for each emancipated slave is preposterous.

On being expostulated with, for allowing each slave only the small pittance of \$25, Mr. Smith graciously replies, 'It is nothing that, in addition to the \$25, I propose to give to the slave the slave's own self!' As the slave has a natural right to himself, we submit it hardly becomes an abolitionist to talk of making him a present to that extent, as though it were a charitable consideration!

To the plea of Mr. Smith, that the North having encouraged slavery at the South, and profited thereby, ought to share whatever loss may result from its abolition, the rejoinder made by the *Free Presbyterian*, in the article following his speech, renders any further refutation of it superfluous.

Mr. Smith gives us a novel test of anti-slavery disinterestedness and sincerity. He says—'Mr. Watkins thinks that the undertaking will administer to the self-clampency and triumphant air of the slaveholders, and that they will say to us, 'Gentlemen, you have given up your principles, for you now wish to buy our slaves.' But what they would call buying, and which is not buying, would be, not the abandonment, but the natural progress and legitimate effect of our principles. When the anti-slavery man has travelled quite across the low grounds of profession, and has ascended to the higher plane where not only words are spoken, but deeds are done, and heavy and self-denying pecuniary sacrifices in the cause of the slave are welcomed, then his attachment to them—not their worthlessness and his impotence, but their great preciousness, and his power to carry him forward in the work of humanity and heaven!'

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LETTER FROM JUDGE JAY.—THE NORTHERN CONVENTION.  
BOSTON, (N. Y.) Sept. 24, 1857.

GENTLEMEN:—I have been favored with your letter, inviting me to add my name to a Call for a Convention of citizens of the free States, 'to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States.'

The subject you propose for consideration has long been to me one of deep and painful interest. Although fully aware of the many social, commercial and political advantages resulting from the Federal Union, I am nevertheless convinced that it is at present a most grievous moral curse to the American people. To the people of the South it is a curse, by fostering, strengthening and extending an iniquitous and baneful institution. To the millions among us of African descent, it is a curse, by riveting the chains of the bondman and deepening the degradation of the freeman. To the people of the Free States it is a curse, by tempting them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government so abundantly rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.

In my opinion, while the Union continues to be thus a curse, it will be indissoluble; and that should it ever cease to be a curse, it will be a blessing. Allow me to trespass a little upon your patience in explaining the grounds of this opinion.

An aristocracy, few in numbers, and scattered over an immense region, but from common interest acting as a unit—an aristocracy, not of birth, nor of education, but solely of wealth in land, and in the bodies and souls of men—now governs with insolent and arbitrary sway twenty-five millions of people. This political aristocracy, acting in concert with almost any united party at the North, can wield the vast and increasing patronage of the General Government. Northern Democrats have deemed it expedient to form with these lords of the lash a most intimate and submissive alliance; and scorning and repudiating the sentiments of Jefferson on human rights, these pretended friends of liberty and equality are now the humble and willing instruments of a crushing and loathsome despotism. The seductions of the Federal Government, proffered through the friends of slavery, have converted the Northern Democracy into a stupendous organized liar; a party with liberty ever on its lips, and human bondage in its heart—a party always ready at the bidding of its patrons to sacrifice liberty of speech, of the press, of legislative debate, of petition, and even of the pulpit itself, on the altar of the Southern Moloch. Discarding alike the deductions of reason and the monitions of conscience, this party adopts, with the unhesitating faith of a votary of an infallible Church, every doctrine, whether constitutional or political, which it may be the policy of the slaveholders to propound. Now, surely it is not to be expected that a party that lives and moves and has its being in its union with slaveholders, will aid in dissolving that Union.

The slaveholders, in concert with their Northern allies, have established the trade of UNION-SAVING, a trade exceedingly convenient to each party concerned. Whenever a new aggression is to be made on the rights of the North, or a new outrage on humanity to be perpetrated, awful threats are flung from the South, that the Union shall expire in blood, unless the North will accept the new demand. Instantly the Union-savers begin their work. They warn the people of their dependence on the South, and of the horrors of the impending civil war, and they insist on the reasonableness of the new claims. A panic is soon manufactured. Politicians become uneasy about the next election; the merchants are fearful lest grass will grow in our streets, if not trodden by Southern customers; and our cotton persons pray and preach about the preservation of the Union, and the peace of the Church. The result of the continuance is a virtual submission to the mandates of the slaveholders, under the term of a COMPROMISE; the Union is saved for a while, and the farce ends with paying some of the savers, and leaving more to look for their reward the next time.

The Democratic party, although wholly consecrated to slavery, does not embrace all the pro-slavery of the North. In every party, there are individuals who occasionally deem it prudent to bow down before the dark idol. In general, the homage of all but Democrats is distrusted, is coldly received, and but poorly rewarded. Still, adventurers on all parties are continually investing capital in the Union-saving trade. The painful experience of Mr. Webster seems to have proved an unheeded lesson. His audacious plea for throwing open the new territories to slavery, that 'the law of the formation of the earth settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California and New Mexico,' was received by those for whose favor he sacrificed himself with silent contempt; while even Southern jurists revolted from his hideous doctrine, that the rescue of a fugitive slave from the custody of an officer, by unarmed men, was a *violation of the laws of the United States*, an act of high treason, to be punished with death!

A late occurrence in Boston may satisfy you, that while so many Northern men are willing to pay obsequious court to slaveholders, however personally odious, there can be little disposition at the North to part the chain which binds it to the slave region.

In June last was celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, connected with the inauguration of a statue to Warren. Wonderful as it may seem, pains were taken to make this celebration a demonstration of respect for human bondage, and of insult to the champions of human rights. The notorious James M. Mason received, as he himself asserted, a 'gracious invitation' from the 'Gentlemen of the Bunker Hill Association' to witness the spectacle. A distinguished gentleman of Boston, not professing to be a Democrat, addressed the assembly, telling them—'The State of Virginia is represented here to-day by a Senator in Congress, whom it has been my privilege to know personally in a sphere of common duty, whose name has been noted for more than one generation for services in State and National councils, and whom I take pleasure in welcoming here on his first visit to New England soil; and the Virginia, we are told by the papers, was 'received with loud applause.'

That the full significance of the 'gracious invitation,' the complimentary introduction, and the applause of the crowd may be understood, it must be recollected, that all this income was offered to the author of the *Fugitive Act*, that accursed outrage on the rules of evidence, and the precepts of justice and humanity; of that act which was most justly stigmatized by an eminent English jurist, (Dr. Lushington,) as 'a measure as cruel and unchristian as ever disgraced any country.' This vile statute, Boston gentlemen of 'property and standing' had enforced by municipal and military power; they had permitted the very door of their court-house, in which was detained a fugitive slave, to be fenced with chains, so that their judges, on entering the temple of justice, were required to do obeisance to that power which tramples on all justice, by stooping beneath the emblems of its tyranny.

But James M. Mason had higher claims to the sympathies of a certain class than his authorship of the *Fugitive Act*. The Legislature of Massachusetts had resolved, that 'We have received with deep concern information of the recent violent assault committed in the Senate Chamber at Washington upon the person of the Hon. Charles Sumner, one of our representatives in Congress, by Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives, in Congress from South Carolina; an assault which no provocation could justify—a gross breach of parliamentary privilege—a ruthless attack upon the liberty of speech—

an outrage on the decencies of civilized life—and an indignity to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

'Resolved, That we approve of Mr. Sumner's earnest and fearless declaration of free principles, and his manly defence of human rights and free territory.'

This language of the Legislature respecting the Southern ruffian was of course distasteful to the slaveholders, while the commendation bestowed on Sumner was necessarily felt by many in Boston as a rebuke of their own conduct. It might be for the commercial advantage of Boston to conciliate the South, and not a few would be glad to insult Sumner, and the friends of human freedom. Brooks had been removed beyond a 'gracious invitation,' but his eloquist still lived. True, that eloquist was a disunionist in profession, but then, a desire to dissolve the Union involves no moral treason, and incurs no reproach in a slaveholder. In a letter to Brooks's constituents, Mason declared, 'I know of none whose public career I hold more worthy of the free and cordial approbation of his constituents than his. He has shown himself alike able and prompt to sustain the rights and sentiments of his constituents in debate and by vote, or to vindicate in a different mode, and under circumstances of painful duty, the honor of his friend.' In reference to the then pending election, he intimated that in case Fremont should be chosen President, 'but one course remained for the South—IMMEDIATE, ABSOLUTE, IRREVOCABLE SEPARATION.'

Such was the man whom Boston gentlemen deemed proper to honor; such was the man who on BUNKER HILL was received with applause—applause which glorified the *Fugitive Act*, justified the outrage on Sumner, rebuked the Legislature of Massachusetts for its regard for human rights, and breathed the aspiration, 'Union and Slavery, now and for ever.' Boston has indeed no monopoly of *EVILNESS*, but she has contrived to give it a depth and an intensity rarely surpassed by the most ingenious servility. And think you, gentlemen, that men who thus prostrate themselves before the Slave Power will, from the love of liberty, aid you in rescuing the North from its degrading domination?

If we turn to the American Church, a mournful scene meets our view. The fine gold has become dim—the salt has lost its savor. The Church whose office it is to distribute the bread of life scattering among the people the apples of Sodom. The great struggle of the Southern portion of the Church is at present to array 'the sum of all villainies' in the garments of Christianity, and to teach for doctrines the abominations of the slave code. Thank God, some of these pro-slavery churches have severed their connection with their Northern sisters. The absence of Reverend and Right Reverend slave-breeders and traders from our church councils will tend to save those councils in future from much temptation and much guilt.

The Northern Church is, with rare exceptions, pursuing, in regard to slavery, a time-serving, man-pleasing policy, probably still more offensive to God than that of our pro-slavery politicians. The larger portion of our clergy, like the Priest and Levite rebuked by our Lord, pass by on the other side, evincing neither sympathy for their wounded brother, nor indignation against his assailants; while others pass over to the thieves, bless them in the name of the Lord, and aid in robbing their helpless victim. Of all our Northern churches, the Methodist has afforded the most striking and painful illustration of the corrupting influence of political and ecclesiastical union with slaveholders. The hypocrisy of this church is melancholy and astounding. Founded as an anti-slavery church, and recording in its standards the most express condemnation of slavery as sinful, it became the unscrupulous tool of the slaveholders. In 1836, the General Conference, alarmed by the awakening conscience of the North, and anxious to screen the church from the odium which was then attached to the utterance of anti-slavery sentiments, voted that it was 'decidedly opposed to modern abolition.' How far the modern abolition which they opposed differed from the ancient abolition of the fathers and standards of the church, it did not suit their purpose to explain. Said JOHN WESLEY—'I strike at the root of this complicated villany. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. Men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers.' Said Dr. COKE—'The buying of men is complicated crime.' Said Bishop ASBURY—'O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of slavery from thy dear Zion!' Said Dr. ADAM CLARK—'In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable, but among Christians, it is an enormity and a crime for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment.' In 1780, the church voted that it acknowledged that 'slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, contrary to the dictates of conscience and true religion.' In 1785, the Conference declared, 'We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery'; and in 1835, when this condemnation of modern abolitionism was fulminated, their book of discipline most untruly affirmed, 'We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. The word 'modern' was a fraudulent but transparent veil, intended to hide, if possible, the hypocrisy of those who used it. The resolution was demanded to satisfy the vast number of Methodist slaveholders and traders, and avowed pro-slavery Methodist ministers. The Georgia Conference boldly threw aside the mask, and with unblushing front voted that 'Slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil.'

The New York Conference of 1836 virtually degraded from the ministry the fathers of the Methodist Church, by resolving, 'None ought to be elected to the office of a deacon or elder in our church, unless he gives a PLEDGE to the Conference that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on this subject' (abolition). Imagine John Wesley asked for a pledge, as a condition of ordination, that he would never preach against a certain popular sin! Sooner would he have gone to the stake, than thus betray his Lord and Master. Did any church ever before bestow ordination on terms so iniquitous, so utterly at variance with the duty of the Christian ministry, so audaciously defiant of the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

'A man with a black skin,' said John Wesley, 'being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress; it being a law in all our colonies, that the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing. What villany is this!' Little did the father of Methodism think, when writing this sentence, that this same villany would be freely and gratuitously professed by a body of Methodist ministers professing great respect for him, and pretending to hold his sentiments on the subject of slavery! The General Conference of 1840 resolved, 'That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for ANY PREACHER to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law.' In no State did the law recognise these church courts held by Methodist preachers, nor attempt to define what persons might be admitted as witnesses; nor did the jurisdiction of these courts extend beyond controversies about Methodist doctrine and discipline. Every minister had full legal authority to admit what witnesses he pleased. Yet to give the villany of the slave code the sanction of ecclesiastical example, these Methodist ministers, deliberately, and of their own free will, determine that in the Slave States, no man, bond or free, clergyman or layman, to whom God Almighty had given a dark complexion, should be permitted to testify in their church courts, where a white man was a party. The testimony of their own converts, of their own communicants, was to be set aside as unworthy of credit, on account of the tincture of their skin! By this rule, moreover, the Southern preachers gave themselves the privilege of committing, with impunity from all church censure, any immorality, provided there were none but col-

ored people' to witness their misdeeds. Surely, he who bullies our Northern Methodists into all this villainous and base behavior since withdrawn from the Conference, and formed a Church by themselves, in which, without rebuke, they can enjoy the luxury of despotic anarchy over the poor and helpless, who are so miserably melancholy and humiliating history to show the demoralizing influence, even over Christian ministers, of political union with slaveholders. But also, the churches. It is to this union that we most ardently and bitterly oppose. It is to this union that we most earnestly and bravely protest. We have referred to the elements by which those who control it either deceive themselves or try to deceive the public. Different from the absurd pretence, that they were conscientiously restrained from rebuking the sins of erring despots, evangelists and traders, while at full liberty to condemn every other sin, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls! So also, from the same holy motives, we may infer, this same Society, year after year, submits all its publications to the absolute and irresponsible censorship of a champion and eulogist of American slavery, and an unflinching apologist of its multiplied abominations.

Again, then, I ask you, gentlemen, what possible reason have you to expect, that those in Church and State who have surrendered their consciences to the seductions of the Union, will listen to your Call, and aid you in breaking a power which they glory in serving? While I believe you are doomed to disappointment, I nevertheless rejoice in every exposure of the immoral influence exerted by the Union. I rejoice in such exposure, as tending, not to bring about dissolution, but to render it unnecessary. When the people of the North shall cease to identify the Union, they will cease to offer on its altar their rights and their duties; when released from their rights and their duties to the Slave Power, they will cease to be thraldom to the Slave Power, they will cease to be its minions in office; when no longer covetous of the trade and the votes of the South, they will no longer be bullied into all manner of wickedness, and into ever-repeated threats of dissolution. But when this day arrives, the Union will be converted from a curse into a blessing. Our lower-law divisions, instead







